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MONTHLY JOURNAL OF DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, NEW DELHI

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## MANTHAN' Monthly

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## Dear Reader :

Namaskar !

The other day the Lokmanya Tilak and Kesari-Maratha Trust presented the Lokmanya Tilak Sanman Paritoshik to Shri Achyut Patwardhan. The Award consisted of a citation and a cash prize of Rs. 35,000. Never was an honour so richly deserved.

Shri Achyut Patwardhan in turn has gifted the entire amount to Deendayal Research Institute, for its work in Gonda and Beed. Nana Deshmukh, Chairman, DRI, has warmly thanked Shri Patwardhan for this great appreciation of DRI's rural reconstruction work.

We bring you this month Shri B.B. Vohra's urging for an all-party consensus on Environment. Shri Vohra is Chairman, Advisory Board on Energy-

We also bring you late D.P. Singh's research piece on "Mahatma Gandhi in the London 'Times' 1939-48."

DRI observed Independence Day with a symposium on 'Bharat, Akhand Bharat, Vishal Bharat'. The report of the speeches will be read with interest.

Pandit Deendayal's birthday was observed on September 25, with due solemnity.

World Round-up this time brings you the interesting news that China has rejected leaders' sons for leadership roles.

Your sincerely,  
"M"

## Deendayalji : Thinker, Writer, Orator Organiser, Leader, All in One



*Ms. Jyoti Shukla rendering a Mira Bhajan. Seated  
(L to R) Maheshji, Bhandaraji, Malkaniji, Rajjubhaiya.*

On September 25, the Deendayal Research Institute celebrated the 71st birth anniversary of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. The function was attended by a galaxy of RSS and BJP leaders, including Sarva Shri Bapurao Moghe, Brahmadeva, Kushabhau Thakre and Kailashpati Mishra, M.P.

It was presided over by Prof. Rajendra Singh.

The function began with a Mira Bhajan—and with Rajjubhaiya garland-

ing a portrait of Panditji.

Speaking on the occasion, Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari, Vice-President, BJP, said that Panditji had spent the last 17 years of his life in politics. "Politics is a slippery ground. But Deendayalji is still remembered even in political circles, for his principles and personality. He has left the impress of his life on us all. A man like him is verily a Rishi. His life and work are a beacon-light for us."

Shri Mahesh Sharma said that Deendayalji was a powerful political thinker,

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*A section of the audience. Seated (R to L) Sarva Shri Prof. Vaswani, Kushabhau Thakre, Kailash Pati Mishra, MP, Sailen Ghosh, Bapurao Moghe.*

but political scientists were unaware of his contribution. This was so, only because his writings had not been rendered in English. That was a task that needed to be done urgently.

Shri Malkani said that Deendayalji was thinker, writer, orator, leader and organiser, all rolled into one. It was a very rare combination of talents. He said Pradipji not only had a big mind, which is rare enough, but a big heart, which is rarer still. And he was big not only in big matters but also in small ones. He did not mind his hair being cut by a

pavement barber. According to him, Muslim Indians were only 'Mohamed Hindus', for whom the portals of RSS should open at the right time.

By temper, he was a scholar. He would have loved to browse in the DRI Library.

We had lost such a gem of a man—an Ajatashatru—in a mystery murder. We can do justice to his sacred memory only by following his example.

□

## World Round-Up

### China rejects VIP sons

The children of three of the top Chinese leaders, including Deng Xiaoping's oldest son, have been rejected as delegates to the Communist Party Congress. The rejections are widely seen as an indication of growing resentment of privileges received by relatives of party cadres.

Deng Pufang, 43, son of the top leader, and director-in-chief of the China Welfare Fund for the Handicapped, is widely credited with improving the lives of the handicapped in China. He uses a wheelchair because of injuries suffered during the cultural Revolution, when the Red Guards pushed him out of a window.

The other two rejected nominees with fathers in top leadership positions are Chen Yuan, member of the Beijing municipal Communist party committee, and Bo Xi-cheng, who heads the Beijing branch of the China International Travel Service.

Chen Yuan is the son of Chen Yun, an influential economist and member of the powerful standing committee of the Politburo. Bo Xi-cheng is the son of Bo Yibo, vice-chairman of the Party's Central Advisory Commission.

The voters also rejected Chen Haosu, a deputy mayor of Beijing who is the son of a former foreign minister. Chen Haosu and Chen Yuan are described as having risen "like heli copters" in their careers. Chinese intellectuals attribute a lack of respect for authority partly to the fact that many children of high-level officials set bad examples, flouting laws and regulations.

### Civil Disobedience in America

Some Americans have been practising civil disobedience against arms and ammunition. The latest in the line is S. Brian Willson, 47, who had helped coordinate bombing raids in the Vietnam War.

On Sept. 1, outside the Naval Weapons Station at Concord, California, Mr. Willson committed no-violent civil disobedience by kneeling on rail road tracks in an attempt to stop amunitions train. Instead of braking and halting, the crew operating the train rolled on. Others in the group of 25 protesters at the site, who managed to clear away from the tracks, said the train was not even slowed.

Mr. Willson was badly hurt.

Such dissent is not uncommon. USA is the stronger for it, not to mention consciences that are clearer. Since 1960, more than 70 citizens have taken part in 18 Plowshares disarmament actions. Thirty-seven college students, parents, clergy, social workers and others have been locked away for disobeying civil law.

The prices they willingly pay are anything but overnight slumber parties in the county jail. A Catholic priest is serving 18 years in a federal prison for doing minor damage to a missile site. Three others in the same protest received sentences of 18, 10 and 8 years.

As Thoreau put it in "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience": "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison."

(Continued on page 27)

## Let There Be All-Party Consensus On Environment

B.B. Vohra, Chairman, Advisory Board on Energy

THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT in India which, for all purposes, had its beginnings in 1972, the year of the Stockholm Conference, is today 15 years old. It would be appropriate, at this point of time, to take stock of the progress which the movement has made, the kind of challenges it faces in the future, and the manner in which these challenges may be met.

One of the important gains made during this period is the consensus that has emerged with regard to the major environmental issues which the country has to tackle. To begin with, our environmental thinking took its cue from the developed countries and perceived the control of industrial pollution and the preservation of the threatened species—of both flora and fauna—as important environmental objectives. However, when this matter was gone into by the Tiwari Committee in 1980 and later by the National Committee on Environmental Planning (NCEP) during 1981-83, two other objectives which have a great relevance for India, and indeed for most other developing countries, were also identified. These relate to the need to prevent any further degradation and depletion of the country's basic natural resources and life-support systems of land, water and vegetation; and to provide all human settlements with at least clean drinking water and a minimum level of sanitation.

It is a matter of gratification that there is a growing realisation that this is a core environmental programme

is not a dispensable luxury but something which is vital for the country's long-term interests and indeed survival. The need to preserve the country's production base and to combat industrial pollution and insanitation in the interest of public health is self-evident. However, the doubts which were at one stage entertained with regard to wild-life protection, as a rather elitist pastime—indulged in by people who considered tigers to be more important than human beings—have since largely disappeared. It is now widely acknowledged that the conservation of the species is not something that needs to be taken up merely for aesthetic and cultural considerations, important enough though these are, but also for the severely practical reason that the preservation of genetic diversity must be ensured for solving the problems of human health and welfare which may arise in the future, and cannot be even visualised today. The recent dramatic advances in bio-technology have indeed invested this matter with a special significance.

Another development which deserves to be noticed is the slow but steady progress which has been made during the last 15 years towards the creation of institutional arrangements for the protection of the environment. The setting up of the National Committee for Environmental Planning and Coordination (NCEPC) in 1972 was followed a little later by the creation of the Central and State Pollution Control Boards. Thanks to the pioneering work done by the NCEPC in carrying out various environ-

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## All Party Election Manifestos pledged to protect the Environment

mental studies and spreading the message of environmental protection, all major political parties included, in their election manifestoes for the 1980 elections, pledged to protect the environment and maintain the ecological balance. Although the Department of Environment has seen five Secretaries during its brief existence of less than seven years, and only two of them have worked on a full-time basis, it has nevertheless been able to make itself felt in a new and largely uncharted field of activity.

During the last decade and a half, the environmental movement has also received legislative recognition in the shape of laws for the prevention of water and air pollution. The promulgation of the Environment (Protection) Act of 1986 is a particularly important development as it seeks to make the agencies responsible for the monitoring and control of pollution more effective by conferring greater powers on them than they have hitherto enjoyed.

The movement has also gained some strength and credibility through the implementation of a number of programmes of environmental management. Project Tiger was initiated in 1973 and has succeeded in its objective of saving a threatened species and with it, the ecological balance of the concerned national parks and sanctuaries. The saving of the Silent Valley from submergence by an irrigation and hydel project and the protection of the Taj against air pollution—caused not only by the Mathura Refinery

but also by local industrial units—among the other achievements for which the movement can legitimately take credit. A large number of environmental impact assessment studies have been made and used to advantage.

More recently, the movement has received a very big boost by way of two national programmes of great environmental significance which the Prime Minister announced in January 1985. These projects are for the cleaning of the Ganga and for a massive afforestation campaign in order to combat what the Prime Minister has described as a "major ecological and socio-economic crisis" faced by the nation. While the former project highlights the need to curb industrial and municipal pollution, the latter serves to stress the need to make better use of our natural resources.

But perhaps the most gratifying feature of the current environmental scene is the very significant improvement in the level of popular awareness regarding environmental matters which has taken place since 1972. This awareness is to be particularly welcomed because it constitutes the best possible guarantee that over a period of time an informed public opinion will, make it necessary for Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, to tackle the country's pressing environmental problems. It must however be stated that this achievement could not have been possible through the efforts of the Government alone but is primarily the work of a large number of selfless and dedicated environmentalists.

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Although the gains which have been made by the environmental movement during the last 15 years are by no means inconsiderable these must not be viewed in isolation but in the context of the challenges which lie ahead. These, as we shall see in a moment, are enormous in size as well as complexity and will require a tremendous effort to overcome.

As far as the protection of wildlife is concerned, our record is something we can be proud of. There are today over 300 National Parks, Sanctuaries and Biosphere Reserves and more are being planned. However, the lessons contained in the recent incidents at Ranthambhore and Bharatpur should not be lost sight of. It must be realised that the effective protection of sanctuaries, parks and reserves will, in the last resort, be possible only if the mounting pressures of increasing human and animal populations on such areas are kept under reasonable control. This, in turn, can be done only if the management of our land and water resources—including forest and pasture resources—is vastly improved and, in particular, an effective solution is found to the problem of excessive numbers of animals trying to graze off lands which already stand degraded. If these conditions are not fulfilled, there are bound, in the long run, to be violent clashes between the guardians of our well-maintained reserves and sanctuaries and villagers in search of pasture. The point to note is that the protection of sanctuaries against intrusions is something which, in the long run, will be

possible only if conditions in the areas surrounding them do not become too desperate.

As far as sanitation and the provision of clean drinking water are concerned, these tasks are being undertaken through time-bound programmes by State Public Health and Water Supply Organizations. However, it is necessary to look beyond the statistics of targets and achievements compiled by these authorities and recognise the fact that sanitary conditions are deteriorating rapidly in almost all towns and cities, primarily because of the continued influx of the rural poor who set up slum colonies and even start living on pavements in search of livelihood. Municipal bodies are finding it increasingly difficult to cater even to the minimum sanitary needs of such immigrants. Open defecation and urination have become familiar sights in and around slums, and constitute a grave threat to public health.

It is futile to imagine that the problems created by the influx of the rural poor into urban areas can be effectively tackled so long as it continues unchecked. The basic fact must be recognised that the management of urban areas can not be divorced from that of their rural hinterlands and in making a greater success of our rural development programmes, so that poor and landless farmers may find gainful employment in their own villages. Success in this field will however require a major shift in strategy. Instead of frittering away large

### *Ranthambhore and Bharatpur warnings on the rights of village cattle-men*

## Let us first clean up Pilgrim Centres, Railway Stations etc.

sums of money in penny packets, so to say, on a bewildering variety of integrated rural development schemes, rural employment generation schemes, special area development schemes, and poverty alleviation schemes, a concentrated and determined effort must be made to consolidate and use all available funds and surplus manpower to create—as was done in Mao's China—permanent productive assets aimed at improving the management and productivity of the local natural resources of land, water and vegetation. Experience has shown that whenever such an effort has been made it has made so much difference to local incomes that not only have the poor stopped moving into urban areas but have even started returning to their villages.

Problems of rural immigration apart, it must be admitted that if insanitation and filth are so much a part of the Indian scene, this is basically because we are not sufficiently intolerant of such conditions—in turn because most of us have known nothing better. In such a situation, 'Project Ganga' needs to be urgently supplemented by a nation-wide cleanliness drive which should aim at the transformation, in the first instance, of all religious places and pilgrim centres into models of cleanliness and then go on to tackle railway stations, bus stands, government offices and shopping centres etc.—in brief all the places where people congregate for one purpose or the other. It is only when people have been exposed to cleanliness and have learnt to appreciate it, that they will cooperate in cleaning

up their own surroundings and will also demand that municipal bodies should show greater interest and efficiency in the proper collection and disposal of human and domestic wastes.

As far as industrial pollution is concerned, while a commendable job of work has been done by the Department of Environment in making environmental impact assessment studies and ensuring that no new big industries are allowed to come up which do not have built-in systems for pollution abatement and control, the problem of controlling pollution contributed by small new units and by existing plants has so far eluded solution. The 1986 Act will undoubtedly give greater legal powers to State Pollution Boards and other concerned authorities to penalise offenders. However, it must be recognised that punitive action alone will not suffice. If we are really serious about controlling industrial pollution, the carrot must be used along with the stick. In other words, offending plants must be assisted—by way of both suitable technical advice and soft loans—to instal pollution control devices within prescribed periods failing which they must be penalised on a progressive scale till they fall in line. This approach will, however, require a great deal of organisational effort as well as money, both of which it will take time to arrange. We need not, therefore, entertain any undue hope that the control of industrial pollution is around the corner. The control of air pollution caused by vehicular emissions will also

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require a very great deal of effort and money as it will involve the inspection of millions of vehicles and the rectification of engines which function poorly.

While on this subject, the thought must cross one's mind whether it would be at all wise to set up large inspectorates for pollution control without making sure that these do not—like several other inspectorates that one can think of—become breeding grounds for corruption and inefficiency. It would perhaps be a good idea to subject such agencies to close and constant supervision by local environmental authorities as well as some designated non-official environmental groups.

Let us now turn to the most important element in environmental protection: the proper management of our natural resources. The situation in this field is most alarming indeed. It must be stated, even at the risk of repetition, that fully one-third of our total land resources of 26 mh which have any potential for biotic production are today lying almost completely unproductive. Another one-third are degraded to a greater or lesser degree and are, therefore, only partially productive. The country has lost a great deal of its forest cover. What is more, of the rather less than 30 mh of good natural forests which remain to us, at least 1.5 mh are still being lost every year. In most parts of the country, the loss of tree cover is so severe that it has resulted in an unprecedented shortage of fuel for cooking and is forcing people to use cow-dung—which is far more valuable as a fertiliser—as a substitute fuel. The continued denudation of water sheds has

stripped them of enormous quantities of precious top soil and has led to excessive run-off losses during the monsoon season. It is this situation which explains the premature siltation of our reservoirs as well as the recurring floods and droughts, which are increasing both in frequency and severity, from which we suffer. In canal irrigated lands the efficiency of water utilisation is only a fraction of what it should be; besides very considerable areas have been lost to water-logging and salinisation. Finally, our over-worked ground water resources, which today constitute a more important source of irrigation than big surface projects, are seriously threatened by depletion in many areas, largely as a result of excessive run-off losses on denuded lands. The present position is that while some progress has definitely been made on the afforestation front, very little is being done to conserve soil and water by preventing excessive run-off losses or to deal with the menace of water-logging.

It must be stated that the overall situation in this field continues to be alarming in the extreme and is inflicting grievous damage on the national economy—damage which can perhaps be best compared to the effect which an unchecked haemorrhage has on the health of a human body. It must, therefore, be tackled with the utmost vigour and—to use a hackneyed phrase—on a war-footing. It may be mentioned, in this connection, that if we are today the 11th poorest country in the world in a list of 126, this is largely because of our failure to manage our natural resources properly.

*We need more voluntary workers  
and not those corrupt inspectors*

## Natural afforestation much better than so-called social forestry

Even in the field of forestry which is receiving a great deal of attention these days, the situation is such that in spite of all our efforts the rate at which new plantations are being established is still only around 1.7 mh per annum and is thus only marginally higher than the reported rate of depletion of 1.5 mh per annum. Considering that not all the new plantations will survive to maturity, and that maturity is in any case several years away, the danger of our losing all our remaining forests before new ones come up to take their place is very great indeed. We must, therefore, view the threat of deforestation and desertification with the utmost seriousness and evolve new responses while there is yet some time to do so.

What form should these responses take? The very first thing that the situation demands is that all further illegal and unauthorised fellings should be stopped at all costs. Today such fellings are going on in all parts of the country, regardless of official instructions to the contrary. This is hardly surprising considering the very great laxity that has crept into our political and administrative machineries at all levels but particularly at the field level, the level which matters most. Since what is at stake is the very survival of the country, it should not be impossible for the Government to consult all political parties and evolve a consensus with regard to the manner in which the present rot should be stemmed. For stemmed it must be, and as quickly as possible, however drastic the methods that may have to be used.

The second matter which must receive urgent attention is how the pace of afforestation can be stepped up quickly. By now we have had enough experience of social forestry and wasteland development projects to know that "man-made" forests cost anything from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per hectare, depending upon local conditions, to plant and maintain for the first three critical years. Since this cost is much too high to permit any large-scale afforestation to be taken up in a hurry, it is clear that the "man-made" forest route to the restoration of vegetal cover to our bare lands is not a viable answer to our problem.

Fortunately, there is an alternative route available. It lies in making use of the powerful forces of natural regeneration, by creating conditions in which they can operate. This means, in effect, that denuded lands must be effectively protected against the ravages of grazing and browsing animals. Experience has shown that in all fenced-off areas, a great deal of natural growth of grasses, shrubs and trees takes place—through seeds already in the soil or borne by the wind or carried through bird and animal droppings—if only animals are not allowed to eat them up or trample them underfoot while they are still tender.

Such a strategy requires that the seemingly intractable problem of uncontrolled grazing by local or nomadic herds must be squarely faced if we are to restore vegetal cover to our bare soils at a cost the country can afford and at a speed which will enable us to win the race

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against time in which we are engaged. It needs to be emphasised, in this connection, that once the vicious circle created by animals trying to feed off over-exploited and exhausted lands is broken, the protected lands produce enough grasses within the course of a season or two to enable the animals to be stall-fed at a much higher level of nutrition.

Hope lies in the fact that unproductive lands can be protected and regenerated at little cost if entire village communities cooperate with one another in an effort to control grazing and to simultaneously conserve local resources of land and water. However, such cooperation is forthcoming only where the landless and the poor are given a fair share in the additional production from the land—whether in the form of trees or grasses—and in the additional water which becomes available as a result of better land management. Such conditions can, however, only be created quickly enough if the necessary effort, both at social and administrative levels, is made by a revitalised administration at the field level.

The *Third* initiative which needs to be taken is to launch a country-wide campaign to minimize both soil and runoff losses by carrying out, on as extensive a scale as possible, works like contour trenching, contour bunding and terracing and the construction of numberless small storages—ideally one in every mini catchment—so that there may be enough moisture in the soil to support natural regeneration and so that we may be rid

of the scourge of recurring droughts and floods.

At a time when district administration is badly run down and has touched an all-time low—in many states District Collectors are not allowed to remain on their jobs for more than a year on the average—it goes without saying that such new and far-reaching initiatives can have no chance of success, assuming of course, that they get taken in the first place. But if we mean business, everything that comes in the way of better resource management must be swept away ruthlessly. We must think and act big if we are to get out of the ecological nose-dive in which we find ourselves today. There is, for instance, no reason why the requirements of the present crisis situation should not lead us to carry out a drastic revamping of district administration. Why should not districts be manned by officers with, say, 15 to 20 years service, instead of by those with a mere 4 to 6 years experience? Why should not a District Collector remain on the job for at least five years and why should not his work be invested once again with the importance and the glamour that it deserves? Why cannot districts be once again made into viable and dynamic units of administration through a real devolution of powers by way of democratic decentralisation and made capable of handling the difficult but infinitely rewarding work of resource management at the only level which is relevant for this purpose?

In the ultimate analysis it will all boil down to whether we can generate the

*Let experienced Civilians man  
districts for 3-5 years each*

## *Let GOI set an example in Delhi for the whole country to follow*

collective political and administrative will to save ourselves from certain disaster. The answer to this question has necessarily to be in the affirmative for no one in his right mind chooses the path of suicide. The time has indeed arrived for the Government of India to take the strongest possible initiatives in this field. Considering that the maintenance of the ecological stability of the country—and, therefore, of its ability to sustain future generations—is at least as important a responsibility as the protection of its political integrity and unity, there should be no hesitation in taking the most stringent measures necessary for preventing any further degradation of our natural resources. This matter is also of such a non-controversial nature that one can be sure that if it is properly explained to them, all political parties would rally to the Government's support in taking whatever steps are felt to be necessary.

I have said enough to indicate what are the most important issues in each of the four major areas of environmental concern. I would now like to briefly touch on some other matters of relevance to the environmental movement.

Almost all the programmes which need to be taken up for environmental protection and improvement fall within the sphere of responsibility of State Governments. These Governments, however, have so far not taken much interest in such programmes, whether for lack of funds or lack of concern or for both reasons. While it is true that State Governments are being advised to pay

attention to environmental matters, it needs to be recognised that such exhortations will begin to be taken seriously only when the movement achieves a certain degree of credibility and is also backed by adequate plan allocations. At this rather difficult stage, it would help the cause greatly if the Centre could start practising what it preaches in the territorial and functional areas for which it bears direct responsibility i.e. the Union Territories and the Central departmental or public sector undertakings. According to this approach, the Centre should ensure that the city of Delhi does not contribute any untreated sewage to the Yamuna, that its vehicles and industrial plants do not pollute the air, that all the denuded lands in the Union Territory are clothed in vegetation, that all its slum colonies enjoy a modicum of sanitary facilities, and that there are enough well-sited and well-managed public latrines in the city to make open defecation and urination a thing of the past. Similarly, the Central Government should make it obligatory for all the numerous industrial enterprises under its direct control—ranging from steel mills to paper mills—to adopt efficient pollution control measures. Such an approach would not only establish the Centre's credibility in the field of environmental protection and equip it with a great deal of expertise and practical knowledge necessary for providing proper leadership to the States in this rather new field, but also create a reliable data base for estimating the order of investments which would be required to deal with various environmental problems on a countrywide basis. Needless to

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## *To many men, too many weapons but too few trees...*

ment, such a data base would have a very sobering effect on people who imagine that the protection of the environment requires little more than good intentions.

Another matter which needs to be considered carefully is the exact role which the Department of Environment should play in the management of the environment. The central issue is whether this Department should play the role basically of a keeper of the country's environmental conscience, a watch-dog and a gad-fly, so to say, or whether it should be burdened with administrative responsibilities pertaining to the implementation of assorted environmental programmes. It would appear that the Department is moving in the latter direction and has already accepted responsibility for the control of industrial pollution and the cleaning of the Ganga. There are two dangers inherent in such a role which need to be carefully weighed before a conscious decision is taken in this regard. First, will not growing administrative responsibilities make the Department ignore the wood for the trees and lessen its capacity to act as a 'think tank' in a field of activity which is still rather new and uncharted? Second, and more importantly, even if the role of an environmental 'think tank' is given to a body like the National Committee on Environmental Planning, as recommended by the Tiwari Committee, will not the direct involvement of the Department in programme formulation and implementation offer a most welcome alibi to other departments and organisations of the

Government for inaction on the environmental front? And this at a time when there is a clear need to involve as large a number of people and organisations as possible in environmental protection.

There are two other rather sobering thoughts that may be mentioned in passing, in order to remove any lingering hopes which some people may entertain that there are any shortcuts to environmental protection or that it can be achieved in a painless manner, without having to take, and what is more, implement, hard decisions. First, what kind of an environment can we hope for, so long as our population continues to grow at over 2% per annum and threatens to reach the 1000 m. mark by 2000 AD and to double itself from its present level of around 800 million, before it stops growing? Should not population control be, therefore considered as a fifth area of environmental concern? Second, will the environmental movement ever have at its disposal the kind of financial resources it requires, unless there is a marked reduction in tensions both at home and abroad so that we may find it possible to divert to more productive purposes some part of the enormous expenditures that are being incurred today on the maintenance of internal and external security? This is a problem that is bothering environmentalists everywhere, for while the global expenditure on defence has reached the \$ 1000 billion a year mark, there seems to be never enough money, even in the West, for improving the environment. □

## "Bharat, Akhand Bharat, Vishal Bharat" Independence Day in D.R.I.

THE DEENDAYAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE celebrated Independence Day this year with a discussion on 'Bharat, Akhand Bharat, Vishal Bharat.' Among those present was Prof. Rajendra Singh of RSS.

In the course of his welcoming words, Shri Mahesh Sharma, Secretary, DRI, said that recently the great Sindhi leader, G.M. Syed, was here. He very much wanted Kabir's Dohas and Mira's Bhajans in Urdu script. We tried the whole book market of Delhi but we could not get the same. Urdu was born in this land; but today even classics like these are not available in Urdu script. Here is one small indicator of our failure at national integration.

Maheshji then invited Jyoti Shukla to render Mira's bhajan "*Payo ri mein ne Ram Rattan Dhan Payo,*" which she did beautifully.

Speaking on the subject, Maheshji said: Today the concepts of Country, Nation, State have all got mixed up. We all grieve that the country has been partitioned. The country is the same; the people are the same; the culture, with all its variety, is the same; only the state has been divided. However, even so, the 'Indian Union' as a state is larger than any state of India in history, whether of Ashoka or of Akbar. Formerly, we used to have hundreds of states under a Chakravarti King. Today we have just eight in this area — Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bharat, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma, Sri Lanka.

The only difference is that in the old states the armies were confined to forts;

today we have these "nation states", with armies on the frontiers. Also, formerly, men moved freely, from one state to another; today they can't. Not to talk of Kabul, which is nearer to Delhi than Bombay, we can't visit even Lahore. The concept of nation State has divided the world. So we have the funny situation of a man born as Indian, growing up as a Pakistani and dying as a Bangladeshi.

Actually, the land, the people and the culture are vastly more important than governments and armies and "borders." And so whoever is born between the Himalaya and the seas, will be "Bharatiya", whatever the political arrangement. Cultural nationalism is real and abiding; nation-states are a variable phenomenon. we are all children of Bharat Mata, whether we are Pakhtoons and Baluchis, Gujeratis and Maharashtrians or Tamils and Telugus. Akhand Bharat means nothing less and nothing more than the indivisibility of the children of Mother India. Muslim Indians are also Hindu, Shri Gururji described them as 'Hindu Muslim'; Shri Deendayalji, as 'Mohammed-Panthei.' We need men like Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, who died to stop Hindu-Muslim violence in Kanpur.

SHRI AHMED RASHID SHERWANI, industrialist and educationist, said he was all for Akhand Bharat and Vishal Bharat. But we have to have the necessary vision.

A few years back 'Organiser' regretted that while the birthdays of Jesus and Mohammed were holidays in India, that of Rama was not. I penned a letter to the editor, saying that a more positive attitude would have been to say that it was good

## Sherwani Ji's 500 articles urging Reunion of India & Pakistan

that Jesus and Mohammed Jayantis were being officially observed, and that Sri Ram Jayanti should also be similarly observed. I am glad the letter was published.

Geo-culturally, India is one. Although Islam permits polygamy and easy divorce, the two things are not any commoner among Muslims than among Hindus. Indeed the word 'Talaq' (divorce) is taboo in all good Muslim homes. At times a fantastic amount of rupees one crore is prescribed as 'Mehr', to render divorce just impossible. Also, Muslims highly regard Ganga-jal for its purity and sanctity. This our geo-cultural unity can promote political unity also, if we establish a healthier State-Central relationship, and give more powers to the states.

Muslims can't ask for a communal Pakistan and then demand a secular India. Hindus cannot treat Muslims as unclean, and then expect them to join the national mainstream.

I have written some 500 articles urging re-union. Although I have received many critical letters, I have also received many appreciative letters. Partition was demanded mostly by UP-Bihar Muslims, and they have been hurt by it the most.

Sometime back I was in Lahore. I met Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, a potential Prime Minister of Pakistan. He talked of a reunited India all the time; he can't forget Delhi and Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Nasrullah told me

the future of India and Pakistan is linked; if Khyber is insecure, Delhi can't be secure for long.

We must develop mutual trust and respect. Muslims can't quarrel with the multiplicity of Hindu gods, since they, too, have many Ferishtas (angels). Hindus can't be described as 'Kafirs', since Hindus are also believers in God. Likewise Hindus should not treat Muslims as Mlechhas or Yavanas. If we do that, Akhand Bharat and Vishal Bharat can certainly be realised.

SHRI SAILEN GHOSH, well known intellectual, said semantic errors have created very serious problems. Hinduism is not a religion—it was, and is, only a federal or confederal principle of co-existence of religions. Our ancestors were great integrators. The legends they popularised made different religious sects feel they were worshippers of the same Divine Power. Thus Saivism, Vaishnavism, Shaktism came to so absorb elements from one another that each worshipper became worshipper of Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti and the sectarian differences virtually disappeared. I sometimes feel the word "Hindu" should have covered all Indians or none at all. But there was a genuine problem. It arose when religions originating outside India, came to this country and spurned the confederal principle of co-existence, to proclaim that they were superior. They did not like to call themselves Hindus under the co-existence principle. The people of India who had advanced far on the way to integration,

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on the other hand, could not be called simply Shaivas or Vaishnavas or Shaktas. Absorption had gone far too deep in them. The new conquerors started calling only the people under the umbrella of co-existence principle, "Hindus". Thus, a philosophy of religions came to be pictured as a religion. I wish all Indians were national like Gaganendranath Tagore who had embraced Christianity and used to call himself "a Hindu Bengali Christian", meaning thereby an Indian Christian from Bengal.

Now-a-days, fanatics shorn of humanism, are being called "fundamentalists". This is another semantic error. These bigots are really "externalists" concerned with the externals of their religion. They can also be called "appearantialists", concerned with mere appearance. They are untrue to the fundamentals of their religion. They can be countered only when we refer them to the fundamental values of their religion. To call them 'fundamentalists', is to glorify them.

We utter the names of Gandhi and Nehru in the same breath, knowing full well that they stood for very different things. While Gandhiji stood for decentralisation, Nehru stood for centralisation of power; while Gandhi stood for development in harmony with Nature, Nehru stood for development the Western way, that is by "conquering" Nature. While Gandhi stood for human-scale technology, Nehru stood for gigantism. All these are products of confusion of our

thoughts. It is necessary to stop this messing-up.

Yet another confused concept is "Secularism". It goes only half the way. It only proclaims non-discrimination between religions at the State level. Does our task end there, when we know that there is a deep divide among the people? The idea should be "harmonisation". For this, it is necessary to know the tenets of one's own religion and basic principles of the neighbour's religion. Those who bypass religion in the belief that, with industrialisation, religion will be marginalised, and that it is, therefore, not necessary to know the traditions, really leave the field free for bigoted maulvis and Bhindranwales. If communalism is so strong today, it is due to the incomplete (half-baked) concept of "Secularism". Secularism is negative, for it does not engage the followers of different religions in dialogues and mutual understanding. To illustrate how important it is to know the teachings of religions in sufficient detail, I shall mention an event from any personal life. In my younger days, I was a peasant organiser. I had read the Koran and the legends popular in the Islamic world. I had also known the scriptures and legends that had originated in India. In 1946, when communal frenzy was at its height, I stood between the feuding Hindu and Muslim mobs, in an area called Mather Dighi in 24-Parganas District, quoted from their respective scriptures and appealed for amity. At the end of it, the Muslims came to guard the Durga Puja pandal and the Hindus guarded the mos-

*Our half-baked Secularism  
makes for communalism*





(L to R) Mahesh Sharma, A.R. Sherwani Sailen Ghosh, Malkani

ques against defilement. Those who bypass religions, cannot promote harmonisation.

Without a trace of communalism in my mind, I can say that communal separatism is much deeper among the Muslims than among the Hindus. That is why when I find a genuinely non-communal Muslim, I give him or her greater respect because it is far more difficult to be non-communal among bigots. But my grievance against these non-communal Muslims is that even they avoid explaining that Islam's identification with the concept of state power has been debasing the religion itself. The original purpose of integrating religion with state activities had a laudable objective. It was, that piety would have to permeate all worldly

activities. But today, everywhere, this inter-twining of religion with politics has been working in the opposite direction. The controllers of state are also controlling the religious affairs through their proteges.

India must become a truly federal state, instead of practising "modified federalism" which is more oriented towards unitarism. Here, again, there is a semantic error, causing a confusion of thought. The Union Government should be called Federal government; it should never be called "Central" government. To call it "Centre" amounts to vesting it with decisive power in all respects, reducing State governments and local administrations to mere peripherals. In my concept there ought to be different tiers



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*A view of the audience with Prof. Rajendra Singh in foreground*

of government with demarcated functions —Block government, District government, State government, Federal government. Each should be paramount in its own sphere. I would like the federal government to deal with only Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency, Foreign Trade, Space Research and, maybe, one or two other things. Many of the things which are now monopolised by the federal government, should be the domain of Inter-zonal and Inter-state councils. The concept of development based primarily on ecological resources and renewable forms of energy, will make the role of grass-root level governments and the district governments really vital. When we practice genuine federalism, it will reconcile sub-national identities with national identity and forge an unbreakable national unity. All

groups, all religions and ethnic communities by virtue of such decentralisation, will come to share power.

Mr. Sherwani has talked of a strong urge among some Pakistani politicians for a re-unification with India. If we practise genuine federalism this urge will grow stronger. I strongly believe that real autonomy of sub-national identities within the context of one national identity, will be the solution of both India's and her neighbours' problems. The people of Pakistan are people of our own stock. During the Indo-Pak war of 1965, when we were hearing stories of heroism of both sides, I cried. If we could have remained united, we would have been on top of the world. Yet, it is not for us the people on this side, to talk of reunifica-

tion, for that would create suspicion and misunderstanding. If ever the people of Pakistan feel for a federation or confederation based on autonomy of sub-national and linguistic identities, it will be for them to broach the subject.

K.R. MALKANI: You might wonder why we are discussing Akhand Bharat and Vishal Bharat, when it is a problem keeping simple Bharat together, when we have serious problems in Punjab and Darjeeling. Fact, however, is that these latter problems are not really serious, they are basically the result of political mismanagement. And as for Akhand Bharat, there are distinct possibilities. Settled facts have been unsettled; and unsettled facts, settled. There is probably no decade in recorded history when states frontiers have not expanded or contracted.

Many people say that Akhand Bharat will mean many more Muslims in India, who are already a major problem. Fact is that the problem arises from our concepts of majority and minority; once we realise we are all brothers, children of Bharat Mata, the problem melts away.

In pre-British times, princes fought at times in the name of 'religion'. People as such didn't fight. The kind of Hindu-Muslim mob killing that recently took

place in Meerut, was unknown even a hundred years ago. Even Muslim princes celebrated Dussehra and Diwali, Vasant and Holi.

Muslims no doubt asked for Partition, out of fear and *zidd*. It was a very serious mistake on their part. But let it be realised that, in the process of partitioning India, they also trifurcated themselves. Partition was a British Plan; and Muslims were only foolish enough to bite the bait. Wali Khan's "Untold Story of Partition" is a well-documented account of this British conspiracy. Mullahs were hired for Rs. 10-15 a-piece a month to spread Hindu-Muslim poison: Churchill conducted a secret correspondence with Jinnah. Even the king told Mountbatten: "keep a bit of India". In any free vote in Pakistan, Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP would opt for Independence. Even West Punjab is now very conscious of its 'Panjabiat', which again is only a local variant of Indianism.

Time does not have a stop; History does not have an end. Let us have a sense of history to defeat this imperialist conspiracy. Hindus and Muslims in India and Pakistan are one people. We must all open our hearts and let the light of love illumine our mind ("*Khol Bandhu Hridaya Dwar, Prema Kiran Aaye.*") If we have this vision, the future is bright. □

**I CALL the Bharatiya Mussalmans as 'Hindu Muslim'...  
Let them follow their own religion faithfully and honestly, but in the national context, we all shall have to be integrated and united.**

—SHRI GURUJI

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(Continued from page 10)

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### Animals are great Pharmacists

Scientists are reporting their first successes in genetically transforming animals so that they can produce drugs and other useful substances in their milk. While the technique is still in the early stages of development, it could one day turn farm animals into living factories, producing pharmaceuticals, industrial enzymes and food additives.

"You would only need tens, or at most, hundreds of cows to produce the world's supply of some valuable drugs," said Alan E. Smith, vice president and scientific director of Integrated Genetics Inc.

The biotechnology company in Framingham, Massachusetts, has succeeded in genetically engineering mice so that their milk contains tissue plasminogen activator, or TPA, which is expected to become an important drug for the treatment of victims of heart attacks. The results are to be published in the November issue of the journal *Bio-Technology*.

A research team from the Institute of Animal Physiology and Genetics Research in Edinburgh reported last month in the journal *Nature* that it implanted a gene for a sheep protein in mice as a test and that the mice produced the protein in their milk.

### "Building Sickness"

People who feel ill at work and fine at home, may not be allergic to work,

but to their work place. According to recent studies, they could be suffering from "Building sickness", with symptoms that the World Health Organization lists as irritation of the nose, eyes and throat, headaches and lethargy. When workers leave the office, they leave the symptoms behind.

A report by Building Use Studies Ltd., a London-based consulting firm specializing in design and management problems in buildings, confirms previous findings that building sickness is widespread. It found that among 4,363 workers in 46 buildings in Britain, 80 per cent believed they had symptoms of building-related sickness that disappeared once they got home.

"There is no single cause," said Dr. Alistair Robertson, a chest doctor at the East Birmingham Hospital and an authority on building sickness. "Some people think it's due to odors, some think it's high temperatures, dust, volatile organic components or chemicals"—such as formaldehyde, which is found in carpets and modern office furniture—"smoking or non-psychological factors."

But experts agree that there are real environmental factors in buildings that can cause illness. Air conditioning emerges as a major culprit. The "healthiest" buildings do not have heating or cooling systems; windows actually open and are not tinted.

Some building managers say that many cooling and heating systems are being operated improperly to save money. "The main problem over the last few years has been energy conservation," said Mr. Dunlea of MTM Ltd. in London. "In addition, more and more

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offices are getting overcrowded. The result of energy conservation and overcrowding means stale air."

### Where Fathers of Twelve, Don't Need to Work!

Last month France was pleased that French families now have an average of 1.84 babies. This was the third year of rise from the lowest ever of 1.78 in 1983. Of course even this is way behind the goal of 2.1, which alone can ensure maintenance of the present French population of 5.5 crores.

Even families with 2 kids get \$ 200 a month from the government until one of them comes of age. If you have 12 children, you can get so many allowances, you can live comfortably *without having to do any other job!*

Except Ireland (2.54) populations are declining all over Western Europe. West Germany has 1.36 babies, East Germany 1.7, Spain 1.65, Sweden 1.74 and Italy 1.4.

What worries Frenchmen even more is that about 12% babies born in France, are not French, but Algerian, Muslim. 'Le Figaro' some time back published on its cover 'Marianne,' the symbol of France, complete with the French Tricolour, but wearing a Muslim veil. The caption read: "Will France still be French in the year 2015 AD?"

### Ravi Batra hits headlines in USA

Believe it or not, but an Amand Margi is making economic waves in USA. Ravi Batra, 44, a professor at Southern Methodist University, Los Angeles, has

come out with the book 'The Great Depression of 1990'. His thesis is that there is a 60-year cycle and that, therefore, after the 1929-30 Depression, crisis is due in 1990. Already this book is the third highest best-seller on the New York Times' non-fiction list Ravi's royalties are rolling in.

The book's foreword has become something of an embarrassment to Lester C. Thurow, the well-known economist and dean at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who wrote it. He agreed to lend his name to the project at a time when the book's title was "Regular Cycles of Money, Inflation, Regulation and Depressions", and when Mr. Batra was paying to publish the book himself. But, when Simon & Schuster agreed to publish it, the economist sought unsuccessfully to have his name taken off the cover. His objection was to the dramatic title used by the publisher. "I thought I was being a nice guy helping some poor, struggling economics professor at SMU, who couldn't get his books published," Mr. Thurow said.

Mr. Batra does not seem to mind his critics, some of whom have been withering. One writer for Forbes' magazine declared that "Batra's bafflegab is awful, appalling, terrible, no redeeming features whatsoever. If you want cycles, stick to Wheel of Fortune."

In return, the professor dismisses much of his profession with an amusement that borders on disdain: "Look at the forecasts of every other economist. They change them every three or six months—and they are still wrong." He added: "In every article I find 20 pages of equations and one page of naive conclusions."

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## Mahatma Gandhi in 'The Times' of London, 1939—48

D. P. Singhal

MAHATMA GANDHI never took a very rigid position; he was always open to conviction and his open-mindedness has seldom been surpassed in political history. He was not concerned with consistency except that he was constantly responding to the call of Truth as he saw it. Even his concept of non-violence was constantly evolving; he cooperated with the British in their war effort during the First World War, and on the issue of Kashmir he preferred violence to cowardice. Yet all the time he believed in the invincibility of moral force, truth and non-violence. Towards the end of his life he had become firmer in his convictions. Not unnaturally, therefore, he baffles political analysis and different people look upon him differently, views ranging from saintliness to shrewdness. *The Times* of London often described him as a political rebel whose sole purpose was to dislodge the British from India. It invariably supported London in its Indian policy and often criticized Gandhiji. Only when he demonstrably subordinated political independence to communal harmony and died at the hands of a Hindu communalist, did *The Times* realize Gandhiji's adherence to ideals rather than political ends.

Although he was killed by a Hindu, supposedly, to protect Hindu Rashtira, Mahatma Gandhi was a convinced Hindu, almost a perfect one. A karma-yogi, he subscribed to the supremacy of selfless action, believed in the unity of human life and essential goodness of human nature. To him all life was one piece, and religion was no different from

politics; proper diet was as important as proper conduct in the search of knowledge or truth. In line with Hindu inclusiveness, he freely admitted the validity of ideals as seen by other faiths. Leading the life of an ascetic, he defended Hindu ideals of poverty and simplicity. To him, economic disparities were distinctly subordinate to social inequalities. He did not seek material gain; only human dignity. On the day of Indian Independence, when India was hailing him as the Father of the Nation, he did not stay in Delhi to enjoy the honour and glory being bestowed on him. Instead, he re-embarbed on his lonely pilgrimage to riot-torn areas, aiding and comforting the distressed. The terrible intensity of communal passion had shocked him profoundly, and unless he had restored Hindu-Muslim harmony, he felt, his life's work lay in shambles. Ideal to him was more important than power, which, in fact, had never enamoured him. Preaching non-violence, he promoted national consciousness and agitation against injustice and inequality. Like Sri Krishna, he encouraged Arjuna to fight and drove his chariot, but did not lift a weapon himself. If *chakra* is a symbol of Krishna, *charkha* is that of Gandhi. on his death, *The Times* commented: 'No country but India, and no religion but Hinduism, could have given birth to a Gandhi.' (31.1.1948). In the same vein, it could be added that no people but Indians could give him that understanding and adoration which he received in India.

Whilst Indians, especially Hindus, did not see any irreconcilable contradictions

## Only India could have produced a Gandhi—and accepted him

in what Gandhiji preached or practised, he was an enigma to the British. When European nations faced the threat of war and extinction, Gandhiji baffled them with his counsels of non-violent resistance through love and understanding. Satyagraha was a path which the Allies found alien to their war interests and efforts. In fact, disciples of materialism, anywhere, could not understand him; they subordinated ideal to interest, but not Gandhiji. The rulers of India, entrusted with the task of maintaining the British supremacy in the country, had no time for Hindu-Muslim unity for its own sake; the politics of separatism were more conducive to their power.

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 was a turning point in world history. Amongst other things, it accelerated the growth of constitutional dialogue between Britain and India, rendering the politics of separatism infinitely more important. The resignation of the Congress Ministries from the provinces made it easier for the British to back Muslim communal interests, and for the Muslim League to acquire prominence on the Indian political stage. It was imperative for the British in the interests of the war effort to keep India mollified, if possible, or subdued, if necessary, during the war. Unable to pacify the Congress, they sought to appease minority interests. *The Times*, as expected, supported the view and pleaded for the *status quo* :

The airing of minority grievances since the Congress Ministries left office suggests that there

will be opposition to the resumption of office on the part of those minority elements which want assurances for their future, not only under Dominion Status, but under the existing system which must remain during the war. (26.1.1940)

Gandhiji at the time was politically inactive. He had withdrawn from the Congress membership a few years earlier, when Congress had failed to respond positively to his way of achieving political objective. Attaching equal importance to means as to ends, he had proposed that the attainment of Swaraj be altered from 'peaceful and legitimate' to 'truthful and non-violent' means. Instead of the four anna subscription for membership, Gandhiji wished Congress members to adopt the Khadi programme to emphasize its link with Rural India. However, his proposals were unacceptable to the All-India Congress Committee. Later, in 1937, he agreed to the acceptance of office by the Congress, in the belief that it would mark a further stage in the development of the non-violent experiment. Acceptance of office was not to be exercise in power politics, but a serious attempt to avoid a violent revolution. The object was not merely to replace an alien government, but an alien method of governance.

The wooing of Jinnah and the Muslim League by the British was a calculated attempt to offset the influence of the Congress under Gandhiji's leadership. The British found the Muslim League a convenient and readily available stick to beat the Congress agitating for independence. On 6 February 1940, the day after Gandhiji's first talk with Linlithgow, the

latter deliberately saw Jinnah, who was yet to emerge as a dominant political leader of Indian Muslims. The demand for Pakistan was not yet the goal of the Muslim League. The Pakistan resolution was adopted by the Muslim League in March 1940, after Jinnah's talks with the Viceroy. Even the election in February of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, as Congress President, was not seen by *The Times* as indicative of Congress effort to placate Muslim opinion or to reach Hindu-Muslim agreement on national questions. Indeed, it emphasized that the majority of Muslims were hostile to Gandhi and the Congress Party. (12.2.1940)

Even Gandhiji's scheme of Basic Education, a scheme for village uplift, received unwarranted criticism from *The Times*. Referred to it as his 'latest fad' (12-1-1940) it was described as neither a new nor a revolutionary idea, and in any case not Gandhiji's own. No attempt, however, was made to trace the origin of the scheme, or the evolution of Gandhiji's thought regarding it. The Soviet bogey was raised, describing the scheme as 'being very near to what the Socialists and Communists aim at.' (12-1-1940)

While not fully subscribing to the view that the war was being fought for liberty and peace, Gandhiji was at great pains not to embarrass the British before their allies, and not to block the war effort. Despite immense pressure on him from radical nationalists, he was reluctant to embark on an agitation against the British at that time. He was of the opinion that India should wait till the

heat of the battle had died down and the future was clearer than it had been. Seeking the country's independence out of Britain's ruin was contrary to non-violence. Though relieved, *The Times* did not hesitate to give a twist to Gandhiji's position, interpreting it as reflecting the views of his countrymen, whose sympathies lay with Britain and France. (5-1-1940)

On 3 July 1940, Gandhiji urged the British in his famous appeal "*To Every Briton*" to conduct their antifascist struggle on purely non-violent lines. He did not want Britain to be defeated or victorious in a trial of brute strength, whether expressed through the muscle or the brain. He desired the British 'to fight Nazism without arms', or, if 'expressed in the military terminology, 'with non-violent arms'. Not realizing the intensity of Gandhiji's agony over violence, *The Times* mocked at his appeal, urging the British in the name of Gandhiji to surrender their beautiful island and homes to the enemy, and allow themselves to be slaughtered. *The Times* of course did not mention his message of non-violence. (7-7-1940)

On 8 August 1940, Linlithgow made an offer, promising to expand his Executive Council to include representative Indians and to establish a War Advisory Council. Dissatisfied with these meagre concessions, the Congress Working Committee sought Gandhiji's active leadership. As a prelude to negotiations with the Viceroy, and as a test of discipline, Gandhiji advised his countrymen to

## *They Saw Communism in Gandhiji's 'Nai Talim' Scheme*



## “Capricious, irresponsible, unpredictable Hindu metaphysician”

suspend all forms of civil disobedience. At the same time, he sought an assurance from the Government for freedom of speech and non-interference in any conscientious objection to the war. The Viceroy did not accept Gandhi's demand. While not disputing the validity of the official position, *The Times* appreciated the strength of Gandhi's adherence to non-violence. Though it insisted on believing that any mass movement by Gandhi would arouse widespread Indian disapproval, labelling Gandhi variously as pacifist, clever political tactician, and metaphysician, it hoped that he might yet succeed in reconciling the conflicting demands of a pacifist and politician and his subtle mind might yet devise a formula acceptable to the Viceroy. (2.10.1940) Gandhi, aware of the British predicament, was reluctant to start a mass movement against them; it would have been ungentlemanly to hit the enemy when he was lying on the floor. It was a time when Britain almost single-handedly was fighting the Germans and stood in serious danger of defeat and destruction. Yet Gandhi had to make a moral protest against the British policy of denying freedom to Indians, while fighting for their own. He, therefore, devised Individual Satyagraha, a highly civilized way of registering protest, without endangering the British war effort. Vinoba Bhave was selected as the first satyagrahi to court arrest on 17 October 1940. Nehru was to follow on 7 November, but was arrested a week earlier on his way to Allahabad, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. Soon the movement gathered momentum. By the

end of the year, nearly four hundred Congress legislators, including twenty-nine ex-ministers, were in goal.

The British remained uncommunicative, reticent and inflexible. Though threatened by Nazism, Imperialism was in no immediate danger now as other powerful nations had joined the war on the British side. The spirit of the Gandhi-Irwin pact was forgotten; indeed, such pacts in the future were to be prevented at all costs. (9.10.1940) A professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge reacted rather sharply to Gandhi's movement. He wrote a letter to *The Times*, saying that the British could not allow a Hindu metaphysician, self-determined, capricious, irresponsible and unpredictable, to hinder British interests. He even went to the extent of distorting Gandhi's moral protest.

England's difficulty is Congress' opportunity. It is easy to indulge in a form of blackmail which passes muster as political bargaining. Indians of all classes know well upon whose word they can rely. We too must remember that we cannot change a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. (24.1.1941)

The common British attitude to Gandhi's moral protest was perhaps not as violent as that of the Cambridge professor, but it was not as accommodating as might have been expected. The official response was worse. Without explaining that the real intention of individual satyagraha was not to shake the British power, Amery declared with relish that the Congress action had not affected the war effort, almost implying

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the popularity of the British regime. (28.4.1941)

If individual arrests were not going to shake the British Empire, their release was not going to hinder the war effort, even if the satyagrahis continued to be active in political agitation. It was, therefore, not of great significance if the government's release of these satyagrahis did not draw out any corresponding concession from Gandhiji. But *The Times* believed that Gandhiji's attitude only complicated matters. The release of satyagrahis could serve as a token and a first instalment. While admitting that Gandhiji would do nothing to embarrass the British government in the conduct of the war, *The Times* warned that Gandhiji's attitude made

...orderly government impossible. Any administration, however enlightened and conciliatory its intention, could only fall back on methods of repression. This has happened before and would happen again, for the Government of India cannot and will not abdicate functions, essential, as Mr. Gandhi well knows, to the defence of the country... (19.11.1941).

Like British officials, *The Times* also deluded itself and its readers into believing that there was hardly any support for Mahatma Gandhi's recent policy in India. It insisted that there was a growing feeling among Congressmen that satyagraha should be abandoned and that civil disobedience was dying down. (21.11.1941 & 5.12.1941)

There were, no doubt, many Congress leaders who were not reluctant to

give up non-violence against British rule. They did not believe in unqualified non-violence as a national policy, but rather in world peace through disarmament. But they, or certainly Gandhiji, at no time wished for seriously blocking the war effort. Strict adherence to non-violence had always been Gandhiji's creed; he merely desired to outlaw war and violence. His non-violence was for the brave and not exclude dying violently before the aggressor. Non-violent resisters could die calmly wherever they were, but would not bend the knee before an attack. The aim was to convert the adversary, not to kill him. Hence in non-violence, they were to have equal regard for Japan and Britain alike. Humanitarian considerations could not be excluded. Non-violent resisters were to have won the day inasmuch as they preferred extermination to submission.

Political events were moving with great rapidity in India. Both the British and Indians continued to work out a common meeting ground. In March 1942, the British made an offer to India, popularly known as the Cripps Proposals. A devout anti-Nazi and anti-imperialist, Sir Stafford Cripps had publicly professed sympathy with Indian aspirations. He was personally known to Nehru and other Indian leaders, and had been a colleague of Jinnah in the legal profession. Being strict vegetarian and devout Christian, he was expected to appeal to Gandhiji. However, Cripps underestimated the ill-disguised hostility of the Viceroy and of the British Indian nationalists, and the intransigent attitude of the Muslim Lea-

*In non-violence, England  
and Japan are one and equal*

## *Did he describe Cripps proposals as a cheque on a fast crashing bank?*

gue. His proposals promised Dominion Status after the war, and, during the interim period, Indian ministers were not to be responsible for the defence of India. In brief, colonial self-government was conceded, not complete independence.

Gandhiji echoed the prevailing disillusionment when he said the plan was 'too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere'. (21.4.42) *The Times* reaction was :

The reasonable policy contained in the drafted declaration which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India will find less chance of future endorsement if the Congress Party maintains its attitude of condemning British proposals. (28.4.42)

The popular belief that Gandhiji dismissed the proposals as a 'post dated cheque on a fast crashing bank' (31.1.1948) is false. Gandhiji never used this expression. It is of course true that Gandhiji did not find anything good in the Cripps Proposals. His view was that the British should leave India to herself, and that Indians should have the right to conduct their foreign relations. *The Times*, however, described Gandhiji's non-violent non-cooperation as 'Petainism'. (20.5.42) It even repeatedly reported rumours that Gandhiji was isolated from some of his prominent colleagues, such as Nehru and Rajaji. (30-5-42, 2-6-42, 16-6-42.) While disagreements and discussions were not uncommon between them, Gandhiji's supremacy was not questioned, and there was no evidence of serious rift between them.

If *The Times* had hoped to wean Rajaji and Nehru from Gandhiji's influ-

ence, it did not materialize. Undoubtedly, Nehru was torn between two pulls which were not necessarily divergent: the national, which demanded non-violent resistance to the war; and the international, which demanded support for the anti-Nazi forces, including Britain.

Having failed to work out a mutually satisfactory constitutional framework with the British, the Congress, on 8 August 1942, adopted a resolution asking the British to transfer complete political power to India, popularly known as the Quit India Resolution. British non-compliance was to be followed by civil disobedience which was to begin with a nation-wide hartal accompanied by prayer and fasting. All Congress members of provincial assemblies and other official bodies were to resign to join the movement. Refusal to pay land tax was advised for the more courageous. Independent preparation of salt in the villages could be resorted to, but direct embarrassment to the war effort was to be avoided as long as possible. Gandhiji was of the opinion that the British should leave India in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malaya and Burma, where they withdrew haphazardly before the Japanese invasion. He did not ask Britain to hand over India to the Congress or the Hindus, but to entrust it to God. Even anarchy was preferable to foreign rule.

*The Times'* attacks on Gandhiji were increasing. It saw Gandhiji's statements as a desperate attempt and an irrational

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effort of an old man to stampede Indians into supporting him. (16.7.42) Echoing the Government's hostile attitude towards Gandhiji, it said; 'We could not allow the actions of a visionary, however distinguished in his fight for freedom in the past, to thwart the United Nations' drive for victory in the East. (27.7.42)

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describing Gandhiji's 'use of a fast for political purposes as a form of blackmail'. He asked Gandhiji to repudiate or dissociate himself from the 'Quit India' resolution and the policy it represented, before he would listen.

*The Times*, too, adopted a hard line. Nor could the Government assume responsibility for Gandhiji's life. While the way to discussion was open, it continued, the fast itself was beyond the realm of reason and in the category of intimidation—it merely reflected the low level to which the fortunes of the Congress had fallen in the country. It even tried to dilute the intensity of the fast by calling it a fast 'according to capacity' because during it, Gandhiji was to add citrus fruit juice to his water. (11.2.43) As the 'Quit India' movement, spontaneous as it was and without the leaders who had all been interned, had lost its momentum, except for sporadic underground activity, *The Times* described Gandhiji as having failed 'wholly to win the confidence of the millions who did not accept his political leadership...' (12.2.43) While denouncing Gandhiji's fast and its consequences, it admitted that Gandhiji had rendered 'unique service to his country as the promoter of national consciousness.'

It seems the editorial comments of *The Times* were more balanced than the reported comments of their own correspondents. On 14 February, in his daily report on Gandhiji's fast, the correspondent of *The Times* observed that the fast 'might rescue Congress from the deplorable situation that it has reached under Mr. Gandhi's leadership.'

*'Fasting for a Political purpose is a form of blackmail'*

## *An obituary and sandal-wood kept ready for Gandhiji's death*

The fast created quite a stir in the country. Even leaders of the parties not favourably inclined to Gandhiji's viewpoint, were disturbed and urged the Government to meet Gandhiji's conditions. Some members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, such as Aney, Mody and Sarkar, even resigned their office. However, the Government remained unmoved. Indeed, they had expected aged Gandhiji to die during the fast. It kept a stock of sandal-wood for the cremation ready, and also took all kinds of precautionary measures. A directive was issued over the signature of the Foreign Secretary, as to how Gandhiji's obituary was to be written; in case of Gandhi's death, do not diminish his moral stature, acknowledge his uncompromising allegiance to unworldly ideals, express regret that his unrivalled influence was not at the service of the allied nations, especially China and India. (Pyarelal: 'The Last Phase') However, much to the relief of the Government and of the nation, Gandhiji survived the ordeal despite precarious health.

Pressure on the British Government to release Gandhiji began to mount from everywhere. Telegrams flooded Delhi urging Gandhiji's release on political or compassionate and religious grounds. *The Times* described these communications as having emanated from 'usual sources', implying thereby as if they were engineered or motivated in some ways. (15.2.43) *The Times* was conspicuously silent on the views of the Moderates, presumably because Liberals such as Sapru, Shastri and Jayakar had not

called for the withdrawal of the 'Quit India' resolution. However, its own correspondent observed that the Government 'would have avoided, if they could, the embarrassing experience of having Mr. Gandhi kill himself on the Government's doorstep.' (22.2.43) In an editorial, *The Times* saw Gandhiji's fast as a widening of the Hindu-Muslim rift. The fast no doubt would cause 'widespread inflammation of Hindu feeling' and 'Muslim and other minorities will feel themselves compelled to renew and intensify the attitude of defence and reckless embitterment of feelings.' *The Times* demanded the cessation of the fast, the withdrawal of the threat of civil disobedience and then the release of Gandhiji. A few months later, when Wavell took over the Viceroyalty, and famine in Bengal was in full swing, it even admitted that if 'nothing can be done with Mr. Gandhi in the field of all India politics, it is apparent also nothing can be done without him...' (21.10.43)

The Government of India survived Gandhiji's fast, but was shaken by the widespread feeling it had aroused against them. Afraid of facing another similar experience, it unconditionally released him 'on health grounds' in May 1944. Soon after release, Gandhiji wrote to the new Viceroy, Wavell, on 17 June 1944, seeking permission to see members of the Working Committee who were still behind bars. The Viceroy, however, turned down his request. Supporting the Viceroy, *The Times* wrote 'that Mr. Gandhi has yet not freed himself from the illusion that the Congress party is identical with Indian

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nationalism.' (18.8.44) Having failed to break the deadlock, Gandhiji approached Jinnah for a Joint Action Against Imperialism on the basis of the 'Rajaji formula'. Rajaji had suggested that if the Muslim League endorsed the Congress demand for national independence and for the formation of a provisional government during the war, the Congress would agree to a demarcation of contiguous Muslim-majority districts in the north-west and north-east of India, and to a plebiscite of all adult persons in these areas to decide whether they would prefer to remain in a free united India or in separate states. Should partition be ultimately accepted, the two states were to devise mutual agreements for defence, communications and other essential services.

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks commenced on September 9 and finished on September 27, with the deadlock still unresolved. Jinnah, much to the relief of the Government of India, said that Gandhiji could not conclude any final agreement on behalf of the Congress as he had no mandate from that body. Not surprisingly, *The Times* commented:

...it should not have been impossible for Mr. Gandhi, especially as he insisted upon the personal as opposed to the representative character of his activities in Bombay, to have admitted in full Mr. Jinnah's claim to Pakistan... (29.9.45)

Though nothing was achieved, the fact that Gandhiji treated Jinnah as a political force to be reckoned with and debated seriously the idea of Pakistan,

raised Jinnah's personal prestige. At the same time, the Viceroy endorsed the Muslim League view that 'the division of India is inevitable and that it is the only solution of India's problem'. (12-12-45)

While India's fate was still in the balance, the war in Europe had come to an end. In July 1945 the general elections in Britain were held, and the Labour Party came to power with a great majority. Amery, the Secretary of State, was replaced by Pethick-Lawrence, an old friend of Gandhiji for forty odd years. At the same time, discontent in India was rapidly increasing. The British policy of repression and of procrastination at not fixing a definite date for their withdrawal, had caused widespread resentment, a startling manifestation of which was a mutiny in a section of the Royal Indian Navy. The news of the heroic struggle of the Indian National Army had become known to Indians, and their imagination had been fired by ideas of revolt. There was also evidence of unrest in the Indian Police. India was generally seething with discontent.

The need for a definite declaration of British intentions in India was greatly felt. It was in this atmosphere that Prime Minister Attlee announced on 15 March 1946 that by June 1948 the British would withdraw from India, come what may. A Cabinet Mission of three Ministers consisting to Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps and Alexander, was to visit India to formulate the details. The Cabinet Mission, however, was unable to solve the political deadlock between the Muslim League

*Nothing could be done with him—  
or without him!*

## How Nehru & Jinnah killed Cabinet Mission Plan

and the Congress. On 16 May, they published their own plan for the setting up of a constitution-making body and for the formation of an Interim Government.

Indian politics entered its most delicate and complicated phase. Events moved with great rapidity. In their attempt to placate the Muslim League, the Congress conceded almost equal strength to the League in the Interim Cabinet. However, Gandhiji was insistent that the Congress quota of six seats must include a Muslim. *The Times* refused to see in this an attempt to indicate the national character of the Congress. Instead, it saw it as a 'hardening' of Gandhiji's attitude (20-6-46) which might prove a rock on which the Cabinet Mission's scheme could founder. (21-6-46) The nomination of a nationalist Muslim was interpreted as 'wrecking tactics' designed to keep the Muslim League out of the coalition. (23-6-46) It went on to insist that Gandhiji's influence had been erratic and unpredictable during the negotiations. (25-6-46) The basis for this accusation was groundless. Gandhiji had always insisted that the Congress was a national organisation, representing both Hindus and Muslims with a national programme. As against this, Jinnah claimed that the Muslim League was the sole representative of the Muslims and he refused to associate himself in an interim government which included non-League Muslims.

Meanwhile, Nehru had replaced Azad as the President of the Congress and on

10 July 1946, after a meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay, Nehru said in a press conference that the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body unfettered by any agreement and could change the Cabinet Mission plan if it so wished. Taking advantage of this statement, Jinnah withdrew his previous acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and gave a call for Direct Action. August 16 was chosen as the Direct Action day. On this day, the history of India, certainly of the Hindu-Muslim riots, entered a new and disastrous phase. The 'Direct Action' was responsible for the great Calcutta killings, hitherto unprecedented in Indian history. More than five thousand were killed and fifteen thousand injured in a couple of days. These killings gave rise to a chain reaction of communal madness and fury. Gandhiji was deeply shocked. He declared that if Hindus had died to a man by non-retaliation, that would have saved Hinduism and purified Islam. On November 6, he proclaimed his intention to fast to stop communal troubles in Bihar. About a month later, Gandhiji proposed to undertake a walking tour of the areas of East Bengal which were affected by communal riots and where Muslim communal passions were running high. The Chief Minister of Bengal, Suhrawardy, offered to arrange police protection for Gandhiji, but it was refused as contrary to Gandhian concept of non-violence.

In the face of the deteriorating situation in India, on 20 February 1947, Attlee announced Britain's definite intention to effect the transfer of power to India. Simultaneously, Mountbatten replaced

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Wavell as Viceroy. Wavell had found difficulties in dealing with Gandhiji. Also, he was unpopular with Indian leaders and Attlee was not sure that Wavell could bring the divergent parties together in a united scheme.

The new Viceroy arrived in Delhi on March 26, and immediately invited Jinnah and Gandhiji for consultations in the capital. On March 31, Gandhiji had a long talk with the Viceroy. *The Times* reported that the talks related to the possible partition of Bengal and the Punjab. (25.6.46) What is probably more accurate is Campbell-Johnson's account that the talks were personal, hardly pertaining to communal issues.

The following day Gandhiji addressed an Asian Relations Conference in Delhi, calling on the delegates to work for the realization of the ideal of One World. Asia's message should not be to wage war against America or Europe or any part of the world. Hers was the message of love, but it should be a lesson to all; he hoped India would not revert to the 'law of the jungle.' (2.4.47)

Gandhiji paid three visits to Mountbatten, and offered a plan, according to which Jinnah was to be given full option of forming the Government. If Jinnah rejected the offer, the same was to be made to the Congress. However, both the Congress and the Government rejected the plan.

Later in May, Gandhiji visited the Viceroy again. They discussed the attitude

of the Congress to the specific issue of the North West Frontier Province where the Muslim League was demanding fresh elections on the ground that the Congress Ministry of Dr. Khan Saheb was unrepresentative. The following day Gandhiji saw Jinnah in an unsuccessful attempt to seek a common solution to the communal problem. *The Times* was quick to comment :

Once again the undisputed leaders of India's two largest parties have failed to find any common ground on the constitutional plane, and in spite of their condemnation of violence in principle, the root cause of communal strife remains. (7.5.47).

Meanwhile, communal riots continued in the country. Gandhiji blamed Indians for the deteriorating political situation. All the British could do, he said, was to withdraw, but they could not give India liberty. (27.5.47) On June 3, Mountbatten's plan, partitioning India, was announced. Later in August 1947, the country was divided into two sovereign states, India and Pakistan. While *The Times* had looked at the partition as a positive move, and admired the spirit of realism of the Indian leaders in accepting the partition (5.6.47), it had nothing to say about Gandhiji's role in the Indian independence movement and remained dubious about Indian capacity to look after themselves :

The next few years will be a critical period. Can political issues be settled peacefully? Can the administrative machines held together? The fortunes of India and Pakistan will be watched anxiously not only by their many friends and well-wishers throughout the world but especially by their Asian neighbours. (15.8.47)

## *Both Congress & Government Reject Gandhiji's Proposal*



## When 500 Policemen of Calcutta fasted with Gandhi

The Father of Indian Freedom, Gandhiji, left Delhi for Calcutta before the day of Independence. Gandhiji regarded the restoration of communal harmony more important than freedom from foreign rule. Actually, to him, removal of social disparities of all kinds were far more important for India than either political independence or economic progress. It is, therefore, not surprising that Gandhiji, instead of enjoying the national adulation in Delhi moved to the area where communal hatred and violence had taken control of the minds of men. What appeared to be surprising at that time was his move to fast until Calcutta returned to sanity. The fast affected many Indians in a deep personal way, making them conscious of their guilt. It was reported that the entire police force of North Calcutta, five hundred strong, underwent a sympathy fast for twenty-four hours, while continuing their duty. There was nothing but agony in his heart, he lamented. His was a voice in the wilderness. He felt grieved that Hindus would not allow Muslims to remain in the Indian Union. What was the fate of Muslims today, would be the fate of Parsis, Christians, and Europeans tomorrow. It did not matter what was happening to non-Muslims in Pakistan. If one party remained truly non-violent, that would mean victory. (3.10.47) Upon reassurances given by the leaders of the warring communities, Gandhiji broke his fast and communal peace was restored in the city.

*The Times*, it seems, was beginning to realize the sincerity and purposefulness

of Gandhiji and the validity of his ideals. On September 11, it paid a tribute to Gandhiji's peace mission in Calcutta: 'There was no doubting the calming influence this extraordinary old man has, and the continued quiet in Calcutta is due almost solely to him.' (11.9.47)

After breaking his fast, Gandhiji went to Delhi to meet Congress leaders to discuss his proposed tour of the Punjab. On his arrival in Delhi, he found that a twenty-four hour curfew had been imposed in the city. Communal tension was high. Consequently he decided not to leave the city until the capital was peaceful again.

A little later, at a prayer-meeting outside Birla House, he announced, rather spontaneously, that he would commence a fast for an unspecified period in the furtherance of Hindu-Muslim unity and understanding. *The Times* had by now become more receptive to Gandhiji. It expressed concern at Gandhiji's decision, doubting if such a frail constitution would survive it. It concluded on a more optimistic note, saying that undoubtedly communal extremism will be quelled, and leaders of the various communities will get together to promote amity and dissuade Gandhiji from continuing his fast. It briefly mentioned previous fasts and pointed out that since his last fast in Calcutta, Bengal was relatively free from incidents. (13.1.48)

*The Times* continued to report on Gandhiji's fast until it was broken on January 18. Present at the breaking of

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the fast were various representatives of Delhi, including Pakistan's High Commissioner. *The Times* paid a glowing tribute to Gandhiji, whose fast had already produced in a short space of time a remarkable change for the better in the atmosphere in both dominions. (19.1.48)

Some Hindu communal fanatics saw in Gandhiji's effort a check to their anti-Muslim activity. A bomb was thrown on January 20 in his prayer meeting in an attempt to kill him. The only comment Gandhiji had to make was that Hinduism could not be saved by throwing a bomb at, and killing, him, but by following his non-violent creed.

Gandhiji was assassinated on 30 January, 1948. *The Times* finally realized what Gandhiji really was, and wrote a long editorial. The killing of Gandhiji, it reported, lights up in a flash the terrible intensity of communal passion he had been labouring to allay for so long. His call to Hindu-Muslim brotherhood reinforced by his latest fast, as well as by his success in Bengal, had shown signs of succeeding, but some ears were not ready to heed it. There were certain elements who saw the Dominion of India as an instrument for the enforcement of the sword of Hindu supremacy. To minds so twisted, Gandhiji's appeal for amity and his unbending insistence on non-violence have seemed at once a denial of the most cherished hopes and a betrayal of righteousness itself. Gandhiji's memory and example now had to be tested, and the stake is the future of

India and Pakistan alike. Gandhiji left a deeper impression on his country in the role of popular leader than any of his predecessors, the article continued. He was a social reformer, politician and prophet of rebellion in one. Revered as a saint, a propagandist versed in all the arts of publicity, he was a perpetual enigma to friend and critic alike, a difficult leader to follow. There was something highly unique in the facets of his personality, in which saint and politician, lawyer and revivalist, ascetic and showman took command by turns. (31.1.48)

The obituary, obviously written some time ago, was less complimentary. His role as national leader was appreciated, but in his negotiations with Britain, notably the Round Table Conference, the Cripps Mission and the Cabinet Mission, he was seen as a deliberate wrecker of any settlement.

On the Round Table Conference, Gandhiji as the sole representative of Congress, was expected to display his outstanding gift of compromise. This, however, was not fulfilled. Averse to matters of detail, constitutional matters did not particularly interest him. His interventions in the discussion were mainly propagandist. (31.1.48)

*The Times* interpreted his attitude to the Cripps Mission just as critically. When discussions had reached a hopeful stage, Gandhiji deliberately advised against settlement. Negotiations with Congress leaders broke down at a time

*Those who came to scoff,  
remained to pray*

when the war reached a critical stage.

Although Gandhiji took a large responsibility in the negotiations behind the scenes with the Cabinet Mission, *The Times* described his manner as 'inscrutable', at times he was helpful, and at other times the reverse. He remained out of the Cabinet, 'much to the relief of its members,' it added. (31.1.48) *The Times* interpreted Gandhi's ideas as both forward looking and cosmopolitan, closely bound up with Hindu tradition. The danger was that the setback inflicted upon Hindu reactionaries and fanatics might be short-lived. The chance must be seized at once if the ideals for which Gandhi died were to triumph as a legacy of his life work and a memorial to his greatness.

Gandhiji's image in *The Times* was thus first unfavourable and then favourable. It seems to have started with a disbelief in Gandhian sincerity and ideals which first turned into scepticism and finally into faith. It would have been interesting to see how *The Times* would have reported the march of Gandhian progress if Gandhiji's life had not been cut short at the hands of an assassin. As

a political rebel, he was looked upon with suspicion and distrust; as a practitioner of non-violence with disbelief and demagoguery; and as a champion of social equality and communal harmony, with faith, and even adulation. However, it must be said for *The Times* that during the war, when the very existence of Britain was in danger, a British journalist was naturally torn between two divergent pulls: on one side he was to defend the fight for democracy and liberty; on the other he was to justify imperialism against Nazism. Its problem was how to present to the reader an objective account of a man possessing high spiritual ideals which conflicted with Britain's imperial and war policy. Moreover, while Gandhiji was frank and ready to receive advice, he used his words very carefully. Consequently, his frankness sometimes appeared too dangerous and his precise use of language exasperated the journalists who are so often keen to draw hasty generalizations. The people he was dealing with were all politicians, and their approach to politics was more familiar to the journalist. Gandhiji, who was an experimenter in non-violence and truth, was a far more difficult case. □

### Canadian Pattern for India

*When the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war, shall we despair of Indian nationality? we may not create today the patriotic fervour of Japan with its forty millions of homogeneous people. But a concordat like that of Canada is not without the bounds of practicability. This is no easy task but it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India.*

—Maulana Mohammed Ali