

Gandhi and Communal Problems

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Compiled & Published by:

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Santacruz (East), Mumbai 400 055

PREFACE

This is 125th year of Mahatma Gandhi's birth. Mahatma's contribution to promotion of communal harmony is most significant in modern India. This contribution is neither merely academic nor only as political activist but much more than that he laid down his life for his cause. Also, the Mahatma wrote and spoke profusely on this problem. We can hardly think of any individual in modern India who wrote and spoke on this problem as much as the Mahatma did. His writings and speeches on this problem run into hundreds of pages. Mahatma wrote and spoke on this problem from all possible angles.

It is possible to differ from him in many respects on this issue, but that is different thing. But we can hardly doubt his sincerity. Even his opponents do not doubt it. Also, he and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad showed convincingly that being religious does not mean being communal. Both of them were profoundly religious and yet as much secular. Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad rooted secularism in indigenous religio-cultural practices. For them it was not an alien and western concept. Mahatma Gandhi proudly described himself as being a sanatani Hindu and yet he remained secular.

He was always greatly disturbed whenever communal violence broke out. He did not simply show his annoyance by merely verbally condemning it. He rushed to the site of the massacre and threw himself into it and tried to pursue the culprits to stop ghastly killings. He often undertook fast unto death to bring moral pressure on the killers. Be it Navakhali, be it great killings of Calcutta or killings in Delhi, the Mahatma rushed to the scene to save the situation and did save it.

One can argue that Gandhiji great failure was his inability to stop partition of the country. Well, he may have his share of this failure but it will be quite unfair to blame only the Mahatma for this. The forces leading to partition were too complex and no one individual can be blamed for it. The failure had to be shared by entire leadership of the Congress. No single individual could have stopped the partition. If one gives deep thought to the whole question it will not be too difficult to see that blame goes more on those leaders of the Congress who were quite anxious to come to power and we all that the Mahatma was not in that game. The historians and scholars of partition have written enough in this respect and we need go into that controversy here.

The centre for Study of Society and secularism thought that it should bring at a selection Mahatma Gandhi's writings on Communal problem. We have chosen here what was most relevant in today's context. We hope these selected writings on communalism and communal harmony will be useful to our readers. That will serve our purpose.

Asghar Ali Engineer, Bombay, 30th September 1994

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APPROACH TO COMMUNAL UNITY

1

CHARACTER OF COMMUNAL UNITY

Perpetual Enmity?

MANY BELIEVE That an ingrained and ineradicable animosity exists between Hindus and Mohammedans.

"For over five hundred years the relation between Hindus and Musalmans was that of foes. After the advent of British rule, both the Musalmans and the Hindus were compelled out of policy to forget that racial hatred, and the acrimony of that bitter enmity is now no more. But the permanent difference in the constitution of these two races does even now exist. I believe the present cordial relation is due to British rule and not to the catholicity of modern Hinduism."

I regard this statement as pure superstition. The two races lived at peace among themselves during the Muslim rule. Let it be remembered that many Hindus embraced Islam before the advent of Muslim rule in India. It is my belief that had there been no Muslim rule, there would still have been Musalmans in India, even as there would have been Christians had there been no British rule. There is nothing to prove that the Hindus and the Musalmans lived at war with one another in the British rule.

Were the Hindus and Musalmans and Sikhs always at war with one another when there was no British rule, there was no English face seen in India? We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Musalman historians to say that we were living in comparative peace even then. And the Hindus and Musalmans in the villages are not even today quarreling. In those days, they were not known to quarrel at all. The late Maulana Mahomed Ali often used to tell me, and he was himself a bit of a historian, "If God" Allah, as he called God- "gives me life, I propose to write the history of Musalman rule in India; and then I will show, through documents that British people have preserved, that Aurangzeb was not so vile as has been painted by the British historian that Moghul rule was not so bad as it has been shown to us in British history" and so on. And so have Hindu historians written. This quarrel is not old; this quarrel is coeval with the British advent.

Voice of Unity

That was the time when Hindus and Muslims for the time forgot all their differences. The Ali Brothers and I used to go all over the country together like blood brothers. We spoke with one voice and delivered the message of Hindu-Muslim unity and Swaraj to the masses. We resolved that thereafter we should address our prayers to God alone instead of the British Government, and so Satyagraha was born in India. The Ali brothers readily fell in with the programme of a national day of fasting and prayer people fasted on the 6th and 13th of April. They realized that they were all children of the God, destined to live together and die together in thousands and offered prayers in temples, churches and mosques. The climax was reached when in Delhi a monster gathering consisting of both Hindus and Musalmans was held in the Jumma mosque and was addressed by the late

Swami Shraddhanand. It was a glorious day in India's history, the *memory of which we shall always treasure*.

Peaceful Coexistence

My experience of all India tells me that the Hindus and Muslim know how to live at peace among themselves. I decline to believe that people have said goodbye to their senses so as to make it impossible to live at peace with each other, as they had done for generations.

The enmity cannot last for ever. They are brothers and must remain so in spite of temporary insanity. But perpetual feud is not and impossibility between communities as it is not between two individuals. I hope that this would not happen, for I prophesy that in this case they will bury the two religions in India and will sell their freedom for a mess of pottage.

2

HINDU- MUSLIM UNITY

A Consummation

IF THE Hindu and the Muslim communities could be united in one bond of mutual friendship, and if could act towards the other ever as children of the same mother it would be a consummation devoutly to be wished.

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that Swaraj for India must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the Hindus and Muslims of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based upon mutual fear. It must be a partnership between equals, each respecting the religion of the other.

And Hindu-Muslim unity is nothing if it is not a partnership between brave men and women.

Hindu Muslim unity means not unity only between Hindus and Musalmans and between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter what faith they belong.

I am fully aware that we have not yet attained that unity to such an extent as to bear any strain. It is a daily growing plant, as yet in delicate infancy, requiring special care and attention.

Both the Hindus and the Musalmans must learn to stand alone and against the whole world, before they become really united. This unity is not to be between weak parties, but between men who are conscious of their strength.

With me the conviction is as strong as ever that, willy-nilly, the Hindus and the Musalmans must be friends one day. No one can say how and when that will happen. The future is entirely in the hands of God. But He has vouchsafed to us the ship of Faith which alone can enable us to cross the ocean of Doubt.

For, I believe with the late Poet Iqbal that the Hindus and the Muslims, who have lived together, long under the shadow of the mighty Himalayas and have drunk the waters of the Ganges and Yamuna, have a unique message fro the world.

Disunity a Phase

As members of a family, we shall sometimes flight, but we shall always have leaders who will compose our differences and keep us under check.

Taking even the Hindu-Muslim disturbances in that light, I do not despair of the future. Order must come out of the present chaos. We would expedite the advent of order by watching, waiting and praying. If we do so, the evil that has come to the surface will disappear much quicker than, if, in our haste and impatience, we would disturb the surface and thus send the dirt to the bottom again instead of allowing it to throw itself out.

This, however, is no cause for the slightest despair. I know that the demon of disunion is at his last gasp. A lie has no bottom. Disunion is a lie. Even if it is sheer self-interest, it will bring about unity. I had hoped for disinterested unity. But I will welcome a unity based even on mutual interest. It will come when it does come, in away perhaps least expected by us. God is the Master Trickster. He knows how to confound us frustrate our 'Knavish tricks'. He sends death when one least expects it. He sends life when we see no sign of it. Let us admit our object helplessness, let us own that we are utterly defeated. Out of the dust of our humility will, I feel sure, be built up an impregnable citadel of unity.

Hindus and Muslims are going more and more away from each other. But this does not disturb me. Somehow or other, I feel that the separation is growing only to bring them all closer later on.

The Hindu-Muslim quarrels are, in a way, unknown to us, as a fight for Swaraj. Each party is conscious of its impending coming. Each wants to be found ready and fit for Swaraj when it comes. The latter consider themselves to be weak in educational and earthly equipment. They are now doing what all weak bodies have done hitherto. This fighting therefore, however unfortunate it may be, is a sign of growth. It is like the Wars of the Roses. Out of it will rise a mighty nation. A better than the bloody way was opened out to us in 1920, but we could not assimilate it. But even a bloody way is better than utter helplessness and unmanliness.

We may think are living, but disunited we are worse than dead. The Hindu thinks that in quarreling with the Musalman he is benefiting Hinduism; and the Musalman thinks that in fighting a Hindu he is benefiting Islam. But each is ruining his faith. And the poison has spread among the members of the communities themselves. And no wonder. For one man cannot do right in one department of life whilst he is occupied in doing wrong in any other department. Life is one indivisible whole.

It is a matter of shame to me to confess that we are a house divide against itself. We fly at each other's throats in cowardice and fear. The Hindu distrusts the Musalman through cowardice and fear, and the Musalman distrusts the Hindu through equal cowardice and

imaginary fears. Islam throughout history has stood for matchless bravery and peace it can, therefore, be no matter for pride to the Musalmans that they should fear the Hindus. Similarly, it can be no matter for pride to the Hindus that they should fear the Musalmans, even if they are aided by the Musalman of the world. Are we so fallen that we should be afraid of our own shadows.

3

EQUAL SERVANT OF ALL

Partiality to Muslims?

YOU MAY say I am partial to the Musalmans. So be it, though the Musalmans do not admit it. But my religion will not suffer by even an iota, by reason of my partiality. I shall have to answer my God and my Maker if I give and one less than his due, But I am sure that He will bless me if He knows that I gave some one more than his due. I ask you to understand me.

If my hand or heart has done anything more than was any one's due, you should be proud of it, rather than deplore it. It should be a matter of pride to you as Hindus to think that there was amongst you at least one man Gandhi who was not only just to the Musalmans, but even went out of his way in giving them more than their due. Hinduism is replete with instances of tolerance, sacrifice and forgiveness. Think of the sacrifice of the Pandavas, think of the forgiveness of Yudhishthira. Should it be a matter of sorrow for you that there is at least one man who has tried to carry out the precept of Hinduism to the latter?

I would not sell my soul to buy India's freedom. And if I want Muslim friendship, it is not for personal gratification but for India's sake.

I consider myself as good a Muslim as I am a Hindu and for that matter I regard myself an equally good Christian or Parsi. That such a claim will be rejected, and on some occasions was rejected, I know. This however, does not affect my fundamental position.

The Muslims look upon me as their arch-enemy and the Hindus accuse me of partiality for the Muslims. My advice to the Hindus to be honorable and just to the Muslims in the Union of India, irrespective of what is done in Pakistan, is also looked upon in that light. I do not plead guilty to the charge.

I am believed to be the arch -enemy of Islam and Indian Muslims. If was at one time acclaimed as their greatest friend and suffered the praise, must suffer, too, to be described as an enemy. Truth is known only to God. I am confident that in nothing that I am doing, saying or thinking, I am their enemy. They are blood-brothers and will remain so, though they may disown me ever so much.

The True Religion

You may be astonished to learn that I continue to receive letters charging me that I have compromised the interests of the Hindus by acting as a friend of the Muslims. How can I convince people by mere words, if the sixty years of my public life have failed to demonstrate that, by trying to befriend the Muslims, I have only proved myself a true Hindu and have rightly served the Hindus and Hinduism? The essence of true religious teaching is that one should serve and befriend all. I learn this in my mother's lap. You may refuse to call me a Hindu. I know no defence except a quote a line from Iqbal's famous song: *majhab nahin sikhata apasmen bair rakhana*, meaning, religion does not teach us to bear ill-will towards one another. It is easy enough to be friendly to one's friends. But to befriend the one who regard himself as our enemy is the quintessence of true religion. The other is mere business.

I believe in the sovereign rule of the law of love which makes no distinctions.

I am told that I am a friend of the Muslims and an enemy of Hindus and Sikhs. It is true that I am a friend of the Muslims, as I am of the Parsis and others. In this respect, I am the same today as I have been since the age of twelve. But those who call me an enemy of Hindus and Sikhs do not know me. I can be enemy of none, much less of Hindus and Sikhs.

I claim to be equal servant of all.

4

COMMUNALISM

WHILST.... I can make room in my mind for various schools of thought, for me there is only one way, I have no faith in communalism even as a stage; or perhaps better still, I have no fitness for work on that stage.

It would be wrong always to think in communal terms. I know that we may not shut our eyes to hard facts. But to attribute everything to the communal spirit is a sign of inferiority complex. It may well perpetuate what is yet a temporary distemper in the national life.

Communalism of the virulent type is a recent growth. The lawlessness is a monster with many faces. It hurts all, in the end, including those who are primarily responsible for it.

One Human Family

The golden way is to be friends with the world and to regard the whole human family like members of one family. He who distinguished between one's own family and another's miseducates the members of his own and opens the way for discord and irreligion.

(We have) the example of England, Russia and other countries when every family had sent as many able-bodied men and women as possible for the defence of their country. This is how unity of heart is actually achieved in the world, and I hope what we, in our country,

will be able to rise above small, selfish considerations and create that unity without which life itself will not be worth living.

A man whose spirit of sacrifice does not go beyond his own community becomes selfish himself and also makes his community selfish. In my opinion, the logical conclusion of self-sacrifice is that the individual sacrifices himself for the community; the community sacrifices itself for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation and the nation for the world. A drop torn from the ocean, it shares the glory of carrying on its bosom a fleet of mighty ships.

II. ACHIEVEMENT OF COMMUNAL UNITY

1.

MUTUAL TOLERANCE

BEFORE THIS UNITY becomes a reality, both the communities will have to give up a good deal and will have to make radical changes in ideas held heretofore.

As with Hindus, so with Musalmans. The leaders among the latter should meet together and consider their duty towards Hindus. When both are inspired by a spirit of sacrifice, when both try to do their duty towards one another instead of pressing their rights, then and then only would the long-standing differences between the two communities cease. Each must respect the other's religion, must refrain from even secretly thinking ill of the other. We must politely dissuade members of both the communities from indulging in bad language against one another. Only a serious endeavor in this direction can remove the estrangement between us.

Mutual tolerance is a necessity for all times and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindus will not tolerate the Mohammedan form of worship of God and his manners and customs, or if the Mohammedan will be impatient of Hindu idolatry or cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindus and Mohammedans have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his view.

The cow is as dear as life to a Hindu. The Musalman should, therefore, voluntarily accommodate his Hindu brother. Silence at his prayer is a precious thing for a Musalman. Every Hindu should voluntarily respect his Musalman brother's sentiment. This, however, is a counsel of perfection.

Clarity towards Opponents

The unity we desire will last only if we cultivate a yielding and a charitable disposition towards one another.

Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or, having listened,

make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. Whilst with the limits that nature has put upon our understanding, we must act fearlessly according to the right vouchsafed to us, we must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be the truth was, after all, untruth. This openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it, if there is any.

Those who do not like things do not coincide with their notions need not patronize them but it is ungentlemanly to behave like less than men when things are not to their taste.

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

Nationalism

When Hindu or a Musalman does evil, it is evil done by an Indian to an Indian, and each one of us must personally share the blame and try to remove the evil. There is no other meaning to unity than this. Nationalism is nothing if it is not at least this. Nationalism is greater than sectarianism. And in that sense, we are Indians first and Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians after.

We should deplore the fact that one Indian does not see the obvious wrong that four other brethren have done. There is no unity, if we must continuously look at things communally.

Critics may say, 'All this is sheer nonsense, because it is so inconsistent with facts. It is visionary.' But my contention is that we shall never achieve solidarity unless new facts are made to suit the principle instead of performing the impossible feat of changing the principle to suit existing facts.

2

THE UNITARY METHOD

Large Heartedness

I know that Hindus are in a numerical majority, and that they are believed to be more advanced in knowledge and education. Accordingly, they should be glad to give way so much the more to their Mohammedan brethren. As a man of Truth, I honestly believe that Hindus should yield up to the Mohammedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing. We can expect unity only if such mutual large heartedness is displayed. When the Hindu and Mohammedans act towards each other as blood brothers, then only we can hope for the dawn of India.

Love is the basis of our friendship as it is of religion. I seek to gain Musalman friendship by right of love. And if love persists even on the part of one community, unity will become a settled fact in our national life.

It is as simple as it is pure. A contract or pact is between two parties. There is also consideration passing from one to the other. Such was the Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the Muslim League. The same thing could have been accomplished by the unitary method only. Then there would have been no compromise dictated by fear and distrust. The Congress could have done, according to its notion, absolute justice, i.e., yielded the maximum consistent with the welfare of the whole nation without the expectation of any consideration from the League.

In a well-regulated family the relations are governed by the unitary method. Thus, a father gives to his children not as a result of a pact. He gives out of love, a sense of justice without expecting any return therefore. Not that there is none. But everything is natural, nothing is forced. Nothing is done out of fear or distrust. What is true of a well-regulated family is equally true of a well regulated society, which is but an extended family.

Properly applied the method never fails. It disarms criticism and opposition. It presupposes a clean conscience and clean action.

3

PACTS

WHAT IS a non essential to a Hindu may be an essential to a Musalman. And in all non-essential matters a Hindu must yield for the asking. It is criminal folly to quarrel over trivialities.

No Resort to Force

This (that we do not break one another's heads in respect of religious matters) is the only pact that is immediately necessary between the parties, and I am sure that everything else will follow.

Unless this elementary condition is recognized, we have no atmosphere for considering the ways and means of removing mis-understanding and arriving at an honourable lasting settlement.

For political matters a pact or an understanding is certainly necessary. But, in my opinion, the restoration of friendly feeling is a condition precedent to any effectual pact. Are both parties sincerely willing to accept the proposition that no dispute, religious or otherwise, between the communities should ever be decided by an appeal to force, i.e., violence?

I wish that the so-called alliance between the Musalmans and the Hindus will become a permanent reality based on a frank recognition of enlightened self-interest. It will then transmute the iron of sordid imperialism into the gold of humanitarianism. The Hindu

Muslim alliance is intended to be a blessing to India and to the world, for it is conceived in a spirit of peace and goodwill to all. It has adopted non-violence and truth as the indispensable means for achieving Swaraj in India. Its symbol the Charkha, the spinning wheel is a symbol of simplicity, self-reliance, self control, voluntary co-operation among millions. If such an alliance proves a menace to the world, then there is no God, or God is asleep.

I feel that any agreement between the component parts of the nation must be voluntary and must remain so far all time. It must not, if it is conceived in terms of Swaraj, depend for its final ratification or enforcement upon legal enactment. Ratification by our respective organizations must be held to be final and binding. Enforcement must depend upon the honour of the leaders of the respective parties and ultimately, in the absence of reliance on non-violence, on the arbitrament of civil war fought decently or indecently, as the case may be.

It cannot be that party seeks to force a pact by violent means. Even if such a pact were a possibility, it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. For, behind such a pact, there will be no common understanding. What is more, even after a pact is arrived at, it would be too much to expect that there would never be any communal riots.

I cannot think in terms of narrow Hinduism or narrow Islam. I am wholly uninterested in a patchwork solution.

Union Of Hearts

Communal pacts, whilst they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts. Without it, there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and co-operative work.

4

THE VOW OF UNITY

IN THE huge mass meeting of Hindus and Mohammedans held in the Sonapur Masjid compound on Sunday the 6th April, the day of humiliation and prayer, a vow of Hindu-Muslim Unity was proposed to be taken as in the case of Swadeshi proposed at the Chowpaty meeting, and I had to utter a note of warning on the both occasions. At times, in a fit of joyous passion, we are spurred on to certain courses of action for which we have afterwards to repent. A vow is a purely religious act which cannot be taken in a fit of passion. It can be taken only with a mind purified and composed, and with God as witness. Most of what I have said whilst writing about the swadeshi vow applied here. Acts which are not possible by ordinary self-denial become possible with the aid of vows which require extraordinary self-denial. Hence vows can uplift us.

But the object of taking the vow is speedily to bring about by the power of self denial a state of things which can only be expected to come in the fullness of time. How is this possible? Meeting should be called of Hindus I mean the orthodox Hindus where this question should be seriously considered..

Our vow would have value only when masses of Hindus and Mohammedans join in the endeavour. I think I have now made sufficiently clear the seriousness and magnitude of this vow. I hope that on this auspicious occasion, and surely the occasion must be auspicious when a wave of Satyagraha is sweeping over the whole country, we could all take this vow of unity. For this, it is further necessary that leading Hindus and Mohammedans should meet together and seriously consider the questions and then pass an unanimous resolution at a public meeting. This consummation will certainly be reached if our present efforts are vigorously continued. I think the vow may be taken individually even now and I expect that numerous people will do so every day. My warnings have reference to the taking of the vow publicly by masses of men. If it is taken by the masses, it should, in my humble opinion, be as follows:

With God as witness, we Hindus and Mohammedans declare that we shall behave towards one and another as children of the same parents, that we shall have no differences, that the sorrows of the other and that each shall help the other in removing them. We shall respect each other's religion and religious feelings and shall not stand in the way of our respective religious practices. We shall always refrain from violence to each other in the name of religions.

5

THE MEANING OF UNITY

Need for Heart Unity

For me, the only question for immediate solution before the country is the Hindu-Musلمان question. I agree with Mr. Jinnah that Hindu-Muslim unity means Swaraj. I see no way of achieving anything in this afflicted country without a lasting heart unity between the Hindus and Musalmans of India. I believe in the immediate possibility of achieving it, because it is so natural, so necessary for both, and because I believe in human nature. The Musalmans may have much to answer for. I have come in closer touch with even what may be considered a 'bad lot'. I cannot recall a single occasion when I had to regret it. The Musalmans are brave; they are generous and trusting the moment the suspicion is disarmed.

No Reservations

Hindu-Muslim unity will be a very cheap and tawdry affair, if it has to depend upon mere reciprocation. Is a husband's loyalty depend upon the wife's or may a wife be faithful because the husband is a rake? Marriage will be a sordid thing when the partners treat their conduct as matter of exchange, pure and simple. Unity is like marriage. It is more necessary for a husband to draw closer to his wife when she is about to fall. Then is the

time for a double outpouring of love. Even so, it is more necessary for a Hindu to love the Moplah and the Musalman more, when the latter is likely to injure him or has already injured him. Unity to real must stand the severest strain without breaking. It must be indissoluble tie.

And I hold that what I have put before the country in the foregoing lines is a simple, selfish idea. Does Hindu love his religion and country more than himself? If he does, it follows that he must not quarrel with ignorant Musalman who knows neither country nor religion. The process is like that of the world-famed woman who professed to give up child to her rival instead of dividing it with the latter a performance that he would have suited the latter admirably.

We must trust each other always, but in the last resort we must ourselves and our God.

Pre-requisite of Freedom

We all now realize, as we have never before realized, that with that unity we cannot attain our freedom, and I make bold to say that without that unity the Musalmans of India cannot render the Khilafat all the aid they wish. Divided, we must ever remain slaves. That unity therefore, cannot be a mere policy to be discarded when it does not suit us. We can discard it only when we are tired of Swaraj. Hindu Muslim unity must be our creed to last for all time and under all circumstances.

Nor must that unity be a menace to the minorities the Paris, Christians, Jews or the powerful Sikhs. If we seek to crush any of them, we shall some day want to fight each other.

Unity Abroad

While we are all engaged in trying to quench the fire of communal strike in our country, we must not forget our countrymen abroad. I refer to the Indian case which is being fought with such unity and gallantry by the Indian delegation before the U.N.O. What has pleased me immensely is Ispahani Saheb's and Zaffarulla Saheb's speeches reported in the Press today. They told their audiences in plain language how Indians are being discriminated against in South Africa and treated as outcastes. The Hindus and the Muslims in India have no different opinions on the question of the Indians overseas, which goes to prove that the two nation theory is incorrect. The lesson I have learnt from this, and what I want you also to learn from what I said, is that love is the highest thing. If the Hindus and Muslims can speak with one voice abroad, they can certainly do so here if they have love in their hearts. To err is human. It is also human to mend one's ways. To forgive and forget is always possible. If we can do that today and speak with one voice here as they did abroad, we will surely win through.

WORK FOR UNITY

Leaders' Responsibility

I AM convinced that the masses do not want to fight, if the leaders do not. If, therefore, the leaders agree that mutual rows should be, as in all advanced countries, erased out of our public life as being barbarous and irreligious, I have no doubt that the masses will quickly follow them. Both (Hindus and Muslims) will act simultaneously (i.e., do the right thing without expecting reciprocation), as soon as the workers become true to themselves. Unfortunately, they are not. They are mostly ruled by passion and prejudice. Each tries to hide the shortcomings of his co-religions and so the circle of distrust and suspicion ever widens.

If we, the so-called leaders, have no control over our fighting elements, our agreement must be held to be unreal and useless. Before we think of real Swaraj, we must gain control over the masses. We must learn to behave ourselves.

The Test

You cause, all the best opinion of the world has borne witness is just. Are you just? Are you sincere? The rest is simple. A sincere and true man is ready to sacrifice himself for a cause. Are you ready to sacrifice your ease, comfort commerce and even your life? Then, you are Satyagrahis and you will win.

Workers of Faith

For this consummation (that unity will be considered by the classes and masses as the breath of our nostrils') we must, it seems to me, rely more upon quality than quantity. Given a sufficient number of Hindus and Musalmans with almost a fanatical faith in everlasting friendship between the Hindus and Musalmans in India, we shall not be long before the unity permeates the masses. A few of us must first clearly understand that we can make no headway without accepting non-violence in thought, word and deed for the full realization of our political ambition. I would, therefore, beseech you to see that our ranks contain no workers who do not fully realize the essential truth I have endeavored to place before you. A living faith cannot be manufactured by the rule of majority.

Only Solution

But how is the cure (of Hindu-Muslim tension) to be effected? Who will convince the Hindu maniac that the best way to save the cow is for him to do his duty be her and not goad his Musalman brother? Who will convince the Musalman fanatic that it is not religion but irreligion to break the head of his Hindu brother when he plays music in front of his mosque? Or, again, who will make the Hindu see that he will lose nothing by the minorities being even over-represented on the elective public secular bodies? These are fair questions and show the difficulty to working out the solution.

But if the solution is the only true solution all difficulties must be overcome. In reality, the difficulty is only apparent. If there are even a few Hindus and a few Musalmans only

who have a living faith in the solution, the rest is easy. Indeed, even if there are a few Hindus only, or a few Musalmans only, with the faith, the solution would be still easy. They have but to work away single heartedly and the others will follow them.

Freedom of Action

As to the distraction caused by opposing advice by different leaders the workers will make their selection of their leaders and follow them. But that is also only advisable when the advice of the leader appeals to their heart and head. In the case of conflict between two, they must boldly follow their own heart and head. Such is the dictate of all religions. If it is so in religious matters, it is more so in mundane matters.

The answer (as to what should a Hindu worker do when he is being deliberately misrepresented by interested parties) in terms of Ahimsa, generally would be that acts should be that acts should be allowed to speak for themselves. Whilst this is good as a general proposition, there are occasions when to speak and explain is a duty and not to speak will amount to a falsehood. Therefore, wisdom dictates that there are some occasions when speech must be accompany action. Of course, there is an occasion when mere thought will take the place of speech and action. Such is the attribute of the Almighty and might be almost possible for one in a billion, but I know no such instance.

The fact is that a leader is made by his followers. He reflects in a clearer manner the aspirations lying dormant among the masses. This is true not only of India but of all the world.

What I would, therefore, suggest to both the Hindus and the Musalmans is that they should not look to the Muslim league or the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha for the solution of their daily problems of life. For that they should look towards themselves; and if they do that, then, their desire for neighborly peace will be reflected by the leaders. The political institutions may be left to deal with specifically the political questions, but how much do they know about the daily needs of individuals? If a neighbor is ailing will they run to the Congress or the League to ask them what should be done? That is an unthinkable proposition.

Let all political workers, be they Hindu, Muslim or any other, ponder well over what is happening before their eyes. Let it not be said by the future generations that we were trying to learn how to lose liberty before it was even gained.

Women's Role

In the mission of mine, I can count on the healthy and active co-operation my sisters, who beat all previous records of suffering and sacrifice during the last heroic campaign. To them I say : If you are convinced that the Hindu-Muslim unity is a sine qua non, I ask you to use against your own countrymen the same weapon of Satyagraha that you used so effectively against the Government. Tell your men that you will non-co-operate with them, you will not cook for them, you will starve yourselves and them so long as they do not wash their hands of these dirty communal squabbles. Assure me your co-operation and you will add tremendously to my strength and to my power of pleading.

Students and Teachers

What can students do to bring about Hindu Muslim unity? The way was is simple. Even if all the Hindu turn rowdies and abuse you, you may not cease to regard them as your blood brothers and vice versa. Is it impossible? No, rather the contrary. And what is possible for the individual is possible for the mass.

I would ask all the school masters, now that they are no longer under the observation of the foreign masters, that they should recognize their true function, even at the risk of their lives, to give the right bent to the minds of those whom it is their proud privilege to mould.

III. RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNIAL PROBLEM

1

RELIGION AND COMMUNIAL UNITY

THERE IS nothing in either religion (Hinduism or Islam) to keep the two (Hindus and Muslims) apart.

Fundamental Unity

I write in the name and for the sake of the heart-unity which I want to see established among the people of this land professing different faiths. In nature, there is a fundamental unity running through all the diversity we see about us. Religions are no exception to the nature law. They are given to mankind so as to accelerate the process of realization of fundamental unity.

As I was studying Christianity, Hinduism and other great faiths of the world, I saw that there was a fundamental unity, moving amidst the endless variety that we see in all religions, viz. truth and innocence.

If religion is allowed to be as it is a personal concern and a matter between God and man, there are many dominating common factors between the two which will compel common life and common action. Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that, today, they are so distorted that they have become a potent cause of strife and mutual slaughter.

The Master Key

Some principal religions are still extant. After a study of those religions to the extent it was possible for me, I have come to the conclusion that, if it is proper and necessary to discover an underlying unity among all religions a master key is needed. The master key is that to truth and non-violence.

When I unlock the chest of a religion with the master key, I do not find it difficult to discover its likeness with other religions. When you look at these religions as so many leaves of a tree they seem so different, but at the trunk they are one. Unless and until we realize this fundamental unity, wars in the name of religion will not cease. These are not confined to Hindus and Musalmans alone. The pages of world history are soiled with the bloody accounts of these religious wars. Religion can be defended only by the purity of its adherents and their good deeds, never by their quarrels with those of other faith.

No Unnatural Divisions

Religion is a personal matters which should have no place in politics. It is in the unnatural condition of foreign domination that we have unnatural divisions according to religion. Foreign domination going we shall laugh at our folly in having clung to false ideals and slogans.

Should difference in religion, I ask, be sufficient to over-shadow our common humanity? I pray that fundamental commonsense should reassert itself, so that all contrary forces may be overpowered in the end.

'If there is only one God, should there not be only one religion? This is a strange question. Just as a tree has a million leaves, similarly, though, God is one, there are as many religions as there are men and women though they are rooted in one God. We do not see this plain truth because we are followers of different prophets and claim as many religions as there are prophets. As a matter of fact, whilst I believe myself to be a Hindu know that I do not worship God in the same manner as any one or all them.

Equality of Religions

I remind you of the folly of looking upon one religion as better than another

For God fearing men, all religions are good and equal, only the followers of different religions quarrel with one another and thereby deny their respective religions.

One of them gave a striking verse from the Granth Sahib where GuruNanak says that God may be called by the name of Allah, Rahim and so on. The name does not matter if he is enshrined in our hearts. GuruNanak's efforts, like those of Kabir, has been directed towards synthesizing the various religions.

Some go on a pilgrimage and bathe in the sacred river, others go to Mecca, some worship him in temples, others in mosques, some just bow their heads in reverence, some read the Vedas, others the Koran; some dress in blue, others in white; some call themselves Hindus others Muslims. Nanak says that he who truly God's law knows His secret. This teaching is universal in Hinduism.

Regard for Other Religions

The Key to the solution of the tangle lies in everyone following the best in his own religion and entertaining equal regard for the other religions and their followers.

Religious Toleration

I got an early grounding in toleration for all branches of Hinduism and sister religions. For, my father and mother would visit the haveli as also Shiva's and Ram's temples, and would take or send us youngsters there. Jain monks also would pay frequent visits to my father, and would even go out their way to accept food from us non jains. They would have talks with my father on subjects religions and mundane.

He had, besides Musalmans and Parsi friends, who would talk to him about their own faiths, and he would listen to them always with respect, and often with interest. Being his nurse, I often had a chance to be present at these talks. These many things combined to inculcate in e a toleration for all faiths.

Hindu-Muslim unity requires the Musalmans to tolerate, not as a virtue of necessity. Not as a policy, but as a part of their religion, the religion of others so long as they, the latter, believe it to be true. Even so is it expected of the Hindus to extend the same tolerance as a matter of faith and religion to the religion of others, no matter how repugnant they may appear to their (the Hindus) sense of religion.

The need of the moment is not one religion, but mutual respect and tolerance of the devotees of the different religions. We want to reach not the dead level, but unity in diversity. Any attempt to root out traditions, effect of heredity, climate and other surroundings is not only bound to fail, but is a sacrilege. The soul of religions is one, but it is encased in a multitude of forms. The latter will persist to the end of time. Wise men will ignore the outward crust and see the same soul living under a variety of crusts.

The struggle must be transferred to a change of heart among the Hindus and Musalmans. Before they dare think of freedom, they must be brave enough to love one another, to tolerate one another's religion, even prejudices and superstitions, and to trust one another. This requires faith in oneself. And faith in oneself is faith in God. If we have that faith, we shall cease to fear one another.

I should love all the men, one only in India but in the world, belonging to the different faiths, to become better people by contract with one another, and , if that happens, the world will be a much better place to live in than it is today.

I plead for the broadest toleration and I am working to that end. I ask people to examine every religion from the point of view of the religionists themselves. I do not expect the India of my dream to develop one religion, i.e., to be wholly Hindu, or wholly Christian, or wholly Musalman, but I want to be wholly tolerant, with its religions working side by side with one another.

The virtue of tolerance is never strained, especially in matter of religion. Differences of religious opinion will persist to the end of time toleration is the only thing that will enable persons belonging to difference religions to live as good neighbours and friends.

Propaganda of Vilification

No propaganda can be allowed which reviles other religions. For that would be negation of toleration. The best way of dealing with such propaganda is to publicly condemn it.

Abuse and caricature of the Prophet cannot wean a Musalman from his faith, and it can do no good to a Hindu who may have doubts about his own belief. As a contribution, therefore, to the religious propaganda work, it has no value whatsoever. The harm it can do is oblivious.

Another friend sends me a sheet called Shaitand printed at Public Printing Press, Lahore. It contains untranslatable abuse of Musalmans and aware of similar abuse by Musalman sheets. But that is no answer or justification for the Hindu or the Arya Samaj abuse. I would not have even noticed these prints but for the information given to me that the writings command a fair patronage. The local leaders must find a way stopping these publications or at least discrediting them and distributing clean literature instead, showing tolerance for each other's faiths.

To revile one another's religion, to make reckless statements, to utter untruth, to break the heads of innocent men, to desecrate temples, mosques, is a denial of God.

They (the Musalman writers and speakers) neither enhance their own reputation nor that of the religion they profess by unrest raining abuse of the opponent. They can gain nothing, they cannot serve Islam by swearing at the Samaj and Samajists.

Religion never suffers by reason of the criticism fair or foul of critics it always suffers from the laxity or indifference of its followers.

Religious Instructions

If India is not to declare spiritual bankruptcy, religious instruction of its youth must be held at least as necessary as secular instruction true that knowledge of religious books is no equivalent of that of religion. But, if we cannot have religion, we must be satisfied with providing our boys and girls with what is next best.

Religious Freedom

Everybody must be entitled to retain his or her own religion with interference. All worship the same god although under different name "If I see my God in this tree and worship it, why the Muslim should object?" It is wrong for anyone to say that his God is superior to that another's. God is one and the same for all.

TEMPLES AND MOSQUES

Idolatry in Hindu Temples

I AM both an idolater and an iconoclast in what I conceive to be the true sense of the terms. I value the spirit behind idol-worship. It plays a most important part in the uplift of the human Race. And I would like to possess the ability to defend with my life the thousands of holy temples which sanctify this land of ours. My alliance with the Musalmans presupposes their perfect tolerance for my idols and my temples. I am an iconoclast in the sense that I break down the subtle form of idolatry in the shape of fanaticism that refuses to see any virtue in any other form of worshipping the deity, save one's own. This form of idolatry is more deadly for being more fine and evasive than the tangible and gross form of worship that identifies the deity with a little bit of a stone or a golden image.

And what is it that we should be fighting for? We Hindus may be idol-worshippers. We may be mistaken. But when God gave every man the right to make mistakes, when God suffers us to live although we are idol -worshippers, why should not the Musalmans suffers us too?

Idolatry is bad, not so idol-worship. An idolater makes a fetish of his idol. An idol-worshipper sees God even in a stone and therefore, takes the help of an idol to establish his union with God. Every Hindu child knows that the stone in the famous temple in Banaras is not Kashi Vishwanath. But he believes that the Lord of the Universe does reside specially in that stone. This play of the imagination is permissible and healthy. Every edition of the Gita on a book stall has not that sanctity which I ascribe to my own copy. Logic tells me there is no more sanctity in my copy than in any other. The sanctity is in my imagination. But that imagination brings about marvelous, concrete results. It changes men's lives. I am of opinion that whether we admit it or not, we are all idol-worshippers or idolaters, if the distinction I have drawn is not allowed. A book, a building, a picture, a carving, is surely all images in which God does reside, but they are not God. He who says they are errs.

I ask you to accept the slavery of the one Omnipotent God, no matter by what name you address him. Then you will bend the knee to no man or men. It is ignorance to say that I coupled Rama, a mere man, with God. I have repeatedly made it clear that my Rama is the same as God. My Rama was before, is present now and will be for all time. He is Unborn and Uncreated. Therefore, you should tolerate and respect the different faiths. I am myself an iconoclast, but I have equal regard for the so-called idolaters. Those who worship idols also worship the same God who is everywhere, even in a clod of earth, even in a nail that is pared off. I have Muslim friends whose names are Rahim, Rahman, Karim. Will, therefore, join on to them the name of God when I address them as Rahim, Karim or Rahman.

Some dub Hindus as image worshippers. But is not the stone image which they worship but the God within, without whom not a particle of matter exists. If a devotee that his belief is a delusion, it deludes nobody but himself. It requires magnanimity and breadth of

outlook to understand and appreciate the religious convictions and practices of others. It is the same thing if they considered the Koran or the Granth Saheb as God.

Desecration of Places of Worship

I hinted the last week that there was evidently an organization at the back of the mania for desecrating Hindu temples. Gulbarga is the latest instance in point. Whatever the Hindu provocation, if there was any, the Musalman outburst has an ominous look about it. The desecration of temples cannot be justified in any circumstances, whatsoever I feel perhaps more keenly than most of them, every fanatic outburst on the part of Musalmans. I am fully aware of my responsibility in the matter. I know that many Hindus feel that I am responsible for many of these outbursts. For, they argue, I contributed the largest share to the awakening, of the Musalman masses. I appreciate the charge. Though I do not repent of my contribution, I feel the force of the objection. Therefore, if for no reason, for this at least greater responsibility, I must feel more keenly than most Hindus can, these desecrations.

The law of retaliation we have been trying since the day of Adam and we know from experience that it has hopelessly failed. We are groaning under its poisonous effect. Above all, the Hindus may not break mosques against temples. That way lies slavery and worse. Even though a thousand temples may be reduced to bits, I would not touch a single mosque and expect thus to prove the superiority of my faith to the so called faith of fanatics. I would love to hear of priests dying at the posts in defense of their temples and their idols. Let them learn to suffer and to die in the defense of their temple, even as God allows himself be insulted and broken up in the insult and damage done to the idols which, being omnipresent, He undoubtedly resides. Hindus will not defend their religion or their temples by seeking to destroy mosques, and thus proving themselves as fanatical as the fanatics who have been desecrating temples.

To the unknown Muslmans who are undoubtedly behind these desecrations, I submit: "Remember that Islam is being judged by your conduct. I have not found a single Musalman defending these outbursts not under provocation. There seems to me to have been little, if any, provocation offered by the Hindus. But let us assume that it was otherwise, that the Hindus played music near mosques to exasperate the Musalmans, that they even removed a stone from a minaret. Yet I venture to say that Musalmans ought not to have desecrated the Hindu temples. Even the retaliation has its limits. The Hindus prize their temples about their lives. It is possible to contemplate with some degree of equanimity injury to life but not to temples.

I have been trying to find proof for the allegation about Hindu desecration in the places referred to in my article on the Hindu-Muslim tension. I have failed to receive any proof in support of them. You will not enhance the reputation of Islam by the acts reported about Amethi, Shambhar, and Gulbarga. If you will permit me to say so, I feel about the honour of Islam as much as I feel about my own religion. This I do because I desire to live in perfect, open and hearty friendship with the Musalmans. I cannot help saying that these desecrations are cutting a deep wound in my heart.

If it could be proved, whilst I would still hold, under every conceivable circumstance, desecration of temples and equally of mosques to be unjustified from my point of view, I admitted that my condemnation would lose much of its force. I should be deeply hurt and ashamed, if the alleged Hindu desecration in Gulbarga was found to be true.

A simple pujari nor knowing the meaning of non-violence told me with some glee that when a mob entered his temple to break his idols, he carefully hid himself away. Such a man I told to be unfit to be a pujari. He should have died at his post. He would then have sanctified the idol with his blood. He would have been justified in killing the intruders, if he had not the courage to die at his post with a prayer on his lips that God might have pity on the assailants. But it was unmanly for him to have hidden himself to save his perishable skin. The truth is that cowardice itself is violence of a subtle and, therefore, dangerous type, and far more difficult to eradicate than the habit of physical violence. A coward never risks his life. A man who would kill often risks it. For he knows that the soul within never dies. The encasing body is ever perishing. The more a man gives his life, the more he saves it. Thus, non-violence requires more than the courage of the soldier of war. The Gita definition of a soldier is one who does not know what it is to run away from danger.

If some misdirected individual took it into his head to desecrate a temple or break idols, should a Hindu in return desecrate a mosque on that account? Does it anyway help to protect the temple or to save the cause of Hinduism? Personally, I am as much an idol worshipper as an idol-breaker, and I suggest that the whole of the audience, whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, are also so, whether they admit it or not. I know that mankind thirsted for symbolism. Are not masjids or churches in reality the same as mandirs? God resides everywhere, no less in stock or stone than in a single hair on the body of man. But men associate sacredness with particular places and things more than with others. Such sentiment is worthy of respect when it does not mean restrictions on similar freedom for others. To every Hindu and Musalman my advice is that, if there is compulsion anywhere, they would gently but firmly refuse to submit to it. Personally, I myself would hug an idol and lay down my life to protect it rather than brook any restriction upon my freedom of worship. That requires courage of a higher order than is needed in violent resistance.

I had visited a mosque in the village Bola which was a damaged during the disturbances. I was told that on the Holi day the mosque was again desecrated by some villages who played Holi inside the mosque premises. If it is true, it is undoubtedly a notice given by them to the Muslims not to enter their homes even when they are rebuilt nor dare to visit the mosque. If this reported desecration on the Holi day is a fact, it is a bad omen for the Hindus, for Bihar and for the whole country.

If 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 pledges 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.

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 Panja Sahib, which one of the greatest.

An idol has no value unless it is duly installed in a consecrated place by duly qualified devotees. Forcible possession of a mosque disgraces Hinduism and Sikhism. It is the duty of the Hindus to remove the idols from the mosques and repair the damage. I have not heard of any mosque being turned into a Gurudwara. The Sikhs worship the Guru Granth Sahib will be an insult to the Granth Sahib if it is placed in a mosque.

Reparations

Not perhaps eight miles from here is the mausoleum of Kutubudin Bakhtiyarkaki Chishtisaheb which is reputed to be second in sanctity to the one in Ajmer. Both are visited not only by Muslims but by the thousands of Hindus and other non-Muslims in equal veneration. Hindu wrath visited the sacred place in early September last. The Muslims in the surroundings felt compelled to vacate their favorite home which had been such for close on four centuries. It would be unnecessary to mention this tragic occurrence but for the fact that the place is still deserted by the Muslims, however much they may be devoted to the mausoleum. It behoves the Hindus, the Sikhs, the officials immediately in charge and the Ministers to wipe out the disgrace and reinstate the place in all its original glory. What I have said here is equally applicable to all the Muslim places of worship in and around Delhi and elsewhere in the Union. It is high time that both the Governments by their firm action made it clear to their respective majorities that they could no longer tolerate desecration of the places of worship, big or insignificant. All damage done to them should be repaired without delay.

I am also distressed to see the costly marble trellis damaged. It is no answer to say that similar or worse things have happened in Pakistan. Have we fallen so low as to stop such acts of vandalism? Granting that such incidents have occurred on a larger scale in Pakistan, it will be improper to institute comparisons in evil doing. Even if the whole world did wrong, should we do likewise? If today I take to evil courses, will it not distress you? For me it will be worse than death. Similarly, we have reason to feel ashamed at the damage done to the Dargah. It behoves them all to show to such a holy place the veneration due to it.

3

MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

THE THING became clear in Nellore when the problem confronted me in a concrete shape. The relations between the two were none too happy. They fought only about two years ago over what appeared to me to be a small matter. It was the eternal question of playing music whilst passing mosques.

The question of music before mosques, and now, even arati in Hindu temples, has occupied by prayerful attention. This is a sore point with the Musalmans as cow-slaughter is with the Hindus.

The trouble about music is fast growing every day. A letter I had in Surat says that, as it is not obligatory on a Hindu to play music, he should stop it before mosques to spare the feelings of the Musalmans. I wish the question is as simple. Not a single Hindu religious ceremony can be performed without the accompaniment of music. Some ceremonies require the accompaniment of music. Some ceremonies require the accompaniment of continuous music. No doubt, even here due regard ought to be had for the feelings of the Musalmans. The music may in such cases be less noisy. But all this can be an ought to be done on the basis of 'give and take'. Having talked with a number of Musalmans in the matter. I know that Islam does not make it obligatory for a Musalman to prevent a non-Musalman from playing music near mosques. Nor is such a thing on the part of an non-Musalman calculated to injure Islam Music should never, therefore, be a bone of contention.

I have heard of a peremptory demand for total cessation of music soft or loud, at any time what so ever in front of mosques. There is, too, a demand for the stopping arati during prayer hours in temples in the neighborhood of mosques. I heard in Calcutta that even boys passing by a mosque early in the morning and reciting Ramanama were stopped.

Religious Necessity

I hold that we may not dignify every trifle into a matter of deep religious importance. Therefore, a Hindu may not insist on playing music whilst passing a mosque. He may not even quote precedents in his own or any other place for the sake of playing music. It is not a matter a vital importance for him to play music whilst passing a mosque. One can easily appreciate the Musalman sentiment of having solemn silence near a mosque the whole of the twenty four hours.

Either continuous music arati or the repeating of Ramanama is a religious necessity or it is not. If it is a religious necessity, no prohibition order by a court of law can be held obligatory. Music must be played, arati must be made and Ramanama repeated, cost what it may. If my formula were accepted, a procession of the meekest men and women, unarmed even with lathis, would march with Ramanama on their lips, supposing that that was the bone of contention, and draw down on their heads the whole of the Musalman wrath. But, If they would not accept that formula they would still proceed with the sacred name on their lips and fight every inch of the ground. But to stop music for fear of a row or because of an order of court is to deny one's religion.

But then there is the other side to the question. Is continuous playing of music, even while passing mosques at prayer time, always a religion necessity? Is repeating Ramanama a similar necessity? What about the charge that the fashion nowadays is to organize processions purely for sake of irritating Musalmans, and to make arati just at the time of the prayer, and to utter Ramanama not because it is held religiously necessary but in order to create an occasion for a fight? If such be in the case, it will defeat its own end

and naturally the zest being wanting, a court's order a military display or a shower of brick bats would end the irreligion show.

A religious necessity must, therefore, be clearly established. Every semblance of irritation must be avoided. A mutual understanding should be sincerely sought. Any where it is not possible, an irreducible minimum should be fixed making due allowance for the opposite sentiment, and then, without seeking the intervention of courts or in spite of a prohibition order, a fight must be put up for that minimum. Let no one charge me with every having advised or encouraged weakness or surrender on matters of principle. But I have said, as say again, that every trifle must not be dignified into a principle.

Use of Compulsion

Hindu and Musalmans prate about no compulsion in religion. What is it but compulsion if Hindus will kill a Musalman for saving a cow? It is like wanting to convert a Musalman to Hinduism by force. And, similarly, what is it but compulsion if Musalmans seek to prevent by force Hindus from prayers music before mosques? Virtue lies in being absorbed in one's prayers in the presence of din and noise. We shall both be voted irreligious savages by posterity if we continue to make a futile attempt to compel one another to respect our religious wishes.

And just as the Hindus cannot compel the Musalmans to refrain from killing cows, so can the Musalmans not compel the Hindus to stop music or arati at the point of the sword. They must trust to the good sense of the Hindus.

But the Musalmans should never expect to stop Hindu music by force. To yield to the threat or actual use of violence is a surrender of one's self-respect and religious conviction. But a person, who never will yield to threat, would always minimize and, if possible, even avoid occasions for causing irritation.

For the Hindus, cow-protection and the playing of music even near the mosque is the substance of Hinduism, and for the Musalmans cow-killing and prohibition of music is the substance of Islam. It is, therefore, necessary that the Hindus abandon the idea of compelling Musalmans to stop cow-killing, and the Musalmans the idea of compelling the Hindus to stop music.

The middle class people must be prepared for a beating, if they wish to play music in the teeth of opposition, or they must befriend Musalmans in a self-respecting manner.

In many places, however, the Musalmans have forcibly sought to stop Hindus from playing music. This is clearly intolerable. What is readily yielded to courtesy is never yielded to force. Submission to force is irreligion. If the Hindus stop music for fear of a beating from the Musalmans, they cease to be Hindus.

Accommodation

As a Hindu, I would certainly advice Hindus, without any bargaining spirit, to consult the sentiment of their Musalman neighbor, and wherever they can, accommodate him. I have heard that in some places the Hindus, purposely and with the deliberate intention or

irritation the Musalmans, perform arati when the Musalman prayers commence. This is an insensate and unfriendly act. Friendship presupposes the utmost attention to the feelings of a friend. It never requires consideration.

It is clear that we have not arrived at the stage when a pact is even a possibility. There can be, it is clear to me, no question of bargain about cow-slaughter and music. On either side, it must be a voluntary effort and therefore, can never be the basis of pact.

General Principles

The general in this respect may be said to be this, that where the Hindus have long been deliberately observing the custom to stop music before mosques, they must not break it. But where they have been playing music without interference, the practice should continue. Where trouble is apprehended and facts are disputed, both communities ought to refer the matter to arbitration.

When a court of law has prohibited music, the Hindus should not take the law in their own hands. And the Musalmans should not insist on stopping music by force.

Where the Musalmans refuse to yield, or where the Hindus apprehend violence, and where there is no prohibition by a court of law the Hindus must take out their processions with music accompanying, and put up with all the beating inflicted on them. All those who join such processions or who form the musical band must thus sacrifice themselves. They will thereby defend their faith and their self-respect.

The regulation of cow-slaughter and playing of music must be left to the goodwill of the respective communities. Each practice would assume a becoming proportion with the growth of the tolerant spirit.

For me, music before mosques is not on a par with cow-slaughter. But it has assumed an importance which it would be folly to ignore. It is for the Musalmans to say what would spare Musalman feelings. And if complete stoppage of music before mosques will be the only thing that will spare the Musalman feelings, it is the duty of the Hindus to do so without a moment's thought. If we are to reach unity of hearts, we must each be prepared to perform an adequate measure of sacrifice.

They (music before mosques, cow-slaughter etc.) are questions of law. I want to capture your hearts and see you welded into one. If this is attained, everything else will be right itself. If your hearts are not united nothing can be right. Your unfortunate lot will then be slavery.

I had to listen not without shame and sorrow to the statement that Muslim friend made to me. He said with a sign that there is nothing left but a kind of subjection to the Hindu majority, and that might have to suffer in silence the playing of music before mosques whilst they were offering prayers. I shall have no such despair on the part of Muslims. The friend, who made the remark, did not realize that unconsciously implied that the Muslim majority would inflict duty in all humility, irrespective of what the other majority does in the other state. I suggest, therefore, that until the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and the union agree upon another course in both the states, the practice that was followed during

the British regime, often under compulsion, should be fully and voluntarily impose their will on the minority are foolish and are vastly mistaken. If, therefore, you want to consolidate the prevailing goodwill, you will see to it that you act on the square under all circumstances.

4

COW SLAUGHTER AND COW-PROTECTION

Cause of Friction

SAVE FOR the cow, the Hindus have no ground for quarrel with Musalmans.

The first (constant cause of friction) is cow slaughter. Though I regard cow-protection as the central fact of Hinduism, central because it is common to the classes as well as the masses, I have never been able to understand the antipathy towards the Musalmans on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of Englishmen: Our anger becomes red hot when a Musalman slaughters a cow. All the riots that have taken place in the name of cow have been an insane waste of efforts. They have not saved a single cow, but they have, on the contrary, stiffened the backs of the Musalmans and resulted in more slaughter.

NO Obligation

The latter (Musalmans) are under no religious obligation to slaughter a cow.

The Koran so far as I have been able to understand it, declares it to be a sin to take the life of any living being without cause. I want to develop the capacity to convince the Musalmans that to kill the cow is practically to kill their fellow countrymen and friends, the Hindus. The Koran says that there can be no heaven for one who sheds the blood of an innocent neighbor.

Beef eating

The standing complaint of Hindus against Musalmans is that the latter are beef eaters and that they purposely sacrifice cows on the Bakri Id day.

It is generally known that I am a staunch vegetarian and food reformer. But it is not equally generally known that Ahimsa extends as much to human beings as to lower animals and that I freely associates with meat-eaters.

Hindus may not compel Musalmans to abstain from meat or even beef eating. Vegetarian Hindus may not compel other Hindus to abstain from fish, flesh or fowl. I would not make India sober at the point of the sword. Nothing has lowered the morale of the nation so much as violence.

No Reform by Compulsion

As a Musalman friend writes, beef eating which is merely permissible in Islam will become a duty, if compulsion is resorted to by Hindus.

Once, while in Champaran, I was asked to expound my views regarding cow protection. I told my Champaran friend then that, if anybody was really anxious to save the cow, he ought once for all to disabuse his mind of the notion that he had to make the Christians and Musalmans to desist from cow-killing. Unfortunately today we seem to believe that the problem of cow protection consists merely in preventing non-Hindus, especially Musalmans, from beef eating and cow killing. That seems to be absurd. Let no one; however, conclude from this that I am indifferent when a non-Hindu kills a cow or that I can bear the practice of cow killing. On the contrary, no one probably experiences a greater agony of the soul when a cow is killed. But what am I to do? Am I to fulfill my dharma myself or am I to get it fulfilled by proxy? Of what avail would be my preaching brahmacharya to others if I am at the same time steeped in vice myself? But supposing even that I myself do not kill the cow, is it any part of my duty to make the Musalmans, against his will, to do likewise?

The very Hindus who quarrel with the Muslims because they slaughter the cow for the beef she gives are not ashamed to accept the mastery of the English who are known to be beef-eaters in a sense in which the Muslims never are. I have no quarrel with the Englishmen because they eat beef and as such I have none with Muslims either. I am concerned with showing the great inconsistency of the Hindus who for the sake of money gladly serve their English masters and quarrel with the Muslims. Then we forget that there are Hindus who gladly partake of beef. I have known orthodox Vaishnavas who eat-extract when it was prescribed by their doctors.

Freedom of Food

I do not know how this question (Will the Muslims be allowed to eat their national food-beef under a Hindu majority Government?) arises. For, whilst Congressmen were in office, they are not known to have interfered with the practice of beef-eating by Muslims. The question is also badly conceived. There is no such thing as Hindu majority Government.

It is, moreover, not true to say that beef is the national food of Muslims. In the first place, the Muslims of India are not as yet a separate nation. In the second, beef is not their ordinary food. Their ordinary food is the same as that of the millions. What is true is that there are very few Muslims who are vegetarians from religious motive. Therefore, they will take meat, including beef, when they can get it. But during the greater part of the years, millions of Muslims, owing to poverty, go without meat of any kind. These are facts. But the theoretical question demands a clear answer. As a Hindu, a confirmed vegetarian, and a worshipper of the cow whom I regard with the same veneration as I regard my mother (alas, no more on this earth!) I maintain that Muslims should have full freedom to slaughter cows, if they wish, subject of course to hygienic restrictions and in a manner not to wound the susceptibilities of their Hindu neighbours. Full recognition of freedom to the Muslims to slaughter cows is indispensable for communal harmony, and is the only way of saving the cow.

Essence of Hinduism

Hinduism does not consist in eating and not eating. Its essence consists in right conduct, in correct observance of truth and non-violence. Many a man eating meat, but observing the cardinal virtues of compassion and truth and living in the fear of God, is better Hindu than a hypocrite who abstains from meat.

He whose eyes are opened to the truth of the violence in beef-eating and who has therefore rejected them, who loves both man and bird and beast is worthy of our adoration. He has seen known God; he is His best devotee. He is the teacher of mankind.

Muslim Response

It is not correct to say that the appeal of the Khilafat associations against cow-killing leaves the Musalmans cold and unresponsive. In the first place, is it not a cheering phenomenon that Khilafat workers, themselves Musalmans, are working to prevent cow-killing? In the second place, I venture to assure that the appeal has had wonderful success in almost all parts of India. It is a small matter that the burden of cow-protection has been taken over almost entirely by Musalman workers? Was it not a soul stirring thing for Hindus to witness Messrs. Chhotani and Khatri of Bombay rescuing hundreds of cows from their coreligionists and presenting them to the grateful Hindus?

I have been telling Maulana Shaukat Ali along that I was helping him to save his cow, i. e., the Khilafat, because I hoped to save my cow thereby. I am prepared to place my life in the hands of the Musalmans, to live merely on their sufferance. Why? Simply that I might be able to protect the cow. I hope to achieve the end not by entering into a bargain with the Musalmans but by bringing about a change of heart in them. So long as this is not done, I told my soul in patience. For I have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that such a change of heart can be brought about only by our own correct conduct towards them and by our personal example.

I offered to share with the Musalmans their suffering to the best of my capacity not merely because I wanted their co-operation for winning Swaraj but also because I had in mind to object of saving the cow.

If the Khilafat question had a just and legitimate basis, as I believe it had, and if the Government had really committed a gross injustice, the Hindus were bound to stand by the Musalmans in their demand for the redress of the Khilafat wrong. It would ill become them to bring in the cow question in this connection, or to use the occasion to make terms with the Musalmans, just as it would ill become the Musalmans to offer to stop cow-slaughter as a price for the Hindus support on the Khilafat question. But it would be another matter and quite graceful, and reflect great credit on them if the Musalmans of their own free will to stop cow slaughter out of regard for the religious sentiments of the Hindus, and from a sense of duty towards them as neighbours and children of the same soil. To take up such an independent attitude was, I contended, their duty, and would enhance the dignity of their conduct. But, if the Musalmans considered it as their neighbourly duty to stop cow slaughter, they should do so regardless of whether the Hindus helped them in that Khilafat or not.

I am satisfied that during 1921 more cows were saved by the sole and willing effort of Muslims themselves. In spite of the black clouds hanging over our heads, I refuse to give up the hope that they will disperse and that we heads, I refuse to give up the hope that they will disperse and that we shall have communal peace in this unhappy land. If I am asked for proof I must answer that my hope is based on faith and faith demands no proof.

The late Maulana Abdul Bari used to say that, if the Hindus helped the Muslims to save the Khilafat, the Muslims were bound to save the cow for the sake of the Hindus.

I claim that, without the assistance of law, but because of my being able to cultivate friendship with the Muslims of India during the Khilafat days, I have been instrumental in saving more cows from the butcher's knife than any other individual.

Cow-Protection and Hinduism

Cow-protection is the dearest possession of the Hindu and heart. It is the one concrete belief common to all Hindus. No one who does not believe in cow-protection can possibly be a Hindu. It is a noble belief Cow-worship means to me worship of innocence. For me, the cow is the personification of innocence. Cow-protection means the protection of the weak and the helpless. Cow protection means brother hood between man and beast. It is a noble sentiment that must grow by patient toil and tapasya. It cannot be imposed upon anyone. To carry cow-protection at the point of the sword is a contradiction in terms. Rishis of old are said to have performed penance for the sake of the cow. Let us follow in the footsteps of the Rishis, and ourselves do penance, so that we may be pure enough to protect the cow and all that the doctrine means and implies.

Central Fact

The central fact of Hinduism is cow-protection. Cow-protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow to me means the entire sub-human world. Man, through the cow, is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives.

Why the cow was selected for apotheosis is obvious to me. The cow was, in India, the best companion. She was the giver of the plenty. Not only did she give milk, but she also made agriculture possible. The cow is as poem of pity. One reads pity in the gentle animal. She is the mother to millions of Indian mankind.

Protection of the cow means protection of the whole dumb creation of God. The appeal of the lower order is all the more forcible because it is speechless. Cow -protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow. Hindus are enjoined to protect the cow by their tapasya, by self-purification, by self-sacrifice.

By every act of cruelty to our cattle, we disown God and Hinduism. Hindus will be judged not by their tilaks, not mean merely the Indian cow, but the cow all the world over. My religion teaches me that I should by my personal conduct instill into the minds of those who might hold different views, the conviction that cow-killing is a sin and that, therefore, it ought to be abandoned. My ambition is no less than to see the principle of

cow-protection established throughout the world. But that requires that I should set my own house thoroughly in order first.

Cow-protection to me is infinitely more than mere protection of the cow. The cow is merely a type for all that lives. Cow-protection means protection of the weak, the helpless, the dumb and the deaf. Man becomes then not the Lord and master of all creation but he is its servant. The cow to me is a sermon on pity. So far we are merely playing at cow-protection. But we shall soon have to grapple with reality.

There are serious ignorance about the place of the cow in Hinduism and in the economy of Indian life.

The purport (of a letter from a Muslim who describes himself as a sufi,) is that, in his opinion, there is nothing common between Hinduism and Islam and that the two cannot be as if they are one. For, he argues that Hinduism do not believe in high and low, whereas Islam is a brotherhood in which there is no hierarchy and which believes in one God as Allah. In this there is a caricature of Hinduism. There is no Hindu who puts animals, the cow and the goat, before man. But I submit that if anyone like me believes himself to be the lowest in God's creation, there is nothing wrong. It is a sign of true humility.

Not by Violence

I believe myself to be an orthodox Hindu and it is my conviction that no one who scrupulously practices the Hindu religion may kill a cow-killer to protect the cow.

I would not kill a human being for protection a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious.

The cow question is a big question, the greatest for a Hindu. I yield to no one in my regard for the cow. Hindus do not fulfill their trust so long as they do not possess the ability to protect the cow. That, ability can be derived either from body force or soul force. To attempt cow-protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow-protection.

The Hindus must scrupulously refrain from using any violence against Musalmans. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul-force. I have heard that, at big fairs, if a Musalman is found in possession of cows or even goats, he is at times forcibly dispossessed. Those who, claiming to be Hindus, thus resort to violence, are enemies of the cow and of Hinduism.

I make bold to assert without fear of contradiction, that it is not Hinduism to kill a fellowman even to save the cow.

To nurse enmity against the Musalman, for the sake of saving the cow, is a sure way to kill the cow and is doubly sinful. Hinduism will not be destroyed by a Hindu killing a cow. The Hindu's religion consists in saving the cow, but it can never be his religion to save the cow by a resort to force towards a non-Hindu.

What profit would it be if I succeed in saving a few cows from death by using force against persons who do not regard cow-killing as sinful?

And if a Musalman thinks that he must slaughter the cow, why would a Hindu stay his hands by force? Why should he not fall on banded knees before him and plead with him? But we will do no such thing. Well then, God will one day make the Musalmans and the Hindu do what we will not do today. If you are believers, I beseech you to retire into yourselves and pray to the Indweller to stay your hands from wrong and to make them do the right thing. Let that be our prayer every morning and evening. There is no other way.

Not by Law

There is nothing strange about all the Shikarpur Hindus having voted unanimously in favour of the prohibition of cow-slaughter. Is there is a Hindu who will not vote for it? The use of that unanimous opinion for bearing down Musalman opposition is the way to stiffen it. The Hindu members must have known, must have ascertained, Musalman feeling. And they should have refrained from going to a division, so long as Musalman opinion was against them.

The Musalman claim that Islam permits them to kill the cow. To make a Musalman, therefore, to abstain from cow-killing under compulsion, would amount in my opinion to converting him to Hinduism by force. Even in India under Swaraj, in my opinion, it would be unwise and improper for a Hindu majority to coerce by legislation a Musalman minority into submission to statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter.

Nevertheless, a large number of vocal Hindus have begun to believe 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 do dispel the ignorance.

Rajendra Babu has told me that he has received about 50,000 post cards, 30,000 letters and thousands of telegrams asking for prohibition of cow-slaughter in the Union of India. A telegram was received today saying that a Pandit has undertaken a fast in Kanpur on that issue, Hindu religion prohibits cow-slaughter for the Hindus, not for the world. Religious prohibition comes from within. Any imposition from without means compulsion. Such compulsion is repugnant to religion. India is the land not only of the Hindus but also of the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews and all who claim to be of India and are loyal to the Union. If they can prohibit cow-slaughter in India on religious grounds, why cannot the Pakistan Government prohibit, say, idol worship in Pakistan on similar grounds? I am not in temple goer, but if I am prohibited from going to a temple in Pakistan, I shall make it appoint to go there even at the risk of losing to a temple in Pakistan, I shall make it a point to go there even at the risk of losing my head. Just as Shariat cannot be imposed on the non-Hindus.

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

The complaint of one writer is why, when slaughter of pigs is prohibited in Pakistan, cow-slaughter cannot be prohibited in the Union? I have no knowledge of legal prohibition of the slaughter of pigs in Pakistan. If the information given by the complainant is true, I am sorry. I know that use of pork for food is prohibited in Islamic law. But even so. I cannot justify the prohibition of the use of pork by those other than Muslims.

By Conversion

The conversion of only one party is enough because the solution requires no bargains. For instance, the Hindus should cease to worry the Musalmans about the cow without expecting any consideration from the latter. They should yield to the Musalman demand whatever it may be regarding representation, again without requiring any return. And if the Musalmans insist on stopping the Hindu music or arati by force, the Hindus will continue playing it although every single Hindu should die at his post without retaliation. The Musalmans will then be shamed into doing the right thing in an incredibly short space of time.

I have up to now confined myself to giving general advice. Maulana Hasrat Mohani told me that the Musalmans ought to protect the cow for the sake of Hindus, and Hindus should cease to regard the Musalmans as untouchables, as he said they are regarded in North India. I told him: I will not bargain with you in this matter. If the Musalmans think it their duty to protect the cow for the sake of Hindus, they may do so irrespective of how the Hindus behave towards them. I think it a sin for a Hindu to look upon a Musalman as an untouchable, and the Hindu ought not to do so, irrespective of a Musalman killing or sparing the cow. The Musalman ought to be no more untouchable to Hindu than a Hindu any of the four castes is to one of the other. I regard these things as axiomatic. If Hinduism teaches hatred of Islam or of non-Hindus it is doomed to destruction. Each community should then put its house in order without bargaining with each other.

I am anxious to establish the best neighbourly relations with the Musalmans. I scrupulously avoid doing anything that might hurt their feelings. I even try to respect their prejudices. But I do this not in a spirit of bargain, I ask them for no reward. For that I look to God only. My Gita tells me that evil can never result from a good action. Therefore, I must help the Musalmans from a pure sense of duty without making any terms with them. For more cows are killed today for the sake of Englishmen in India than for Musalmans. I want to convert the former also. I would like to convince them that, whilst they are in our midst, their duty lies in getting rid of their Western culture to the extent that it comes in conflict with ours.

Voluntary Self-denial by Muslims

Professor Vaswani has unfurled the banner of the cow's freedom. The danger has come sooner than I had expected. I had hoped that it would come when India could regard it with equanimity. In my humble opinion, Professor Vaswani might have started the movement under better auspices. Any movement started by Hindus for protecting the cow, without whole-hearted Musalman co-operation, is doomed to failure.

It must be an article of faith for every Hindu that the cow can only be saved by Musalman friendship. Let us recognize frankly that complete protection of the cow depends purely upon Musalman good will. It is as impossible to bend the Musalmans to our will as it would be for them to bend us to theirs. We are evolving the doctrine of equal free partnership. We are fighting Dyerism the doctrine of frightfulness.

The only effective and honourable way is to befriend the Musalmans and leave it to their honour to save the cow.

It would rebound to the credit of Hinduism, if stopping of cow-slaughter was brought about not by force, but as a deliberate voluntary act of self denial on the part of Musalmans and others. I would therefore, deem it unpatriotic even to nurse a dream of Hindu Raj.

I know what would spare the Hindu's voluntary stoppage of cow-slaughter by Musalmans whether for sacrifice or for food. The Hindu dharma will not be satisfied if some tyrant secured by force of arms immunity of the cow from the slaughter. Islam in India cannot make a better gift to the Hindus than this voluntary self-denial. And I know enough of Islam to be able to assert that Islam does not compel cow-slaughter and it does compel its followers to spare and respect to the full the feelings of their neighbours whenever it is humanly possible.

5

COMMUNAL SLOGANS

CRIS OF Vande Mataram, Jai Bharat or Jai Hind frighten the Musalmans today. Are they shouts of Bharat Ki Jai (Victory of India) going to mean MUalman ki Kshay (destruction for Musalmans)? It is a matter of shame that thing have been brought to such a pass.

I am glad too that Shaheed Saheb suggested the revival of the slogan 'Hindu Muslim Ki Jai', for it was started during the palmy Khilafat days. I recall the memory of the old days when a Muslim fellow prisoner used to sing Iqbal's sare jahanse achchha (Better than the entire world). I use to have it sung equally when I heard it sung with equal sweetness and force. The words of the poem are as sweet as the tune. And among us what can be sweeter than that religion never teaches mutual hatred?

ALLAH O AKBAR

I HOLD THAT IT (the cry of Allah-O-Akbar) is probably a cry than which a greater one has not been produced by the world. It is a soul-stirring religious cry which means, God only is great. There is nobility in the meaning. Does it become objectionable because it is Arabic? I admit that it has, in India, a questionable association. It often terrifies the Hindus because, sometimes, the Muslims in anger come out of the mosques with this cry on their lips to belabour the Hindus. I confess that the original had no such association. So far as I know, the cry has no such association in other part of the world. If, therefore, there is to be a lasting friendship between the two, the Hindus should have no hesitation in uttering

the cry together with their Muslim friends. God is known by many names and has many attributes. Rama, Rahim, Krishna, Karim, are all names of the one God. Sat Shri Akal (God is True) is an equally potent cry. Should a single Muslim or Hindu hesitate to utter it? It means that God is and nothing else is. The Ramadhun has the same virtue.

Vande Mataram

I now come to Vande Mataram. That is no religious cry. It is a purely political cry. The Congress had to examine it. A reference was made Gurudev about it. And both Hindus and Muslim members of the Congress Working Committee had to come to the conclusion that its opening lines are free from any possible objection. I plead that it should be sung together by all on due occasion. It should never be a chant to insult or offend the Muslims. It is to be remembered that it is the cry that had fired political Bengal. Many Bengalis have given up their lives for political freedom with that cry on their lips. Though, therefore, I feel strongly about Vande Matram as an ode to mother India, I advice my League friends to refer the matter to the league High Command. I will be surprised if in view of the growing friendliness between the Hindus and the Muslim, the league High Command objects to the prescribed lines of the Vande Matram, the national song, and the national cry of Bengal which sustained her when the rest India was almost asleep and which is, so far as I am aware, acclaimed by both the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal. No doubt, every act must be purely voluntary on the part of either partner. Nothing can be imposed in true friendship.

IV. THE CAUSES OF COMMUNIAL RIOTS

1

SPECIAL CAUSES

I THINK I have examined all the causes, both original and continuing of the tension between the two communities.

The Shuddhi movement.

The most potent cause being tiredness of non-violence and the fear that the communities might, by along course of training in non-violence forget the law of retaliation and self-defence.

Musalman cow-slaughter and Hindu music.

Hindu cowardice and consequent Hindu distrust of Musalmans.

Musalmans bullying.

Musalman distrust of Hindu Fairplay.

PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR

There is no doubt in my mind that in the majority of quarrels the Hindus come out second best. My own experience but confirms the opinion that the Musalman as a rule is a bully, and the Hindu as rule is a coward. I have noticed this in railways trains, on public roads, and in the quarrels which I have had the privilege of settling. Need the Hindu blame the Musalman for his cowardice?

Quarrels must break out so long as the Hindus continue to be seized with fear. Bullies are always to be found where there are cowards. The Hindus must understand no one can afford them protection if they go on hugging fear.

Running away for fear of death, leaving one's dear ones, temples or music to take care of themselves, is irreligion; it is cowardice. It is not manly, it is unmanly. Non-violence is the virtue of the manly. The coward is innocent of it.

The remedy against cowardice is not physical culture but the braving of dangers. So long as the parents of the a middle class Hindus, themselves timid, continue to transmit their timidity by keeping their grown-up children in cotton wool, so long will there be the desire to shun danger and run no risks. They will have to dare to leave their children alone. Let them run risks and even at times get killed in so doing. The puniest individual may have a stout heart. The most muscular Zulus cower before English lads. Each village has to find out its stout hearts.

Cure of Cowardice

It is common cause between the correspondent and myself that the average Hindu is a coward. How is he to be turned into a brave man? Is he to become brave by muscular development or by developing the bravery of the soul? My correspondent says, 'The world has no place for the weak'. He means, I imagine, 'physically weak'. If so, the proposition is unsound. There are many animals physically stronger than man and yet man lives. Many muscular races have died out and some of them are even now in the process of dying out. the proposition should therefore be, so far as man is concerned, 'The world has no place for the weak in spirit'.

Non-violence Vs. Violence

Fear of man argues want in faith in god. Only he trusts to his physical strength who has no faith or very little faith in God's omnipresence. The Hindu must cultivate either of these two faiths in God, or faith in one's physical might. If he does neither, it will spell the ruin of the community.

The first, viz, reliance on God and shaking off the fear of man, is the way of non-violence and is the best way.

The second, viz, reliance on one's physical might, is the way of violence. Both have a place in the world. It is open to us to choose either. One man can not try both at the same time, if all the Hindus and Musalmans both elect the way of violence, we had better cease

to talk of winning Swaraj in the immediate future. Armed peace means not a little fighting that will end with the breaking of a few heads or of a dozen temples. It must mean prolonged fighting and rivers of blood.

Cowardice Behind Riots

These cases (of cowardice) have nothing to do with the inveterate enmity between the Hindus and Musalmans. Where there are fools there are bound to be knaves, where there are cowards there are bound to be bullies, whether they are Hindus or Musalmans. Such cases used to happen even before the outbreak of these communal hostilities. The question here therefore is not how to teach one of the two communities a lesson or how to humanize it, but how to teach a coward to be brave.

If the thinking sections of both the communities realize the cowardice and folly at the back of the hostilities, we can easily end them. Both have to be brave, both have to be wise. If both or either deliberately get wise, theirs will be the way of non-violence. If both fight and learn wisdom only by bitter experience, the way will be one of violence. Either way there is no room for cowards in the society of men, i.e., in a society which loves freedom. Swaraj is not for cowards.

Cowardice should no place in the national dictionary.

Fearlessness

According to the teaching of the Gita, the first requisite for spiritual conduct is fearlessness. I want you to make a firm resolve to shed all fear. Without fearlessness all other virtues are turned into dust. Attainment of truth or non-violence is impossible without fearlessness.

Fearlessness does not mean arrogance or aggressiveness. This in itself is assign of fear. Fearlessness presupposes calmness and peace of mind. For this it is necessary to have a living faith in God.

It is shame to both the Hindus and Musalmans that the Hindus should have to run away from their homes as they have done. It is a shame for the Muslims because it is out of fear of the Muslims that the Hindus have run away. Why should a human being inspire another with fear? It is no less a shame for the Hindus to have given way to craven fear. I have always said that man should fear none but God.

The verses of the Shrimad Bhagwadgita describe the characteristics of one who attained knowledge and brought his senses under full control. The lesson of Bhagwadgita is meant not for those who have for-saken the world, but for every householder, irrespective of his birth and state. Everybody's duty should be to attain the state described therein, and this can only be done if life is built rock of fearlessness.

Anatomy of Fear

Fear is thing which I dislike; why should one man be afraid of another? Man should stain in fear of god alone, and then he can shed all other fears.

The more I go about in these parts, the more I find that your worst enemy is fear. It eats into the vitals of the terror stricken as well as the terrorist. the latter fears something in his victim. It may be his different religion or his riches he fears. The second kind of fear is otherwise known as greed. If you search enough, you will find that greed is a variety of fear. But there has never been and will never be a man who is able to intimidate one who has cast out fear from his heart. Why can no one intimidate the fearless? You will find that God is always by the side of his fearless. Therefore, we should fear Him alone and seek His protection. All other fears will then by itself disappear. Till fearlessness is cultivated by the people there will never be any peace in these parts for the Hindus, or for the Musalmans.

In it writing by a Musalman) the writer has rightly contended that a man of God is never afraid to die or to lose his possessions for the sake of his self-respect or religion. God has given us life and can take it away. That teaching is universal and applied to all, Hindu as well a s Musalman. Those who have in God their sole refuge cast all fear. Then there can be lasting friendship between the two. I have been trying all these days to din this lesson into the ears of my listeners. There was a time when Musalmans Also I listened to me, but now things seem to have changed and even among Hindus there are not many who will follow my advice. But I feel sure, lasting peace can come only when men of whatever community refuse to surrender to any fear save the holy fear of God.

Only when the Hindus and Muslims shed their fear and mutual suspicion can real unity of heart come. There should not be any cause for hostility because their hearts are one.

Atmosphere of Hatred

The fact is that when blood boils, prejudice reigns supreme; man, whether he labels himself a Hindu, Musalman, Christian or what not, becomes a beast and acts as such.

I would like to observe the laws of the game. Just as there is such a thing as honour among thieves, there should surely be honour between combatants. One hears so often of children and old men being butchered, women being outraged. If men must become beasts, there might even then be some decency observed.

The recent happenings are due. I am sure, to the atmosphere of hate that pervades the land today. If we remain calm in the midst of the storm, then only will we grow in strength.

It grieves me to sense the existing hatred and spirit of revenge. I warn you that unless you calm and purify your hearts, you will light such a fire throughout the land as will consume us all. I remind you of the story of the Mahabharata which is not a history of India but of man. It is the story of fight between the worshippers of Rama, the embodiment of good, and Ravan, the embodiment of evil. they fought the Pandavas and the Kauravas blood brothers, and what was the result? While evil was certainly defeated, only seven of the evictors remained to tell the tale. This is the state of the country today.

3

DISTRUST

IN MANY places we see that each community harbours distrust against the other. Each fears the other. It is an undoubted fact that this anomalous and wretched state things is improving day to day. The time spirit is ceaselessly working on unchecked, and willy-nilly we have to live together.

I know that there is much, too much distrust of one another as yet. Many Hindus distrust Musalman's honesty. They believe that Swaraj means Musalman Raj, for they argue that without the British, Musalmans of India will aid Musalman power to build a Musalman empire in India. Musalmans, on the other hand, fear that the Hindus being in an overwhelming majority will smother them. Such an attitude of mind betokens impotence on either's part. If not their desire to live in peace would dictate a policy of mutual trust and mutual forbearance.

There is still too much mutual distrust and consequent fear. I am not disappointed. The progress we have made in that direction is indeed phenomenal. We seem to have covered in eighteen months time to work of a generation. But infinitely more is necessary. Neither the classes nor the masses feel instinctively that our union is necessary as the breath of our nostrils.

Another potent cause of the tension is the growing distrust even among the best of us.

The leaders distrusted one another. Distrust never comes from well-defined causes. A variety of causes, more felt than realized breeds distrust. We have not yet visualized the fact that our interests are identical. Each party seems vaguely to believe that it can displace the other by some kind of maneuvering. But I freely confess that our not knowing the kind of Swaraj we want has also a great deal to do with the distrust used not to think so. I am now a confirmed convert.

I can only guess and my guess (as to the real cause; whether remote or immediate, of the frequent riots and difference between Musalman and Hindus in North India and of their absence or infrequency in south India) is that the two communities quarrel more frequently in the North because they are more equally balanced than in South. Where riots do take place, they occur because both think communally and because either fears or distrusts the other, and because neither has the courage or the foresight to forgo the present for the sake of the future, or the communal interests for the sake of the national.

4

TIREDNESS OF NON-VIOLENCE

THE IMMEDIATE cause is the most dangerous. The thinking portion seems to be tired of non-violence. It has not as yet understood my suspension of Satyagraha after the Ahmedabad and Viramgam tragedies, then after the Bombay rowdyism, and lastly after the Chauri Chaura outrage. The last was the last straw. Thinking men imagined that all

hope of Satyagraha, and therefore of Swaraj, too, in the near future, was at an end. Their faith in non-violence was skin-deep. Two years ago a Musalman friend said to me in all sincerity, "I do not believe your non-violence. At least I would not have my Musalmans to learn it. Violence is the law of life. I would not have Swaraj by non-violence as you define the latter. I must hate my enemy." This friend is an honest man. I entertain great Musalman friend of mine. The report may be untrue, but the reporter himself is not an untrue man.

Nor is this repugnance to non-violence confined to Musalmans. Hindu friends have said the same thing, if possible, with greater vehemence.

What I see around me today is, therefore, a reaction against the spread of non-violence. I feel the wave of violence coming. The Hindu-Muslim tension is an acute phase of this tiredness.

5

PROPAGANDA OF VILIFICATION

Members of one community, when talking about those of the other, at times indulge in terms so vulgar that they but accentuate the strained relations between the two. In Hindu society, we do not hesitate to indulge in unbecoming language when talking of Mahomedans and vice versa.

Fear has become a part of the national character. Non-co-operators will make a serious mistake if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence. They will play into the hands of the Government, if they use the slightest coercion towards anybody in the course of their propaganda.

To what pass some of us have come in our blind zeal for our respective faiths. We refuse to see anything wrong in ourselves. When such becomes the normal state of a majority of people belonging to a particular faith, that faith is dying. For nothing based on a lie can persist for any length of time.

Studies in Distortion

I have before my volumes of Agakhani literature which I have not yet had the time to study carefully, but I am assured that it is a distortion of Hinduism. I have seen enough of it to know that it describes H.H. the Agakhan as a Hindu avatar. It would be interesting to learn what the Agakhan himself thinks of all this literature. I have many Khoja friends. I commend this literature to their attention.

But the worst form is that preached by a gentleman of Delhi, I have read his pamphlet from cover to cover. It gives detailed instructions to preachers how to carry on propaganda. It starts with a lofty proposition that Islam is merely preaching of the unity of God. This grand truth is to be preached, according to the writer by every Musalman irrespective of character. A secret department of spies is advocated whose one business is to be to pry into the privacy of non-Muslim households. Prostitutes, professional singers,

mendicants, government servants, lawyers, doctors, artisans, are pressed in to the service. If this kind of propaganda becomes popular, no Hindu household would be safe from the secret attention of disguised misinterpreters (I cannot call them missionaries) of the great message of the prophet of Islam. I am told by respectable Hindus that this pamphlet is widely read in the Nizam's dominions and that the methods advocated init are extensively practiced there.

As a Hindu, I feel sorry that methods of such doubtful morality should have been seriously advocated by a gentleman who is a well-known Urdu author and has a large circle of readers. My Musalman friends tell me that no respectable Musalman approved of the methods advocated. The point, however, is not what the respectable Musalmans think. The point is whether a considerable number of Musalman masses accept and follow them. A portion of the Punjab press is simply scurrilous. It is at time even filthy. I have gone through the torture of reading many extracts. These sheets are conducted by Arya Samajists or Hindu and Muslaman writers. Each vies with the other in using abusive language and reviling the religion of the opponent. these papers, have, I understand a fairly large circulation. They find place even in-respective reading rooms.

I have heard it said that the Government emissaries are at the back of this campaign of calumny. I hesitate to believe it. But even assuming the truth of it, the public of the Punjab should be able to cope with the growing disgrace.

The language in some parts is simply revolting. I cannot disfigure these pages by reproducing it. I have also been favoured with a life, by a Musalman, of Swami Dayananand. I am sorry to say it is largely a distortion of the great reformer. Nothing that he did has escaped the author's venom.

Role of the Press

The newspaper man becomes a walking plague. He spreads the contagion of lies and calumnies. He exhausts the foul vocabulary of his dialect and injects his virus into the unsuspecting and often receptive, minds of his readers.

The newspaper cutting in which partition is preached describes Hindus as practically untouchable. Nothing good can come out of Hindus or Hinduism. To live under Hindu rules is a sin. Even joint Hindu Muslim rules are not to be thought of. The cuttings show that Hindus and Muslims are already at war with one another and that they must prepare for the final tussle.

League Propaganda

If newspaper reports are to be believed, responsible Ministers in Sindh and other equally responsible Leaguers almost all over are preaching violence in naked language. Nakedness is itself a virtue as distinguished from hypocrisy. But when it is a hymn of obscenity, it is a vice to be shunned, whether it resides in a Leaguer or any other person. Any Muslim who is not in the League is a traitor says one. The Hindu is a Kafir deserving the fate of such, such, says another.

The Muslim League may call Hindus names and declares India to be Dar-ul-Harb, where the law of Jihad operates, and all Muslims who co-operative with the Congress as Quislings fit only to be exterminated. But we must not cease to aspire, in spite of this wild talk, to befriend all Musalmans and hold them fast as prisoners of our love.

By "Muslim" I mean the Muslim League. For, not all the Muslims are Muslims are Muslim Leaguers. The Muslim Leaguers have today raised the slogan that ten crores of Indian Muslims are in danger of being submerged and swept out of existence, unless they constitute themselves into a separate State. I call that slogan scaremongering, pure and simple. It is nonsense to say that any people can permanently crush or swamp out of existence one-fourth of its population, which the Musalmans are in India.

Others said that some Muslim officials are being kept here in order to keep all Muslims in India loyal to Pakistan. Some said that the Muslims looked upon all the Hindus as Kafirs. Learned Muslims have told me that this is wholly incorrect. The Hindus are as much followers of inspired scriptures as the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews.

As Urdu magazine published in the Union a verse to the effect that everyone is taking of the Somnath temple today. But in order to avenge the happenings in Junagadh, a new Gaznavi will have to come from Ghazni. This has deeply hurt me. How can any Muslim worth the name in the Union entertain such thoughts? Why should he not be proud to associate himself with the act of renovation of Somnath? I hope that no true Muslim will be pledged my life of secure safety for the Muslims in the Union. I will not swerve from my pledge, because I believe in returning amongst the Sunni Musalmans. The suspicion or fear of their having set the Hindus and Musalmans by the ears is always entertained, because both have quarreled so often. It is this habit of quarrelling that needs to be abandoned if we want to have Swaraj and retain it.

You may be certain that they (the disturbances) will end. If the British influence were withdrawn, they would end much quicker. While the British influence is here, both parties, I am sorry to confess, look to the British power for assistance.

The British officials should know what the people are whispering. Many believe that their hand is in the riots. I must refuse to believe the serious charge unless it is established beyond doubt.

Our Weakness

It is sign of weakness- not of fitness for Swaraj to go to the foreign ruling power to arbitrate between us or to enforce the peace between us at the point of the bayonet.

Largely, or I should say half and half, I the British attitude towards the communal question is an obstacle in my path. There has been consciously or unconsciously that the policy of divide and rule working here as in India. the British officials have something coquetted with one party, sometimes with another. Of course, if I were a British official, I would probably do the same and take advantage of dissensions to consolidate the rule. Our share of responsibility lies in the fact that we fall easy victims to the game.

Obstacle to Unity

I am firmly of opinion that there is no unity whilst the third party is there to prevent it. It created the artificial division and it keeps it up. In its presence both Hindus and Muslims and, for the matter, all seemingly conflicting or disgruntled interest and elements will look to it for support and will get it. Their interest is greater than the independence of their country. No one need throw my other statement in my face viz., that there is no independence without unity. I do not withdraw a word of it. It is an obvious truth. From its contemplation I have discovered the formula of inviting the British power to withdraw. Their withdrawal does not by itself bring independence. It may induce unity or it may lead to chaos. There is also the risk of another power filling in the vacancy if it is there. If, however, the withdrawal is orderly and voluntary, the British not only gain a moral height but secure the ungrudging friendship of a great nation. I wish all conflicting elements and interest will make a combined effort to rid India of foreign domination. If they do not, any understanding with them will be like a house built on sand.

But it is from the frustration of every effort made to bring about unity by me, among many others, that has arisen the for me logical step that not until British power is wholly withdrawn from India can there be any real unity, because all parties will be looking to the foreign power. For the time being it is British, but it may be French, Russian, Chinese, even then it would be the same thing. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that real heart unity, genuine unity, is almost an impossibility unless and until British power is withdrawn and no other power takes its place, that is to say, when India not only feels but is actually independent without a master in any shape or form, Nevertheless, I shall try and welcome every effort for peace, well knowing that it is likely to be fruitless.

Freedom a Prerequisite

As for communal unity, the third party being removed, unity will follow as day follows night. Unity will not precede but will succeed freedom.

I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them untrust India to Goa or, in modern parlance, to anarchy. Then, all the parties will fight one another like dogs, or will, when real responsibility faces them, come to reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to arise out of that chaos.

Time is a merciless enemy, if it is also a merciful friend and healer. I claim to be amongst the oldest lovers of Hindu-Muslim unity and I remain one even today. I have been asking myself why every whole hearted attempt made by all, including myself, to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely fallen from grace and am described by some Muslim papers as the greatest enemy of Islam in India. It is a phenomenon I can account for only by the fact that the third power, even without deliberately wishing it, will not allow real unity to take place. Therefore, I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the two communities will come together almost immediately after the British power comes to a final end in India. If independence is the immediate goal of the Congress and the League, then without needing to come to any terms, all will fight together to be free from bondage.

National Government

When the bondage is done away with, not merely the two organizations but all parties will find it to their interest to come together and make the fullest use of the liberty in order to evolve a national government suited to the genius of India. I do not care what is called. Whatever it is, in order to be stable, it has to represent the masses in the fullest sense of the term. And, if it is to be broad based upon will of the people, it must be predominantly non-violent. Anyway, up to my last breath, I hope I shall be found working to that end, for I see no hope for humanity without the acceptance of non-violence. We are witnessing the bankruptcy of violence from day to day. There is no hope for humanity of the senseless, fierce, mutual slaughter is to continue.

V.SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF COMMUNIAL RIOTS

1

THE GOONDAS AND RIOTS

Reform

IT IS easy enough to dig out a few criminals from their hiding places and hand them over to the police, but it does not protect society against the repetition of them. It is necessary to remove the causes by undertaking a thorough process to reform. There must arise in Islam as well as in Hinduism men who being comparatively pure in character, would work among such men.

We would not then try to shift blame for ugly happenings on the hooligan elements. We could convert and control the hooligan elements too.

There is not a man, however cruel and hard-hearted, but would give his admiration to a brave man. A goonda is not the vile man he is imagined to be. He is not without his noble traits.

(‘A goonda does not understand reason.) But he understands bravery. If he finds that you are braver than he, he will respect you.

Fight Goondas

What I detest is the match between the goondas of both the parties. Any peace based upon such a trial of strength will turn to bitterness in the end. The way to get rid of the Hindu cowardice is for the educated portion to fight the goondas. We may use sticks and other clean weapons. My Ahimsa will allow the use of them. We shall be killed in the fight. But that will chasten both the Hindus and the Musalmans. That would remove the Hindu cowardice in a moment. As things are going, each party will be the slaves of their own goondas. That means dominance of the military power. England fought for the predominance of the civil power and won and lived. Lord Curzon did much harm to us. But he was certainly brave and right when he stood out for the predominance civil authority. When Rome passed into the hands of the soldiery, it fell.

My whole soul rises against the very idea of the custody of my religion passing into the hands of goondas. Confining myself, therefore, for the present to the Hindus, I must respectfully but earnestly warn the thinking. Hindus against relying upon the assistance of goondas for the protection of their temples, themselves and their wives and children. With the weak bodies they have, they must determined to stand at their post and to die fighting or without fighting. It would have been a glorious death for Jamanlalji and his colleagues, if they had died in the act of securing peace. It will be a glorious death for Dr. Moonje or me, when we defend temples single-handed. That were bravery of the spirit indeed.

The goondas came on the scene because the leaders wanted them.

Goondas do not drop from the sky, nor do they spring from the earth like evil spirits. They are the product of social disorganization, and society is therefore responsible for their existence. In other words, they should be looked upon as a symptom of corruption in our body politic. To remove the disease we must first discover the underlying cause. To find the remedy will then be a comparatively easy task. So far we have not even attempted a proper beginning. But it is never too late to mend. It is enough that we are at last alive to the necessity of it. We have now to follow it up with prompt action. Let everyone who is interested make a prompt beginning in his own neighbourhood.

Moral alibi

I deprecate the habit of procuring moral alibi for ourselves by blaming it all on the goondas. We always put the blame on the goondas. But it is we who are responsible for their creation as well as encouragement. It is therefore not right to say all the wrong that has been done is the work of the goondas.

It would be wrong and misleading to underestimate the trouble by calling it the work of goondas.

It (the habit of taking refuge behind moral alibis by blaming it all on the goondas) is a dangerous expedient.

It is the cowardice or passive sympathy of the average citizen or the "man with the stake" that gives the so-called goondas the power to do the mischief.

2

COMMUNAL CRIME AND TRUTH

Expose Wrong doing

From my earliest childhood I had learnt to dislike the wrong, never the wrong-doer. Therefore, even if the Muslims have done any wrong, they still remain my friends, but it is my duty to tell them that they have done wrong. I have always applied that rule in life with regard to my nearest and dearest. I hold this to be the test of true friendship.

I never said or did anything to please others. I have always taught that one should do one's duty irrespective of the reaction it may have on others. A man who always does what he believes to be right never fears anyone.

As a Satyagrahi, I stand by truth and it will be wrong on my part to hide suspicion or simply nurse a grievance in my heart. I cannot serve the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal without the Chief Ministers help, and I hope this will not be withheld. In the same way, I will not put my Ahimsa in my pocket and not advise the true path of the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab if I am to be their friend.

Why this Secrecy?

I confess that the question (why, when mutual slaughter between brother and brother is going on, should the names of the respective communities be withheld?) has often occurred to me. There seems to me to be no reason for this hush-hush policy save that it is a legacy from the autocracy which, let us hope, the national government have displaced. Those who ought not to know who stabs whom. And those who should know are kept in the dark. I am sure that there are many Hindus and Muslims, and even members of other communities, taking pride in being Indians first and last without ceasing to be devoted followers of their own religions and who love to do their best to dissuade blind fanatics from making mischief. I know many such. They have no means of ascertaining facts except through the Press. Let darkness be exposed to light. It will be dispelled quicker.

How I wish that all those who call themselves the sons of the soil will think well and act bravely a very difficult performance at the moment when newspapers give gruesome details about senseless arson and murder.

It is unfortunate that the Interim Government has inherited a bad tradition and , therefore, we do not know who killed whom. It was a the dead of "the members of a certain community."

Duty of Newspapers

I am sorry that there is poison administered to the public by some newspapers. Newspapers today have almost replaced the Bible, the Koran, the Gita and the other religious scriptures. It is wrong but the fact has to be faced. Such being the case, I hold it to be the duty of news paper men to give nothing but facts to their readers.

I have a suggestion to make to the Dawn and All the newspaper, whatever their hue, that they should avoid all exaggeration. In order to give effect to the suggestion, they should appoint a Joint Board to which all reports about communal trouble would be submitted and even passed on to responsible ministers and, when necessary, given publicity. My suggestion can find favour only if the editors realize their duty to the public and are anxious that a peremptory stop should be put to all communalism. Division having become settled fact, it is surely time that the country is allowed to settle down to the constructive work of feeding and clothing the ill-fed and ill-clad millions. the editors have a weighty part to play in the noble task. To foment trouble is ignoble.

RESTORATION OF PEACE

WAR RESULTS when peace fails. Our efforts must always be directed towards peace. But it must be peace with honour and a fair security for life and property. On these two conditions alone will the refugees return. Of course, if they develop enough courage, they will return without any safeguard. Today I have suggested one Hindu and one Muslim standing surety on none but god and their own strength of spirit for their defence. If they did that, all the goondas in Noakhali will feel the change in the atmosphere and behave decently. I know what I am saying. I come from Khatiawad, a province notorious for its bandits. I know that they are not beyond redemption. Nor do I believe that goondas are responsible for all that has happened.

“No” (They should not have only Muslims on the Peace Committees as the Hindus had played no part in breaking the peace’.) The Hindus must be there to play their part, else the Peace Committees will be a farce.

The reality has to be faced and a determined effort made by everyone of you to root out the least trace of the feeling of hostility and make it possible for your Muslim neighbours to live in brotherly love once more.

Real Penitence

True repentance, with the consequent reparatory action, alone can restore abiding peace between the two sister communities.

Contemplate on what internal strife means to forgive and forget what has happened and to bear to malice in your hearts for all the tragic and bestial happenings of Noakhali, Bihar and Punjab.

The riots are a matter of great shame and sorrow. But the shame of the sin can be turned to good account by adequate repentance. All the religions that I have studied are full of instances proving the maxim; “The greater the sinner the greater the saint.” For the poignancy of the pain, of the guilt enhances the joy that a guiltless life bring with it. I wish that the maxim can be proved true in the reformed life of the people of Hilsa. You will be repaid by physical dirt. Surely the repulsion caused by mental dirt which the insanity of the Hindus of Hilsa meant is much greater than the pain caused by any physical dirt however great. I am wondering how I can awaken genuine repentance in the hearts of the Hindus of Hilsa. It has been suggested to me that, I settled down in Hilsa and went from house to house, I would be able to effect that desired transformation. Although there is truth in the remark, I must own my physical weakness and consequent inability to follow the advice. You are none the better for my confession. I hope, therefore, that my remarks will penetrate the hearts of the large audience and that you will invite Muslim sufferers to return.

Change of Heart After Riots

What does it matter, if you know everything but do not know how to live in brotherliness with your neighbours.

If some people have committed grievous mistakes in their dealings with their neighbours, they should repent and ask their pardon of God. If he granted it but the world did not, even then it did not matter to a man who had learnt to depend on God; such punishment nobly borne serves to elevate a man. In a book of sayings of the Prophet I have found that a man should never leave an error uncorrected. If they did, they will be hauled up on the Day of Judgement and find no favour in the eyes of god.

It is effective substitute for martial law which deals with the symptoms but not with the disease itself. The parties if they bring about peace, will be dealing with the disease.

Peace Committee

The Central Peace Committee should consolidate results so far achieved. They have to see that poor Muslims are rehabilitated, just as the Hindus have to be rehabilitated in the areas from which they have 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 is lacking. For the purpose of rehabilitation, they will have to go into details. Food, shelter and clothing have to be found for the evacuees returning to women co-operate in this manner to consolidate their good feelings, which the parties are to co-operate. For, now that all the parties concerned have come to an agreement with regard to the division of India two Dominions, there is no longer any reason to quarrel and they can join hands in the task of restoring peaceful conditions.

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.

How can real peace be established? You may feel pleased that peace appears to have returned to Delhi. I cannot share the satisfaction. The Hindus and the Muslims have become estranged from one another. They used to fight in the past too. Today they have become so embittered that they feel as if they have been old enemies. I call this feeling weakness. They must shed it. Then alone can they become a great military power, or if they followed my way, they can become a great, non-violent and invincible power. In other case, the first condition is the shedding of all fear.

The only way to get near each other is that each must forget the mistakes of the other party and magnify its own. I recommend it to the Muslims, as, I do to the Hindus and the Sikhs, with all the force at my command. Enemies of yesterday can become friends of

today provided they make a clean breast of their guilt. The policy of tit for tat is not conducive to friendship.

Establishment of Communal Peace

We have to be correct in our behavior irrespective of what others do. I am not unaware of the sufferings of the Hindus and the Sikhs in Pakistan. But knowing that, I want to overlook them. Otherwise, I will go mad. I will not be able to serve India. We are to look upon the Muslims in the Union as our blood-brothers.

Surely, they should feel as safe among us as we ourselves. This cannot happen until we learnt the art of magnifying our own faults and minimizing those of our neighbours. All eyes rest on India, which has become the hope of Asia and Africa, may, of the whole world. If India is to realize the hope, it has to stop the fratricide and all Indians have to live like friends and brothers. Clean hearts are the first condition of this happy state.

I look forward to the day when all enmities will be forgotten and all hatred buried underground, and all those who have been driven away from their hearts and homes will return to them and resume their avocations in perfect security and peace as before. My heart will then dance with joy. I will never give up that hope so long as I live.

Restoration of Mutual Trust

The citizens of Delhi and the refugees have a heavy task in front of them. Let them seek occasions for meeting together as often as possible in perfect mutual trust. It was a soul-stirring sight for me to meet Muslim sisters in large numbers yesterday. Girls in my party told me that the sisters were sitting in Birla House uncertain whether they could come to me. They were in purdah, most of them. I asked them to be brought in and they came. I suggested that they would not have the purdah before their fathers or brothers. Why should they think me less? And off went the purdah without exception. This is not the first time that the purdah has disappeared before me. I mention the incident to illustrate what genuine love, as I claim mine to be, is able to do.

Hindu and Sikh women should go to the Muslim sisters and establish friendship with them. They should invite on ceremonial occasion and be invited. Muslim girls and boys should be attracted to common schools not communal. They should mix in sports.

Not only should there be no boycott of Muslims, but they should be induced to resume their previous occupations. Delhi is poorer for the disappearance of the exquisite workmanship of the Muslims. It is a miserable and miserly thing for the Hindus and the Sikhs to wish to take away from their means of livelihood. On the one hand there should be no monopoly, and on the other, there should be no attempt at deprivation. In this great country of ours there is room for all.

Conditions for Peace

The peace Committees that have been formed must not go to sleep as many committees unfortunately do in all countries in India live at peace with one another, not by force of arms but that of love than which there is no better cement to be found in the world.

All breach of communal peace in any corner of India should make us and our Government hand our heads in shame.

Reparations

All I can say is that not one single case of maltreatment of Muslims by Hindus having been reported to me has remained without investigation by me. This has been my practice since the days of the Khilafat. I have not always succeeded in finding the truth or in giving satisfaction to the aggrieved parties that I had done my best. The Bihar charge is too vague to be answered more fully. If a particular instance were mentioned, I should be able to say what I had done about it. But supposing that I had failed in duty to do justice, supposing further that I did not "feel equally keenly about Hindu injustice to Muslims", would that justify indifference about Bihar? I have said that there is nothing like Bihar in all the previous cases of Hindu-Muslim clashes, assuming of course that the allegations made were true. All I have asked is that full justice and reparation should be made through a tribunal admittedly impartial. My proposal in the case of Bihar should be applicable to all such cases.

I am interested in education of truth, not in the punishment of the guilty. But I am sorry I cannot forgo the suggestion for compensation. Compensation has been asked because it is alleged that the authorities failed to do their duty. The question of compensation has, naturally, to be referred to the proposed tribunal.

VI PERSONAL REACTION TO COMMUNAL RIOTS

1

RELIGION AND RIOTS

JUST AS we do not break one another's heads in respect of civil matters, so may be not do even in respect of religious matters.

The world is watching some with glee and some with sorrow the dogfight that is proceeding in our midst. We have listened to Satan Religion call it by what name you like is made of sterner stuff?

It is unnecessary to discriminate and apportion the blame between the rival practices. Where both are to blame, who can arbitrate with golden scales and fix the exact ratio of blame? It is no part of self-defence to tell lies or exaggerate.

It matters little to me whether the perpetrators of shameful deeds are Hindus or Musalmans. It is enough to know that some of us are blaspheming a patient God and doing inhuman deeds in the sacred name of religion. I know too that neither assassination nor fratricidal acts can possibly save by religion. Religion worth the name can only be saved by purity, humility and fearlessness of the uttermost type among its professors. It is the only Suddhi and only propaganda.

No Sanction for Strife

Poet Iqbal has written the immortal line:

“Religion does not inculcate mutual strife”. Could there be a greater proof of our cowardice than fighting amongst ourselves?

Islam means peace. Hindus claim to follow the path of Ahimsa. They both swear by god, but in practice they follow Satan. The Muslims stabs the innocent Hindu and the Hindu stabs the innocent Muslim.

We are passing through trying times. There is news of stabbing in Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, Bombay and so on. What is more, all this is done in the name of religion. How stabbing and murder of the innocents whether aggressive or retaliatory, can help the cause of religion, I fail to understand. The spirit of religion requires us to make him witness of our littlest of little acts. In Mira's song that has just been sung at the prayer the devotee prays to god to come to his aid and deliver him from distress. For he alone can do so, none else. Let us pray to god then to deliver us from our distress. If our prayer is sincere, we will rely on him entirely and put away the sword. And if even one party does so, violence would cease.

I ask you to consider for yourselves why innocent women and children have been killed. Is it to any religion? No religion teaches anyone to kill his neighbours. What was done is nothing but wanton destruction. I do not stop to think whether it is done from motives of self interest or any other.

The Hindus and the Sikhs by killing and loot and arson are destroying their own religions. I claim to be a student of religions and I know that no religion teaches madness. Islam is no exception.

2

FASTS FOR COMMUNAL PEACE

The way of the Cross

Fasting cannot be undertaken mechanically. It is a powerful thing but a dangerous thing if handled amateurishly. It requires complete self-purification much more than what is required in facing death with retaliation even in mind. One such act of perfect sacrifice would suffice for the whole world. Such is held to be Jesus example.

The idea is that you yourself and assimilate the essence of his sacrifice, symbolically represented by the bread and wine of the Eucharist. A man who was completely innocent offered himself as a sacrifice for the good of others, including his enemies, and became the ransom of the world. It was a perfect act. 'It is finished' were the last words of Jesus, and we have the testimony of his four disciples as to its authenticity.

But whether the Jesus tradition is historically true or not I do not care. To me it is truer than history because I hold it to be possible and it enshrines and eternal law the law of vicarious and innocent suffering taken in its true sense.

Genesis of Fasting

The thought of a 24 hour's fast had come to me one night in a dream. I had consulted Rajaji whose guest I then was in Madras. The idea had appealed to the latter, notices had been issued at once and there had been a widespread and hearty response to the call. I had never dreamt that the country had been so awakened, and by the country I mean not the country had been so awakened, and by the country I mean not the few cities of India but the seven lakhs of villages where the vast mass of Indian humanity lives. I appeal to you to respond to the call once again, but only if you understand its implications. The fast who undertaken in those days for the sake of vindicating Swaraj through Hindu Muslim unity, and the charkha, etc.

Fasting in Hinduism, Islam

Certainly. ('Fasting is prescribed by our religion.') What did the Rishis of old do? It is unthinkable that they ate anything during their penances, in some cases gone through in caves, and for hundreds of years. Parvati who did penance to win Shiva would not touch even the leaves of trees, much less fruit or food. Hinduism is full of penance and prayer.

But I know of this sort of penance even in Islam. In the life of the Prophet, I have read that the Prophet often fasted and prayed, and forbade others to copy him. Some one asked him why he did not allow others to do the thing he himself was doing. 'Because I live on food divine,' He said. He achieved most of his great things by fasting and prayer. I learnt from him that only he can fast who has inexhaustible faith in god. The Prophet had relationships not in moments of ease and luxurious living. He fasted and prayed, kept awake for night s together and would be on his feet at all hours of the night as he received the revelations. Even at this moment I see before me the picture of the Prophet thus fasting and praying.

Purpose of Fast

My religion teaches me to love all equally. May god help me to do so. My fast, is, among other things, meant to qualify me for achieving that equal and self less love.

The object of the previous fasts was limited. The object of this is unlimited, and there is boundless love at the back of it. I am today bathing in that ocean of love.

The penance of the Hindus and Musalmans is not fasting but retracing their steps. It is true penance for a Musalmans to harbor no ill for his Hindu brother, and an equally true penance for a Hindu to harbor none for his Musalman brother.

I ask of no Hindu or Musalman to surrender an iota of his religious principle. Only let him be sure that it is religion. But I do ask of every Hindu and Musalman not to fight for an earthy gain. I should be deeply hurt if my last made wither community surrender on a matter of principle.

But is it right for me to go through the fast under a Musalman roof? Yes, it is. The fast is not born out of ill-will against a single soul. My being under a Musalman roof ensures it against any such interpretation. It is in the fitness of things that this fast should be taken up and completed in a Musalman house.

All I have done, all I am doing, is done in a fully God fearing spirit, and in the house of a God fearing Musalman at that.

Bidding of Inner Voice

Though the Voice within has been beckoning for a long time, I have been shutting my ears to it, lest it may be the voice of Satan, otherwise called my weakness. I never like to feel resource less; a Satyagrahi never should. Fasting is his resort in the place of sword his or other's.

With God as my supreme and sole counselor, I felt that I must take the decision without any other adviser. If I have made a mistake and discover it, I shall have no hesitation in proclaiming it from the housetops and retracing my faulty step. There is little chance of my making such a discovery. If there is clear indication as I claim there is, of the Inner Voice, it will not be gain said.

Potency of the Fast

I do not regard this fast as an ordinary fast. I have undertaken it after deep thought and yet it has sprung not from reasoning but God's will that rules men's reason. It is addressed to no particular section or individual and yet it is addressed equally to all. There is no trace of anger of any kind behind it nor the slightest tinge of impatience. But behind it is the realization that there is a time for everything and an opportunity, once missed never returns. The fast is bid for nothing less.

Yearning for Heart Friendship

I yearn for heart friendship between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. It has subsisted between them the other day. Today it is non-existent. It is a state that no Indian patriot worthy of the name can contemplate with equanimity.

I have no answer to return to the Muslim friends who see me from day to day as to what they should do. My impotence has been gnawing at me of late. It will go immediately the last is undertaken. I have been brooding over it for the last three days. The final conclusion has flashed upon me and it makes me happy. No man if he is pure has anything more precious to give than his life. I hope and pray that I have that purity in me to justify the step.

A pure fast, like duty, is its own reward. I do not embark upon it for the sake of the result it may bring. I do so because I must. Hence, I urge everybody dispassionately to examine the purpose and let me die, if I must, in peace which I hope is ensured. Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam. That destruction is certain if Pakistan ensures no equality of status and security of the life and property for all professing the

various faiths of the world and if India copies her. Only, then Islam dies in the two India's, not in the world. But Hinduism and Sikhism have no world outside India.

VII COMMUNAL RELATIONS IN FREE INDIA

1

EQUALITY OF ALL

Oneness of Man

I BELIEVE in absolute oneness of God and, therefore, also of humanity. What though we have many bodies? We have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction. But they have the same source. I cannot therefore detach myself from the wickedest soul (nor may I be denied identity with the most virtuous). Whether, therefore, I will or no, I must involve in my experiment the whole of my kind. Nor can I do without experiment. Life is but an endless series of experiments.

Break through the crust of limitation and India becomes one family. If all limitations vanish, the whole world becomes one family, which it really is. Not to cross these bars is to become callous to all fine feelings which make a man.

No religious Divisions

If a free India is to live at peace with herself, religious division must entirely give place to political division based on considerations other than religious. Even as it is, though unfortunately religious differences loom large, most parties contain members drawn from various sects.

No Privileged Class

No privileges should be given to anyone in the new India. It is the poor and neglected and down trodden and weak that should be our special care and attention. A Brahmana should not grudge if more money is spent on the uplift of the Harijans. At the same time, a Brahmana may not be done down simply because he is a Brahmana. In fact, the Brahmana are a very small minority. There must be pure and undefiled justice for everyone in both Pakistan and Hindustan.

It is the duty of every citizen to treat the lowliest on a par with the others.

Regard for Lowliest

What should we do then? If we would see our dream of Panchayat Raj, i.e. true democracy realized, we would regard the humblest and lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. This presupposes that all are pure or will become pure if they are not. And purity must go hand in hand with wisdom. No one would then harbor any distinction between community and community, caste and out-caste. Everybody would regard all as equal with oneself and hold them together in the silken net of love. No one would regard another as untouchable. We would hold as equal the toiling labourer and the

rich capitalist. Everybody would know how to earn and honest living by the sweat of one's brow and make no distinction between intellectual and physical labour. To hasten this consummation, we would voluntarily turn ourselves into scavengers. No one who has wisdom will ever touch opium, Liquor or any intoxicants. Everybody would observe Swadeshi as the rule of life and regard every woman, not being his heart. He will be ready to lay down his life when occasion demands it, never want to take another's life.

2

STATUS OF MUSLIM MINORITY

Loyalty to Union

(DO) NOT see evil everywhere. All Muslims are not bad just as all Hindus are not bad. It is generally the impure who see impurity in others. It is your duty to see the best and have no fear.

I appeal to the Sikhs; the Hindus and the Muslims to forget the past, not to dwell on their sufferings but to extend the right hand of fellowship to each other and determine to live at peace with each other. Muslims must be proud to belong to the Indian Union, they must salute the tri-colour. If they are loyal to their religion, no Hindu can be their enemy. Similarly, the Hindus and the Sikhs must welcome peace loving Muslims in their midst.

I am free to confess that I shall lose all interest in life if Muslims who have produced such men cannot live with perfect safety in the Union. It is suggested to me that the Muslims are all fifth columnists in the Union. I decline to believe in this sweeping condemnation. There are four and a four and a half crores of Muslims in the Union. If they are all so bad, they will dig the grave of Islam. Quaid-i-Azam has asked the Muslims of the Union to be loyal to it. Let people trust their Government to deal with traitors. They must not take the law into their own hands.

Some said to me that every Muslim in the Indian Union is loyal to Pakistan and not to India. I would deny the charge. Muslim after Muslim has come and said the country to me. In any event, the majority here need not be frightened of the minority.

As for traitors, if there are any, then can always be dealt, with by the law. Traitors are always shot, as happened in the case even of Mr. Amery's son, though I admit that that is not my law.

Surely, it is cowardly on the part of the majority to kill or banish the minority for fear that they will all be traitors.

If the Muslims prove traitors, their treachery will kill them. It is the biggest offence in any state. No state can harbor traitors, but it is unbecoming to turn out men on suspicion.

All Muslims cannot be traitors. Those who prove traitors will be dealt with severely by the Government.

There can be no two opinions that those who wish to live in the Union must be loyal to the Union whatever may be their faith and they should surrender unlicensed arms unsolicited. A third condition is to leave the execution of the conditions mentioned by me to the government.

A Friend has told me that he found a Muslim trader who had proper scales and a Hindu one who had improper scales and asked me whether it is not sure that the Muslim traders are honest and the Hindu traders dishonest. I am sure that the inference is wrong. In this imperfect world no community is wholly honest or dishonest. All I can say is that a man who sports false scales for deceiving his customers is a criminal. But I cannot take it upon myself to condemn the whole group or community.

No wholesale Condemnation

To liken a human being, however degraded he may be to a snake to justify in human treatment is surely a degrading performance. To damn crores in human beings for the faults of a few or many belonging to particular faiths seems to me to be the height of madness. The correspondent should also remember that I have known rabidly 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 the snake kind, correct the common error by saying that eighty snakes out of every hundred are perfectly harmless and they render useful service in nature.

(A telegram had) said that 98% of the Muslims are traitors and will betray India in favour of Pakistan at a given moment. I do not believe it. The Muslim masses & the villages cannot be treacherous. Supposing that they are, they will destroy Islam. If the charge can be proved, the Government will deal with them.

Is there any ground for the suspicion that the Muslims do not regard India as their country? They live in the midst of the Hindus because they cannot help it, but one day they have to Part Company. I hope that this suspicion is baseless. Similarly, if there is a Hindu who regards the Muslims as Yavanas or Asuras incapable of realizing god, he is guilty of the worst blasphemy which can possibly have no room in the covenant which they have signed.

I do not regard all the Musalmans of India to be innocent. What is obvious is that after the birth of Pakistan, the Muslims in the Indian Union have been placed in a very difficult situation and it is up to the majority community to mete out exact justice to them. It would spell the ruin of both Hindu religion and the majority community, if the latter, in the intoxication of power entertains the belief that it can crush the minority community and establish a purely Hindu Raj. I consider the present occasion to be particularly auspicious for purging out of the dross from the hearts of both the communities by a strenuous effort at self-purification.

Befriend Muslims

We should forget the past and learn the duty of having friendly feelings towards all and being inimical to none. The crores of Muslims are not all angles nor are all the Hindus and the Sikhs. There are good and bad specimens among all communities. World we be less than friendly towards the so-called criminal tribes amongst us?

Muslims are a numerous community scattered all over the world. There is no reason why we, who stands for friendship with the whole world, should not be friends with the Muslims. I am not a fortune teller, but God has given me intellect and understanding enough to know that, if for some reason or other we cannot be friends with the Muslims of the Union, the Muslims of the whole world will be antagonized will lose India. Then, India, including both the dominions, will once again pass under foreign domination.

No Exodus

Even if I am the only one to say it, I will never advise the Muslims to leave their homes. If they live as abiding, honest and loyal citizens of India, no one can touch them. I am not in Government, but I have influence with those in the Government. I have had long talks with them. They do not believe that in India the Muslims have no place or that if the Muslims wished to stay there they have to do so as slaves of the Hindus. Some people have said that Sardar Patel encouraged in idea of Muslims going away to Pakistan. The Sardar is indignant at the suggestion. But he told me that he has reasons to suspect that the vast majority of the Muslims of India are not loyal to India. For such people it is better to go to Pakistan. But the Sardar does not let his suspicion colour his action. I am convinced that for the Muslims who wish to be citizens of the Indian Union, loyalty to the Union must come before everything else and that they should be prepared to fight against the whole world for their country. Those who wish to go to Pakistan are free to do so. Only I do not wish a single Muslim to leave the Union out of the fear of the Hindus or the Sikhs. Muslims in Delhi have assured me by their written declaration that they are loyal citizens of the Union. I shall believe their word as I wish others to believe me. As such, it is the duty of the Government to protect them. I for one shall not like to live if I cannot achieve this. The wrong has to be undone wherever it is. Abducted women have to be returned, forcible conversions considered null and void.

Let this auspicious day mark the beginning of a new chapter in your life. Let the disgrace of driving out the Muslims from Delhi cease from today. I found to my shame that as our motor car was passing through Chandni Chowk, which used to be filled with Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, there was not a single Muslims passed by. Surely we have not come to such a pass as to be afraid of the minority of the Muslims scattered throughout the Indian Union. If there are any traitors in their midst, our Government is strong enough to deal with them. We must be ashamed of hurting children, women or old men. Everyman must be considered innocent before he is found guilty by a properly constituted court of law. I fervently hope that such misdeeds will become now a thing of the past.

I have been told that the Meos are almost like criminal tribes. If the statement is correct, it calls for an all out effort on their part to reform themselves. It should not be left to others to do the work of reclamation. I hope that the Meos will not resent my advice, but

take it in the spirit in which it is offered. To the Government I would say that, even if the allegation regarding the Meos is correct, this is no argument for sending them out into Pakistan. The Meos are subjects of the Indian Union and it is its duty to help them to reclaim themselves by providing them with facilities of education and establishing settlements for them to settle in.

Common Cause With Minorities

That the Muslim in India find themselves in a minority without protection from the majority in Pakistan is no disadvantage if they at all followed the technique of non-violence during the past thirty years. It was not necessary for them to have faith in non-violence to be able to appreciate the fact that a minority, however small it might be, never has any cause for fear as to the preservation of their honour and all that must be near and dear to man. He is so made that if he understand his Maker and himself as made in His image, no power on earth could rob him of self-respect except he himself. A dear English friend in Johannesburg while I was fighting the mighty Government of the Transvaal, told me that he always made common cause with minorities. For, he said they were hardly even in the wrong and if they were, they could be weaned from it without difficulty, whereas majorities could not, owing to the intoxication that power gave them. The friend has uttered a great truth, if by majority we would also understand the power that exclusive possession of weapons of destruction gave an aggregate of men. We know to our cost that a handful of Englishmen were able to be the majority, keeping under their heels millions of Indians by possession of arms which India did not have and could not know how to wield even if she had. It is thousand pities that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims learnt the lesson whilst the English power was in operation in our country. The whilst they were falsely proud of the Muslim majority in the West and the East. If they could realize the virtue of being in a minority, know that they could now express in their own lives the best that is an Islam. Will they remember that Islam gave its best during the Prophet's ministry in Mecca? Christianity waned when Constantine came to it. But I must not here carry this argument further. My advice is based upon implicit belief in it. Therefore, if my Muslim friends do not share the belief, they will perhaps do well to reject the advice.

Nationalist Muslims

The Nationalists are not worth the proud name they bear if they fear the Muslim league. Can the Nationalists exclude the followers of the League from the sphere of the Muslims as Indians, the same as others needing their care and attention.

The Nationalist Muslims, who are good enough to see me, twit me for giving importance and life to the Muslim League and neglecting the Nationalist Muslims. I cannot plead guilty to either charge. The league has gained importance without my or the congress aid. It became great because, rightly or wrongly it caught Muslim fancy. The congress and I have to deal with and recognize the fact that faces us. I am not sorry for having visited Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah eighteen times in Bombay. My friends should also know that I alone can have done nothing without Shaheed Saheb and Osman Saheb and the other League members. There is no question of neglect of the Nationalist Muslims. Nationalism of a man is its own merit. It demands no recognition. I would advise my friends to remain what they are and

exhibit in their every act courage, self-sacrifice and true knowledge born of study, and I am certain that whether they are few or many, they will make their mark on India's future. I would even advise them to join the League and oppose it from within, whenever they find it to be reactionary. Whilst I say all this, I would advise my League friends to approach the Nationalist Muslims in a friendly spirit, whether they remain out or come in. True friendship does not admit of exclusion without the soundest reason.

I am not guilty of asking you to discard nationalism or expecting the Congress to be another Hindu Sabha. I hope that the Congress will never commit suicide by being a communal organization. When the Congress ceases to represent all who are proud to call themselves Indians, whether prince or pauper, Hindus, Muslims or any other, it will have destroyed itself. Therefore, I cannot advise a Muslim congressman to join the League if the conditions of joining the League are to discard or suppress his Congress membership. He will vote for those resolutions of the League which are in the nation's interest and against those which are contrary to neither in the Congress nor in the League. I advise the Nationalist Muslim friends to join the League, if they want to affect the Muslim masses. Real nationalists need no encouragement from me or anything else. Nationalism, like virtue, is its own reward. My one warning is that they should never think of power or bettering their worldly prospects by joining the one or the other organization. A nationalist will ever think of service, never of power or riches. It is, I hope, clear to the Nationalist Muslims under what conditions I advise them to join the League.

Under a responsible Government, which ours is, services and favours I can expect only from the Ministers who are the representatives of the people. The Governor has undoubtedly powers with reference to the minorities but these too he can exercise only with great restraint.

Communalism in the Services

Are the services 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 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.

Many Muslims, principally from the postal and railway departments, say that they had opted for the sake of propaganda. Therefore, they would now like to reconsider their view. There are Muslims who have been discharged from their posts I presume, on the ground of suspected anti-Hindu bias. My sympathy goes out to all such men. But I feel that the right course is not to resent pardonable suspicion, although it may be unjustified in individual cases. I can only prescribe my old, well tried remedy.

Only very few can be accommodated in the various Government departments. to get a Government job should never be the aim of life. Honest living is the only worthy aim. This is always assured when and if one is ready to do any labour that comes to hand. Until the

dominating and corroding communal poison is eliminated. I think it is necessary and dignified for Muslims not to aim at the loaves and fishes in Government employ. Power comes from sincere service. Actual attainment often debases the holder. To fight for it is unseemly. At the same time, it is surely the duty of a government to ensure bread labour for all unemployed men and women, no matter how a many they are. To do so intelligently pays the State instead of costing it, assuming, of course, that the unemployed are physically fit and are not shirkers but willing workers.

3

SECULAR STATE

Challenge to Hinduism

THE HINDUS want Swaraj in India, and not a Hindu Raj. Even if there is a Hindu raj, and toleration one of its features, there will be place in it for the Musalmans as well as the Christians.

Undoubtedly, there should be no untouchability what so ever in Hinduism, no scheduled classes, therefore, in India, no caste divisions whatsoever in the eyes of law. Hindus are all one, no high or low. All the neglected classes such as the scheduled classes, the so called aboriginal classes, should receive special treatment in the matter of education, housing etc. On the electoral roll they will be one. This must be never mean a worse state than the present, but better in every way. Will Hinduism come up to the high level or will it court extinction by hugging infamous superstitions and aping bad manners?

Complete Secularism?

There are indications that all is not well with the Musalmans. Some Hindus are now beginning to feel that they have the upper hand, and some Musalmans are afraid that they will have to pay the underdog in the Union today. This will be shameful indeed. If minority in India, minority on the score of its religious professions, is made to feel small on this account, I can only say that this India is not the India of my dreams. In the India for whose fashioning I have worked all my life, every man enjoys equality of status, whatever his religion is. The State is bound to be wholly secular. I go far as to say that no denominational educational institution in it should enjoy State patronage.

Cultural Democracy

All subjects will thus be equal in the eye of the law. Be every single individual will be free to pursue his own religion without let it hindrance, so long as it does not transgress the common law. The question of the protection of minorities is not good enough for me; it rests upon the recognition of religious grouping between citizens of the same state. What I wish India to do is to assure liberty of religious profession to every single individual. Then only India can be great, for it was perhaps the one nation in the ancient world which had recognized cultural democracy, whereby it is held that the roads of God are many, but the

goal is one, because God is one and the same. In fact, the roads are as many as there are individuals in the world.

Correct Conduct

We must not produce a State in which respectable life is impossible and still claim that we do not want the Muslims to go. If, in spite of really equal treatment they choose to go to Pakistan, it is their own look-out. There should be nothing in our behaviour to scare India and save Muslims. We should be correct in our conduct. Then we can serve India and save Hinduism. We cannot do so by killing the Muslims or driving them away or suppressing them in any way.

Education

Take the Hindu-Muslim question. The poison has assumed dangerous proportions, such that is difficult to forecast where it will land us. Assume that the unthinkable had happened and that not a single Muslim can Sikh can do likewise in Pakistan. Our education will then wear a poisonous form. If, on the other hand, Hindus, Muslims and all 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.

Democratic State

Freedom without equality for all irrespective of race or religion is not worth having for the Congress. In other words, the Congress and government representative of the Congress must remain a purely democratic, popular body leaving every individual to follow that form of religion which best appeals to him. Without any interference from the State. There is so much in common between people living in the same state under the same flag, owing undivided allegiance to it. There is so much in common between man and man that it is a marvel that there can be any quarrel on the ground of religion. Any creed or dogma which coerces others into following one uniform practice is a religion only in a name, for a religion worth the name does not admit of any coercion. Anything that it does under coercion has only a short lease of life. It is bound to die. It must be a matter of pride to us, whether we are four Anna Congress members or not, that we have in our midst an institution without a rival which disclaims to become a theocratic State, and which always believes and lives up to the belief that the State of our conception must be a secular, democratic State, having perfect harmony between the different units composing the State.

Land of Hope and Promise

Has not the Quaid-i-Azam said that Pakistan was not a theocratic State and that it is purely a secular State? That the claim cannot always be justified in action is, unfortunately, too true. Is the Union to be a theocratic State and are the tenets of Hinduism to be imposed on non-Hindus? I hope not. The Indian Union will then cease to be a land of hope and promise, a land to which all Asiatic and African races look, indeed the whole world. The world expects not littleness and fanaticism from India whether as the Union or Pakistan. It expects greatness and goodness from which the whole world can derive a lesson and light in its prevailing darkness.

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

No Conflict

THERE NEVER can be any conflict between the real interest of one's country and that of one's religion. Where there appears to be any, there is something wrong with one's religion, i.e., patriotism also means good thought and good conduct. To set up a comparison between two synonymous things is wrong.

I hope those in the Union of India would be worthy of their faiths and would be proud to call themselves sons and daughters of the same soil, claiming perfect equality in the eyes of the law. Religion is no test of nationality they are Indians first and Indians last, no matter what religion they profess.

A friend asked me the other day whether I share the opinion, often expressed, that as between nationalism and religion, the former was superior to the latter. I said that the two were dissimilar and that there could be no comparison between dissimilar. Each was equal to the other in its own place. No man who values his religion as also his nationalism can barter away the one for the other. Both are equally dear to him. He renders unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's. And if Caesar, forgetting his limits, oversteps them, a man of God does not transfer his loyalty to another Caesar, but knows how to deal with the usurpation. A rehearsal of this difficulty gave rise to Satyagraha.

Take a homely illustration. Suppose I have mother, wife and daughter. All three must be equally dear to me in their own places. It is vulgar error to think that a man is entitled to forsake his mother and his daughter for the sake of his wife. He dare not do the converse. And if any of the three oversteps her limits, the law of Satyagraha comes to his assistance for the restoration of the equilibrium of the three forces.

The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Christians, the Parsis and the Jews should be Indians first and Indians last. Religion is the personal affair of each individual. It must not be mixed up with politics or national affairs.

State Religion

I do not believe in State religion even though the whole community has one religion. The state interference will probably always be unwelcome. Religion is purely personal matter. There are in reality as many religions as minds. Each mind has a different conception of God from that of the other.

Religious Education

I am also opposed to state aid partly or wholly to religious bodies. For I know that an institution or group which does not manage to finance its own religious teachings is a stranger to true religion. This does not mean that the state schools will not give ethical teaching. The fundamental ethics are common to all religions.

I do not believe that the state can concern itself or cope with religious education. I believe that religious education must be the sole concern of religious associations. Do not mix up religion and ethics. I believe that fundamental ethics is undoubtedly a function of the State. By religion I do not have in mind fundamental ethics but what goes by the name of denominationalism. We have suffered enough from State aided religion and a State Church. A society or a group which depends partly or wholly on State aid for the existence of its religion does not deserve better still does not have any religion worth the name. I do not need to give any illustrations in support of this truth obvious as it is to me.

State Funds

A letter of Christian in a newspaper holds that the temple of Somnath cannot undergo renovation from the State funds, I sympathize with the objection. The Sardar happened to be with me. He was shown the cutting and he said that not a pie would be spent from the Junagadh State funds or, for the matter, from the Central fund for such purposes. The temple of Somnath will be renovated from funds donated by the Hindus and others who may be interested in the renovation. The Indians union is a secular state and not a religious one.

5

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

Holi

I have no doubt in my mind that a religious ceremony like Holi should never be marked by wild revelry, but by a disciplined effort to put oneself in communion with God.

There was a time when the Hindus and Musamans lived side by side as peaceful neighbours. If things have today come to such a pass that they cannot look upon one another as friends, they may at least not behave as enemies. There is fear among the Musalmans that the occasion of Holi may be marked by renewed attack upon them. It is surprising that I am hearing what I had heard from the Hindus in Naokhali and Tipperah, and I feel ashamed to have to listen to the same tales in Patna as in Naokhali. I shall therefore venture to say to my Muslim brothers in Bihar what I have said to the Hindus in Naokholi, viz., that they should shed all fear of man and trust God; but I know that it is a counsel of perfection.

I want everyone to celebrate Holi in such a manner that every single Muslim feels that the Hindus have not only repented for what has been done to them, but have also gathered love for them to an extent which out did their previous sentiments. If Holi is marked by this revival of the old friendly relations, then, indeed, it will be a truly religious celebration.

It is not enough that the Hindus should express lip repentance or compensate the sufferers, by means of money. What is really needed is that their hearts should become pure and, in place of hatred or indifference which is sweeping over them, love should

reign so that under its glow every single Muslim man, woman and child feels perfectly secure and free to pursue his or her own religious without the least let or hindrance. Let us all, I pray, make Holi an occasion for the initiation of this relation between two sister communities.

Dussehra

I would remind you of the origin of the Dussehra festival. It is to commemorate the victory of Rama over Ravan. Durga Puja means worship of the all-pervading shakti. The ten days are followed by Bharat Milap. All this connotes self restraint, not lenience. The nine days are the days of fasting and prayer. My mother used to fast during these nine days. We, her children were taught to practice as much abstinence as we could. Are we to celebrate the sacred by killing and harassing our brothers? Shed all enmity and bitterness on the occasion of these festivals.

No Festivities During Distress

A sister who is a refugee writes:

The question whether we should or should not celebrate Diwali as festival agitates most of us. I wish to put before you our thoughts on the question, no matter how lisping my Hindi words may be. I am refugee from Gujranwala. I have lost my all in that place. Nevertheless, our hearts are full of joy that after all we have our independence. This will be the first Diwali in independent India. Therefore, it behooves us to forget all our sorrows and wish to have illuminations throughout India. I know that your heart is sore over our suffering and you would have all India to abstain from the rejoicings. We are thankful for your sympathy. Not withstanding the fact that your heart is full of sorrow, I would like you to tell the refugees and the rest of India that they should rejoice during the festival and ask the moneyed men to help those who are without means. May God Almighty give us the wisdom to rejoice over all the festivities the might come to us after independence.

Whilst I admire the sister and others like her, I cannot help saying that she and those who think like her are rare. It is well known that a family which is overtaken by sorrow abstains from participation in festivities according to capacity. It is illustration of the doctrine of oneness on a very limited scale.

We must not be self-centered or, being falsely sentimental, ignore facts. My advice to abstain from the rejoicing is broad based on many solid considerations. The refugee problem is there, affecting lakhs of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. There is as well want 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 introjections and self purification. Let us not do anything which will throw away a blessing which has been won after hard toil and tribulation.

6

SYNTHESIS OF CULTURE

INDIA IS a big country, a big nation composed of different cultures, which are tending to blend with one another, each complementing the rest. If I must wait for the completion of the process, I must wait. It may not complete in my day. I should love to die in the faith that it must come in the fullness of time. I should be happy to think that I had done nothing to hamper the process. Subject to this condition, I would do anything to bring about harmony.

Either people of different faiths having lived together in friendship have produced a beautiful blend of cultures, of which we shall strive to perpetuate and increasingly strengthen the shape, 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 vain attempt to obliterate 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 were the great forts of Delhi and Agra built during the Moghal 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 conclusion about the conflicting choices.

7

COMMUNAL LIFE IN VILLAGES

New Basis

The new basis has to be built here in the villages where the Hindus and the Muslims have lived and suffered together on the land of their forefathers and must live together in the future.

I ask all Hindus and Muslims to devote themselves to the noble task of recognizing village life and in improving their economic condition. Through cottage industries they will find themselves working together in the common task, and unity will thereby grow among them. You must carry out my eighteen point constructive work which will spread like a life giving influence over the entire country side.

You should banish intoxicating drinks and drugs from your midst. I hope that you will eradicate untouchability if there is any trace of it still left in your village. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis and the Christians should all live as brothers and sisters. If you achieve all I have mentioned, you will demonstrate real independence and people from all over India will come to see your model village and take inspiration from it.

That the edifice of unity can rest on constructive work alone is a maxim which everybody should remember. The question is how to realize it. It is up to every worker who believes

in it to live it in his life and to bring home to his neighbor's. By going into explaining the scientific basis of the constructive programme, it can be made interesting. Our daily experience shows that this programme cannot be advanced by mechanical or unintelligent work.

8

INDIA OF MY DREAMS'

Unity, Non-violence

India is finding true independence and self-expression through an imperishable Hindu-Muslim unity and through non-violent means, i.e., unadulterated self-sacrifice, can point a way out of the prevailing darkness.

I believe that nothing remains static, Human nature either goes up or goes down. Let us hope, in India, it is going up. Otherwise, there is nothing but deluge for India, and, probably, for the whole world.

I am not thinking of the eternal law of love, much as I believe in it. If the whole India accepted this, India will become the unquestioned leader of the whole world. Here I merely wish to suggest that there should be no surrender except to reason.

I am only hoping and praying and I want all the friends here and in other parts of the world to hope and pray with me, that this blood-bath will soon end and out of that perhaps inevitable butchery will rise a new and robust India not warlike, basely imitating the West in all its hideousness but a new India learning the best that the West has to give and becoming the hope not only of Asia and Africa, but the whole of the aching world.

I must confess that this is hoping against hope, for, we are today swearing by the military and all that naked physical force implies. Our statesmen have for over two generations declaimed against the heavy expenditure on armaments under the British regime, but now the freedom from political serfdom has come, our military expenditure has increased and still threatens to increase and of this we are proud! There is not a voice raised against it in our legislative chambers. In spite, however of the madness and the vain imitation of the tinsel of the West, the hope lingers in me and many others that India shall survive this death dance and occupy the moral height that should belong to her after the training however imperfect, in non-violence for an unbroken period of thirty two years since 1915.

"Will the war weary Asiatic countries follow in the foot-steps of Japan and turn to militarization?" The answer lies in what direction India will throw its weight. India is becoming the laughing stock of the world. The world asks, where is your non-violence with which you have won your independence? I have to hang down my head in shame. Will a free India present to the world a lesson of peace or of hatred and violence, of which the world a lesson of peace or of halted and violence, of which the world is already sick unto the death.

Hope of Exploited Races

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.

Paradise on Earth'

I remember to have read, I forget whether in the Delhi or the Agra Fort, when I visited them in 1896, a verse on one of the gates, which when translated reads: "If there is paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here." The fort, with all its magnificence at its best, was no paradise in my estimation. But I should love to see that verse with justice inscribed on the gates of Pakistan at all the entrance. In such paradise, whether it is in the Union or in Pakistan, there will be neither paupers nor beggars, or high nor low, neither millionaire employers nor half starved employees, nor intoxicating drinks nor drugs. There will be same respect or women as vouchsafed to men, and the chastity and purity of men and women will be jealously guarded. Where every woman, except one's wife, will be treated by men of all religions, as mother, sister or daughter according to her age. Where there will be equal respect for all faiths. There will be all, proudly, joyously and voluntarily, bread labourers. I hope everyone who listens to me or read these line will forgive me if, stretched on my bed and basking in the sun, inhaling life giving sunshine, I allow myself to indulge in this ecstasy.

SOURCES

A bunch of old letters: Written to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him: Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1958, xvii + 511 p.p

An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth: M.K.Gandh; Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1956, xv +528 pp

Gandhi began writing the autobiography in 1922, in prison. It first appeared in Gujarati in December 1925. The English translation by Mahadev Desai, approved by Gandhiji, was serialized in Young India. The autobiography appeared in book form -Vol.II in 1929. It was issued in a one-volume edition in 1940 and has since been reprinted several times.

Gandhiji Correspondence with government : Forward and introduction by Pyarelal, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1959, xviii=375pp.

A collection of Gandhiji's letters to Government from Aga Khan's Palace, Poona ,where he was in detention during 1942-44, and after his release.

Harijan: weekly journal founded by Gandhiji and published under the auspices of the Servants of the untouchables society (Harijan Sewak Sangh) Poona. It had a succession of editors: R.V.Sastri (February 11, 1933 to April 5, 1935); Mahadev Desai (April 13, 1935 to October 20, 1940 and January 18, 1942 to August 16, 1942), and Pyarelal (February 10, 1946 to February 22, 1948), K.G. Mashruwala (April 4, 1948 to September 13, 1952) and M.P. Desai (September 20, 1952 to February 25, 1956), when it was published from Ahmedabad. The paper was suspended during the "Individual Satyagraha" against War in 1940, and again in 1942 on the eve of the "Quit India" Movement and Gandhiji's arrest and incarceration. The management came over to the Navjivan Trust, Ahmedabad, simultaneously with its revival on January 18, 1942. In 1946 (when publication was resumed) and 1947, the paper published reports of Gandhiji's prayer speeches during his tours of West and east Bengal and Bihar and stay in Delhi, during a period of unrepresented communal turmoil. Started originally as the mouthpiece of the movement for the removal of untouchability under Gandhiji's leadership, Harijan soon became the authentic forum for the expression of his views on all major subjects, constituting thus a basic source of his writing until his death.

Indian Review: Monthly magazine founded in 1900 and edited and published by G.A. Natesan from Madras.

Speeches and writing of Mahatma Gandhi: G.A. Natesan & co., Madras, 1934, 4th edition, viii+1072+xvpp.

With Gandhiji in Ceylon: Ed. Mahadev Desai : S. Ganesan, Madras, 1928, 159+vii pp.

A Journal of Gandhiji's Ceylon tour in 1927 and authorized version of his speeches in course of it.

Young India : Weekly paper edited by Gandhiji and published by Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, from October 8, 1919. On Gandhiji's imprisonment in 1922, Shuaib Qureshi took over the editorship, from March 30, and continued as editor till May 25. C.

Rajagopalachari then assumed editorship on June 1, and functioned till September 20, 1923. After him, George Joseph took over the responsibility from September 27 and acted as editor till March 27, 1924 and carried on as editor till May 8, 1930. One issue after this date appeared under the editorship of J.C. Kumarappa. During the period July 17, 1930 to March 5, 1931, the paper appeared in the form of cyclostyled sheets, published by M.M. Bhatt. On March 12, 1931, Gandhiji once again became the editor, holding that position till December 31, 1931, after which weekly ceased publication. During 1919-31, except for the term of his imprisonment in 1922-24 and his absence at the second Round Table Conference in 1931, the weekly carried his innumerable writings and report of his important speeches, becoming a basic source for the period.

NOTES

APPROCH TO COMMUNAL UNITY

1. CHARACTER OF COMMUNIAL UNITY

1. Young India, May 7, 1919.
2. Young India, February 26, 1925, p. 75, in commenting on a letter from a Bengali Zamindar.
3. Young India, December 24, 1931, p. 413; speech at Plenary session of the Round Table Conference in London.
4. Harijan, April 21, 1946, p. 94; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, April 6. Gandhiji was referring to the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha, inaugurated on April 6, 1919.
5. Harijan, March 16, 1947, p.62; speech at prayer meeting, February 19.
6. Harijan, May 25, 1947, p. 165; at prayer meeting, May 10.

HINDU -MUSLIM UNITY

7. Young India, May 7, 1919.
8. Young India, October 6, 1920, p.4.
9. Young India, September 29, 1921. p.307; in reply to a friend.
10. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148.
11. Ibid.
12. Young India, January 26
13. Young India, October 11, 1928, p. 342; in reply to a volunteer from Ahmadabad who had written to him seeking advise as to what Hindus should do in cases of Muslim assaults.
14. Harijan, March 16, 1947, p.62; vide note 5above.
15. Young India, September 29, 1921, p.307.
16. Young India, April 2, 1925, p.115; in reply to a Muslim lawyer.
17. Young India Gandhiji was asked by Maulana Abdul kalam Azad to call a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in order to consider the Hindu-Muslim Conference at Allahabad on June 30, 1920.
18. A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 46; letter to Jawaharalal Nehru, April 23, 1926.

19. Young India, September 9, 1926, p. 316, the alternative way referred to was Non-co-operation, adopted unanimously at a Hindu-Muslim Conference at Allahabad on June 30, 1920.
20. Young India, January 27, p. 31; in the course of a speech in Hindi at Sewan in Bihar when asked to speak on Hindu-Muslim Unity.
21. Young India, September 24, 1931, p.273; in an address to an Arab audience at Aden on August 30, 1931, on his way to the Round Table Conference in London.

EQUAL SERVANT OF ALL

22. Young India, March 10, 1927, p. 80; speech at Solapur.
23. Ibid.
24. Harijan, January 27, 1940 p. 429; in reply to a visitor who charged him with having offered to sell his soul to win the favour of his Muslim friends.
25. Harijan March 8, 1947, p. 59; speech at Rajpura, February 16.
26. Harijan, July 6, 1947, p.218; speech at prayer meeting.
27. Harijan, June 8, 1940, p. 156.
28. Harijan, May 11, 1947, p. 146; speech at prayer meeting, Patna, April 28. The reference to Iqbal's song to Saare Jahanse Achchha, Hindustan Hamara.
29. Harijan, May 25, 1947, p. 165; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta, May 10.
30. Harijan, September 28, 1947, p. 349, address at a meeting at Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (RSS) on September 16, at New Delhi.
31. Harijan, September 21, 1947, p. 336; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 13.

COMMUNALISM

32. Young India, September 9, 1926, p. 316.
33. Harijan, January 6, 1940, p. 403; referring to the communal riots at Sukkur and Shikapur in Sindh.
34. Harijan, September 15, 1940, p.284.
35. Harijan, November 17, 1946, p. 402; speech at prayer meeting at Panchgaon, January 29.
36. Harijan, March 23, 1947, p.78 in reply to a question at prayer meeting, February 26.

II. ACHIVEMENT OF COMMUNAL UNITY

MUTUAL TOLERANCE

1. Young India, May 7, 1919
1. Ibid
2. Young India, February 25, 1920, p.3.
3. Young India May 11, 1921, p.148.
4. Harijan May 31, 1942, p. 172; Gandhiji was commenting on hooliganism at Rajaji's meeting : "Hooliganism is no answer to Rajaji's argument. The disturbance at his meetings is a sign of great intolerance". The latter had advocated, inter alia, conceding the Muslims the right of secession.
5. Harijan, October 13, 1946, p. 354; a speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 22.
6. Harijan, October 5, 1947, p. 334; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 22.
7. Young India, January 26, 1922, p. 22.

THE UNITARY METHOD

8. Indian Review, October 1909, p.p. 760; quoted from a letter to a Mohammedan correspondent.
9. Young India, October 20, p. 333.
10. Harijan, February 1, 1942, p. 27; the Lucknow Pack, signed in December 1916, conceded separate electorates and increase in the 'weightage' to Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal legislatures, in excess of representation on a population basis. Representation at the Centre too was enhanced, Muslims agreed to give up their right to vote both in the general and the separate electorates, and agreed to a constitutional formula which would amount to dominion status for India.

PACTS

12. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148
13. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 176
14. Ibid, p. 182.
15. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 176
16. Ibid, p. 182.

17. Young India, August 21, 1924, p. 276; in the course of reply of the charge from some American friends that, in the name of religion, he was introducing Bolshevism in India.
18. Young India, June 16, 1927, p. 196.
19. Harijan, June 18, 1938, p. 152.
20. Harijan, May 4, 1940, p. 115.
21. Harijan, January 25, 1942, p. 13.

THE VOW OF UNITY

22. Young India, May 7, 1919; April 6, 1919 was observed as a "day of humiliation and prayer" in view of the passing of the Rowlatt Act in March despite unanimous opposition in the country. Gandhiji issued a leaflet on Hindu-Muslim unity, in Hindi, of which a free translation appeared in Young India.
23. 22. Young India, May 29, 1924, pp. 182-3.
24. Young India, January 26, 1922, p. 62; with reference to the Moplah trouble in Malabar and the Musalman attitude.
25. Young India, September 29, 1921, p. 307.
26. Young India, March 16, 1922, p. 161; letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan from Sabarmati Jail, Ahmadabad, on March 12.
27. Harijan, November 23, 1947, p. 425; speech at prayer meeting, Delhi, November 16.

WORK FOR UNITY

28. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 182.
29. Young India, June 5, 1924, p. 185.
30. Young India, June 16, 1927, p. 196.
31. Young India, September 29, 1919; speech at public meeting of Musalmans in Bombay, September 18, on a resolution on the threatened dismemberment of Turkey.
32. Young India, March 16, 1922, p. 161; letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan on March 12, from Sabarmati Jail.
33. Young India, June 5, 1924, p. 185.
34. Harijan, March 16, 1947, p. 61; speech at prayer meeting, February 17. Gandhiji was asked how workers for communal unity could avoid divided counsels.
35. Harijan, March 16, 1947, p. 62; speech at prayer meeting. February 19.

36. Harijan, February 2, 1947, p. 3; speech at prayer meeting, on the way to Badalkote January 18.
37. Harijan, May 25, 1947, p. 166; written message at prayer meeting on silence day, Calcutta, May 12.
38. Young India, March, 12, 1931, pp. 32, 36; speech at Delhi, March 7.
39. Harijan, April 28, 1946, p. 103; in reply to question by a Jamina Millia Student, New Delhi.
40. Harijan, May 25, 1947, p. 166; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta, May 12.

III. RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

RELIGION AND COMMUNAL UNITY

1. Young India, May 11, 1921, p.148.
2. Young India, August 20, 1925, p. 292; address to European Christians, Jamshedpur.
3. With Gandhiji in Ceylon, p. 89; speech at Zahira College; Colombo, November 22, 1927.
4. Harijan, June 8, 1940, p.157.
5. Harijan, July 13, 1940, p.207.
6. Harijan August 9, 1942, p. 261.
7. Harijan, February 23, 1947, p.37; speech on silence day, Palla, January 27.
8. Harijan, March 16, 1947, p.63; speech at prayer meeting. February 19.
9. Harijan, April 20, 1947, p. 119; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi, April 5.
10. Harijan, June 29, 1947, p. 214; in conversation with Khwaja Saheb Abdul Majid, at New Delhi.
11. Harijan October 5, 1947, p. 361; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi, September 26.
12. Harijan October 5, 1947, pp. 362-3; speech at prayer meeting, September 27.
13. Young India, January 4, 1948, p. 497; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi. December 23, 1947.
14. Autobiography, p. 33.
15. Young India, August 28, 1924, p. 284.
16. Young India, September 25, 1924, p. 284.
17. Young India, October 2, 1924, p.321.

18. Young India, December 22, 1927, p. 425; speech at a meeting of missionaries at Jafna, Ceylon, during his tour.
19. Harijan, November 3, 1946, p. 383; in the context of a ban imposed by the Sindh Government on Satyarth Prakash, a sacred book of the Arya Samaj.
20. Young India, May 29, 1924, p.180.
21. Young India, September 22, 1927, p. 320; quoted by Gandhiji from his earlier article in Young India: "Inflammatory Literature" June 19, 1924, on Rangila Rasul, "highly offensive" pamphlet in Urdu by an anonymous author, published by Arya Pustakalaya, Lahore.
22. Young India, September, 25, 1924, p. 313.
23. Young India, September 22, 1927, p. 320; quoted by Gandhiji from an earlier Article: half a Dozen and six", Young India, July 10, 1924, p. 332.
24. Harijan, November 3, 1946, p. 3283; vide 19 above.
25. Young India, August 25, 1927, p. 272.
26. Harijan, December 8, 1946, p. 444; speech at prayer meeting. Madhupur, November 19.

TEMPLES AND MOSQUES

27. Young India, August 28, 1924, p. 284.
28. Young India, January 27, 1927, p. 31.
29. Harijan, March 9, 1940, p.30.
30. Harijan, February 23, 1947, p. 40; speech at prayer meeting. Sadurkhil, February 4.
31. Harijan, January 25, 1947, p. 533; speech on the occasion breaking his fast, January 18.
32. Young India, August 28, 1924, p. 284.
33. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 310.
34. Young India, December 18, 1925, p. 411.
35. Harijan, March 30, 1947, pp. 86; speech at prayer meeting, Patna March 12.
36. Harijan, April 13, 1947, p.107-8; speech at prayer meeting, Patna, March 28.
37. Harijan August 17, 1947, p. 278; in reply to an address in Gurumukhi at Patna Saheb, the famous Sikh Gurudwara in west Punjab.
38. Ibid, Gandhiji observed this with reference to the protection of Panja Saheb, Nanakana Saheb and other gurudwaras in Pakistan and elsewhere.

39. Harijan, December 7, 1947, p. 461; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, November 30.
40. Harijan, January 4, 1948 p. 495; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi, December 22 1947.
41. Harijan, February 8, 1948, p. 20; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi, January 27. Gandhiji had visited the Dargah Sheriff at Mehrauli that morning and was referring to damage done to it.

‘MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES’

42. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148.
43. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 181.
44. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 312.
45. Young India, October 22, 1925, p. 360.
46. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148.
47. Young India, October 22, 1925, p. 360.
48. Ibid
49. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 175.
50. Ibid., pp. 181-2
51. Young India, September 25, 1924, p. 317.
52. Young India, May 29. 1924, p. 117.
53. Young India, September 18, 1924, p.312.
54. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 182-2.
55. Ibid, p. 182.
56. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 312.
57. Young India, September 25, 1924, p. 317.
58. Young India, January 5, 1928, p.4.
59. Harijan, February 23, 1947, p. 40; speech at prayer meeting; vide note 134 above.
60. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 298; speech at prayer meeting. Beliaghata, August 19.

COW-SLAUGHTER AND COW-PROTECTION

61. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148.
62. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 181.
63. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148.
64. Young India, January 29, 1925, pp. 38-9.
65. Young India, May 7, 1919
66. Young India, May 18, 1921, pp. 156-7.
67. Young India, January 29, 1925, p. 38.
68. Harijan May 11, 1947, pp. 145-6; speech at prayer meeting. Patna, April 25.
69. Harijan April 27, 1940, p. 101.
70. Young India, April 8, 1926, pp. 131-2.
71. Young India, October 20, 1921, p. 333; in the course of reply to the editor, Modern Review.
72. Young India, January 29, 1925, p. 38.
73. Autobiography, pp. 478-9.
74. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 181.
75. Young India, April 27, 1924, p. 101; in reply to question if, under a Hindu majority government, Muslims will be allowed to eat their 'national' food, beef.
76. Harijan, May 11, 1947, p. 146; speech at prayer meeting, Patna, April 25.
77. Harijan, November 16, 1947, p. 411; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, November 4; vide para 245, p. 102.
78. Young India, June 8, 1921, p. 182.
79. Young India, October 6, 1921, p. 318.
80. Young India, January 29, 1921, p. 38.
81. A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 42; letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, April 25, 1925.
82. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 300.
83. Harijan, September 7, 1947, p. 310; speech at prayer meeting Calcutta, August 25.
84. Young India, May 7, 1919.
85. Young India, May 18, 1921, pp. 156-7.

86. Young India, June 29, 1921, p.237.
87. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 311.
88. Young India, January 29, 1925, p. 39.
89. Young India, January 27, 1927, p. 31; speech at Sewan, Bihar.
90. Young India, June 8, 1921, p. 182.
91. Young India, January 29, 1925, p. 38.
92. Harijan, August 10, 1947, p. 300.
93. Harijan, August 10, 1947, p. 273 at prayer meeting, New Delhi, July 25.
94. Harijan August 31, 1947, p. 300.
95. Harijan November 16, 1947, pp. 410-1.
96. Young India, June 5, 1924 p. 65.
97. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 311.
98. Young India, January 29, 1921, p. 39.
99. Young India, June 8, 1921, p. 182.
100. Young India May, 29, 1924, p. 181.
101. Young India, September 18, 1924, pp. 311-2.
102. Young India, January 5, 1928, p. 4.

COMMUNAL SLOGANS

103. Harijan, March 23, 1947, p. 74; speech at prayer meeting, Patna, March 6.
104. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 299; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta, August 21.
105. Ibid, p. 303; speech at prayer meeting, Alipore, August 23.

IV. THE CAUSES OF COMMUNAL RIOTS

SPECIFIC CAUSES

1. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 181; Gandhiji wrote a long and detailed survey entitled "Hindu Muslim Tension" : Its Cause and Cure Ibid pp. 173-81.
2. Young India, June 5, 1924, p. 188, a summary of the long statement above.

PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR

3. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 176.

4. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 312.
5. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 177.
6. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 308, in commenting on a correspondent's observations.
7. *ibid*, p. 311.
8. Young India, October 11, 1928, p. 342; with reference to acts of Muslim vandalism at Godhra.
9. Harijan, January 6, 1940, p. 403, writing in the context of communal riots in Sukkur and Shikapur in Sindh; vide para 15, p. 266-7.
10. Harijan, November 3, 1946, p. 388; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, giving a new year's message on the eve of Diwali.
11. Harijan, December 1, 1946, 1946, p. 422; speech at a gathering of Hindus and Muslims; Dattapara, November 8.
12. Harijan, January 5, 1947, p. 479; speech at prayer meeting, Shriampur, November 20.
13. *Ibid*, p. 477; speech at prayer meeting, Shriampur, November 20.
14. Harijan, December 8, 1946, p. 442; written message at prayer meeting Kazirkhil, silence day, November 18.
15. Harijan, January 5, 1947; speech at prayer meeting, Shrirampur, December 6.
16. Harijan, January 26, 1947, pp. 517-8; speech at prayer meeting, Chandipur, December 28, 1946.
17. Young India, May 29, 1924 p. 174.
18. Harijan, January 6, 1940, p. 403, with reference to communal trouble in Sindh.
19. Harijan, April 20, 1947, p. 119, speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, April 5. Gandhiji was referring to acts of violence in Nokakhali, Bihar and the Punjab.
20. *Ibid*, p. 120; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, April 6. Gandhiji was writing against the background of violent out breaks in the Punjab.

DISTRUST

21. Young India, May 7, 1919.
22. Young India, May 11, 1921, p. 148.
23. Young India, March 16, 1922, p. 161; letter to hakim Ajmal Khan, February 12, 1922, from Sabarmati jail.
24. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 177; vide note 1 above.

25. Young India, June 19, 1924, p. 205; in reply to questions raised by Babu Bhagwandas in a letter addressed to Gandhiji and published in the same issue.

26. Young India, April 2, 1925, p. 115; in answer to a question by a Muslim lawyer.

TIREDNESS OF NON-VIOLENCE

37. Young India, May 29, 1924, pp. 174-5; discussing the causes of Hindu-Muslim tension.

PROPAGANDA OF VILIFICATION

38. Young India May 7. 1919.

39. Young India, May 18, 1921, p. 156; with reference to reported instances of forcible removal of fish and meat from people by overzealous vegetarians under the pretext that Gandhiji had made vegetarianism part of non-co-operations.

40. 30. Young India, July 16, 1925, p. 248; Gandhiji had received abusive letters from Hindu correspondents after he had stated in an interview to the associated Press about the Hindu-Muslim riots in Kidderpore, that the Hindu labourers were wholly in the wrong.

41. 31. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 180.

42. 32. Young India, May 10, 1924, p. 332, quoted in Young India, September 22, 1924, p. 320; Gandhiji was writing with reference to Rangila Rasul, controversy over which arose again in 1927.

43. 33. Young India, December 30, 1926, p. 458; Gandhiji was writing in the context of the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand by Abdul Rashid. Vide para 40, p. 193.

44. 34. Harijan May 4. 1940, p. 298.

45. 35. Harijan, August 25. 1946, p. 298.

46. 36. Harijan, October 6, 1946, p. 338; at a meeting of the presidents and secretaries of District and Provincial Congress Committees, on the occasion of the A. I. C. C. meeting, Delhi.

47. Ibid, pp. 338-9.

48. Harijan, September 28, 1947, 352, speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 20.

49. Harijan, January 4, 1948, pp. 498-9; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, December 25, 1946.

50. Young India, December 30, 1926, p. 458; vide note 33 above.

51. Young India, September 22, 1927, p. 321; vide note 21 above.

52. Harijan, January 19, 1947, p. 496; 'silence day' message at prayer meeting, New Delhi, December 23 as reported by the Associated Press Of India.
53. Harijan, February 1, 1948, p. 13; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, January 27.
54. Harijan, February 8, 1948, p. 21; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, January 27. Gandhiji was speaking with reference to a telegram from Muslims that "his fast had produced no effect in Mysore". This was disproved by another telegram later which claimed that, on the contrary, it had eased the tension.

THE THIRD PARTY

55. Young India, October 6, 1920, p. 4.
56. Young India, June 8, 1921, p. 182.
57. Young India, October 20, 1921, pp. 333-4; in commenting on an editorial in the Modern Review; vide note to para 202, p. 91.
58. Young India, June 5, 1924, p. 185.
59. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 311, Gandhiji was writing in the context of communal trouble in parts of Gujarat.
60. Harijan, November 3, 1946, p. 382; interview of Preston Grover at New Delhi, on October 21. Gandhiji was asked as to when this type of disturbances would end in India, the reference being to the outbreak of disorder in East Bengal.
61. Harijan, June 8, 1947, p. 181; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, May 29.
62. Young India, June 16, 1927, p. 196; Gandhiji was referring to the desirability of "any agreement between the component parts of the nation" being voluntary and capable of enforcement. Vide para 37, p. 26.
63. Young India, November 12, 1931, p. 346; in a talk to the members of the Raleigh Club, London, in answer to a question whether the British attitude was an obstacle in his path.
64. Harijan, May 24, 1942, p. 162; in reply to a question: "You have repeated in your interview in Bombay (vide para 17, p. 20 and note) and you have said often that nothing can prevent the Muslims from having what they want unless the objectors would fight over the issue. What is the difference between you and Shri Rajagopalachari's attitude?" Gandhiji replied: "Though he has quoted me in his support, I see the same difference between him and me that is there between chalk and cheese. He yields the right of secession now to buy unity in the hope of keeping away the Japanese. My statement amounts to the enunciation of the proposition that I cannot prevent my neighbor from committing a sin. Shri Rajagopalachari would be a party to the sin, if the neighbour chooses to commit it. I cannot be party. Fear of the Japanese has blinded C.R. to the obvious truth. Independence sheds all fear- fear of the japons, of anarchy, and of the wrath of the British Lion."

65. Ibid, p. 166; in answer to the question: "Would you review the situation created by the Allahabad A.I.C.C. meeting? What would you say regarding Rajaji's quoting your words regarding Pakistan in support of his latest move?" Gandhiji replied: "I would leave the Allahabad resolution to them. C.R has quoted me correctly." Vide also para 17, p. 20.
66. Harijan, June 7, 1942, p. 180; in commenting on a "content letter form a friend who is most anxious to bridge the political gulf between Rajaji and me." Vide paras 25 and 26, pp. 303-4.
67. Harijan, June 14, 1942; p.187, in answer to the question, "But what does a free India mean, if as Mr. Jinnah said, Muslims will not accept Hindu rule?" Interview to two American newspaper men Mr. Chaplin (International News Service, America) and Mr. Beldon (representing Life of Time) at Sevagram.
68. Harijan, June 21, 1942, p. 198. The Nagpur correspondent of the Hindu asked Gandhiji : "Till the last day, you said there can be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity. Now, why is it that you think there will be no unity until India has achieved independence?"

V. SOCIAL IMPLICATION OF COMMUNIAL RIOTS

THE GOONDAS AND RIOTS

1. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 180.
2. Harijan, April, 7, 1946 p. 74; speech at Shivaji Park, Mumbai March 14. Vide para 65, p. 282.
3. Harijan, December 1, 1946, p. 422; a speech on board Kiwi, at Chandpur, E. Bengal. November 7.
4. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 309.
5. Young India, June 19, 1924, p. 205.
6. Harijan September 15, 1940, p. 285.
7. Harijan, November 17, 1946, p. 402; speech at Calcutta, with reference to riots in Bihar.
8. Harijan, September 7, 1947, pp. 315-6; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta August 29. Gandhiji was asked whether the minorities would have recognition as religious minorities had.
9. Harijan, September 7, 1947, p. 318; speaking to all community deputation comprising Shahed Suhrawardy, N.C. Chatterji and Niranjana Singh Taleb, on September 4, at Calcutta, regarding the recrudescence of communal trouble.

COMMUNAL CRIME AND TRUTH

10. Harijan, November 17, 1946, p. 401; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta.
11. Harijan, December 8, 1946, p. 444; speech at prayer meeting, Dasgharia November 17.
12. Harijan, April 27, 1947, p. 127; speech at prayer meeting New Delhi, April. Shaheed Suhrawardy, Chief Minister of Bengal, had issued a statement in the Press that the release of Satish Babu's wires regarding the Noakhali happenings had provoked fresh trouble in Calcutta.
13. Harijan, October 20, 1946, p. 368.
14. Harijan, June 8, 1947, p. 181; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, May 29.
15. Ibid, p. 182; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, May 30. Gandhiji was referring to murder and incendiaries in villages near Gurgaon, Delhi.
16. Harijan, February 9, 1947, p. 181; speech meeting, Muraim, January 24.
17. Harijan, July 27, 1947, p. 255; commenting on an editorial in Dawn of Lahore of July 18, which had taken to task for his statement that Jinnah's assurances about the protection of the minorities in Pakistan would be valued according to the corresponding deeds of the Muslims there.

RESTORATION OF PEACE

18. Harijan, January 12, 1947, p. 489; in an interview.
19. Ibid.
20. Harijan, March 30, 1947, p. 88, speech prayer, Khursupur, March 14. The secretary of the Provincial Muslim league had complained to Gandhiji that though the Government had made arrangements for repatriation, the mental attitude of the Hindus was not sufficiently reassuring.
21. Harijan, April 4, 1947, p. 97; speech at prayer meeting Masurhi March 17.
22. Harijan, April 20, 1947, p. 119; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, April 5.
23. Harijan, June 1, 1947, p. 175; speech at prayer meeting. Hilsa (Bihar), May 20.
24. Harijan, February 2, 1947, p. 3; speech at prayer meeting, January 18.
25. Ibid.
26. Harijan, July 6, 1947, p. 218; on June 25 newspapers carried reports that Hindu Sikh and Muslim leaders of Lahore had issued a joint peace appeal and that they were determined to put down violence.

27. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 299; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta, August 20. The Central Peace Committee and local committees were set up soon after August 15.
28. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 310; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta August 25.
29. Harijan, October 26, 1947, p. 382; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi October 14.
30. Ibid, pp. 387-8; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi, October 19. Gandhiji was referring to the presence, at the prayer meeting the previous day, of Sheikh Abdula and the widow of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's brother.
31. Harijan, December 28, 1947, p. 482; address to a gathering of Meos, who had been driven out of Alwar and Bharatpur States, in the village of Jesarah, Gurgaon, near Delhi, December 9.
32. Harijan, January 25, 1948, pp. 535-6; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, January 19.
33. Harijan, February, 1, 1948, p. 10; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, January 19.
34. Harijan, May 11, 1940, p. 123; in reply to the question: "You feel keenly about Bidar. You ask for justice about it and you want Muslims outside Hyderabad to see that justice is done. Do you feel equally keenly if Muslims are ill-treated as they were in Bihar?"
35. Harijan, June 1, 1940, p. 149. Five persons from Hyderabad, Deccan, writing to Gandhiji, had suggested the appointment of an impartial Commission of inquiry to go into the communal disturbances in Bidar.

VI. PERSONAL REACTION TO COMMUNAL RIOTS

RELIGION AND RIOTS

1. Young India, May 29, 1924, p. 176.
2. Young India, September 25 1924, p. 313. Gandhiji was referring to the violent disturbances in Amethi, Shambhar, Gulbarg and Kohat; vide para 28, pp. 225-6.
3. Young India, December 30, 1926, p. 458. Gandhiji was writing in the context of the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand, vide para 40, p. 193.
4. Young India, June 16, 1927, p. 196.
5. Harijan, July 28, 1946, p. 244; writing of the "butchery" in Ahmedabad.
6. Ibid, p. 243; speech at prayer meeting. Panchagani, July 20.
7. Harijan, October 6, 1946, p. 342; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi (prior to October 1)

8. Harijan, April 6, 1947, p. 97; speech at prayer meeting, Patna March 21.
9. Harijan, September 21, 1947, p. 335; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi September 12.

FASTS FOR COMMUNAL PEACE

10. Harijan, October 27, 1946, pp. 372-3; in the course of a talk with two friends from Bengal who asked him whether he would recommend to check violence in Bengal.
11. Harijan, April 20, 1947, p. 119; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, April 5.
12. Ibid, pp. 353; in reply to Mahadev Desai's question; vide 14 above.
13. Ibid, p. 354; to Shaukat ali.
14. Young India, September 25, 1924, p. 314.
15. Young India, October 23, 1924, p. 353; to Shaukat Ali, in a discussion of the fast.
16. Young India, September 25, 1924, p. 313.
17. ibid, p. 314.
18. Young India, October 23, 1924, p. 354; to Shakut Ali in a discussion of the fast.
19. Harijan, January 18, 1947, p. 523; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, January 12. Vide3 para 54, p. 238.
20. Ibid, p. 517; open letter 'To the people of Gujarat' New Delhi, January 14.
21. Ibid, p. 523.

VII COMMUNAL RELATIONS IN FREE INDIA

EQUALITY OF ALL

1. Young India, September 25, 1924, p. 312.
2. Harijan, November 16, 1947, p. 416; speech at prayer meeting. New Delhi, November 9. A refuge lady had written to Gandhiji suggesting celebrations for Diwali, the first after Independence.
3. Harijan, April 27, 1940, p. 101.
4. Harijan, July 27, 1947, pp. 250-1; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, July 13.
5. Harijan, June 8, 1947, p. 180; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi (prior to May 29) Vide para 43, p. 367.
6. Harijan, January 18, 1948, p. 517; open letter "to the people of Gujarat" , New Delhi January 14.

STATUS OF MUSLIM MINORITY

7. Harijan, July 27, 1947, p. 254; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, July 15.
8. Harijan, September 21, 1947, p. 335; speech at prayer meeting New Delhi, September 12.
9. Ibid, speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 13.
10. Harijan, September 28, 1947, p. 352; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 20.
11. Harijan, October 5, 1947, p. 354; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 22.
12. Ibid, p. 361; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 25.
13. Ibid, p. 362; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi September 26.
14. Harijan, October 12, 1947, p. 366; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, October 1.
15. Harijan, March 9, 1947, p.56; speech at prayer meeting, Vijayanagar, February 10.
16. Harijan, October 12, 1947, p. 368; Gandhiji was commenting on a correspondent's letter which, in English translation, read;
17. "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 savior and kill him."
18. Ibid, p. 372; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, October 4.
19. Harijan, January 25, 1948, p. 533; speech on the occasion of breaking his fast, January 18.
20. Harijan, February 1, 1948, pp. 5-6; comment on the observations of a young man who wrote about Muslims being potential fifth columnists.
21. Harijan, January 25, 1948, p. 534, speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi January 18.
22. Harijan, September 28, 1947, p. 339; address to Muslims, Daryaganj, New Delhi, September 19.
23. Harijan, November 30, 1947, p. 449; address to Sikhs on Guru Nanak's birthday.
24. Harijan, December 14, 1947, p. 482; address to a gathering to Meos in Jesarah village, Gurugaon, December 9.
25. Harijan, January 4, 1948, pp. 495-6; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, December 22.

26. Harijan, May 25, 1947, p. 164; Gandhiji was commenting on a for expressed to him that Nationalist Muslims might suffer at the hands of the Muslim League after the British withdrawal.
27. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 304; speech at prayer meeting, Alipore, August 23.
28. Harijan, September 7, 1947, pp. 313-4; speech at prayer meeting, Calcutta, August 27, Nationalist Muslims had asked him : "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?"
29. Harijan, March 30, 1947, p. 88; speech at prayer meeting, Khusrupur, March 15.
30. Harijan, November 8, 1947, p. 399; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, October 27, Gandhiji was referring to the reported forcible evacuation of Muslims to Pakistan.
31. 30. Harijan, January 11, 1948, p. 506; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, December 29, 1947.

SECULAR STATE

32. Young India, September 18, 1924, p. 310.
33. Harijan, July 6, 1947, p. 218; in a written, 'silence day' prayer message, New Delhi, June 23.
34. Harijan, August 31, 1947, p. 297, speech at prayer meeting Narkeldanga, West Bengal, prior to August 19.
35. Harijan, October 26, 1947, p. 383; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, October 15.
36. Harijan, November 2, 1947, p. 392.
37. Harijan, November 16, 1947, p. 423; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, November 13.
38. Ibid, p. 411; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, November 4.

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

39. Young India, January 9, 1930, pp. 13-14
40. Harijan, June 29, 1947, pp. 214-5; in conversation with Khwaja sahib Abdul Masjid, New Delhi, prior to June 18.
41. Harijan, December 7, 1947, p. 452.
42. Ibid, p. 459; speech at prayer meeting New Delhi, November 28.
43. 'Harijan, March 16, 1947, p. 63; speech at Kamalpur, February 21. Gandhiji was replying to the question put to him:

"Should religious instruction form part of the school curriculum as approved by the State? Do you favour separate school for children belonging to different denominations for facility of religious instruction? Or, should religious instruction be left in the hands of private bodies? If so, do you think it is right for the state to subsidize such bodies?"

44. Harijan, March 23, 1947 p. 76; E. W. Aryanayaam of the Hindustani Talimi sangh had sent Gandhiji a cutting from the Hindustani Standard of February 19 reporting Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad's interview on the subject of religious instruction. The relevant extract from the report read;

"In India, emphasis on religion has been and is greater than in other countries. Not only the past tradition of India but also the present temper of the people tends to emphasize the importance of religious instruction. If Government decides that religious instruction should be included in education, it seems imperative that the religious instruction should be of the best type.

"Religious instruction often imparted in India in private institutions is of a kind which, instead of broadening the outlook and inculcating a spirit of toleration and goodwill to all men, produces exactly the opposite results. It is likely that under State supervision even denominational teaching can be imparted in amore liberal spirit than under private control. The aim of all religious teaching should be to make men more tolerant and broad minded, and it is my opinion that this can be more effectively done if the State takes charge of the question than if it is left to private initiative." In the letter Gandhij prefaced his opinion on the subject by saying categorically "that it (the above view)is inconsistent with the line followed by the Hindustani Talimi Singh".

45. Harijan December 7, 1947, p. 459; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi. November 28.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

46. Harijan, March 2, 1947, p. 74; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, March 6. Gandhiji was asked how Holi, falling on the next day out to be celebrated.
47. Harijan, November 2, 1947, p. 391; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, October 22, Gandhiji spoke with reference to the approaching Diwali and Bakr-Id festivals.
48. Harijan, November 16, 1947, p. 416; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, November 11.

SYNTHESIS OF CULTURE

49. Harijan, May 4, 1940, p. 115.
50. Harijan, November 2, 1947, p. 392; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, October 22, Vide para 114, p. 395 for earlier part of the statement.

COMMUNAL LIFE IN VILLAGES

51. Harijan, January 12, 1947, p. 490; in conversation with Dr. Amiya Chakravarty (prior to December 12, 1946).
52. Harijan, January 26, 1947, p. 518; speech at prayer meeting, Chandipur, December 28, 1946.
53. Harijan, January 4, 1948, p.500; speech at prayer meeting, Sammalka village, New Delhi, December 27, 1947.
54. Harijan, February 1, 1948, p. 5; commenting on letter from a young man, Vide para 75, p. 250.

“INDIA OF MY DREAMS”

55. Young India, October 6, 1930, p. 4.
56. Harijan, June 8, 1947, p. 177; in conversation with the Chinese Ambassador in India, Dr. Lochia Luen, at New Delhi (after May 25).
57. Ibid, p. 181; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, May 29. Gandhiji was retorting to a correspondent's demand that he should retire to forest life unless he asked the Hindus to “answer sword with sword and arson” Gandhiji refused to deny his whole life and advocate the law of brute force in the place of the law of man.
58. Harijan, December 7, 1947, p. 453; replying to Madama Edmund Privat's letter of August 27, 1947 (ibid).
59. Harijan, June 8, 1947, p. 177 vide 142 above. The Chinese Ambassador had talked of the havoc caused by the war in China, and raised the question as to what line Asiatic countries would follow.
60. Harijan, October 5, 1947, p. 354; speech at prayer meeting, New Delhi, September 22.
61. Harijan, January 18, 1947, p. 526; speaking on the way on the day of his final fast, at a prayer meeting, New Delhi, January 14. The verse under reference is inscribed on the walls of the Dewan-i-Am of the Red Fort in Delhi.