

I suppose it will be received by me tomorrow when I hope to reach Patna if I do not receive it earlier.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. Sir Hugh Dow,
Governor of Bihar,
Patna.

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Government House,
Patna,
22nd March 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday, which I have just received. I hope we shall be able to have a further talk soon after your return to Patna, and I shall be grateful for any advice you can give. May I say that so far as I am able to judge, your visit to this province has been, and is being, of great help in creating a better spirit between the communities. You must have realised how much still remains to be done.

I suppose I am a bureaucrat in the sense used by you. it is not a term that I resent. The complexity of modern life ties most rulers to their desks more than they like, and this must be true even of yourself. But I look forward to the early day when neither half of this word will have much application to me.

Yours sincerely,
H. Dow

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Patna,
25th March 1947.

Dear Friend,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd instant. I have to deny myself the pleasure of writing in my own hand for the sake of sparing you the infliction of bad handwriting, of which I am really ashamed. Whenever you feel that you want to

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discuss anything with me please do not hesitate to tell me so and I shall be at your disposal.

I am going on my third tour tomorrow morning. I return on the 28th instant.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. Sir Hugh Dow,
Government House,
Patna.

XI
CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD MOUNTBATTEN
OF BURMA: 1947

(A) TOWARDS PARTITION

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
22nd March 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have arrived in Delhi today, and I write to say that I hope we shall be able to meet soon. I realise that it may be difficult for you to come to Delhi at once in view of your preoccupations in Bihar, but perhaps you would let me know when you will be able to come. I look forward to seeing you.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

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Patna,
26th March 1947.

Dear Friend,

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd instant received by me yesterday.

You have rightly gauged my difficulty about moving out of Bihar at the present moment. But I dare not resist your kind call. I am just now leaving for one of the disturbed areas of Bihar. Will you therefore forgive me if I do not send you the exact date of my departure for Delhi? I return from this third Bihar tour on the 28th instant. My departure will therefore be as quickly as I can arrange it after the 28th.

In order that this may be in your hands as early as

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possible I send this through His Excellency the Governor of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. Lord Louis Mountbatten of Burma,
New Delhi.

P. S. I expect to leave for New Delhi on 30th instant.
M. K. G.

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Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
5th April 1947.

Dear Lord Ismay,

Pandit Nehru gave me what you have described as an outline of a scheme. What I read is merely a copy of the points I hurriedly dictated, whereas, as I understood from H. E. the Viceroy, you were to prepare a draft agreement after the line of the points I had dictated. Of course you were at liberty to amend them, add to them and omit what you wished to omit.

I had a chat with Pandit Nehru twice during the day, the second time when he handed a copy of the outline at 5 p.m.

The seventh point should read thus :— “ Within the framework hereof Mr. Jinnah will be perfectly free to present for acceptance a scheme of Pakistan even before the transfer of power, provided however, that he is successful in his appeal to reason and not to the force of arms which he abjures for all time for this purpose. Thus, there will be no compulsion in this matter over a Province or a part thereof. ”

What I could not recall yesterday I now recall.

The eighth will read as follows :— “ In the Assembly the Congress has a decisive majority. But the Congress shall never use that majority against the League policy simply because of its identification with the League but will give its hearty support to every measure brought forward by the League Government, provided that it is in the interest of

the whole of India. Whether it is in such interest or not shall be decided by Lord Mountbatten as man and not in his representative capacity."

I have finished dictating this at 8.45 p. m. I am anxious that it reaches you tonight. Therefore, I have only made manifest correction and addition. The outline is by no means complete. When a draft agreement is prepared, many other points which should occur to any draftsman will have to be covered.

I must add that Pandit Nehru has at least one vital objection to the outline. But I will not tax you with its mention here. If the outline appears workable to H. E. I would like to wait on him once more and discuss Pandit Nehru's objections. Before putting it before Q. A. Jinnah I would like to show it to a few friends.

Lord Ismay.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

[THE FOLLOWING WERE THE POINTS REFERRED TO IN THE ABOVE FOR A DRAFT AGREEMENT DICTATED BY GANDHIJI TO LORD ISMAY.]

1. Mr. Jinnah to be given the option of forming a Cabinet.

2. The selection of the Cabinet is left entirely to Mr. Jinnah. The members may be all Moslems, or all non-Moslems, or they may be representatives of all classes and creeds of the Indian people.

3. If Mr. Jinnah accepted this offer, the Congress would guarantee to co-operate freely and sincerely, so long as all the measures that Mr. Jinnah's Cabinet bring forward are in the interests of the Indian people as a whole.

4. The sole referee of what is or is not in the interests of India as a whole will be Lord Mountbatten, in his personal capacity.

5. Mr. Jinnah must stipulate, on behalf of the League or of any other parties represented in the Cabinet formed by him that, so far as he or they are concerned, they will do their utmost to preserve peace throughout India.

6. There shall be no National Guards or any other form of private army.

7. Within the framework hereof Mr. Jinnah will be perfectly free to present for acceptance a scheme of Pakistan even before the transfer of power, provided however, that he is successful in his appeal to reason and not to the force of arms which he abjures for all time for this purpose. Thus, there will be no compulsion in this matter over a Province or a part thereof.

8. In the Assembly the Congress has a decisive majority. But the Congress shall never use that majority against the League policy simply because of its identification with the League but will give its hearty support to every measure brought forward by the League Government, provided that it is in the interest of the whole of India. Whether it is in such interest or not shall be decided by Lord Mountbatten as man and not in his representative capacity.

9. If Mr. Jinnah rejects this offer, the same offer to be made *mutatis mutandis* to Congress.

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PERSONAL

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
6th April 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of 5th April. It was very kind of you to dictate it at such a late hour in order that it might reach me last night.

I think that there has been some misunderstanding about the form of the short note which I prepared last Friday. As I understood it, Lord Mountbatten, on the conclusion of his talk with you, asked if you would be so good as to spare a little more time for a talk with me about your plan, in order that I might prepare a short note summarising its salient features in general terms. He had no intention, so far as I know, that I should attempt anything formal or elaborate. I have now shown him your letter and he confirms that my interpretation of his wishes was correct.

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I have prepared a revised copy of my note substituting your version of point 7 for the original and including your point 8. This covers much the same ground as my original points 3 and 4, which therefore now become redundant.

Lord Mountbatten has asked me to say that he much looks forward to having another talk with you about your plan before you leave.

May I conclude with an expression of my personal thanks for having spared me so much of your time last Friday.

Yours sincerely,
Ismay

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

P. S. The Viceroy assures you that he will not mention your plan to Mr. Jinnah until he has had a further talk about it with you.

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Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
6th April 1947.

Dear Lord Ismay,

Many thanks for your letter of even date.

The very thought that at the threshold of my friendship with Lord Mountbatten and you, there can be any misunderstanding at all fills me with grave doubt about my ability to shoulder the burden I have taken upon my weak self. It is impossible, at every stage, to reduce to writing conversations, and that would be, in my opinion, a bar to friendship. I can only say that there must be some defect in my understanding or my attentiveness if I misunderstand very simple things. I do not feel inclined to reproduce the talk about this topic except to mention one thing viz. that H. E. mentioned [V. P.] Menon to you and said you should prepare something in conjunction with him and I was to give you the points which were to become the basis of the draft you were to prepare.

So far as you are concerned you correctly took down what you heard from me. But as it did not answer what I

wanted to say I have given you my considered view about point 7.

Now that I have seen Nos. 3 and 4 I must differ from you in your view that with the new version of No. 7 and filling in of No. 8, Nos. 3 and 4 become redundant. But of this later, if we ever reach the consideration stage of the "outline".

Since writing this Badshah Khan came into my room and I find that he confirms the gist of the conversation with Lord Mountbatten as described by me and adds that when we went to your office I told you that I had only to give the points as I hastily thought of them in order to enable you and your draftsman to prepare a draft agreement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

Lord Ismay.

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
7th April 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Ismay has shown me your letter to him of 6th April, and we both are most upset to think that any act, or omission, on our part should in any way increase the great burden you are bearing. I therefore think it right to send you the following personal explanation.

As we were parting last Friday afternoon, I said that your plan had many attractions for me and I asked you if you would be so good as to explain it to Ismay, who had not been present when you first propounded it. On your agreeing to do so, I asked Ismay to make a note of its salient features, and I authorised him to talk it over in confidence with the Reforms Commissioner. I am extremely sorry if by these observations I gave you the impression that I wished your plan reduced to the terms of a formal agreement.

As I explained to you during the many talks that we have enjoyed, my aim has been and is to keep a perfectly open mind until I have had the advantages of discussions

with important Indian political leaders with the object of seeking an agreement between all parties, so that peace can be restored in the country and an acceptable basis for the transfer of power be worked out. When these preliminary conversations have been completed, I shall then have to make up my mind as to what I am going to recommend to His Majesty's Government and, before I do so, I shall most certainly take advantage of your kind offer of further discussion with you.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road, New Delhi.

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Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road, New Delhi,
7th April 1947.

Dear Friend,

I have pressing letters from friends in the Punjab asking me to go there even if it be for a few days. Pandit Nehru agrees. Nevertheless I would like you to guide me too.

Then Noakhali calls. If wires received by me during the last two days are to be relied upon, there is increasing lawlessness in Noakhali. Attempts at roasting people alive have been traced twice, and loot etc. is going on. You will see my public statement in the Press.

This outbreak of violence is not a mere detail. If it cannot be dealt with now it won't be fourteen months hence.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
7th April 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Many thanks for your letter of today. I find it difficult to advise you. Though the root causes of the disturbances

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in the Punjab still exist there has been a considerable measure of success in dealing with immediate disturbances, and I doubt whether you ought to exhaust yourself by undertaking any tour in the Punjab at this time of the year.

I quite agree that those outbreaks of violence are not a mere detail. What we have to secure is a settlement between the parties at the centre and, if possible, a combined front against violence. It is the effort to find a solution which will occupy all my efforts in the near future, and I know I can rely on help from you wherever you may be.

I enjoyed meeting you so much and found all you had to say of the greatest interest.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

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Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road, New Delhi,
8th April 1947.

Dear Friend,

Many thanks for your two letters of 7th instant.

As to the first I am glad that as I read it, whatever misunderstanding if there was any, was of no consequence.

As to the second letter, the weather would not stand in the way of my going to the Punjab. I must ask the voice within for final guidance. If I do go I shall let you know the date.

Of course you can rely upon my help no matter wherever I happen to be at the time.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy.

Bhangi Colony,
Reading Road, New Delhi,
11th April 1947.

Dear Friend,

I had several short talks with Pandit Nehru, and an hour's talk with him alone, and then with several members of the Working Committee last night about the formula I had sketched before you, and which I had filled in for them with all the implications. I am sorry to say that I failed to carry any of them with me except Badshah Khan.

I do not know that having failed to carry both the head and heart of Pandit Nehru with me I would have wanted to carry the matter further. But Panditji was so good that he would not be satisfied until the whole plan was discussed with the few members of the Congress Working Committee who were present.

I felt sorry that I could not convince them of the correctness of my plan from every point of view. Nor could they dislodge me from my position although I had not closed my mind against every argument. Thus I have to ask you to omit me from your consideration.

Congressmen who are in the Interim Government are stalwarts, seasoned servants of the nation and, therefore, so far as the Congress point of view is concerned, they will be complete advisers.

I would still love to take the place that the late C. F. Andrews took. He represented no one but himself. And if you ever need my service on its merit, it will be always at your disposal.

In the circumstances above mentioned, subject to your consent, I propose, if possible, to leave tomorrow for Patna.

I have not forgotten the book about tribal expeditions. I have not yet been able to lay my hands on it for I cannot recall the name of the author nor the year in which I read the book. As I told you it was years ago in S. Africa that I came across it. My search will continue wherever I am and as soon as I trace it, it shall be sent to you.

I must also confess a slip of memory I am answerable for in the course of our talks. I was wrong in connecting Sir Francis Mudie with the late Pandit Nehru. The incident I referred to was in connection with Muddiman, not Mudie. The charge, almost universally believed by Congressmen against the present Governor of Sindh remains unaltered — in spite of my slip of memory.

I hope these constant interviews are not proving an unbearable strain.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy.

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Bihar Governor's Camp,
Patna,
14th April 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

The attached message from H. E. the Viceroy to yourself came by telegram last night. If you wish to send a reply by letter, I am going by 'plane to Delhi today and can take your reply to H. E. the Viceroy with me if it is sent to me at Government House, Patna, by 11 a. m. this morning.

Yours sincerely,
Crofton

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE]

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PRIVATE AND PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY
THE VICEROY TO MR. GANDHI

I so much enjoyed our talks during the past ten days and hope you have had a good journey.

Mr. Jinnah is perfectly ready to sign statement deploring acts of Violence etc. which you signed before you left Delhi provided that your and his signatures are the only ones that appear on the document. As you mentioned that you thought Mr. Kripalani's signature might also be added, though I gathered that you did not make this a stipulation, I am not issuing statement until I hear from you. Pandit Nehru

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is agreeable to leaving matter to my discretion, but I feel I must have your views. Unless statement bears your signature alone Mr. Jinnah will not sign. May I therefore appeal to you to agree. Please reply urgently.

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Patna,
14th April 1947.

Dear, Mr. Crofton,

Many thanks for your offer. But it would be perhaps quicker if you will kindly send the enclosed message by wire.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE]

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Patna,
14th April.

H. E. Viceroy,

Just received message. Many thanks. I had comparatively quiet journey. Am of opinion President Congress should also sign. You should know reason for exclusion President Congress. However I leave final decision you and Panditji.

Gandhi

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IMMEDIATE

Code telegram No. 812-S, dated 15th April, 1947.

From — Viceroy, New Delhi.

To — Bihar, Patna.

"Please pass the following to Mr. Gandhi from the Viceroy.

Begins :

I am glad to inform you that Pandit Nehru also agreed to leave the decision to me. I consider it so vital that the appeal should issue that I thought it best that it should go out over the signatures only of yourself and Mr. Jinnah.

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2. Mr. Jinnah has now signed, and a communique is being immediately released.

Ends. ”

Viceroy

[THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF GANDHI-JINNAH
PEACE APPEAL.]

We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to the innocent people irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any incitement to such acts.

M. A. Jinnah

M. K. Gandhi

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On the train to Patna,
8th May 1947.

Dear Friend,

It strikes me that I should summarise what I said and wanted to say and left unfinished for want of time, at our last Sunday's meeting.

I

Whatever may be said to the contrary, it would be a blunder of first magnitude for the British to be party in any way whatsoever to the division of India. If it has to come, let it come after the British withdrawal, as a result of understanding between the parties or [cf] an armed conflict which according to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is taboo. Protection of minorities can be guaranteed by establishing a court of arbitration in the event of difference of opinion among contending parties.

2. Meantime the Interim Government should be composed either of Congressmen or those whose names the Congress chooses or of Muslim League men or those whom

the League chooses. The dual control of today, lacking team work and team spirit, is harmful for the country. The parties exhaust themselves in the effort to retain their seat and to placate you. Want of team spirit demoralises the Government and imperils the integrity of the services so essential for good and efficient Government.

3. Referendum at this stage in the Frontier (or any Province for that matter) is a dangerous thing in itself. You have to deal with the material that faces you. In any case nothing should or can be done over Dr. Khan Saheb's head as Premier. Note that this paragraph is relevant only if division is at all to be countenanced.

4. I feel sure that partition of the Punjab and Bengal is wrong in every case and a needless irritant for the League. This as well as all innovation can come after the British withdrawal not before, except always for mutual agreement. Whilst the British power is functioning in India, it must be held principally responsible for the preservation of peace in the country. That machine seems to be cracking under the existing strain which is caused by the raising of various hopes that cannot or must not be fulfilled. These have no place during the remaining thirteen months. This period can be most profitably shortened if the minds of all were focussed on the sole task of withdrawal. You and you alone can do it to the exclusion of all other activity so far as the British occupation is concerned.

5. Your task as undisputed master of naval warfare, great as it was, was nothing compared to what you are called to do now. The single-mindedness and clarity that gave you success are much more required in this work.

6. If you are not to leave a legacy of chaos behind, you have to make your choice and leave the Government of the whole of India including the States to one party. The Constituent Assembly has to provide for the governance even of that part of India which is not represented by the Muslim League or some States.

7. Non-partition of the Punjab and Bengal does not mean that the minorities in these Provinces are to be neglected. In both the Provinces they are large and powerful enough to arrest and demand attention. If the popular Governments

cannot placate them the Governors should during the inter-regnum actively interfere.

8. The intransmissibility of paramountcy is a vicious doctrine, if it means that they [the States] can become sovereign and a menace for Independent India. All the power wherever exercised by the British in India must automatically descend to the successor. Thus the people of the States become as much part of Independent India as the people of British India. The present Princes are puppets created or tolerated for the upkeep and prestige of the British power. The unchecked powers exercised by them over their people is probably the worst blot on the British Crown. The Princes under the new regime can exercise only such powers as trustees can and as can be given to them by the Constituent Assembly. It follows that they cannot maintain private armies or arms factories. Such ability and statescraft as they possess must be at the disposal of the Republic and must be used for the good of their people and the people as a whole. I have merely stated what should be done with the States. It is not for me to show in this letter how this can be done.

9. Similarly difficult but not so baffling is the question of the Civil Service. Its members should be taught from now to accommodate themselves to the new regime. They may not be partisans taking sides. The slightest trace of communalism among them should be severely dealt with. The English element in it should know that they owe loyalty to the new regime rather than to the old and therefore to Great Britain. The habit of regarding themselves as rulers and therefore superiors must give place to the spirit of true service of the people.

II

10. I had a very pleasant two hours and three quarters with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah on Tuesday last. We talked about the joint statement on non-violence. He was agreeably emphatic over his belief in non-violence. He has reiterated it in the Press statement which was drafted by him.

11. We did talk about Pakistan cum partition. I told him that my opposition to Pakistan persisted as before and suggested that in view of his declaration of faith in non-violence he should try to convert his opponents by reasoning with them

and not by show of force. He was, however, quite firm that the question of Pakistan was not open to discussion. Logically, for a believer in non-violence, nothing, not even the existence of God could be outside its scope.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur saw the first eight paragraphs, the purport of which she was to give to Pandit Nehru with whom I was to send you this letter. But, I could not finish it in New Delhi. I finished it on the train.

I hope you and Her Excellency are enjoying your hard-earned rest.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
Simla.

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Viceregal Lodge,
Simla,
11th May 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th May and for the advice you were kind enough to send me, which I appreciated receiving.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

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URGENT

New Delhi,
27/28th June 1947.

Dear Friend,

I sent you a note in the afternoon.¹ The time after the evening prayer and walk I wish to devote to talking to you on certain matters I was able to touch but could not develop when we met.

I told the Parliamentary Delegation that heralded the Cabinet Mission and the Cabinet Mission itself that they had

1. See letter No. 385.

to choose between the two parties or even three. They were doomed to fail, if they tried to please all, holding them all to be in the right. I had hoped that you were bravely and honestly trying to extricate yourself from the impossible position. But my eyes were opened when, if I understood you correctly, you said that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah and the League members were equally in the right with the Congress members and that possibly Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah was more so. I suggested that this is not humanly possible. One must be wholly right in the comparative sense. You have to make your choice at this very critical stage in the history of this country. If you think that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is, on the whole, more correct and more reasonable than the Congress, you should choose the League as your advisers and in all matters be frankly and openly guided by them.

You threw out a hint that Quaid-i-Azam might not be able even to let you quit even by 15th August especially if the Congress members did not adopt a helpful attitude. This was for me a startling statement. I pointed the initial mistake of the British being party to splitting India into two. It is not possible to undo the mistake. But I hold that it is quite possible and necessary not to put a premium upon the mistake. This does not in any way impinge upon the very admirable doctrine of fairplay. Fairplay demands that I do not help the mistaken party to fancy that the mistake was no mistake but a belated and only a partial discharge of an obligation.

You startled me again by telling me that, if the partition had not been made during British occupation, the Hindus being the major party would have never allowed partition and held the Muslims by force under subjection. I told you that this was a grave mistake. The question of numbers was wholly untenable in this connection. I cited the classic example of less than one hundred thousand British soldiers holding India under utter subjection. You saw no analogy between the two instances. I suggested the difference was only one of degree.

I place the following for your consideration:

- (a) The Congress has solemnly declared that it would not hold by force any Province within the Union.

- (b) It is physically impossible for millions of caste ridden Hindus to hold well-knit though fewer millions of Muslims under subjection by force.
- (c) It must not be forgotten that Muslim dynasties have progressively subjected India by exactly the same means as the English conquerors later did.
- (d) Already there has been a movement to win over to the Muslim side the so-called scheduled classes and the so-called aboriginal races.
- (e) The caste Hindus who are the bugbear are, it can be shown conclusively, a hopeless minority. Of these the armed Rajputs are not yet nationalists as a class. The Brahmins and the Banias are still untrained in the use of arms. Their supremacy where it exists is purely moral. The Sudras count, I am sorry, more as scheduled class than anything else. That such Hindu society by reason of its mere superiority in numbers can crush millions of Muslims is an astounding myth.

This should show you why, even if I am alone, I swear by non-violence and truth, together standing for the highest order of courage before which the atom bomb pales into insignificance, what to say of a fleet of dreadnaughts.

I have not shown this to any of my friends.

If I have misunderstood you in any single particular you have only to correct me and I shall gladly accept the correction. If I am obscure anywhere, I shall try to remove the obscurity either by letter or by meeting according to your wish.

My anxiety to save you from mistakes as I see them is the sole excuse for this letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
28th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of this morning, which I have read with much interest.

I am glad you wrote because after reading your letter I feel that almost from first to last I must have failed to make clear to you my meaning. I am glad that you have not shown your letter to others, since I should be very sorry that views should be attributed to me which I did not, in fact, express.

I hope you will agree to discuss these matters again at our next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
30th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and I all feel that you should unquestionably be shown the Indian Independence Bill. I therefore invite you to come with them at 10.00 a. m. tomorrow to see the Bill at the Viceroy's House. I hope you will be able to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
7th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I enclose herewith a copy of a note that I have sent to the Viceroy, summarising the suggestions that you were good enough to put forward in the course of our talk yesterday evening.

I very much hope that I have interpreted your views rightly, but if you should find any mistakes, I should be so glad if you would let me know, in order that I may correct the copy that I have given to the Viceroy.

I so much enjoyed our talk.

Yours sincerely,
Ismaïl

Mahatma Gandhi.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE]

1. *North-West Frontier Province*

Mr. Gandhi suggests that H. E. should speak to Mr. Jinnah in the following sense:

"I am extremely anxious lest the referendum in NWFP should lead to bloodshed and blood feuds between brother and brother Pathan, and I have been wondering whether it could possibly be avoided. Now that you have got your Pakistan, would it not be wise for you to go to the NWFP and speak to the people of the Province of whatever party they may be, including the present Ministry and their followers? You could explain what Pakistan, which has hitherto been a vague expression, really is, and present your case in an attractive manner, in the hope that you will be able to woo them to become a Province of Pakistan, with perfect freedom to frame their own Provincial constitution.

"If you are successful in your persuasion, the proposed referendum and all that it involves would be avoided. If you felt disposed to adopt this suggestion, I could, I think, give

you a positive assurance that the Khan Brothers and their followers would meet you as friends and give you an attentive hearing."

Mr. Gandhi asked that if this appeal to Mr. Jinnah was unsuccessful, he (Mr. Gandhi) might be informed of the fact, in order that he might consider the position again. Mr. Gandhi added that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was so anxious about the permanent blood feuds which would result from the referendum, that he would go to almost any length, consistent with honour, to avoid it. In the last resort, he would be prepared to advise his brother and his colleagues in the Ministry to resign, and then to ask the Viceroy to put the NWFP under Section 93.

Mr. Gandhi emphasised that he had not discussed the above with his colleagues, and therefore that it should not be mentioned to anyone at this stage.

2. Bengal and the Punjab

Mr. Gandhi suggested that Mr. Jinnah should be advised to try to win over West Bengal and Eastern Punjab to Pakistan by the same methods.

3. Co-operation Between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress Leaders

Mr. Gandhi suggested that H. E. the Viceroy should speak in the following sense to Mr. Jinnah, when he found him in the right mood to listen:

"I am here to help both parties to reach agreement in any way that I can, and I regard this task not only as a pleasure, but as a duty. You must remember, however, that I cannot, in any event, be here forever. Now, therefore that the decision has been made and you have your Pakistan, why do you not go yourself and talk with the Congress leaders as friends, and try to get a settlement between yourselves on all the various points at issue? This would make for a much better atmosphere than adhering to the practice of only meeting together under my chairmanship."

4. Agreements Between HMG and the two Indian Dominions

Mr. Gandhi said that there was a lot of loose talk going about that HMG might have different agreements with Hindustan and Pakistan which would possibly tend to favour one over the other. It was, therefore, important that an

announcement should be made to the effect that it was HMG's wish either to enter into tri-partite arrangements with both the Dominions, or to have identical bi-lateral agreements with each of them : and that, in any event, there would be no question of differentiation.

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
10 June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you so much for the admirable suggestions which you handed to Lord Ismay. It is quite clear that Mr. Jinnah is very preoccupied at the present time, owing to the Muslim League meetings in Delhi, but I will, of course, take the earliest opportunity of mentioning to him the points you made.

I will do my best to convince him, but I hope you will not count too much on my intervention.

I think the idea in the fourth paragraph of your note is a good one, and I will follow it up with HMG. Perhaps the Prime Minister would give an assurance in debate in Parliament.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

368

New Delhi,
10/11th June 1947.

Dear Friend,

The Rajkumari has given me the purport of your conversation with her.

Though you have been good enough to tell me that I could see you at any time I wanted to, I must not avail myself of the kindness. I would like, however, to reduce to writing some of the things I hold to be necessary for the proper and swift working of the scheme.

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1. As to the referendum in the Frontier Province I must confess that my idea does not commend itself to Pandit Nehru and his colleagues. As I told you, if my proposal did not commend itself to them, I would not have the heart to go any further with it.

2. This, however, does not in any way affect my proposal that before proceeding with the referendum, you should invite Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to proceed to the Frontier Province and to woo the Ministers including Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars who have made the Province what it is — better or worse. Before he goes, no doubt, he should be assured of a courteous hearing from them.

3. Whether he favours the idea or not Quaid-i-Azam should be asked to give a fair picture of the Pakistan scheme before the simple Pathan mind is asked to make its choice of Hindustan or Pakistan. I fancy that the Pathan knows his position in Hindustan. If he does not, the Congress or the Constituent Assembly now at work should be called upon to complete the picture. It will be unfair, I apprehend, to choose between Hindustan or Pakistan without knowing what each is. He should at least know where his entity will be fully protected.

4. There is as yet no peace in the Frontier Province. Can there be a true referendum when strife has not completely abated? Minds are too heated to think coherently. Neither the Congress nor the League can disown liability for disturbances by their followers. If peace does not reign in the land, the whole superstructure will come to pieces and you will, in spite of division, leave behind legacy of which you will not be proud.

5. The sooner you have a homogeneous ministry the better. In no case can the League nominees work independently of the whole Cabinet. It is a vicious thing that there is no joint responsibility for every act of individual members.

6. The only way to keep the wonderful time table made by you is to anticipate the future and ask your special staff to work out all the items presented by you, without reference to the Cabinet and then when the time comes, the report should be presented to the respective parties for acceptance, amendment or rejection.

7. The more I see things the more firmly I believe that the States problem presents a variety of difficulties which demand very serious and fearless treatment on your part.

8. The problem of the civil and military services, though in a way not equally difficult, demands the same firm handling as the States. Gurgaon strife is an instance in point. So far as I know one single officer is responsible for the continuance of the mischief.

9. Lastly may I suggest that the attempt to please all parties is a fruitless and thankless task. In the course of our conversation I suggested that equal praise bestowed on both the parties was not meant. No praise would have been the right thing. 'Duty will be merit when debt becomes a donation'. It is not too late to mend. Your undoubted skill as a warrior was never more in demand than today. Fancy a sailor without his fleet, save his mother wit!

10. I have tried to be as succinct as possible. I could not be briefer. If any of the points raised herein demand a personal talk, you have but to appoint the suitable time. Please do not think of calling me for the sake of courtesy.

11. I received your kind note of 10th instant whilst I had almost finished this note. It does not call for a separate reply.

This was finished at 9.25 p.m. It will be typed tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

369

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
12th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of 10/11th June. I am grateful to you for your comments on current affairs, and I will certainly bear them in mind.

I doubt whether it would be practicable to make my special staff work out all the details of the splitting up of the

Departments of the Government of India and a complete allotment of India's assets and liabilities, but they will do everything in their power to help. It is a tremendous task and only a fraction of it can be done before the transfer of power. It is essentially a matter in which there must be negotiation between the parties concerned.

I am so grateful for your unfailing advice and support and kindness, which have done so much to sustain me in this difficult task.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

370

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
12th June 1947.

My dear Rajkumari,

I received your little note¹ yesterday morning and immediately handed the enclosure to my husband. I know he has read it with the greatest interest and asks me to send his thanks to Gandhiji and to you for passing it on.

We also discussed what you mention in your letter and he asks me to say that he is entirely in agreement that a real, honest and friendly attempt should be made amongst the leaders themselves in connection with the settlement of boundaries of the two Provinces in question. Whether, on the other hand, we shall be successful, remains to be seen. At all costs, I agree, any further bitterness should be avoided.

I think you may be rest assured that we will both of us do what we can to try and bring this home to those people who still seem inclined to show a lack of cooperation and understanding.

Sir Evan Jenkins sent us a copy of the letter which he had sent you which I think one will have to accept as a fair statement of facts. It is naturally very disillusioning with so much distortion of true cases, but in the present circumstances I am afraid this has to be expected at times.

1. Not to be found among Gandhiji's office records.

I want you to know how much we will miss you this evening and quite understand the reason why you cannot be with us.

With my love,

Yours affectionately,
Edwina Mountbatten

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

371

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
12th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I spoke to Mr. Jinnah along the lines that you asked me¹ and he has authorised me to reply to you as follows.

2. Mr. Jinnah will gladly accept your suggestion that he should visit the Frontier and put the case of Pakistan to the leaders and people up there, provided you can obtain an undertaking from the Congress that they will not interfere.

3. He agrees with your view that by this means a referendum can be avoided and with it the risk of bloodshed removed.

4. I suggest that you should now communicate directly with him in this matter, as I am leaving for Simla to-morrow.

5. I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

P. S. I note that you did not obtain the support of the Congress leaders to your proposal, but I did promise you that whatever happened I would convey your personal views to Mr. Jinnah, and he will quite understand if you are unable to get the Congress leaders to support you.

372

New Delhi,
13th June 1947.

Dear Friend,

Your two letters of 12th instant were received last night for which I thank you. I have sent a letter to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah of which a copy is enclosed herewith. The condition

1. See enclosure to letter No. 366.

precedent to the Quaid-i-Azam accepting my suggestion is dangerous in its implication. My suggestion is simply what I conveyed to you in my letter of 11th instant. "Before proceeding with the referendum you should invite Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah to proceed to the Frontier Province to woo the Ministers including Badshah Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgars...." I have added "Before he goes, no doubt, he should be assured a courteous hearing from them." The visit, therefore, if it takes place will take place for convincing and converting the Ministers and Badshah Khan and his Khudai Khidmatgars. It should in no sense be a propaganda tour. I hope both you and Her Excellency would have a quiet and cool week end in Simla.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE]

373

New Delhi,
13th June 1947.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

His Excellency the Viceroy writes saying that 'you will gladly accept my suggestion and put the case of Pakistan to the leaders and the people there, provided I can obtain an undertaking from the Congress that they will not interfere'.

I do not know what you mean by the undertaking from the Congress that they will not interfere.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah,
10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi.

1. For Jinnah's reply to this letter and Gandhiji's rejoinder, see Appendix XXVI.

New Delhi,
28/29th June 1947.

Dear Friend,

I have to inflict another letter on you — this time about the Frontier referendum.

Badshah Khan writes to me to say that he is carrying out the plan I had discussed with you and he with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. The plan was to move for free Pathanistan framing its own local constitution and when the Pakistan and the Union constitutions were out, to decide either to belong to one State or the other. In this move he has failed. Therefore the referendum would go on without any interference by his followers, the latter abstaining from voting either way. He fully realises that in this case the Frontier would probably go to Pakistan.

He wants me also to draw your attention to the fact that Punjab Muslims, men and women, are being freely introduced in the Frontier Province to affect the referendum and that notable non-Frontier Muslims too have been sent to the Frontier Province for the same purpose. This increases the risk of bloodshed and worse.

He also says that the non-Muslim refugees numbering many thousands will have no chance, so far as he is aware, of taking part in the referendum and they are threatened with dire penalty should they dare to exercise the vote.

I see in today's papers that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah contends that if the Pathans abstain from voting, the abstention will constitute a breach of the terms of the referendum. I do not see the force of the contention.

Many thanks for your telegram to the Resident in Kashmir.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

1. See letter No. 386.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
30th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 29th June about the Frontier. I am glad to hear that the referendum will be allowed to proceed without any interference by the followers of Badshah Khan. I am sending a copy of your letter to the Governor so that he may take any action that may be necessary as a result of the points you make about Punjabi Muslims being introduced in the Frontier to affect the referendum, and non-Muslim refugees having no chance to vote.

I sent a copy of the letter I wrote to the Maharaja of Kashmir to the Resident, as well as to you.¹ My telegram instructed him to ask the Maharaja for an early reply to my letter.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
4th July 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In your letter of 28/29 June to me you said that the Referendum on the Frontier would go on without any interference by the followers of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

It is reported to me from the Frontier that Red Shirts are now "persuading" people not to vote.

I think you will agree that any action of this sort is likely to lead to the very violence you and I are so anxious to avoid. I trust that if the reports are true, in view of the policy stated in your letter you will be able to persuade Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to implement that policy.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

1. See enclosure to letter No. 383.

Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
5th July 1947.

Dear Friend,

I thank you for your letter which came into my hands after the evening prayer.

Agitation is undoubtedly being carried on today by Badshah Khan and his lieutenants to tell the voters that it is wrong for them to take part in the voting. There should be no demonstration during the voting days and there should be no approach to the voters during the voting time. If this is what you mean I shall be glad to refer to the matter in those terms at the evening prayer. I am quite prepared to adopt quicker means of reaching Badshah Khan if you suggest any.

If you have any other thing in view, you will please let me know.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
5th July 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am most grateful to you for your letter of the 5th July, and for promising to deprecate demonstrations and approaches to the voters during the voting days in the NWFP.

If you could go a little further and deprecate any agitation before the polling days which might lead directly or indirectly to disturbances, I should naturally be grateful.

It is important, I think, that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan should have your advice as soon as possible, and if you would care to send him a letter, I could arrange to get it delivered to Peshawar by hand of pilot, and ask the Governor to send it on.

I am most grateful for your help.

I received a telegram yesterday, Friday, from the Resident in Kashmir saying that my letters to him and the Maharaja had only just been received and that he was going to see the Maharaja as soon as he could obtain an interview.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

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New Delhi,
5th July 1947.

Dear Friend,

I received your kind letter of even date just after I had finished my prayer speech and was going out for my walk. Fortunately about noon I had a visit from a Pathan whom I had known to be a Khudai Khidmatgar. He was going to Peshawar and so I gave him the message which I have reproduced in the letter I enclose herewith. You may read the letter and if you think that it covers the new point you have raised, you may send the letter by special messenger as suggested by you. I am hoping that there will be no disturbance on the part of Badshah Khan and his followers. In the message that I sent through the Pathan Khudai Khidmatgar I covered much more ground than mentioned in my letter to Badshah Khan.

I thank you for giving me the purport of the telegram received by you from the Resident in Kashmir.

I hope Her Excellency was none the worse for her visit to the Bhangi Basti.

It is open to you not to send the enclosed if it does not merit your approval.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. L. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE FOREGOING]

380

Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
5th July 1947.

Dear Badshah,

Khudai Khidmatgar Alam Khan saw me before 12 o'clock and he said that he was leaving for Peshawar tonight. I did not send you any letter through him. But I told him that there should be no demonstration against League Muslims, that it should be enough that in the present state of tension and misrepresentation Khudai Khidmatgars should not vote at all one way or the other, that they were entitled so far as internal affairs were concerned to claim and to have complete autonomy without any interference from Pakistan or the Union and that they could come to a decision as to the choice between the Union or Pakistan when the constitutions of the two were promulgated and when the Frontier Province had fashioned its own autonomous constitution. Above all every occasion for clash with the Muslim League members was to be avoided. Real Pathan bravery was now on its trial. It was to be shown by cheerfully meeting blows or even meeting death at the hands of the opponents without the slightest sort of retaliation. Boycott would certainly result in a legal victory for Pakistanis but it would be a moral defeat, if without the slightest fear of violence from your side, the bulk of the Pathans refrained in a dignified manner from participating in the referendum. There should be no fuss, no procession, no disobedience of any orders from authority.

I had acted promptly on receipt of your letter. I wrote a long letter to His Excellency on which he took action. You must have seen also how I had dealt with the question of the Frontier Province in one of my post prayer speeches. I send you herewith a copy of my letter to the Viceroy and of my post prayer speech. This letter is also in answer to a complaint received by the Viceroy that it was reported that

there was fear of disturbance to be caused by the Khudai Khidmatgars.

I hope the strain under which you are working is not telling upon your health.

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The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
7th July 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of 5th July and for the enclosure to Abdul Ghaffar Khan. As there was no aircraft going to Peshawar yesterday (Sunday) I telegraphed the text of your letter to the Governor and asked him to pass on the message.

The actual text of your letter was sent by special messenger by the Frontier Mail yesterday evening.

Many thanks for your help.

My wife enjoyed her visit to the Bhangi Colony so much and gave me a most enthusiastic account.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

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Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
11th July 1947.

My Dear Lady Mountbatten,

Yours of yesterday¹ was lying on my table when I returned from here at 9.15 last evening.

I have shared its contents with both Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru.

The Congress has never taken any stand other than the completest freedom for self-expression and growth — consistent with morality and law and order — for every individual and group. The minorities need have no fears. You

1. Not to be found among Gandhiji's office records.

will see this from the speeches made in the Constituent Assembly, in particular Pandit Nehru's, and if you have read some of the justiciable fundamental rights so far adopted by that body. Gandhiji is *always* talking about fair and just treatment of all minorities in his post prayer speeches. You must have read his utterance of last evening in today's papers. It bears out what you would have him say.

But I do feel very strongly that such unkind threats as are held out to Nationalist Muslims by Muslim Leaguers according to what Mrs. Haider — whom, by the way, I know — has told you and what Abdul Qayyum Saheb for example is reported to have said about the trial of "Muslim Quislings" in the Frontier etc. should be brought to the notice of Mr. Jinnah and he should be asked publicly to denounce such utterances. I have also heard that Muslim officers who would inwardly prefer to stay in the Indian Union are told they *must* go to Pakistan or else they will not be considered Muslims. Congress can never be guilty of such action.

With love,

Yours affectionately,
Amrit Kaur

(C) ABOUT VISIT TO KASHMIR

383

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
28th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I dictated in your presence yesterday and which I am today sending off to the Maharaja of Kashmir.

I enjoyed our interview so much, it is always most refreshing hearing your point of view and obtaining the benefit of your advice.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

26th June 1947.

I am writing to tell Your Highness that I have had a talk with both Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, who are both still anxious to visit Kashmir. I pointed out to them that any visit from a big Congress leader in which speeches were made could not fail to cause the League to send speakers of the order of Mr. Jinnah to counter their propaganda. This would in effect produce the electioneering atmosphere which you so rightly wish to avoid, since, as you pointed out to me, there has been no bloodshed up to date and only violent political speeches could now bring about the bloodshed.

Mr. Gandhi tells me that Pandit Nehru is prepared to forgo his visit if he (Mr. Gandhi) goes instead.

I am therefore writing this at Mr. Gandhi's request (and dictating it in his presence) to suggest that you should agree to his visit in the near future and make things as easy as possible for him.

He has given me his firm assurance that he will make no political speeches or carry out any form of propaganda. The object of his visit would be to see Madame Abdullah; and, if you granted permission (but only if you did grant him permission), he would like to see Sheikh Abdullah. He would like to meet the people in general way, but has no desire to address them or to collect large crowds.

May I suggest that Your Highness or your Prime Minister should communicate direct with him to save time.

I am sending Mr. Gandhi a copy of this letter.

IMMEDIATE

New Delhi,
27th June 1947.

Dear Friend,

Panditji was with me at noon and I gave him the purport of the conversation about Kashmir and he immediately

asked whether the letter you were kindly sending to the Maharaja Saheb was going by wire or post. I could not give him a satisfactory answer and I said it would probably be by post. He said the letter would take some days to reach there and the reply too might be delayed. I share his anxiety that the matter brooks no delay. For him it is one of personal honour. I have simply undertaken to replace him to the best of my ability. I would like to free him from anxiety in this matter. I seek your aid.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

386

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
28th June 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th June. You will, I hope, by now have received my letter of yesterday's date. Your surmise that my letter to the Maharaja was sent by post is correct, since you will remember that I dictated it in letter form. But I am now telegraphing to the Resident to ask him to inform the Maharaja of the despatch of my letter and its subject.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

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Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
11th July 1947.

Dear Friend,

I am still without any news from Kashmir. I wonder if you can remind the Maharaja. If I was not bound by any promise made to you, of course I would not want any

permission to go to Kashmir. I would simply go as any private person.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

388

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
12th July 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th, which by coincidence arrived the same day as the reply from the Maharaja of Kashmir which I enclose.

He reiterates the views he so strongly expressed to me when I was in Kashmir and which I passed on to you: "A tiny spark, in spite of the best intentions in the world, may set alight a conflagration which it would be impossible to control."

As I told you, the Maharaja was strongly opposed to any Muslim League leader coming to Kashmir, and I had asked Mr. Jinnah not to go or send anyone.

The Maharaja always told me he would make up his mind about joining one side or the other as soon as he could see what the respective constitutions were going to be like and could gauge the feelings of his people.

I am of course prepared to send any reply you would wish to the Maharaja, either by letter at some length or if you would prefer it by telegram through the Resident.

I understood that you contemplated a visit to Noakhali. Would you like me to return to the charge and urge acceptance of your visit immediately after the Noakhali visit, or do you feel it is urgent that you should go before?

I repeat I place myself at your service at this moment, but feel you may like to discuss the actual wording of the reply with me. I will therefore arrange for one of my Staff

to ring up and find out whether you would like to have a meeting today or tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

[ENCLOSURE TO THE ABOVE]

389

8th July 1947.

I write to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter dated 26th June.

It is true that we have had comparative peace here during the recent months and in spite of the fact that massacre and arson on an unprecedented scale have raged over the country there has been no bloodshed here. But as I told you, this has been the result of a policy of firmness and impartiality which, if I may say so, has been the guiding principle of the administration in this State. It would, however, be foolish to assume that because we have succeeded in so far maintaining peace, amidst the terror raging in the neighbouring territories, we can in all circumstances be equally successful. The present is a very inopportune time for political leaders to come to Kashmir as the position is most delicate. A tiny spark, in spite of the best intentions in the world, may set alight a conflagration which it would be impossible to control.

In the circumstances I would say that it would be advisable from all points of view for Mahatma Gandhi to cancel his projected visit to Kashmir this year. If, however, for reasons of his own he is not in a position to do so, I should still say that his visit should take place only towards the end of the autumn.

I note that he has given you his firm assurance that "he will make no political speeches or carry out any form of propaganda".

We have no objection whatsoever to his seeing Mrs. Abdullah but I am afraid it will not be possible for him to see Sheikh Abdullah. There are political considerations which render such a meeting most inadvisable.

I need hardly say that if Mahatma Gandhi would like to stay as my guest during his visit here, I should feel very glad. I would, however, again strongly advise that he or any other political leader should not visit the State until conditions in India take a happier turn.

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Bhangi Colony,
New Delhi,
16th July 1947.

Dear Friend,

I had a long talk with Panditji about Kashmir. He is firmly of opinion that I should go in any case, not minding if Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah or his deputy goes after my visit. He thinks and I agree that if now my visit is postponed, it will disappoint many persons in Kashmir. That I may not be allowed to see Sheikh Abdullah Saheb should not affect the contemplated visit one way or the other. In the circumstances, I suggest that you should telegraph to the Maharaja Saheb that as my visit would not mean any speeches or public meetings, it should not cause any embarrassment to the State and that I should go to Kashmir at the earliest possible moment.

As I have said to you my suggestion is subject to your wish not to interfere with Panditji's wishes in the matter. If for any reason you wish otherwise, I would not go.

If I go I would go as a private visitor. Hence I would not think of putting the Maharaja Saheb to any trouble on my account. Friends would make arrangements for my stay.

Finally I should add that if for any reason, I do not go to Kashmir, most probably Panditji would want to go for two or three days, though he would prefer my going.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
17th July 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th.

As I told you in our talk, I will entirely agree to anything you want, and offer my services to facilitate your visit. I am accordingly telegraphing to the Resident to pass on your proposal to visit Kashmir as a private person to the Maharaja.

Since seeing you I have received news that the Maharaja is sending his Prime Minister, Kak, to Delhi early next week to join the discussions which I am arranging with the States Department. I feel it would be both courteous and wise if you and Pandit Nehru could have a talk with Pandit Kak before deciding on the precise date and details of your visit, as I personally rather fear that a visit of a man of such world-wide eminence as yourself can never be kept sufficiently private not to have some effect on the rather delicate negotiations which I hope to conduct during that week.

The last thing, however, I wish to do is to interfere in any way with your liberty of movement; I only want to counsel a few more days' patience.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

Bhangi Colony
New Delhi
19th July 1947.

Dear Friend,

I sent your kind letter of yesterday to Pandit Nehru and he at once wrote saying that regard being had to your advice, my going to Kashmir should be postponed till after Pandit

Kak's arrival in New Delhi. So I shall await Pandit Kak's arrival and further developments.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Viceroy,
New Delhi.

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New Delhi,
28th July 1947.

Dear Friend,

It is my silence day. Hence this infliction in the shape of my hand-writing.

Pandit Nehru told me last night that as there were hitches about my going to Kashmir, he had decided to go even if only for two or three days. Thus I am now free to go to Bihar and thence to Noakhali. Before doing so, I might go for two days to the Punjab. I should like to leave Delhi tomorrow. You wanted me to see you before leaving. If the need is still felt, I am at your disposal tomorrow. You will then name the hour.

May I say I deeply appreciated your wish to go to an unpretentious house as the chosen Governor-General of the millions of the half-famished villagers of the nation. I hope it will be possible to carry out the wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. The Viceroy.

394

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
28th July 1947.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th July.

Pandit Kak told me he had given you his reasons why the Kashmir Government were so very anxious not to have the visit from a political leader, which might result in the spread of violence from the Punjab border.

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He told me after seeing you that although he feared even a visit from you might provoke violence, the fact that you were known to preach non-violence would reduce the risk in your case to less than half the risk if Pandit Nehru came.

The last thing he asked me to tell you was that if you felt it was essential that either you or Pandit Nehru should go, then he would greatly prefer a visit from you, particularly as the papers had already announced your visit and the public were mentally prepared for it.

May I therefore urge that you should suggest to Pandit Nehru that your visit at this moment would be better than a visit from him; for I really do not know how the future Prime Minister can be spared from Delhi with only 18 days left for him to take over power.¹

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

1. In the end it was not Pandit Nehru but Gandhiji who went to Kashmir. (See *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase*, Vol. II, Page 354)

XII INDEPENDENCE EVE AND AFTER

395

Sodepur,
11th August 1947.

Dear Friend,

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

All my good wishes with you and yours.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

(Sir Frederick Burrows)
H. E. the Governor,
Calcutta.

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Government House,
New Delhi,
26th August 1947.

My dear Gandhiji,

In the Punjab we have 55 thousand soldiers and large scale rioting on our hands. In Bengal our forces consist of one man, and there is no rioting.

As a serving officer, as well as an administrator, may I be allowed to pay my tribute to the One Man Boundary Force, not forgetting his Second in Command, Mr. Suhrawardy.

You should have heard the enthusiastic applause which greeted the mention of your name in the Constituent Assembly on the 15th of August when all of us were thinking so much of you.

Edwina has gone off today on a courageous mission to the Punjab with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, to see what they

can do to help relieve the suffering and distress among the refugees.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

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Calcutta,
30th August 1947.

Dear Friend,

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

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

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

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

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Lord Mountbatten of Burma,
Government House,
New Delhi.

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11, Old Square,
Lincoln's Inn W. C. 2,
17th September 1947.

My dear Gandhiji,

This comes to bring you all good wishes for your birthday from my wife and myself.

How much has happened since we celebrated it last year!

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Neither you nor I am of course fully satisfied with the final outcome. But international progress like true love never runs quite smoothly and what has been won is infinitely greater than what has been lost.

We have of course followed your personal doings with absorbing interest. I devoutly hope that the recent tragic events though they remain a scar on the fair face of India will not continue as a running sore.

Ever sincerely yours,
Pethick-Lawrence

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Cabinet Office,
Great George Street, S. W. 1,
1st October 1947.

My dear Mahatma,

I have purposely refrained from writing to you in the most anxious and perilous times through which you and your country — or your two countries! — have been passing. But I feel now that I must express to you my admiration for the splendid work that you have done. All your friends in this country — and they are many — admire greatly the determined way in which you have set out to conquer the evil by good. It has been a great inspiration for all of us who have the good of India at heart. We have been made so sad at all that has happened and we are only too conscious of the part that the past history has played in the present discontents.

I pray that you may be given the strength to persevere and that by your example the evil spirit of communal faction will die down so that India and Pakistan may resume their progress towards what I still hope may one day be the goal of unity.

Isobel asks me particularly to send you her most affectionate greetings.

Yours very sincerely,
Stafford Cripps

Government House,
New Delhi,
2nd October 1947.

My dear Friend,

I am writing on behalf of my wife, my daughter Pamela and myself to send you our warmest congratulations on your 78th Birthday, and to wish you continued long life and health to enable you to carry on with your wonderful work for the India we all love.

You hold unique position both in the eyes of the world as a whole and in the hearts and affection of the Indian peoples. Never has your gospel of non-violence been more needed than it is now. Long may you be spared to spread it.

Our affectionate good wishes go out to you on this day.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mr. Gandhi.

Government House,
New Delhi,
2nd October 1947.

My dear Mr. Gandhi,

May I join the chorus of congratulations and good wishes that will reach you today from all over the world, and in the prayer that you may long be spared to lead us all along the path of peace and brotherhood.

Yours sincere friend,
Ismaïl

Birla House,
New Delhi,
23rd October 1947.

Dear Friend,

I have spoken to Pandit Nehru. But he is adamant. He is firmly of opinion that no change should be made until

the weather has cleared.¹ If it does, it may take two or three months. In this estimate I agree with him.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

H. E. the Lord Mountbatten of Burma,
Government House,
New Delhi.

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Government House,
New Delhi,
25th October 1947.

My dear Friend,

Thank you so much for your letter of the 23rd. I should like to speak about this to you at your convenience next week, and will get my staff to make an appointment, on Tuesday or Wednesday, if that would suit you.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Mahatma Gandhi.

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Government House,
New Delhi,
17th November 1947.

My dear Mr. Gandhi,

- I wonder if I might come and see you for a talk one day this week — probably before Thursday the 20th? I confess that I have nothing particular to discuss, but I always derive pleasure and profit from a chat with you.

Yours very sincerely,
Ismay

1. For this as well as the next letter, see Foreword, page v.

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Birla House,
New Delhi,
17th November 1947.

Dear Lord Ismay,

Will 3 p.m. on Wednesday next suit you? If you would prefer any other time, please tell me.

While I shall be glad to welcome you where I am staying please be sure that I could as easily come to you. You shall decide.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

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Government House,
New Delhi,
18th November 1947.

My dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you so much for your note. 3 p. m. on Wednesday, the 19 November will suit me splendidly, and I will be at your house punctually at that hour.

Yours very sincerely,
Ismay

APPENDIX I

GANDHIJI'S INTERVIEW WITH STUART GELDER

(4th July 1944)

I saw Mr. Gandhi on the 4th of July at Panchgani. I told him, "My editor is anxious to help in solving the political deadlock in India. I went to Delhi and I was disappointed. I hope you will not disappoint me." I asked him, "Supposing you saw Lord Wavell, how would you begin the talk? What would you say to him?" He promptly replied that he would tell the Viceroy that he had sought the interview with a view to help and not to hinder the Allies and it was to this end he had asked for permission to see the members of the Congress Working Committee. He said, he felt he had no authority to act in the name of the Congress. According to the canons of Satyagraha, when a civil resister was imprisoned, the authority vested in him automatically came to an end. Hence the need for him to see the members of the Working Committee. I said, "The Viceroy might feel that as you swear by the August resolution, and by the weapon of Civil Disobedience, your meeting the Working Committee members may only result in their reinvesting you with authority to carry on Civil Disobedience in the name of the Congress and the result will be that when you come out of the interview you will hold the pistol at the Viceroy's head and say, 'Do this or I start Civil Disobedience'. That would make things worse than they are today."

Mr. Gandhi replied, "At the back of that is the utter distrust of my profession that I am and have always been a friend of the British. Therefore I could never use the weapon of Civil Disobedience during the war unless there was a very grave reason, as for instance the thwarting of India's natural right to freedom."

My next question was, "Supposing the Working Committee was let out of the jail tomorrow, and the Government refused to give India what they wanted, would you start Civil Disobedience?"

Mr. Gandhi replied that if the Working Committee came out they would take stock of the situation and discuss things among themselves and with me. I can tell you this that I have no intention of offering Civil Disobedience today. I cannot take the country back to 1942. History can never be repeated. Even without the authority of the Congress, if I wanted to do it, I could start Civil Disobedience today on the strength of my supposed influence with the masses. But I would be doing so merely

to embarrass the British Government. This cannot be my object. But the Working Committee would not sit still while the people are suffering. It is my conviction that we cannot improve the food situation and alleviate the suffering of the people unless power and responsibility are transferred from the British into Indian hands. Without such a transfer the attempt of Congressmen and others to alleviate the people's sufferings are most likely to lead to conflicts with the Government."

I interrupted and said, "With things as they are, I cannot believe that they will transfer authority now. The Government will never concede the demand for independence while the war is on."

Mr. Gandhi replied that there was a difference between what he would ask today and what was asked in 1942. Today we would be satisfied with a National Government in full control of civil administration. It was not so in 1942. Such a Government would be composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Central Assembly. This would mean declaration of independence of India qualified as above during the war.

I thought this was a great improvement on the 1942 position. I asked him if the military would control the railways and the ports etc. Mr. Gandhi replied that the National Government would let the military have all the facilities that the military might require. But the control would be that of the National Government. Ordinance rule would give place to normal administration by the National Government.

"Will the Viceroy be there?" I asked.

"Yes, but he will, like the King of England, be guided by the responsible ministers. Popular Governments will be automatically restored in all the Provinces, so that both the Provincial and Central Governments will be responsible to the people of India. So far as military operations are concerned, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief will have complete control. But it must be possible for the National Government to offer advice and criticism even in military matters. Thus the portfolio of defence would be in the hands of the National Government which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and might render great assistance in the shaping of policies. The Allied forces would be allowed to carry on their operations on Indian soil. I realise that they cannot defeat Japan without that. Mr. Gandhi made it clear that the expenses of the Allied operations on the Indian soil should not be borne by India.

"If a National Government is formed, would you advise the Congress to participate in it?" I asked.

Mr. Gandhi replied in the affirmative.

"So it means that if a National Government is formed, the Congress will join and help the war effort? What would be your position?" I asked.

"I am a lover of peace through and through. After independence was assured, I would probably cease to function as adviser to the Congress. As an all-war resister I would have to stand aside, but I shall not offer any resistance against the National Government or the Congress. My cooperation will be abstention from interfering with the even tenor of life in India. I shall work in the hope that my influence will always be felt to keep India peace-minded and so to affect the world policy towards real peace and brotherhood among all without distinction of race and colour."

"Supposing there is conflict between the civil and military authority, how will the dispute be settled? If for example, the civil authorities wanted to use a railway to carry two thousand tons of food and the military authorities wanted it for carrying ammunition, what will you advise?" I next asked.

Mr. Gandhi replied, "As I said before, I would not have to advise on such matters. But supposing I had, I can conceive the necessity of allowing precedence to the military. But supposing the military wanted to blow off places or practise manoeuvres in disregard of the lives of the people, I would say, 'hands off'. The thing is that with mutual trust such difficulties would not arise, and if they did, they would be easily adjusted. If there is no trust it cannot work. I cannot work for Allied victory without trust. If they trust us a settlement will be easy to achieve. Freedom for India will bring hope to Asiatic and other exploited nations. Today there is no hope for the Negroes. But Indian freedom will fill them with hope."

Finally I asked: "What about Hindu-Muslim differences?"

Mr. Gandhi replied, "If the British meant well, there would be no difficulty, but," said Mr. Gandhi in conclusion, "most of us believe that whatever the Viceroy may wish personally, he has no authority in the political sphere. Mr. Churchill does not want a settlement. He wants to crush me, if he has been correctly reported. He has never denied the report. The beauty of it for me, the pity of it for him, is that no one can crush a Satyagrahi. For, he offers the body as a willing sacrifice and thus makes the spirit free."

APPENDIX II

LORD MUNSTER'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON GELDER INTERVIEW

"What I already said," Lord Munster continued, "is by no means the end of the tale, for directly after the publication of the scheme (C. R. Formula—Ed.) there appeared a series of statements in the Press which were attributed to Mr. Gandhi. The more important of these statements contained seven points, and was issued after the publication in the *News Chronicle* of an interview which Mr. Gandhi had given to one of its Press correspondents. Indeed, Mr. Gandhi stated, himself, that the premature publication of the interview with Mr. Gelder, the *News Chronicle* representative, had led to some confusion in the minds of the Congress and therefore Mr. Gandhi had advanced the following views: Firstly, Mr. Gandhi said, he would never use the weapon of Civil Disobedience during the war unless for a very grave reason, such as, the thwarting of India's right to freedom. Secondly, he would be satisfied with a National Government during the war, with full control of the civil administration, composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. Thirdly, the Viceroy would be, like the King of England, guided by responsible Ministers. Fourthly, Popular Government would be automatically restored in all provinces, that is, provinces at the moment under Section 93. Fifthly, while under National Government, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief would have complete control of military operations, there would be a portfolio of Defence in the hands of the National Government, which would be genuinely interested in the defence of the country and may render great assistance in the shaping of policies. Sixthly, the Allied forces would be allowed to carry on operations on Indian soil, but the expense of such operations would not be borne by Indians. Seventhly, Mr. Gandhi would advise Congress participation in the National Government "if formed".

Lord Munster, proceeding, said : "The procedure followed is a little complicated and a little difficult to understand. A few days after Mr. Gandhi published these seven suggestions through the intermediary of the Press, he gave further explanations to Press correspondents, in which he emphasised that his statements constituted his personal effort to end the deadlock, but that if his suggestions are not acceptable to Mr. Jinnah or the powers that be, he would consider it a most unfortunate incident. In clarification — if indeed it be clarification — of his offer to Mr. Jinnah,

he stated that his proposals were wholly different from the Cripps Offer which, he insisted, contemplated almost perpetual vivisection of India. Frankly, it is difficult to understand if these statements by Mr. Gandhi have in point of fact, definitely improved the chances of an intercommunal settlement."

"The main point, so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned," Lord Munster declared, "is that he (Mr. Gandhi) is still clinging to precisely that claim which wrecked the Cripps Mission and put an end to the negotiations in April 1942, for he is no more prepared today than he was then, to accept the formation of an Interim Government with the Viceroy maintaining his existing reserve powers. He demands a so-called 'Interim' Government in full control of the civil administration, with the Viceroy occupying the position of a constitutional monarch as we understand it in this country. Let it not be forgotten that, if an agreement is set up under the present existing constitution there are still a number of very important questions, not the least of which is the protection of the minorities to be resolved. All these matters must be settled before the final constitution can be evolved. In this, it will seem that Government have not departed one iota from the pledge they gave some time ago and which I will repeat now, that the proposals which were taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps still stand in their entirety."

APPENDIX III

LORD WAVELL'S BROADCAST

(14th June 1945)

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling block, but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties.

I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of Central and Provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion.

The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be also entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's

foreign affairs; moreover members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course, be subject to approval of His Majesty the King Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this Interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be : Firstly, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated. Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force. Thirdly, to consider, when the members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved.

The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a council and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me:

Those now holding office as Premier in a Provincial government; or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier

The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Raj to represent the scheduled classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the conference on 25th June at Simla where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this

fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to reassume office and again undertake the task of Government in the Provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the Party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards the goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.

I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new Central Government, if formed, and to the Provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the Central and Provincial legislatures will be discussed at the conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depend on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present, thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conference have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's

aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies, I will further her greatness. I ask you all for your cooperation and goodwill.

APPENDIX IV

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT ON VICEROY'S BROADCAST

On the purely political aspect of the Viceregal broadcast I prefer to say nothing, now that the members of the Working Committee of the Congress are free. I can only give them my advice and it is they who have to shape the policy of the Congress and speak and act with authority. As soon as I read the broadcast, I sent a wire to H. E. the Viceroy drawing his attention to the fact that I have no locus standi as the "recognised representative of the Congress". That function belongs to the President of the Congress or whoever may be appointed to represent the Congress on a particular occasion. For several years I have acted unofficially as an adviser to the Congress whenever required. The public will remember that I went with the same unrepresentative character for my talks with Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah; and I can take up no other position with the British Government, in this instance represented by the Viceroy.

There is one expression in the Viceregal broadcast which certainly offends my ear and, I hope, will offend that of every politically-minded Hindu. I refer to the expression "Caste Hindus". I claim that there is no such person, speaking politically, as a "Caste Hindu". Let alone the Congress which seeks to represent the whole of India which is yearning after political independence. Does Veer Savarkar or Dr. Shyamaprasad or Dr. Moonje of the Hindu Mahasabha represent Caste Hindus? Do they not represent all Hindus without distinction of caste? Do they not include the so-called Untouchables? Do they themselves claim to be Caste Hindus? I hope not. Of all politically-minded Hindus, I know that even the revered Pandit Malaviyaji, though he observes caste distinctions, will refuse to be called a Caste Hindu, as distinguished from the other Hindus. Modern tendency in Hinduism is to abolish all caste distinctions and this I maintain in spite of my knowledge of reactionary elements in Hindu society. I can only hope therefore that H. E. the Viceroy has allowed himself to make use of the expression in utter ignorance. I want to acquit him of knowingly wounding the susceptibilities of Hindu society or dividing it. I would not have dwelt on this matter but for the fact that it touches the political mind of Hindus in its sensitive spot and carries with it political repercussions.

The proposed conference can do much useful work if it is put in its proper political setting and is at the very outset rendered immune from any fissiparous tendency. Undoubtedly all invitees must appear as Indians conjointly bent on achieving India's natural goal and not as persons representing several sections of Indian society. That is how I have viewed Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali understanding which I suppose laid the foundation for the forthcoming Viceregal conference. Shri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal has no such colouring as the Viceregal broadcast would seem to have. I am not ashamed of the part I have played in advising Shri Bhulabhai Desai when he consulted me about his proposal. Shri Bhulabhai Desai's proposal, as I understood it, attracted me as one interested in solving the communal tangle, and I assured him that I would use my influence with the members of the Working Committee and give my reasons for acceptance of his proposal. And I have no doubt that, if both the parties to the proposal correctly represent their constituents and have independence of India as their common goal, things must shape well. At this point I must stop and the Working Committee has to take up the thread. It is for its members to declare the Congress mind on the impending question.

APPENDIX V

THE CONGRESS LIST OF NAMES SUBMITTED TO THE VICEROY FOR THE PROPOSED EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DURING SIMLA CONFERENCE : 1945

1. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
4. Dr. Rajendra Prasad
5. Mr. M. A. Jinnah
6. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan
7. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan
8. Mr. M. Asaf Ali
9. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji
10. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
11. Shri Muniswami Pillay
12. Shri Radhanath Das
13. Shri Gaganvihari L. Mehta
14. Sir Ardeshr Dalal
15. A Sikh member (name to be submitted later).

APPENDIX VI

DR. LOHIA'S STATEMENT TO HIS LAWYER

In my applications to the Punjab High Court dated 13th December 1944 and 19th January 1945, I have described in outline my detention in the Lahore Fort. I will here recapitulate, briefly and in hurry, some of the incidents. I will also add certain names and dates. However, this is no full account. Also, some of the most atrocious features of the Lahore Fort can only be brought out by one who settled down and had the talent to communicate a long and painful experience, a part of whose effect consists in repeating some crude tricks on the nerves and the will.

I was arrested in Bombay on 20th May, 1944, and, except for two or three occasions when I was taken to the Bombay police headquarters, I was detained in the Arthur Road Jail. On 20th June, I was served with an order of the Central Government dated 7th June and was brought to Lahore on 22nd June. This order directed that I could be detained "anywhere including the Punjab Province". The primary motive of this order was to put me on the rack. That it continued my detention was incidental, at best, a joint purpose.

My things were searched in one of the interrogation rooms and I was deprived of a book I had, pen and paper, shaving things and the like. I was then taken to a cell where my person was searched. I was expected to wash and bathe inside the cell and the small space between the cell-door and the flooring was both a gutter for dirty water and a passage for food. A fairly powerful light-bulb was kept on overhead throughout the night. Another wall a few paces away from the cell-walls blocked all breeze, mosquitoes abounded and the concrete must have put up the Lahore temperature quite a bit. Right from the second day, the police officers started calling me names, unprincipled, cowardly and all that, when not giving me long lectures on truth and the right behaviour, one of them would reel at me for stretches which seemed infernally long such refrains as. . . .

I could not bring myself to eat. It was no hunger-strike, just the utter inability to eat. During the day, they would hold me handcuffed in the interrogation room and one midnight, probably the fourth of my arrival, they had me taken out of the cell for an hour in their office.

On the sixth day, the Superintendent of Police in charge of my interrogation promised me that I could have my bath under the tap outside my cell, that my cell-door would be opened while giving me food and, as to my third requirement, he said that he would himself cut out filthy language. It was probably a mistake on my part to have started eating.

For about a fortnight thereafter, I had comparative relief. They would still hold me handcuffed in their office throughout the day, when they tried to mix the arts of flattery with subtle hints of terror and the unknown. At this stage, in addition to Superintendent of Police, Syed Ahmed and Inspector Muhammad Hussain, who worked on me from the beginning, Inspector Maharaj Kishen was also brought in.

I was perfectly willing to face a law-court, with no intention to deny acts in which I alone was involved. I also volunteered to write a note to the Central Government accepting such acts, if that was what they wanted.

About mid-July, I was kept awake for five days and nights. Except for an half-hour bath, they kept me handcuffed in their office. When not orating, they engaged in general abuse of the Congress.

After reducing a man to a literally tottering state and working on his nerves, they do a lot of servile cringing and pretend to touch the feet of their victim in expiation.

They were now willing to accept orally what I had offered to give them in writing. Once again, they tried to broaden the scope of my offer through two sleepless days and a night, but ended that up in cringing. Up to early August, it was largely a case of my selecting for them the various pamphlets and speeches that I had written or spoken and they made summaries of these.

But this was not what they wanted, though it whetted their appetite. They read me whole chunks from reports of the Central and Bengal intelligence and from statements which they said had been made by others. This they probably did with a view to impress upon me the extent of their information and to ease my burden in so far as I had only to affirm or deny. I can only say that they have no information on vital affairs or it is inaccurate and, even on other affairs, it is sketchy. Among their angry repetitions was that they had allowed my interrogation to become their own which certainly was not of my doing and could only be ascribed to their own detecting skill. Whatever it was, whether terror and fear of the unknown or the silly notion that one may accept

one's own acts anywhere, I had made the original slip, which also landed me into a few affirmations about acts in which I alone was not involved.

In early August, they tried another method. From noon of a day to the middle of next night, they kept me standing with a break of about four hours. When I would not stand voluntarily, one man on each side of me held me by the hand. On the second occasion that the Inspector snatched away my spectacles, I am myopic to the extent of -5, I closed my eyes. This was never attempted again. I shall only say that for weeks afterwards I saw black stains on my calves. This was again ended by cringing on the Inspector's part.

From about 10th August to 30th August, Superintendent Syed Ahmed was away in Delhi. Instructions were probably left behind not to go beyond working on my nerves until the Superintendent returned. I would be taken in the day to the interrogation room and would be made to listen to their prattle or their cajolery or threats of the lurid unknown. Even as I said nothing or said that I had nothing to say, they would read out from their reports. I was struck that they should try to gain information in this way about heads and embassies of allied nations, not to talk of German or Japanese agents, when, out of sheer impishness, one might like to gull them with reports just to breed a little more international suspicion. Among the notions that crossed my mind was a persistent picture of gutter water and how these intelligence men tried to force one to drink it.

On the Superintendent's return, I was again kept awake from about 2nd to 6th September. The Superintendent brought with him some photostatic copies and reports. Heavy-lidded, I had to listen to these or some ineffectual speeches. This was the Superintendent's last effort and he went away on 10th September, presumably again to Delhi. Inspector Maharaj Kishen had already been withdrawn. Of course, I did not know that they had withdrawn and, for all that I knew, they could have reappeared at any stage.

Inspector Mohammad Hussain, supported by his constables and sentries, kept me awake from about 14th to 30th September with a break on the Id Day. Up to the Id Day, I would be taken to my cell in the night but, after uncertain intervals of an hour or half, back again to the office to be kept awake. This would happen about three times in the night. From the Id Day, however, I was kept continuously awake. I might here state that, during this month of being kept awake, I had to give up eating and drank a glass of milk, half water, in the morning and some tepid water called tea in the evening. I had also to cut down

drinking water for the constables detailed to keep me awake, who sometimes took shifts with the inspector, said they were not allowed to take me out of the office. I was also not allowed to stretch my legs or walk. If the constables thought that I had closed my eyes, when they were only heavy, they kept on shuttling my head. Else, they would pull the heavy chain attached to the handcuffs. The inspector was now reaching the high in filthy talk. He was free with *haramazado* and the like. On 23rd September noon, when he tried to make me stand, I asked him not to attempt anything with me single-handed. He shouted his constables in and also the armed sentry who always kept guard on me. One man on each side held me by the hand and the inspector let loose his vile talk. I had had enough of this terror and uncertainty and being kept continuously awake and being treated as dirt and had the urge to reinstate myself in my own eyes something beyond passivity. I told the inspector that he was the coward of the fort with all his terror and evil doings and fancied prowess. A Sub-Inspector's hand flew at my throat but it was withdrawn and so was the inspector's who tried to shake my head for some time. Thenceforth, I had comparative quiet in the matter of rough talk. Again on 25th September, before the break of dawn and at a time of these sleepless days when my head would feel like breaking forth into fumes, the inspector wanted me to shift my chair so as to face the light-bulb. On his trying to lift me out of my chair, I again warned him off and he shouted in a constable and the sentry. The three of them lifted me out of chair but they could not make me stand, so that the constable and the armed sentry with the fixed bayonet held me on each side and the inspector pressed on my ankles in a vain effort. Later, he asked the sentry to put away his rifle. After some time, he gave up and let me slump on the matted floor and asked the constable to wheel me around and then my manacled hands like in the motion of a mill-stone. This continued until it was time for my bath.

Clots of blood started forming in my nose and I spat traces of blood, when in October, I had continuous fever for ten days. The doctor called it seven days' fever.

Round about the Diwali day, I was changed to a cell, which is among the worst in the fort, I was also taken for some hours to the basement celler of the fort-office, where I was told that a new process was to start before which the bravest and the most hardened criminals quailed, a persistent remark except for the new setting in which it was made, which I could only look upon as a relief. Cajoleries never quite ceased. Could I give them one address where a transmitter could be

seized, some foreign contacts, when not that, the money-givers or the accommodation addresses or a place where arms were dumped ?

The ordeal ended on 25th October. I continued in my cell. In early December, I was allowed newspapers and writing materials when, on 13th December, I made my Habeas Corpus application to the Puniab High Court. I supplemented it with another on 19th January, 1945. On 30th January, my application was heard and I was examined on oath. The learned judge thought my allegations serious, wanted to go into them and demanded an affidavit of the Central Government. However, he was later influenced by the Government's plea to transfer me to another place of detention. I think it was a faulty finding to have disregarded that the primary motive of my detention order was to transfer me to the Lahore Fort. Aside from the technical aspect, the learned judge should have continued with the enquiry that he had started into the facts of the case. At one time I felt that he thought the case serious enough to be adjudicated one way or the other.

My application to the Federal Court was rejected on the plea that the court had no jurisdiction. After two more notes to the Central Government and an application to the Allahabad High Court, I have now been allowed to meet my lawyer, Mr. Madan Pittie, and am writing this note for further proceedings.

27th October 1945,
Agra Central Jail.

Rammanohar Lohia

APPENDIX VII

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN !

According to Reuter's picked Indians, men and women, headed by Dr. Naicker, commenced Satyagraha (in South Africa popularly known as passive resistance) on June 14th in respect of the Segregation Law of the Union Parliament of South Africa. The same agency further reports that neither the Government nor the Municipality had taken any action against the passive resisters but that some 'Whites' of Durban had taken the execution of the law into their own hands by raiding the camp at night, cutting down tents swiftly and carrying them away. "A band of 100 young White men broke through the cordon of 50 Indian passive resisters, pulled down the tents and dragged them away torn. Some camp stretchers were smashed and blankets and pillows removed. Two women resisters were involved in the melee. They are stated to have been kicked but not injured."

The papers report that after three days of hooliganism the Borough Police had posted themselves near the scene of passive resistance and warned the hooligans against molesting the resisters and terrorizing them into submission. This is heartening news. Let us hope that it can be taken at its full value and that the protection means fullest protection against lawlessness, sporadic or organized. Organized popular lawlessness is known as lynching, so shamelessly frequent in America. •

Before the Segregation Law was passed, White men, known to be respectable, had carried anti-Asiatic agitation to the point of frenzy. Not satisfied with their triumph in having legislation compelling segregation passed probably beyond expectation, the more advanced section among the agitators have become the executioners of their own laws. They do not know that they are thereby 'defaming the White man's name !!!'

My appeal to the White men and women who have regard for laws for which they have voted is that they should create public opinion against hooliganism and lynch law.

Passive resistance is aimed at removal in a most approved manner of bad laws, customs or other evils and is designed to be a complete and effective substitute for forcible methods including hooliganism and lynch law. It is an appeal to the heart of man. Often reason fails. It is dwarfed by self. The theory is that an adequate appeal to the heart never

fails. Seeming failure is not of the law of Satyagraha but of incompetence of the Satyagrahi by whatever cause induced. It may not be possible to give a complete historical instance. The name of Jesus at once comes to the lips. It is an instance of brilliant failure. And he has been acclaimed in the West as Prince of *passive* resisters. I showed years ago in South Africa that the adjective 'passive' was a misnomer, at least as applied to Jesus. He was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence *par excellence*. But I must no longer stray from my main subject. It is the resistance of the Jesus type that the White hooligans are seeking to thwart. Let us hope that our countrymen's heroic resistance will not only shame the hooligans into silence but prove the precursor of the repeal of the law that disfigures the statute book of South Africa. In concrete form, what pure suffering, wholly one-sided, does is to stir public opinion against a wrong. Legislators are, after all, representatives of the public. In obedience to it they have enacted a wrong. They have to reverse the process when the same public, awakened to the wrong demands its removal.

The real 'White man's burden' is not insolently to dominate coloured or black people under the guise of protection, it is to desist from the hypocrisy which is eating into them. It is time, White men learnt to treat every human being as their equal. There is no mystery about whiteness of the skin. It has repeatedly been proved that given equal opportunity a man, be he of any colour or country, is fully equal to any other.

• Therefore, White men throughout the world and especially of India should act upon their fellow men in South Africa and call upon them not to molest Indian resisters who are bravely struggling to preserve the self-respect of Indians in the Union and the honour of their motherland. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Or, do they take in vain the name of Him who said this? Have they banished from their hearts the great coloured Asiatic who gave to the world the above message? Do they forget that the greatest of the teachers of mankind were all Asiatics and did not possess a white face? These, if they descended on earth and went to South Africa, will all have to live in the segregated areas and be classed as Asiatics and coloured people unfit by law to be equals of Whites.

Is a civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch law? The silver lining to the cloud that hangs over the devoted heads of our countrymen lies

in the plucky action of Rev. Scott, a White clergyman, and his equally White fellow workers, who have undertaken to share the sufferings of the Indian resisters.

M. K. Gandhi

New Delhi, 26-6-'46
(*Harijan*, June 30, 1946)

APPENDIX VIII

THE TWO TELEGRAMS FROM SOUTH AFRICA

I

Acts of savage violence committed against peaceful passive resisters by mobs (of) unruly Europeans during last few nights when resisters have been beaten unconscious, two of whom still lying in serious condition and some going about with swollen faces has, only made Indian people more determined (to) carry their struggle for emancipation. Despite bannering meeting held Nicols Square today (at) 5-30 p.m. attended by ten thousand Indian men and women resolved (to) carry on non-violent struggle. Permission holding meeting had been refused by city council. A gallant band (of) volunteers who have been camping on and off resistance came whenever not in detention cell present. Amongst them Doctors Naickers and Gonnarn and M. D. Naidoo who addressed meeting. Dr. Y. M. Dadoo flew especially from Johannesburg addressing meeting said: "Gallant band of resisters (have) been subjected (to) brutal attacks by members of race who claim to hold aloft banners of civilizations in Africa and Asia. Ruthless attacks (of) European mobs upon people who, they know, (are) pledged not to retaliate put to shame S. S. Guards of Nazi Germany. Have displayed despicable behaviour but honour goes to resisters' courage and fortitude. We can assure 400 million people (of) India (that) despite assaults (we) will carry struggle strictly (on) non-violent basis. Decent-minded people (are) asking why mob rule (is) allowed by police. What has happened to Government of country. Similar mob rule against (a) section (of) European community would have created tremendous indignation and outcry all over (the) country but because Indian people happened to be a voteless section no notice (is) taken. (He) further warned (the) Indian people (that) even one act of violence on their part would play into hands of Europeans and wreck movement." Immediately after meeting huge crowd (of) Indians accompanied 47 Indian passive resisters volunteers (who) left for resistance camp. Large police force and misguided European crowd awaiting 8-20 p.m. Ajooskeevy District Commandant through police van loud-speaker "in name (of) magistrate issued warning declaring any gathering within five hundred yards of intersection Sumbbilo and Gale streets unlawful assembly in terms of riotous assemblies...order remains in force seven days." Crowds