

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### A. I. C. C. RESOLUTION

The following is the text of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on Saturday, August 8, 1942 :

"The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution, and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

"The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive

for freedom and who sympathize with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and Colonial countries, and the continuation of the Imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern Imperialism, has become the crux of the question for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

"The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depends the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that Imperialism will affect the fortunes of the United Nations.

"The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

"The A.I.C.C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed, and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its

primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied Powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

"The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to this freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other Colonial Power.

"While the A.I.C.C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

"An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

"Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to

the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

"The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that over-hang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet not prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticisms of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China, of Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardize the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and the criticism made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

"The A.I.C.C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction, for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

"The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage

and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committee can function. When this happens, every man or woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

"Lastly, whilst the A.I.C.C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A.I.C.C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on a mass struggle, it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India."

## APPENDIX II

### GANDHIJI'S SPEECHES IN THE BOMBAY A. I. C. C.

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the A. I. C. C. on 7th August, 1942, said: "Before you discuss the resolution let me place before you one or two things. I want you to understand two things very clearly and to consider them from the same point of view from which I am placing them before you. I ask you to consider it from my point of view because if you approve of it, you will be enjoined to carry out all I say. It will be a great responsibility. There are people who ask me whether I am the same man that I was in 1920 or whether there has been any change in me. You are right in asking that question. I may tell you that I am the same man today that I was in 1920. The only difference is that I am much stronger in certain things now than what I was in 1920. I may explain it by pointing out that a man goes about heavily clothed in winter. But the same man may be found without much clothing in summer. This outward change does not make any difference in the man. There are people who may say that I say one thing today and another thing tomorrow. But I must tell you that there is no change in me. I stick to the principle of non-violence as I did before. If you are tired of it then you need not come with me. It is not necessary or incumbent upon you to pass this resolution. If you want Swaraj and independence and if you feel that what I place before you is a good thing and right thing then

only accept it. It is only that way you can give me complete support. If you do not do that, I am afraid you will have to rue what you do.

"There is not much harm if a man does a wrong thing and repents but in the present case you will be putting the country also in danger. If you do not believe fully in what I say then I will request you not to accept it but to leave it. But if you accept it and do not understand me properly then there is bound to be friction between us, although it may be of a friendly nature.

"Another point I want to impress upon you is your great responsibility, members of the A. I. C. C. are like members of a parliament. The Congress represents the whole of India. The Congress from its very inception has not been of any particular group or any particular colour or caste or of any particular province. It has claimed, ever since its birth, to represent the whole nation and on your behalf I have made the claim that you represent not only the registered members of the Congress but the entire nation.

"Referring to the princes, Mahatma Gandhi stated that they were the creation of the British power. Their number may be 600 or more. They are created by the ruling power, as you know, to create differences between Indian India and British India. It may be true that there are differences in the conditions obtaining in British and Indian India but according to the people of the states there is no difference as such. The Congress claims to represent them as well. The policy which the Congress adopted towards the states was drawn up at my instance. There have been some changes but the basis remains the same. Whatever the princes may say, their people will acclaim that we have been asking for the very thing that they want. If we carry on this struggle in the way I want it, the princes will get more through it than they can ever expect. I have met some princes and they have stated their helplessness by saying that we are more free than they are because they can be removed by the paramount power.

"I will again remind you that you should accept the resolution only if you approve of it from your heart because if you do not do that you will expose both you and me to danger. That is the warning I want to give you. I did not, in the past, have before me the material I have ready today. God has given me an opportunity and if I do not have it, I will be a fool. Not only will I lose myself but I will be throwing away that great jewel of non-violence that God has placed in my hands.

"I would not take up much of your time because if you

accept the resolution then I will have to address you again but even then I would not take more than an hour of your time. What I want you to understand clearly is the way you have to tread and the man with whom you have to travel.

"There are people who say that I am meant for destruction and that I do not know how to construct a thing. The reason is that I do not get an opportunity to construct. If I were given an opportunity I would certainly welcome it and I hope to show what can be done. I am accused of demolishing things. If you understand it properly, when freedom comes we can and reconstruct what has been demolished. You must have from the beginning that confidence in yourself.

"We had an opportunity of running the government at least in seven provinces. We did put in good work which was praised even by the British Government.

"Your work would not finish with the attainment of freedom. You will continue to be lascars, of course, in a non-violent way. Militarists as soon as they get power become dictators. There is no place for such dictators in our scheme of things. Our object is to achieve independence and whoever can take up the reins may do so. It may be that you decide to place it in the hands of the Parsi. You should not say why should the Parsis be entrusted with power. It may be that power may be given to those whose names have never been heard in the Congress. It will be for the people to decide. You should not feel that the majority of those who fought for it were Hindus and the number of Muslims and Parsis in the fight was small. The entire atmosphere will change when we get independence.

"There are people who have hatred in their heart for the British. I have heard people saying that they are disgusted with them. The mind of the common people does not differentiate between the Britisher and the imperialistic form of their government. To them both are the same. There are people who do not mind the advent of the Japanese. To them, perhaps, it would mean a change of masters. But it is a dangerous thing. You must remove it from your mind. This is a crucial hour. If we keep quiet and don't play our part, it would not be right on our part, it would not be right on our part. If it is only Britain and the United States who fight this war, and if our part is only to give monetary help, whether given willingly or taken from us unwillingly, it is not a very happy proposition. But we can show our real grit and valour only when it becomes our own fight. Then even a child will be brave.

"We shall get our freedom by fighting. It cannot fall from the skies. I know fully well that Britishers will have

to give us freedom when we have made sufficient sacrifices and proved our strength. We must remove hatred for the British from our hearts. At least in my heart there is no such hatred. As a matter of fact I am a greater friend of the British now than I ever was. The reason for this is that at this moment they are in distress. My friendship demands that I must make them aware of their mistakes, as I am not in the position in which they are. They are on the brink of a ditch and are about to fall into it. Therefore, even if they want to cut off my hands my friendship demands that I should try to pull them out of that ditch.

"This is my claim at which many people may laugh but all the same I say that this is true. At a time when I am about to launch the biggest fight in my life there can be no hatred for the British in my heart. The thought that because they are in difficulties I should give them push is totally absent from my mind. It has never been there. It may be that in a moment of anger they might do things which might provoke you. Nevertheless, you should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens you may take it that you will not find me alive, wherever I may be. Their blood will be on your head. If you do not understand this, it would be better if you reject this resolution. It will redound to your credit.

"How can I blame you for things which you may not be able to grasp? There is one principle in the fight which you must adopt. Never believe—as I have never believed—that the British are going to fail, I do not consider them to be a nation of cowards. I know that before they accept defeat, every soul in Britain will be sacrificed. They may be defeated and they may leave you just as they left the people of Burma, Malaya and other places, with the idea of recapturing lost ground when they can. That may be their military strategy, but supposing they leave us, what happens to us? In that case Japan will come here. The coming in of Japan will mean the end of China, and perhaps of Russia too. In these matters Pandit Nehru is my 'guru' I do not want to be the instrument of Russia's defeat nor of China's. If that happens, I would hate myself.

"You know I like to go at rapid speed. But it may be that I am not going as rapidly as you want me to. Sardar Patel is reported to have said that the campaign may be over in a week. I do not want to be in a hurry. If it ends in a week it will be a miracle, and if this happens, it would mean the melting of the British heart. It may be that wisdom will dawn on the British and they will understand it to be wrong for them to put in Jail the very people who

want to fight for them. It may be that a change may come in Mr. Jinnah's mind too. After all, he will think that those who are fighting are the sons of the soil and if he sits quiet, of what use would 'Pakistan' be for him ?

"Non-violence is a weapon which can help everyone. I know we have not done much by way of non-violence and therefore if such a change comes about I will take it as the result of our labours during the last 22 years, and that God has helped us to achieve it.

"When I raised the slogan 'Quit India', people in India who were then feeling despondent felt that I had placed before them a new thing. If you want real freedom you will have to come together and such coming together will create a true democracy—a democracy the like of which has not been so far witnessed, nor have there been any attempts made for such a type of true democracy. I have read a good deal about French Revolution. But I hold that though theirs was a fight for the people, it was not a fight for the real democracy which I envisage. My democracy means that everyone is his own master. I have read sufficient history, and I have not seen such an experiment on such a large scale for the establishment of democracy by non-violence. Once you understand these things, you will forget difference between Hindus and Muslims.

"The resolution that is placed before you says that we do not want to remain frogs in a well. We are aiming at a world federation. It can come only through non-violence. Disarmament is only possible if you use the matchless weapon of non-violence. There are people who may call me a visionary but I tell you I am a real 'bania' and my business is to obtain Swaraj. If you do not accept this resolution I would not be sorry for it. On the contrary, I would dance with joy because you would then relieve me of the tremendous responsibility which you are now going to place on me. I want you to adopt non-violence as a matter of policy. With me it is a creed, but so far as you are concerned I want you to accept it as a policy. As disciplined soldiers you must accept it in toto and stick to it when you join the struggle."

## II

'I take up my task of leading you in this struggle not as your commander, not as your controller, but as the humble servant of you all and he who serves best becomes the chief among them. I am the chief servant of the nation; that is how I look at it' declared Mahatma Gandhi addressing the audience in English towards the end of his speech. He added: 'I want to share all the shocks that you have to face'.

Gandhiji referred to the interpretations put in foreign countries on his utterances during the last three weeks and said: 'I know that in the course of the last few weeks I have forfeited the privilege of the friendship and the trust of many of my friends in India and abroad, so much so that they now have begun, some to doubt my wisdom and some even to doubt my honesty. My wisdom is not such a treasure which I cannot afford to lose, but honesty is a precious treasure to me.'

Gandhiji when referred to the friendship which had grown between him and many Viceroys, and in particular, between him and Lord Linlithgow. 'It is a friendship which has outgrown mere official relations. I hope Lord Linlithgow will bear me out. But personally, I think there has sprung up between him and me a friendship. This is not a secret.

Gandhiji then referred to the deep friendship he cherished for the late C. F. Andrews and said: 'At the present moment the spirit of Andrews is sweeping me and Andrews seems to me to be the highest that I have known in the English. With Andrews I enjoyed a relationship, closer than which I have not enjoyed with any Indian. There was no secret between us; we exchanged our hearts every day. Whatever was in his heart he would blurt out without the slightest hesitation or reservation. It is true he was a friend of Gurudev (Tagore), but he was awed by the presence of Gurudev.'

With this background, I want to declare to the world that whatever may be said today to the contrary, and although I may have forfeited the regard of many a friend of the West—even trust—of some of them—even for their love and for their friendship I must not suppress the voice within me. Call it conscience, call it by anything you like; call it the promptings of my basic nature; I do not mind how you describe it but there is something there. I have learnt psychology and I know exactly what "it" is, although I may not be able to describe it to you. That voice tells me that I shall have to fight against the whole world and stand alone; it also tells me "you are safe so long as you stare the world in the face, although the world may have blood-shot eyes. Do not fear that world but go ahead, with the fear of God in you. That thing is within me. You have to forsake wife, friends, forsake everything in the world. I want to live whole span of my life. But I do not think I will live so long. When I am gone, India will be free and not only will India be free, but the whole world will be free."

"I do not believe that the Americans are free or that

England is free; they may be free according to the conception. I know my purpose; I know what freedom is. English teachers have taught me its meaning I must interpret that freedom according to what I can see and what I have experienced.'

Gandhiji then referred to the work and philosophy of Dadabhoi Naoroji, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta and others and said that unconsciously, from its very inception, the Congress has always been non-violent, I do not claim that every Congressman conforms to the highest principles of non-violence even as a policy. I know that there are many black sheep; but I am trusting them, in general, without subjecting them to an examination. It is this fundamental trust that rules my life. From its very beginning, the Congress in its fundamental policy—which is to bring about Swaraj—has been non-violent.

Urging all his critics to search their hearts before accusing him of dishonesty, Gandhiji said: 'I want Englishmen and all the United Nations to examine their breasts and search their hearts: what crime has the Congress committed in demanding independence today? Is it wrong to do so, is it right to distrust that organization? I hope Englishmen would not do it. I hope that it would not be done by the President of the United States, by the Chinese Generalissimo, Marshal Chiang Kaishek, who is still fighting desperate battles with Japan for his existence.'

After having known Jawaharlal as a comrade I hope he would not do it. I fell in love with Madame Chiang Kai Shek. She was my interpreter and I have no reason to doubt that she was a faithful interpreter to her husband. Gandhiji added that she had not as yet said that we were wrong in demanding our independence. I have great regard for British diplomacy which has enabled them to hold the empire so long. But now others had studied that diplomacy and were putting them into practice.

Gandhiji asserted that 'even if all the United Nations opposed me, even if the whole of India tried to persuade me that I am wrong, I will go ahead. Not for India's sake alone but for the sake of the world'. Gandhiji declared that Britain had given India the greatest provocations, but in spite of all that 'We would not hit below the belt. We have too far progressed in real gentlemanly fashion; we will not stoop to any such thing'. Gandhiji then explained the difference between his non-embarrassment policy in the recent past and his present policy. That policy was non-embarrassment, consistent with the honour and safety of India. There

is no inconsistency between what we demand today and what we demanded before, he added.

Addressing the United Nations and Britain Gandhi said they had the opportunity, now, of a lifetime to declare India free and prove their real intention. "If they miss it, they will be missing the opportunity of a lifetime, which never comes twice in the same generation and history will say that they did not discharge their overdue debt to India. I ask for the blessings of the whole world and I ask for the active assistance of the United Nations. I do not want to say anything more to them."

Gandhiji continuing said that he had always differentiated between fascism and the democracies despite their many limitations and even between fascism and British imperialism.

Concluding Gandhiji said: 'I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die'.

Speaking in Hindustani Mahatma Gandhi said :—"I congratulate you on passing the resolution. Those who opposed it also deserve my congratulations for their courage of conviction. There is no shame in opposing the resolution. We have learnt this lesson since 1920. It is better to be in a minority provided we stick to truth and determination. I have learnt this lesson long ago. I have now learnt a further lesson from the dissenting members. I am pleased to note that they have followed me in this direction. I would venture to suggest that the proposals that have been submitted are not perfect. Everything has got one or other deficiency. Nothing is perfect. Nothing is perfect except truth. Maulana Saheb and Jawahar have explained to you the implications of this resolution.

"There was a time when every Muslim was professing that India was his motherland. The Ali Brothers believed in it. I am not prepared to believe for a moment that it was a lie or bluff. I would prefer to be ignorant than to doubt my colleagues. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims have told me that if the Congress is really serious to solve the communal tangle and establish permanent unity it can be achieved during my life time only. From the very childhood of mine I am a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim and communal unity. From my very school days I have a firm conviction in the unity of India.

"When I had been to Africa I undertook the brief for a Muslim client. I championed their cause there. I never distrust them. Did not return from Africa as a disappointed or as a defeated man. I do not care for the abuses which are being hurled on me by some of my Muslim friends. I do not know what I have done that has offended them.

I am undoubtedly a worshipper of cow. It is my belief that every creature on this earth is the creation of God. My friends especially the Muslims, Maulana Bari and Maulana Azad can testify to this fact. I dine with all without any consideration to their caste or religion.

"I hate none and there is no hatred in me. The late Maulana Bari was my host in Lucknow. He was a thorough gentleman. It was the time when there was no mutual distrust or suspicion. Mr. Jinnah had been a Congressman in the past. He seems now to be misguided. I pray long life for him and wish that he may survive me. A day will certainly dawn when he will realise that I have never wronged him or the Muslims. I have the fullest confidence in the sincerity of the Muslims. I will never talk ill of them even if they kill me. They have every right to form any opinion of me but I still continue to be the same man of the old days. Muslims may, in the heat of the moment, forget themselves and abuse me, Islam does not teach to abuse. If the Muslims of India are the true followers of the Holy Prophet then let them follow his teachings faithfully.

"Even the influence of the Maulana could not dissuade the dissenting members to withdraw their amendments. I am glad they, according to their conviction, voted freely.

"World federation could only be established by mutual agreement. I would pray to my Muslim brothers to judge for themselves dispassionately, which is right and which is wrong.

"Let the issue be decided by a tribunal and let us all abide by the verdict of the tribunal. If the Muslim League is not prepared to accept this offer then how can they expect to force the scheme upon others by mere coercion ?

"Let them persuade their fellow countrymen to their point of view and make them agreeable to the scheme of Pakistan. If they failed to convince and convert this would lead to internal strife. I have no desire to live to witness such a tragedy. Islam never teaches its followers to hate any one. It preaches universal brotherhood and a spirit of mutual tolerance. I am devoting my time and energy and I am even prepared to lay down my life for the mission which has been entrusted to me by God. Hindu-Muslim unity is dear to my life. I have no mental reservation on the issue of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot be away from Hindustan. Let both and all of us strive for the attainment of freedom of India.

"Mr. Jinnah does not seem to believe in the Congress programme and in the Congress demand. But I cannot wait any longer for India's freedom. I cannot wait till Mr. Jinnah

is converted for the immediate consummation of Indian freedom. I am very impatient. Communal unity is undoubtedly essential for country's freedom but you must know it is freedom for all and not for any particular community. I wholeheartedly endorse the Maulana Sahib's offer to the British that India be handed over to any community. I would not be sorry if the authority is transferred to the Muslim masses.

"India is the homeland of Indian Muslims. For instance, take the case of my son Hiralal, he had embraced Islam. By changing his religion can he disown his nationality and country? Supposing he is able to change his nationality and country, all the same he cannot disown his father. Under the persuasion of his mother he wrote to me a letter. My wife told me that she was not sorry because her son had changed his religion but was sorry because he was a drunkard. My grandson went in search of his father but when he found him he saw that he was addicted to vices."

### APPENDIX III

#### MAHATMA'S LETTER TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The following is the text of Mahatma Gandhi's letter to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek :—

"Dear Generalissimo,

I can never forget the five hours' close contact I had with you and your noble wife in Calcutta. I had always felt drawn towards you in your fight for freedom, and that contact and our conversation brought China and her problems still nearer to me. Long ago between 1905 and 1913, when I was in South Africa, I was in constant touch with the small Chinese colony in Johannesburg, I knew them first as clients and then as comrades in the Indian passive resistance struggle in South Africa. I came in touch with them in Mauritius also. I learnt, then, to admire their thrift, industry, resourcefulness and internal unity. Later in India I had a very fine Chinese friend living with me for a few years and we all learnt to like him.

I have thus felt greatly attracted towards your great country and in common with my countrymen, our sympathy has gone out to you in your terrible struggle. Our mutual friend, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose love of China is only excelled, if at all, by his love of his own country has kept us in intimate touch with the developments of the Chinese struggle.

Because of this feeling I have towards China and my earnest desire that our two great countries should come closer

to one another and cooperate to their mutual advantage, I am anxious to explain to you that my appeal to the British Power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defence against the Japanese or embarrass you in your struggle. India must not submit to any aggressor or invader and must resist him. I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the cost of your country's freedom. That problem does not arise before me as I am clear that India cannot gain her freedom in this way, and a Japanese domination of either India or China would be equally injurious to the other country and to world peace. That domination must, therefore, be prevented and I should like India to play her natural and rightful part in this.

I feel India cannot do so while she is in bondage. India has been a helpless witness of the withdrawals from Malaya, Singapore and Burma. We must learn the lesson from these tragic events and prevent by all means at our disposal a repetition of what befell these unfortunate countries. But unless we are free, we can do nothing to prevent it, and the same process might well occur again, crippling India and China disastrously. I do not want a repetition of this tragic fate of woe.

Our proffered help has repeatedly been rejected by the British Government and the recent failure of the Cripps mission has left a deep wound which is still running. Out of that anguish has come the cry for immediate withdrawal of British Power so that India can look after herself and help China to the best of her ability.

I have told you of my faith in non-violence and of my belief in the effectiveness of this method if the whole nation could turn to it. That faith in it is as firm as ever. But I realise that India today as a whole has not that faith and belief and the Government in free India would be formed from the various elements composing the nation.

Today the whole of India is impotent and feels frustrated. The Indian Army consists largely of people who have joined up because of economic pressure. They have no feeling of a cause to fight for, and in no sense are they a national army. Those of us who would fight for a cause, for India and China, with armed forces or with non-violence cannot, under the foreign heel, function as they want to. And yet our people know for certain that India free can play even a decisive part not only on her own behalf, but also on behalf of China and world peace. Many, like me, feel that it is not proper or manly to remain in this helpless state and allow events to overwhelm us when a way to effective action can be opened to us. They feel, therefore, that every possible effort should

be made to ensure independence and that freedom of action which is so urgently needed. This is the origin of my appeal to the British Power to end immediately the unnatural connection between Britain and India.

Unless we make that effort there is grave danger of public feeling in India going into wrong and harmful channels. There is every likelihood of subterranean sympathy for Japan growing simply in order to weaken and oust British authority in India. This feeling may take the place of robust confidence in our ability never to look to outsiders for help in winning our freedom. We have to learn self-reliance and develop the strength to work out our own salvation. This is only possible if we make a determined effort to free ourselves from bondage. That freedom has become a present necessity to enable us to take our due place among the free nations of the world.

To make it perfectly clear that we want to prevent in every way Japanese aggression, I would personally agree, and I am sure the Government of free India would agree, that the Allied Powers might, under treaty with us, keep their armed forces in India and use the country as a base for operations against the threatened Japanese attack.

I need hardly give you my assurance that, as the author of the new move in India, I shall take no hasty action. And whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China. I am trying to enlist world opinion in favour of a proposition which to me appears self-proved and which must lead to the strengthening of India's and China's defence. I am also educating public opinion in India and conferring with my colleagues. Needless to say any movement against the British Government with which I may be connected will be essentially non-violent. I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict with British authority. But if in the vindication of the freedom which has become an immediate desideratum, this becomes inevitable, I shall not hesitate to run any risk, however great.

Very soon you will have completed five years of war against Japanese aggression and invasion and all the sorrow and misery that they have brought to China. My heart goes out to the people of China in deep sympathy and in admiration for their heroic struggle and endless sacrifices to the cause of their country's freedom and integrity against tremendous odds. I am convinced that this heroism and sacrifice cannot be in vain; they must bear fruit. To you, to Madame Chiang and to the great people of China, I send my earnest and sincere wishes for your success. I look forward to the day

when a free India and a free China will co-operate together in friendship and brotherhood for their own good and for the good of Asia and the world.

In anticipation of your permission, I am taking the liberty of publishing this letter in 'Harijan'.

Yours sincerely,  
M.K. GANDHI."

#### APPENDIX IV

##### TO AMERICAN FRIENDS

The following article addressed to Americans was written by Mahatma Gandhi on August 3, and published in 'Harijan' on August 9, 1942 :-

"I claim to be a votary of truth from my childhood. It was the most natural thing to me. My prayerful search gave me the revealing maxim "Truth is God" instead of the usual one "God is Truth". That maxim enables me to see God face to face as it were. I feel Him pervade every fibre of my being. With this truth as witness between you and me, I assert that I would not have asked my country to invite Great Britain to withdraw her rule over India, irrespective of any demand to the contrary, if I had not seen at once that for the sake of Great Britain and the Allied cause it was necessary for Britain boldly to perform the duty of freeing India from bondage.

By that supreme act of justice Britain would have taken away all cause for the seething discontent of India. She will turn the growing ill-will into good-will. I submit that it is worth all the battleships and airships that your wonder-working engineers and financial resources can produce.

I know that interested propaganda has filled your ears and eyes with distorted visions of the Congress position. I have been painted as hypocrite and enemy of Britain under disguise. My demonstrable spirit of accommodation has been described as my inconsistency, proving me to be an utterly unreliable man. I am not going to burden this letter with proof in support of my assertions. If the credit I have enjoyed in America will not stand me in good stead, nothing I may argue in self-defence will carry conviction.

You have made common cause with Great Britain. You cannot, therefore, disown responsibility for anything that her representatives do in India. You will do a grievous wrong to the Allied cause if you do not sift the truth from the chaff whilst there is yet time. Just think of it. Is there anything wrong in the Congress demanding unconditional recognition of India's Independence? It is being said: "But this is not the time". We say this is the psychological moment for that

recognition. For then and then only can there be irresistible opposition to Japanese aggression. It is of immense value to the Allied cause if it is also of equal value to India. The Congress has anticipated and provided for every possible difficulty in the way of recognition. I want you to look upon the immediate recognition of India's independence as a war measure of first class magnitude."

M. K. GANDHI

#### APPENDIX V

##### TO EVERY JAPANESE

(An open letter of Gandhiji published in  
'Harijan' before his arrest)

I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill-will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China. From your lofty height you have descended to imperial ambition. You will fail to realize that ambition, and may become the authors of the dismemberment of Asia, thus unwittingly preventing World Federation and brotherhood without which there can be no hope for humanity.

Ever since I was a lad of eighteen studying in London over fifty years ago, I learnt, through the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, to prize the many excellent qualities of your nation. I was thrilled when in South Africa I learnt of your brilliant victory over Russian arms. After my return to India from South Africa in 1915, I came in close touch with Japanese monks who lived as members of our Ashram from time to time. One of them became a valuable member of the Ashram in Sevagram, and his application to duty, his dignified bearing, his unflinching devotion to daily worship, affability, unruffledness under varying circumstances, and his natural smile, which was positive evidence of his inner peace, had endeared him to all of us. And now that owing to your declaration of war against Great Britain he has been taken away from us, we miss him as a dear co-worker. He has left behind him as a memory his daily prayer and his little drum, to the accompaniment of which we open our morning and evening prayer.

In the background of these pleasant recollections, I grieve deeply as I contemplate what appears to me to be your unprovoked attack against China and, if reports are to be believed, your merciless devastation of that great and ancient land.

It was a worthy ambition of yours to take equal rank with the Great Powers of the World. Your aggression against China and your alliance with the Axis Powers was surely an unwarranted excess of the ambition.

I should have thought that you would be proud of the fact that great and ancient people, whose old classical literature you have adopted as your own, are your neighbours. Your understanding of one another's history, tradition, literature should bind you as friends rather than make you the enemies you are to-day.

If I was a free man, and if you allowed me to come to your country, frail though I am, I would not mind risking my health, may be my life, to come to your country to plead with you to desist from the wrong you are doing to China and the world and, therefore, to yourself.

But I enjoy no such freedom. And we are in the unique position of having to resist an imperialism that we detest no less than yours and Nazism. Our resistance to it does not mean harm to the British people. We seek to convert them. Ours is an unarmed revolt against British rule. An important party in the country is engaged in a deadly but friendly quarrel with the foreign rulers.

But in this they need no aid from Foreign Powers. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity, we should have done it as soon as the War broke out nearly three years ago.

Our movement demanding the withdrawal of the British Power from India should in no way be misunderstood. In fact, if we are to believe your reported anxiety for the Independence of India, a recognition of that Independence by Britain, should leave you no excuse for any attack on India. Moreover, the reported profession sorts ill with your ruthless aggression against China.

I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. The end and aim of the movement for British withdrawal is to prepare India, by making her free for resisting all militarist and imperialist ambition, whether it is called British Imperialism, German Nazism, or your pattern. If we do not, we shall have been ignoble spectators of the militarization of the world in spite of our belief that in non-violence we have the only solvent of the militarist spirit and ambition. Personally, I fear that without declaring the Independence of India, the Allied Powers will not be able to beat the Axis combination which has raised violence to the dignity of a religion. The Allies cannot beat you and your ruthless and skilled warfare. If they copy it, their declaration that they will save the world

for democracy and individual freedom must come to naught. I feel that they can only gain strength to avoid copying your ruthlessness by declaring and recognising now the freedom of India, and turning sullen India's forced co-operation into freed India's voluntary co-operation.

To Britain and the Allies we have appealed in the name of justice, in proof of their professions and in their own self-interest. To you I appeal in the name of humanity. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that ruthless warfare is nobody's monopoly. If not the Allies, some other Power will certainly improve upon your method and beat you with your own weapon. Even if you win, you will leave no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a recital of cruel deeds, however skilfully achieved.

Even if you win, it will not prove that you were in the right. It will only prove that your power of destruction was greater. This applies obviously to the Allies too, unless they perform now the just and righteous act of freeing India as an earnest and promise of similarly freeing all other subject peoples in Asia and Africa.

Our appeal to Britain is coupled with the offer of Free India's willingness to let the Allies retain their troops in India. The offer is made in order to prove that we do not in any way mean to harm the Allies' cause, and in order to prevent you from being misled into feeling that you have but to step into the country that Britain has vacated. Needless to repeat that if you cherish any such idea and will carry it out, we will not fail in resisting you with all the might that our country can muster. I address this appeal to you in the hope that our movement may even influence you and your partners in the right direction and deflect you and them from the course which is bound to end in your moral ruin and the reduction of human being to robots.

The hope of your response to my appeal is much fainter than that of response from Britain. I know that the British are not devoid of a sense of justice and they know you enough to be able to judge. All I have read tells me that you listen to no appeal but to the sword. How I wish that you are cruelly misrepresented and that I shall touch the right chord in your heart! Anyway I have an undying faith in the responsiveness of human nature. On the strength of that faith I have conceived the impending movement in India, and it is that faith which has prompted this appeal to you.

I am,

Your friend and well-wisher,

M. K. GANDHI



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