

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII. No. 3

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1953

TWO ANNAS

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION

(By Gandhiji)

I am not quite sure that I would not oppose compulsory education at all times. All compulsion is hateful to me. I would no more have the nation become educated by compulsion than I would have it become sober by such questionable means. But just as I would discourage drink by refusing to open drink shops and closing existing ones, so would I discourage illiteracy by removing obstacles in the path and opening free schools and making them responsive to the people's needs. But at the present moment we have not even tried on any large scale the experiment of free education. We have offered the parents no inducements. We have not even sufficiently or at all advertised the value of literacy. We have not the proper school-masters for the training. In my opinion therefore it is altogether too early to think of compulsion. I am not even sure that the experiment in compulsory education has been uniformly successful wherever it has been tried. If the majority wants education, compulsion is wholly unnecessary. If it does not, compulsion would be most harmful. Only a despotic government passes laws in the teeth of the opposition of a majority. Has the Government afforded full facilities for education to the children of the majority? We have been compulsion-ridden for the past hundred years or more. The State rules our life in its manifold details without our previous sanction. It is time to use the nation to voluntary methods even though for the time being there may be no response to prayers, petitions and advice addressed to the nation. It has had little response to its prayers. Nothing is more detrimental to the true growth of society than for it to be habituated to the belief that no reform can be achieved by voluntary effort. A people so trained become wholly unfit for Swaraj.

It follows from what I have said above that if we get Swaraj today I should resist compulsory education at least till every effort at voluntary primary education has been honestly made and failed. Let the reader not forget that there is more illiteracy in India today than there was fifty years ago, not because the parents are less willing but because the facilities they had before have

disappeared under a system so foreign and unnatural for the country.

It is not reasonable to assume that the majority of parents are so foolish or heartless as to neglect the education of their children even when it is brought to their doors free of charge.

*Young India, 14-8-24*

## DANGER FACING HINDI

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The following is from a P. T. I. message from Aligarh dated February 20 :

"Addressing the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan here, Shri Purushottamas Tandon said that the question of Hindi was essentially linked up with the national unity and solidarity of India. If Hindi was neglected and its position as a language of the people weakened, he added, the nation was bound to be weakened.

"Shri Tandon also cautioned the people against the two dangers facing Hindi, namely, the love for English and the movement in U. P. to have Urdu declared the regional language of the State."

One may agree that the question of Hindi, the National Language, has to do with the unity of our country. We in our land speak many languages. Hence we require that there should be one such language as can be the common medium of provincial and all-India communication. Surely English cannot be that; Hindi is the best suited of all our regional languages. But that Hindi is not the Sanskritized one, nor the Persianized one of the U. P. As Gandhiji repeatedly told us, it is the common, simple language of the North which is spoken by all irrespective of class or creed; it is the happy amalgam of Hindi and Urdu. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan did not accept this position nor does it accept willingly the Constitution of India which lays down in Section 351 the law of the evolution and development of the national language. It appears to believe that Hindi, to the exclusion of Urdu, which is being developed as the literary language in the U. P. at present, should be the national language. If there is any danger facing the growth of the national language it is this exclusive spirit disrupting our unity and composite culture and not Urdu or its demand for recognition as a regional language of the U. P. which it is and should be so recognized, even in the larger interests of the unity and

solidarity of our country and its composite culture as also the interests of the growth of a truly national language.

12-3-'53

### CERTAIN BASIC MISCONCEPTIONS

[This is in continuation of the first instalment of Rene Fulop-Miller's lecture that appeared in the last issue of 14-3-'53. In that instalment we saw how not only Marxism but Democracy as well has tended to dehumanizing society and has perverted man's real purpose in life. This is due to certain basic misconceptions to be found in both these doctrines of human progress. These are examined in the following instalment.

29-1-'53

—M. P.]

If we want to attain a more purposeful life we have to re-examine our position and correct certain misconceptions.

Let us first take a short mental inspection tour for the purpose of discovering the roots of our own misconceptions. In this we do not aim at debunking the democratic creed, but rather at examining it with the constructive purpose of freeing the original humanistic ideals from the dehumanized crust which covers them. In this connection it is essential to trace the ideological development which brought us to the impasse which we are facing today.

The Christian doctrine, whose traditions the founders of democracy transplanted to America, held man to be a creature of God, a creature endowed with the dignity of his unique personality. Although during the period of the Enlightenment there took place a secular re-interpretation of the Christian dogma, the ethical and social foundations of Christianity — that is, the respect for the unique individual — remained unshaken. In fact, the respect for the individual was the basic ideal of a divine or humanitarian order; human happiness was of necessity related to supreme values.

The great shift occurred when, under the influence of economists like Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, the concept of happiness and harmony which was based on immutable values was replaced by purely economic security, or a so-called economic harmony of interest. For it soon became evident that if social life was looked upon as being nothing more than the interplay of material interests, then the community of people was likewise merely a community of interests. The State was consequently a union for the winning and elaborating of raw materials, a combination of agricultural and manufacturing energies.

Let us see what happened to the sacredness of the individual under the impact of economic predominance. First of all man's manifold productiveness had to be reduced to his economic activities. The yearning for intellectual and ethical contentment was crowded out by a craving for material satisfaction. Happiness was identical with prosperity. This devaluation of human values reached rock-bottom with Bentham's utilitarian theory, which proclaimed

utility the main criterion of all values. We know of the great and unfortunate influence of Bentham's doctrine on American thought, ever since President Jackson's time.

The fixation on utilitarian goals led to a value blindness concerning all intellectual and spiritual values. And finally man and society became the absolute domain of economic forces. The concreteness of man was replaced by an economic digit. Economic laws assumed the importance of natural laws, so that Bentham's law "of the greatest number" assumed the same universal importance as Newton's law of gravity. No matter whether the economists of liberal capitalism had espoused the cause of the wealthy or that of the poor, they had the tendency to reduce all that was living and human into unqualified, numerical qualities and mechanical measurable forces.

Now let us look at the roots of Marxist Socialism, which in our time has deteriorated into Communism. Marx also started out originally with an idealistic concept of the human personality. Although he denounced all religious tenets, Marx based his ideas on a secularized version of the religious concept of the dignity of man. Because of his genuine concern with man Marx broke with Hegel's abstract concept of a "World Spirit," and embraced Ludwig Feuerbach's philosophy, which took the concrete individual as its focal point. Feuerbach's influence led Marx to coin his famous slogan: "The root of man is man himself."

Marx's strong compassion for his fellow-man made him into a social revolutionary. Even as a young man he revolted against the capitalism of the industrial era because it reduced man to a working force and led to an increasing dehumanization. The humanitarian tendencies of young Marx are perhaps most decisively evident in his early writings, which were unearthed by Mehring, Adler, Mayer and Hilferding. In these writings Marx took sharp issue even with communism because he then felt that Communism was no more concerned with man than capitalist industrialism. It was the time when he wrote: "Communist society is merely a more general capitalist. For in communism the power of economics is not abolished, on the contrary, it rather assumes complete rulership over men, and thus leads to the complete loss of man's individual value."

What extinguished the humanistic fire that kindled Marx's original idea? What made Marx, who so clearly realized the flaws of communism take the communist course, which was to smooth the way for a complete dehumanization of man? As far as I can see the explanation for Marx's about face lies in the materialistic concept of man which tainted most materialistic concepts in the nineteenth century.

Take, for instance, Feuerbach's philosophical concept of what he termed "real man",



which took into account only the "desseitige" materialistic aspects of the human being, to the exclusion of all higher spiritual aspects. Feuerbach put it: "*Der Mensch ist was er isst.*" (Man is what he eats.) Feuerbach's man was merely a fragment of man. And when Marx abandoned Hegel for Feuerbach, he simply traded an idealistic abstraction for a materialistic abstraction. It was merely another step in the wrong direction when Marx followed the prevalent economic trend of his time and substituted for Feuerbach's concept of man the so-called "conditions of man", which were of course his material and economic conditions. Thus Marx arrived, only from the opposite direction, at the same concept of economic man for which he had justly reproached liberal economists. He began to consider the economic factors of life as the ultimate realities. In his final abstraction Marx denaturalized men to become working hours, and the former humanist declared: "Time is everything and man no longer counts. He is at most the embodiment of time. Quality no longer matters, and quantity is all-determinative."

Individual man had to be discarded. All manifest actions of the human spirit had to obey the laws of economic class interests, which resulted, of course, in a sweeping rejection of all non-economic values.

For a moment Marx realized, later on, the anti-humanistic implications of his doctrine and remarked to a French publicist: "*Moi, je ne suis pas marxiste.*" However, these last flickerings of a humanistic conscience were soon extinguished by the demands of revolutionary praxis, which relentlessly drove towards communism.

Now I would like to examine the grand-scale effects of Bolshevik dehumanization on Soviet history. First let us see what happened to Marx's humanitarian dictum: "The root of man is man himself." In the Soviet version of Marxism the root of man is, of course, not individual man but collective man. And in order to turn individual man into collective man it was imperative to exterminate his individual soul, that is, the main spring of his unique personality. There was neither place nor need for individual thought, feeling or judgment. Man was called upon to give up his individuality so that he could more easily be turned into a spare part, an interchangeable screw in the "social machine". The supreme goal was a mechanized and purely quantitative combination of human mass-particles that would obey the laws of collectivity and thus attain collective bliss.

Thus it seems that dehumanization is a sort of an endemic virus infection which has struck at both camps, although the virulence of the dehumanization virus seems to be stronger in the East\* than in the West.

i.e. Eastern Europe — Russia. — Ed.

## PROHIBITION AND DEVELOPMENT

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The State of Bombay is faced with scarcity conditions the like of which it had not known for decades. About one-fourth of the State's total rural population of 24 millions is reported to have been affected by famine. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Shri C.D. Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister, has promised, on behalf of the Central Government, to help it by seven crores of rupees out of a sum of Rs. 15 crores provided for such emergencies in the Five Year Plan. Also he has asked the Bombay Government (in a Press Conference at Poona on January 28) to "review and reconsider" its prohibition policy in view of famine conditions. Coming from a pucca civilian that he has been, the suggestion is not very strange. It is, therefore, very welcome to hear from Bombay's Revenue Minister that "there will be no going back on prohibition — not even revision of the policy."\*

Just the reverse is the case in West Bengal. A P. T. I. message states:

"The West Bengal Government's prohibition scheme is to be deferred indefinitely to use all the available funds for the development schemes under the Five Year Plan."

The report adds:

"Financial stringency rather than lack of faith in prohibition was the reason for shelving the scheme till after the Five Year Plan period, a Government spokesman said." (Statesman, February 3, 1953)

One is directly led to infer that so far as the West Bengal Government is concerned:

- (i) Prohibition has no place in the Five Year Plan;
- (ii) Development schemes are to be given priority to prohibition; and
- (iii) Development and drinking are to prosper together.

This is in direct conflict with the Bombay policy though it may be agreeable to the Central Government. Thus the Five Year Plan is sought to be worked in two opposite ways by two sister Governments working under a Constitution which unequivocally declares:

"The State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health."

It is for legal pandits to examine whether the West Bengal Government's *withdrawal of steps already taken* in an "endeavour to bring about prohibition" is or is not a flagrant breach of our Constitution. But what is more unfortunate is the policy of the Government of India in this regard. It is a betrayal of the nation.

Allahabad, 6-2-'53

\*It may be added, by way of information, that the Bombay Budget for 1953-'54 continues to have Prohibition and has not run into deficit though fully providing for the needs of scarcity conditions. — Ed.

# HARIJAN

March 21

1953

## PRICE AND SENTIMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Khadi and village industries goods do not sell well because of the factory goods being comparatively cheaper; therefore, if at all, the former could thrive only on the strength of sentiment for them. However there is a certain limit to it, and only on that strength we cannot popularize Khadi and village industries goods to that extent which they deserve or we desire for them. Therefore it is said that we can popularize the use of these goods not on the strength of sentiment only, but can do so if we secure for them the spur of comparatively favourable prices as well. We should secure both of these advantages for these goods.

The question is an old one. It is reappearing today because both the Government as well as the people are again turning their eyes to these things now. The establishment of the A. I. Khadi and Village Industries Board is a pointer thereof. How should we function now? How should this new Board do its work? What policy should Government follow in this matter? We should now turn our immediate attention to these problems.

Let us, at the outset, clearly understand one thing: How far is it true to believe that we buy goods looking to their price only? Price and sentiment are inter-connected. Ideas of art, beauty, fashion etc. do influence us. Hence we see the growth of modern art of advertisement. This is not to deny the influence of economic price or cheapness on the consumer. The point is that along with it, our ideas of art, beauty, fashion etc., do affect our choice. We cannot say that price and sentiment are at variance with each other. Both of them are helpful. Moreover there is a third thing also, viz., our Swadeshi goods must be of good standard quality and this attribute must be honestly guarded. If this is done, it will not only fetch good price, but will also help keep up our sentiment for them. Thus, all these three things must be carefully looked up if we desire to work for Khadi and village industries goods. Let us consider them one by one.

What is our sentiment for Khadi and village industries? Gandhiji showed us their bearing on our sentiment of freedom. He told us that our poverty and unemployment were due to the ruin of our home- and village- industries and the co-operation of our upper class people in that process. If therefore we desire to have Swaraj, the way to it lies through Swadeshi. This is equally true even today.

Gandhiji also showed us that the solution of our colossal unemployment and under-employment also lies in Swadeshi. Without Khadi and village industries agriculture cannot prosper. If agriculture goes down we go down with it. With the advent of Swaraj the problem of food and cloth and unemployment has been our greatest headache. We begin to realize now that all cannot be employed through industrialization; we will have to take to Khadi and village industries also. This thing must be clear to us more and more. It is upto the Government also that it realizes it and directs its plans and policies accordingly. Unfortunately today it must be said that the Government does not give due attention to it nor do the people have adequate realization of this. Our sentiment has been clouded by the glamour of big industries; and hence we fail to see that neither our economic progress nor the removal of unemployment can be achieved without Khadi, village industries and Swadeshi.

The second question is of prices. If our sentiment is strong and proper, it will to an extent help the solution of higher prices also. However, prices of Khadi and village industries goods must be looked into also. It is necessary that they are economic. It is equally necessary that the producer gets his due wages; he must not be exploited; he must have full living wage for his labour. How can we secure this objective? There was a time when hand-made Swadeshi village goods were cheaper than English factory goods. The British ruler turned the tables against it by the strength of law and economic jugglery. What was cheap was made to sell dear and vice versa. Now we wish to change it. The same trick can work it and should be resorted to. Protection and subsidy will have to be given to village industries. It will be necessary to resort to the imposition of cess, duties etc. also. Only then can we, in due course, be in a position to solve the question of prices. This is a difficult task; but it will surely have to be done, as there is no go without it.

The third thing is good quality and standard of Swadeshi goods. There are two things to be considered about it: for good quality we must have necessary technique; for the latter our manufacturers should have business honesty. The first involves training and research which ought to be looked into by the Government and the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. As for the second, our craftsmen must see that they do not fall down to be dishonest and fraudulent in exploiting the Swadeshi sentiment. If their goods are of good quality and proper standard, it is in their own interest as well. It will help maintain the sentiment of the consumer and will fetch good price also.

Thus, the three factors of price, sentiment, and skill and honesty of our craftsmen are very closely interlinked, and all the three must be



cared for. Our chief work now is to educate the people on these three things.

6-3-'53

(From the original in Hindi)

### IT IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The British Information Services, New Delhi, have issued a pamphlet on "Britain's Foreign Policy", containing three articles by well-known writers on the aims and objects of Britain's foreign policy. One of the writers is Sir Ernest Barker, the reputed political philosopher of Cambridge. He writes on 'Liberty, Security and Prosperity', and says:

"The primary object of Britain's foreign policy today is the liberty, security and prosperity of Britain, and as an object indissolubly allied with it, the liberty, security and prosperity of all the Commonwealth countries associated with Britain in common membership of the Commonwealth."

One might argue here that this describes almost a truism regarding the foreign policy to be adopted by any nation and its friends or allies. The question is not that. What one would wish to know is different. The needs of world peace and prosperity require us to know how a nation or its allies as a group will function vis-a-vis other nations so that the liberty, security and prosperity of others, for the matter of that, of the whole world, might be a joint and inter-dependent effort of all. The learned professor probably to meet such a query goes further and says:

"The Government of any country is a trustee acting on behalf of that country; and a trustee must act for the welfare of those for whose interests he is responsible. He cannot act at his own discretion; he must always be guided and governed by a sovereign regard for the welfare of what is committed to his charge. As such a trustee the Government of Britain, in its foreign policy, must study to promote the three main aims of the liberty, security, and prosperity of its people."

The liberty, security and prosperity of a people is not an exclusive and independent good of that people only. All peoples desire them for themselves. And well may their governments as trustees acting on their behalf secure them for their people. The point is not that. The liberty or security or prosperity of one is not to be achieved at the cost of or in utter disregard for those of others. The world is one and the whole human family, i.e. all its component parts, the various peoples of the world, need these three things in common and, as a general requisite for human welfare. The question for the nations is, how should we achieve that? What should then be the foreign policy of a nation? Or is it to be made the concern of a sort of a world government to be created in future, separate nations having nothing to think about it at present? And the only plausible answer to this is that the foreign policy of a nation should aim at peace as well, and to that end it should see that its own

liberty, security and prosperity are at one with those of all others. As a wise trustee of its people, a government of a country should not be exclusive and selfish, but should seek the welfare of its people in and through the common welfare of the whole human family. This also should be the living aim and object of the foreign policy of every nation; rather it should be the main object governing all the questions of policy in internal as well as external affairs, not only political but economic, financial and commercial as well. Because, ultimately, it is exclusive selfishness in these things which becomes the cause of endangering them by occasioning wars between nations. Therefore it is not enough to mind one's own liberty, security and prosperity, but countries should do that having due regard for others' liberty, security and prosperity as well; because these are a joint concern of all the governments in the world.

13-3-'53

### 'LOOK TO THE LAND'\*

(By R. J. Soman)

This is the title of a delightful booklet by Lord Northbourne who is himself a land-owner in Kent and Northumberland and is running a large mixed farm and market gardens. He is also actively engaged in Local Government and Public Education, especially Agricultural Education. He has, in this book, issued a sound warning, based as it is on his long experience, against the modern craze for industrialism, money economy and artificial life. As man depends on land for his life, he represents, in the opinion of the author, a link in a 'cyclical flow in which animal, vegetable and mineral are inter-dependent'; but its 'natural rhythm is disturbed by the excessive importance attached to financial, mechanical and chemical considerations in the treatment of the land.' According to him the present diseases and disorders which are individual and social, economic and political are due to this disturbance of the 'natural rhythm'. The author maintains that life on land is ideal both physically and spiritually.

But the temptation to adopt a way of life based on money, which is at variance with true biological law, became too irresistible for man. Industry and commerce joined hands together to exploit land not for food but for finance. This brought in urbanization and commercialism with a decay of farming and importation of food. Slowly a parasitic class grew which was distinguished purely by its wealth, with its concomitant labouring and dependent classes. The result was that farming population out of which the nation's vitality was raised and maintained suffered a severe decline.

\* Published by Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford St., London, price 7s. - 6d.

The first result of this decline was visible in the deterioration of man's health. The author quotes the findings of an investigation which was carried on some years back in a large town in England. 4700 cases of all ages and both sexes were examined out of which no more than 16 were found showing no signs of sub-normal health. His criticism of this state of things will be read with interest :

"'Hypotonia' i.e. condition of low vitality has been accepted as a normal condition. Bad teeth, bad digestion, imperfect elimination, rheumatism are almost universal. Consider the proportion of advertising space allotted to patent medicines, cures of all kinds, processed foods, flavourings, stimulants and narcotics, not excluding stimulants and narcotics for the mind. To this list may be added cosmetics, main purpose of which is to produce a spurious imitation of that bloom of health which should be normal." (pp. 44-46)

The author rightly questions the efficacy of the advance made in medical science in terms of human health. Doctors study diseases and not health. A disease is like a hydra. Each head which is cut is replaced by several others. The wonder is that this liability to disease shows itself increasingly among the classes of livestock and plants also.

What then is the remedy? The author's considered view is that farming coupled with decentralized industry would bring about the needed consummation :

"Under a rational economy, the present urge of concentration of population into huge masses would cease to be felt, and industry might well be more distributed and actually less physically separated from agriculture than it is at present.....A real community of interest would be established from which town and country dwellers would derive equal benefit." (p. 181)

The writer has succeeded in developing an integrated conception of both individual and social life where man and animal, industry and agriculture, city and village, manual labour and physical happiness are not at variance with each other but are interdependent and complementary. He ridicules our frequent boasting about our so-called 'conquest of nature'. Is not the idea of conquering nature as sensible as cutting off one's head so as to isolate one's superior faculties? Nature is imbued with love and by love alone can she be conquered. 'Give and ye shall receive' is not a sentimental idealism but a simple practical rule. In undertaking farming we undertake a responsibility covering the whole life-cycle. The author, therefore, concludes his thesis by asserting that 'we must farm or we must die.'

## GRAMODAYA KHADI SANGH — II

(By Krishnadas Gandhi)

In the previous article it was seen (vide *Harijan*, Feb. 14, '53) that the Khadi work in villages should be carried on through village committees organized for the purpose. Several divergent points of view are held about the objectives of Khadi. Among them, Khadi as a means of relieving unemployment among large masses of people has attained more popularity and has attracted the attention of people. It is contended that this is one of the most important objectives of Khadi. If this point of view is thoroughly understood in all its implications it will be found that it is correct.

There are two kinds of unemployment : Generally, those who are in dire need of food and who have not the barest means of livelihood are considered to be unemployed. But in society because some people are so placed as to get their needs fulfilled freely out of other people's labours, they are absolved from the trouble of work. This is also a type of unemployment. The former results from non-availability of work ; the latter is a result of wilful desire to escape from legitimate toil. The former is unemployment due to helplessness ; the latter arises out of laziness and a sense of false prestige. It is this very same sense of false prestige that plays hell with society today. Both types of unemployment are found to a greater or lesser extent everywhere. The objective of Khadi work is to rid society of both these types of unemployment. Every kind of lazy inactive life should disappear.

Really speaking both types of unemployment are inter-related. Both arise from the same type of a mental attitude to life. At the root lies the same social order which nurtures both types of unemployment.

The existing social order is acting as the shackles that bind man and man in social and economic slavery. It gives rise to helplessness. It spreads poverty. The objective of Khadi is to end such slavery. This is to be done by giving up dependence on others and becoming self-sufficient and self-reliant.

Moreover raw materials produced in abundance in villages are at present sent to distant cities and even to foreign countries for being processed into consumer goods. This is the most scandalous condition of our national economy. This is so because our village industries are not able to grow ; and machine-made products of distant cities have displaced our own village products. The villagers should make efforts to free themselves from this deplorable condition. Necessary organization and adequate strength for it should also be created among the villagers by the Gramodaya Khadi Sangh. This is the great work which the village committees will have to carry on in their respective areas.

### Corrigenda

In Vol. XVI, No. 53 (February 28, 1953), page 448, first column, last line, for *Michail* please read Michael, and in the second column, first line, read Apor for Ahor.



## NOTES ON SEVERAL MYTHS

(By M. P. T. Acharya)

**Welfare State.** It is believed that States can promote social welfare. But before welfare schemes can be introduced, the State must collect the money (either as taxes or as contributions which go on the consumers and thus reduce purchasing power) both from the workers and from the general consuming public. Yet the welfare can only benefit a part of workers — not all. Much of the welfare money will be used in administration of the scheme. What is the use of welfare schemes for a few at the expense of food and necessities? It has come to be a habit to talk of this as progress and beneficent without reason.

**Prices and Wages can be adjusted.** Wages are only part of the prices. Workers receive only the price of labour. Rent, interest, profits, and taxes are added to this to form prices. These contribute nothing to production but maintain a large number of people. The cost of maintaining them is charged before goods can be sold, so that the prices must be far higher (per piece, per lb. or per bulk) than that paid to labour on account of the increase, the total wages can only buy a small part of the goods — much being bought by those who have contributed nothing to production (except those who have organized labour to produce things). Higher wages or lower wages will not allow the wage receivers to buy much of what is produced. Yet economists talk as if a part can be equal or made equal to the whole. Physically impossible. They cannot be adjusted whether by hand work or machine work. Hence looking for export markets even with least production.

**More employment means more prosperity for workers.** While a large number of people may be employed because destitute persons will take jobs at any price, capital has to be invested on a large scale. For capital, it will be a chance to employ labour cheap — in order to make some money into more money. The end result of investment must be money increase — not necessarily production. For banks, insurance, advertising produce nothing and make profits by taking the goods. The more investment means there must be far more profits to be made than by the existing capital on investment. The total amount of money earned by new employees will — if need in production — increase the chances for some industries and trades to sell more to these newly employed. But the prices being far higher than the total wages received, they can buy only an infinitesimal part of additional products. **The purchasing power cannot be increased for all by further employment.** Most money will circulate among businessmen who supply one another but very little will go down among the workers. There will never be enough money to employ all. Before one can employ people in production, there must be equipment and means of

production as well as raw materials ready, which will take up enormous capital. There can be no full production under this system, even if conducted by State as by the Bolsheviks — although there will be goods unsold with every production.

The capital for investment comes only from profits already made. In Russia where the State owns and conducts all things centrally, the capital for investment comes from the revenues to the State, i.e. out of reduced consumption. This accumulated capital is invested. But the accumulation is made by overcharging goods, reducing purchasing power. The commercial system is chaos and jungle whether it is run by private owners or States. If it is not regulated, it crumbles and if it is regulated it becomes more narrow for living and then crumbles. Although there is planning in Russia for production (75% for war and chemical industries now), there is chaos in consumption — whoever having money buying what he can. All industries are established by reducing present consumption — by collecting capital out of the present wages.

Yet all welfare schemes are discussed within the limits of the commercial system, even by professors fanatically. The discussions will never give results but going from pillar to post. Waste of time, keeping people starving.

All champions of welfare — all claim to be champions of the people or country — refuse fanatically to discuss anything outside commercial limitations, for there can be no State without commerce and they want State at any cost, whether it will work or not.

**Co-operative enterprise.** It is a phrase used without thinking as if an answer is found. The Government wants that those who cannot successfully maintain themselves individually should be able to compete in the market by co-operative effort. They should be given capital if necessary on loans on easy terms. This kind of co-operation is also a kind of capitalism. All limited and share companies are in a sense co-operative — to secure business in the market. When some people pool together their work or products in order to take higher prices (or by reducing cost of production or securing raw materials cheaper), it is called co-operation. But it is co-operation in securing market by producing or selling together and to distribute profits — not to supply their own needs. There is nothing social in this co-operation: It is like a few persons trying to get more money from others by union which they cannot do separately. The co-operatives have all the accounting as private business — interest, rent, profit and taxes. In England, the co-operatives established to supply workers' needs mutually 100 years ago, while they have grown enormously, have become only capitalist business organizations, owning and nursing banks and factories and supplying other manufacturers' goods. The co-operatives there sell nearly a quarter of all the goods bought in

England — through a chain of stores. They have become capitalist although they supply cheaper to their members. The original idea of co-operatives was to supply the needs of workers who were members (working members).

If we have to have co-operatives, we must have those of producing consumers who mutually supply each other through production without employing wage labour — not to sell and compete in the market for business i.e. with goods economy and accounting.

## NOTES

### Economic Equality

A non-violent system of Government is clearly an impossibility, so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give, and sharing them for the common good.

*Constructive Programme*\*, Item 13.

M. K. G.

### A Woman Satyagrahi in England

This story of a law-breaking humanitarian in England, taken from the *New Statesman and Nation* of December 27, 1952 (p. 773), will be read with interest by the readers of *Harijan*.

'I want to congratulate Mrs Hill, wife of the Vicar of Matfen, Northumberland, for having committed the legal offence of tearing up and throwing into the river twenty steel gins which 'caused needless agony to rabbits, cats, dogs and other animals.' The report adds that she was haunted by the cries of these miserable beasts, that her offer to substitute humane traps approved by the R.S.P.C.A. was refused so that in the end she broke the law and obeyed her conscience. I doubt if this horror of gin-traps reported from many parts of the country will be ended until other men and women follow Mrs Hill's example. It is in the finest tradition of British law-breaking; reforms wait for the individual brave enough conscientiously to break bad laws.'

V. G. D.

### Soviet Colonialism

[At a time when some of our workers are on a conducted tour of the U.S.S.R., the following taken from Lucjan Blit's article in *Socialist Commentary* will be read with interest.

— V. G. D.]

'.....Most of the inmates in the "Corrective Labour Camp" to which I was sent were non-Russians; only the guards were wholly Russian.....If an inmate was known to be a Jew, he would be sent to do the most heavy work....It [the camp] was situated in the sub-arctic where the winter lasts from October to June. The severity of the climate was cruel to people from Central Russia, but it was murder to thousands of Uzbeks, Tajiks,

\* Price Re. 0-6-0, Postage etc. Re. 0-2-0.

Turkmans, Crimean Tartars and Greeks, many of whom had never seen snow in their own countries.....This was pitiless discrimination, for there are some forced labour camps in the warmer Southern Regions of Soviet Asia.

'I lived for 6 months in Kernineh, a small town between Samarkand and Bokhara in Uzbekistan. I was struck by the fact that every higher position was occupied by the few Russians who lived among the native population.

'In some of the non-Russian Soviet Republics the entire native communist intelligentsia was wiped out.

'The first Communist Prime Minister to be executed in Soviet Russia was Sultan-Galiyev, head of the Tartar Republic in 1923. In 1928 Veli Abragineov, the Crimean Prime Minister was executed. In 1937 Moscow ordered the execution of Mgaloblishvili, Prime Minister of Georgia, and of his deputy. In 1938 Ukmodzayev, Prime Minister of Uzbekistan, was executed. These are but a few names from a long list of ministers, secretaries, directors of state enterprises, scientists and writers in Soviet Asian Republics exterminated by the orders of Moscow.

'An even more ruthless purge took place in the Soviet Ukraine.....

'Between 1926 and 1939 five million Russians emigrated into the non-Russian Republics as political leaders, directors of industries, civil servants, university teachers and skilled workers.'

'Eighty-eight per cent of the teachers in Tashkent University are Russians and among the students only 32 per cent are Uzbeks. In the University at Alma-Ata only 25 per cent of the students are native Kazakhs..... The Tartars were forced to drop the Arabic and Latin alphabets and adopt the Russian. Russian was made compulsory in all schools of the sixteen Republics. In the higher classes of the secondary schools it became the language of instruction, and the sole teaching language in all technical schools and universities.

'Never in modern times have colonial peoples been so helpless as the non-Russians are in the U.S.S.R.'

## THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By M. S. Patel

Pages xv + 288 Price Rs 5/8 Postage etc. As. 12

## THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By Gopinath Dhavan

Pages viii + 407 Price Rs. 6 Postage etc. Re. 1

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

CONTENTS	PAGE
COMPULSORY EDUCATION	.. Gandhiji 17
DANGER FACING HINDI CERTAIN BASIC MISCONCEPTIONS	.. Maganbhai P. Desai 17
PROHIBITION AND DEVELOPMENT	.. Rene Fullop-Miller 18
PRICE AND SENTIMENT	.. Suresh Ramabhai 19
IT IS NOT ENOUGH	.. Maganbhai P. Desai 20
'LOOK TO THE LAND'	.. Maganbhai P. Desai 21
GRAMDAYA KHADI	.. R. J. Soman 21
SANGH — II	.. Krishnadas Gandhi 22
NOTES ON SEVERAL MYTHS	.. M. P. T. Acharya 23
NOTES:	
ECONOMIC EQUALITY	.. M. K. G. 24
A WOMAN SATYAGRAHI IN ENGLAND	.. V. G. D. 24
SOVIET COLONIALISM	.. Lucjan Blit 24

Subscription Rates — Inland: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; Foreign: One year, Rs. 8 or 14s. or \$2.

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 9.