

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

PROHIBITION

(By Pyarelal)

So long as the State not only permits but provides facilities for the addict to satisfy his craving the reformer has little chance of success. . . . State prohibition is not the end of this great temperance reform, but it is the indispensable beginning of it.

I count loss of this revenue as of no account whatever. Prohibition will remain a far cry, if the Congress is to count the cost in a matter of first class national importance.

— Gandhiji

The Bombay State Government is celebrating its third successful Total Prohibition Year this week. Bombay is the only State until now in free India which has introduced total prohibition throughout its jurisdiction.

It is amazing how any son of Mother India can dare to raise his dissenting voice against a reform over which the greatest patriots of India from Dadabhai Naoroji to Mahatma Gandhi have cried themselves hoarse and for which thousands of India's sons and daughters risked imprisonment, lathi charges and worse. During his last days Gandhiji had some bitter things to say about those of us who did the very things which we used to decry under the British regime. The British rule went but the old modes of thought and the machinery of administration set up by our erstwhile rulers remained. No wonder the masses feel frustrated when they hear the old argument trotted out that drink revenue is needed to help the development of the country.

Anybody indulging in such casuistry would have been hounded out of public life when the freedom struggle was on. The sheer instinct of self-preservation had taught us then to distrust the jugglery of words. Reality was the touch-stone upon which every proposition was tested. But the people today feel orphaned in the absence of the Father of the Nation. I for one shall, however, live in the hope that they will before long come into their own. Honest enforcement of prohibition by the Central Government and the States will be an indication that we have definitely broken with the old tradition and begun to think in terms of the people.

But prohibition cannot be achieved by sentiment alone. It calls for an integrated, systematic, all-round endeavour. We must orga-

nize, and harness the co-operation of all sections of the public — particularly the students, women and children for the education and activation of public opinion. We must provide to the people still further opportunities for healthy recreation. We could set up People's Vigilance Committees to aid the law and organize prohibition parades and processions, even peaceful picketings, if necessary, to keep the prospective victims away from the fiery element. In this the Students' League and Women and Children's Prohibition Brigades should function as the spear-head. Scientific education into the evils of liquor — psychological, social and economic — should be integrated into the educational curricula in schools, colleges and universities. Graded lessons in what in old days used to be called 'temperance' should be incorporated in all text-books. Summary removal from the education department of any one indulging in the liquor habit — particularly the teaching staff in schools, colleges and universities — should be strictly enforced, if we are at all serious about our business and not bent on using "Failure of Prohibition" as a dishonest excuse for giving up the attempt.

Thus tackled the prohibition programme can become a means of resuscitating the non-violence discipline and organization among the people, which our present day rulers seem to fight shy of, but which, I am sure, they will remain to bless when it is achieved. With that invincible weapon which the Father of the Nation armed India's masses with reburnished — a weapon which nobody can foil or deprive them of — we shall then be able to achieve a solution of other pressing national problems also.

Valmiki Mandir,

New Delhi, 27-3-'53

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CHANDIL SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The constructive workers of the country met for their annual gathering, under the auspices of the Sarvodaya Samaj, at Chandil in the Manbhium district of South-east Bihar, on March 7, 8, and 9 last, some 21 miles from Tatanagar and 74 miles from Ranchi; Chandil is a small town in the Chhota Nagpur plateau.

Only Hand-made Things

It is no easy task to set up a habitable colony for about two thousand persons in such a hilly and, as it were, God-forsaken locality as Chandil. But credit must be given to Shri Lakshmi Narain Babu, the doyen of Bihar constructive workers, and his numerous colleagues, for making the arrangements a success. No cots or *takhts* for our bed; we had simple straw called *pyal* and the walls as also the roof of our tenements were made from palm-leaves. A chit of a stream from the adjoining hills, across which a temporary dam had been built by the local village people, served for bathing and cleaning purposes. All items of fooding were either nature's own or hand-pounded and hand-grounded, mill products—sugar, Vanaspati, rice or wheat—being conspicuous by their absence. The meeting ground or the pandal was the simplest conceivable, mats, below and above and a small raised platform with a white Khadi sheet serving as dais. No flag, no curtains, no pictures, no paintings or drawings, nothing ostentatious or glittering.

The Conference, sitting twice every day, was presided over by Shri Dharendra Majumdar, the well-known president of the All-India Spinners' Association. It began at eight in the morning with an half-hour silent spinning and prayers. Then after a few words of welcome by Shri Lakshmi Babu, the Sarvodaya exhibition was opened by the veteran and indefatigable constructive worker of Orissa, Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhari, with a brief speech. The presidential address was briefer still. Dhendrabhal (as the president is lovingly called) drew the attention of his audience to the high hope of the Indian masses and the warning of the Death-man. If the former was not fulfilled, he declared, the latter would swallow us all; and it was for the Conference, he concluded, to devise ways and means to realize that hope. Thereafter the report of work done since we met last was submitted by Shri Shankarrao Deo, the General Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Address

The audience included no less a distinguished visitor than the highest political dignitary of the country, our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In a frank and touching speech lasting 20 minutes, he confessed that the expectations of the people were not realized at the advent of Swaraj and expressed inability to say when they would be realized at all. Those in office, he continued, had not the courage to attain the desired objective. Surrounded by glitter and pomp, they neither followed the cherished ideal nor believed it. Rajendra Babu declared that he personally believed, more strongly than ever, in the loftiness of the Sarvodaya ideal, but felt lost and wayward and could not act up to it. He was happy to see several old and familiar faces but happier still to see new ones—a sign of life. He was sure that the society or *Satsang* of the Sarvodaya people would profit him ever more.

Vinoba on Spirit behind Constructive Work

Next came the main speech of the session by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. A fitting title to his hundred minute address, perhaps the longest ever delivered by Vinobaji, may be, "The spirit behind constructive work". Paying a very heartfelt tribute to the late Shri Kishorlal G. Marshuwala, he presented a lively and complete picture-cum-philosophy of constructive work—the objective, the method and the programme. The objective was to generate an independent public force which ran counter to violent force and differed from legal force. As such, he added, he told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter saw him a few days ago, that he wanted the State to take upon itself the responsibility to teach

spinning to every one in the country as it did to impart literacy.

Vinobaji remarked that the said objective could be achieved by following a two-phased method: Conversion or thought-administration and work-decentralization. For this he had a fourfold programme: (i) Organization of constructive work institutions into one well-knit body, (ii) Collection of five crores of acres of land in the Bhoodan Yajna by 1957, (iii) Sampatti-dan Yajna or wealth-donation, and (iv) *Sootanajai* or Yarn-gift. The first sitting of the first day then came to a close.

Jai Prakash's Appeal

The second sitting went on from three to six in the evening, the last half an hour being devoted to prayers. Workers from different parts of the country related their experience and pointed out the difficulties they met in their activities.

The last speech of the day was delivered by the renowned Socialist leader, Shri Jai Prakash Narain. It was a pleasure to watch this revolutionary pleading for a non-violent technique. He confessed conversion. He appealed to all to come forward in Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna Movement and asked the students specially to abandon their schools and colleges for one year for the sake of Bhoodan.

The morning of the eighth also was taken by workers in general discussion. There were three notable speeches. Shri Arun Chandra Ghosh of Lok Sevak Sangh, Manbhium, explaining why he or his comrades did not yet join the Bhoodan, said that the Government of the day as also the Congress Party were trampling down the fundamental rights of the people in the district. Janab Mohammad Shafi of Kashmir described how they had tackled the land problem in Kashmir. Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar, President of the newly-formed Backward Classes Commission of the Government of India, called upon the young men to come forward and help him in the work of ameliorating the lot of the down-trodden and the oppressed without which there could be no Sarvodaya. Another remarkable feature was the outpourings of the hearts of the young girl-workers in the Bhoodan Yajna Movement in the Gaya district of Bihar. Their touching account testified to the great efficacy and wonderful potentialities of Vinobaji's movement.

Jewellery-gift by Women

For about an hour in the noon women attending the Sannelan met under the chairmanship of Shrimati Janakibai Bajaj. Vinobaji who was also present asked them to do away with jewels. In fact, many of them actually came forward to part with their ring or chain etc. and thus was initiated the Abhushan-dan (Jewellery-gift) Movement as well. Will our 'Annapoorna'—sisters please copy?

Kumarappa on Land Distribution

The afternoon session opened with a vibrating speech by Sant Tukdoji Maharaj, the distinguished saint-singer of Maharashtra. He was quite confident that Vinobaji's movement would be implemented by the people and transform the shape of the country. Next came the far-famed J. C. Kumarappa. He stressed on a planned distribution of land not on individual but community basis. He exhorted the Sarvodaya workers to forget Vinobaji for the moment, treat themselves as trustees of land and solve the great problem themselves. He fervently hoped that every one of them would become Vinobaji and not rest content till this land problem was satisfactorily solved.

It was followed by a resolution placed by the General Secretary on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh (the executive body of the Sarvodaya Samaj). This resolution not only reiterated the decision taken last year—to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land by April 1954—but also resolved the establishment of an exploitation-free and equality-full society by the acquisition of five crores of acres before 1957 and appealed to the young men and women of the country to join this silent and solid revolution.

Attitude to Official Plans

The proceedings on the third and last day began, as usual, with spinning. Then followed a speech of Vinobaji in which he placed his opinion about two main things:

(i) the attitude towards Government schemes and political parties, and (ii) the shape of the organization to carry out the Bhoodan Yajna work. As regards the former, he held that the essential difference was in approach and outlook, which implied a host of other differences. But, he said, mere criticism was a waste of energy which should be utilized in constructive channels like Bhoodan Yajna etc. Co-operation, he added, could be offered at good or useful points but one should not in any case get involved in it.

Vinobaji observed that democracy, as in the West, was based on two parties and majority-vote. But in our country, only the common voice of the *Panchas* was regarded as God's voice. So all parties must work out the programmes on which they were unanimous and discuss the ones on which they differed.

Vinoba's Call for Bhoodan

Tracing the origin and growth of the Bhoodan Yajna Movement from Hyderabad to Bihar, Vinobaji remarked that work should be done both on extensive and intensive lines. Bihar workers, he said, had fixed a target of 32 lakhs of acres and they were going to concentrate in Gaya. Finally he called upon those present to abandon all what they did and join the Bhoodan Yajna earnestly for one year.

This calm and stirring address was followed by a resolution for prohibition. It appealed to State Governments not to slacken their efforts and sincerely go ahead in the great mission.

Ideal of Grama Raj

In the afternoon session the General Secretary placed another resolution embodying the ideal of the Sarvodaya Samaj. It was village Swarajya or Grama Rajya implying true democracy and full-fledged development of the individual. An essential condition for it, the resolution states, is to boycott mill-manufactures.

Need of Universal Decentralization

The President of the Conference, Shri Dhirenbbhai, then gave his closing speech which was as enviably short as the opening one. He was glad at the progress of the Conference and appealed to all to plunge into the Bhoodan Yajna campaign and those who had institutional responsibilities could do so by transferring their charge to youngsters as they did in 1930. Dhirenbbhai warned that a mere decentralization of land, without introducing decentralization in the industrial production and other spheres, would take us to totalitarianism and, consequently, to ruin.

Vinoba's Advice to Workers

Then followed the valedictory address of Vinobaji. He dwelt upon the shortcomings of the workers. Firstly, he pleaded for tolerance and humanity. Secondly, he urged upon them to study and continue enhancing their knowledge thoughtfully together with work. Thirdly, they must see things as a whole and not confine themselves to one solitary aspect. Fourthly, they must vitalize their daily prayer which was more like good behaviour rather than an act inspired by real faith. Finally he asked those who could devote whole time to Bhoodan Yajna work to give him or the provincial conveners their names.

The Conference came to a close with the prayers.

The Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan will be remembered for giving a definite and bold shape to the Bhoodan Yajna Movement—a movement which seeks to secure economic freedom and uphold the dignity of man and his labour. It enjoins a responsibility upon the people in general and constructive workers in particular to contribute their mite in this epoch-making campaign and prove true to themselves as also to the nation.

Allahabad, 14-3-'53

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM

By Mahatma Gandhi

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WITHOUT COMMENT

An M. P. friend sent the following questions and their answers given by Government, which are reproduced below, without any comment as it is not necessary :

(Starred Q. No. 331 answered on 25-2-'53).

Shri Dabhi : Will the Hon. the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the policy of Government regarding the purchase of Khadi for their cloth requirements ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari : The policy of Government is to encourage the use of Khadi for Government purposes as far as this is feasible consistently, with the specialized needs of the different services and a reasonable degree of economy.

Shri Dabhi : May I know the value of the annual cloth requirements of the Central Government and the extent which these requirements are met from Khadi ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari : I would like to have notice.

Shri Dabhi : May I know what prevents Government from meeting most of their cloth requirements from Khadi ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari : If any reasons do operate, Sir, against the use of Khadi to the extent my Hon. friend wants, the reasons have been stated in the answer to the question. (Unstarred question No. 506 answered on 11-3-'53).

Shri Damodarman Menon and Shri Kalappan : Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state how much Khadi, hand-loom cloth and mill cloth separately were purchased by Government for its use during each of the years 1950, 1951, and 1952 ?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari : The information is given below :

1. Khadi Cloth

Year	Value
1950-51	Rs 96,000
1951-52	Rs 67,000
1952-53 *	Rs 27,000

2. Hand-loom Cloth

1950-51	Rs 6,83,000
1951-52	Rs 12,95,000
1952-53 *	Rs 4,76,000

3. Mill Cloth

1950-51	Rs 3,04,10,000
1951-52	Rs 3,86,60,000
1952-53 *	Rs 3,52,28,000

* Figures are upto 31-1-'53.

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HARIJAN

April 4

1953

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri Vasant Nargolkar, a worker in the Adivasi area of Thana District, sends a long article defining a question that agitates him regarding the Land-Gift Movement which he likes and loves to work for. I summarize it below in his own words :

"The Bhoodan Yajna Movement is unique because it is completely free from any trace of hatred and violence. This is all the more remarkable against the background of the Communists' efforts in India and their achievement in Russia and China in the matter of redistribution of land without compensation. In fact, as Shri Vinoba is never tired of pointing out, the movement aims at achieving something much higher than mere peaceful redistribution of land. He wants to appeal to the nobler instincts of not only the rich but also those who are usually classed as belonging to the middle class and the poor. He would induce them to give their mite as well in the sacrifice, in the form of money if they are landless or in the form of voluntary free labour if they are also poor. For they too are in need, though in a much smaller measure, of the preaching which gently persuades them to give up notions of private property and personal gain, to live for a larger ideal and to work for the sake of the community as a whole.

"The movement is undoubtedly grand in conception and without a parallel in history. If it succeeds, India will have marched another step forward in the fulfilment of her mission of proving to the war-weary world the efficacy of non-violent solutions of the many small and big problems which plague the world today.

"It cannot, however, be denied that the success of the movement largely depends on the change of heart of the numerous big landlords who are expected to donate one-sixth of the entire land in their ownership. It has been the experience up till now that people are prepared to donate land to eminent Gandhians like Vinobaji and Shri Shankarraoj, to a few leading constructive workers and to well-known political leaders like Shri Jayaprakashji. Hundreds of other constructive workers, however, have nothing better to do than make personal appeals to the landlords to make some contributions to the *yajna* in view of the leaders' visit to some particular town or village, as their word and presence carry conviction with landowners and turn waverers into willing donors.

"The next who share the honours of the day on such occasions are naturally the landlords who of their own accord or under moral pressure from local workers perform the ennobling act of renunciation of a part or the whole of their landed property. Their names are announced with great eclat. In exchange for the material loss they gain what is spiritually more valuable — the respect of their neighbours. None would grudge them the honour, for it must be remembered that they have succeeded in overcoming the possessive instinct in some measure, not under the threat of law, nor of physical violence, but under moral persuasion only. The whole atmosphere at the Bhoodan meetings is certainly elevating and evokes the nobler sentiments in all who gather there.

"But one feels that still something is lacking which results in the lop-sidedness of the movement.

And in my opinion it is this : The donee or the landless cultivator is nowhere in the picture except as a passive receiver of land whenever it comes to be distributed. There is no room left in the present procedure for the active participation of the landless labourer. He is merely one among the spectators and admirers.

"In order to remove the lop-sidedness of the Bhoodan Yajna Movement and to make it more dynamic, it is, therefore, necessary to devise ways and means to fully associate the tenants and the landless labourers with it. It is then alone that they will realize their stakes in the success of the movement."

Shri Nargolkar raises two or three main questions, which, I fear, might be shared by many others as well. For example, many feel, sceptically enough, whether the change of heart on which depends the success of the movement will be enough and readily forthcoming, or whether a sanction of the nature of a compelling law or a violent revolution will be necessary or not. Now obviously this is a matter of faith and the Bhoodan Movement is based on abiding faith in the sure success of an appeal to the human heart which always responds if there is enough non-violence mobilized behind it. And just as success in a violent battle depends upon the abilities of its general, so also, in some measure, it is true in a non-violent action also that its success depends on its leaders. Therefore it is no drawback of the movement that people respond only to persons like Shri Vinoba, Shankarraoj, J. P. Narain and such others. What is rather obvious and necessary is that such people should come forth and carry a whirlwind campaign and also that they should be aided at the base by an equally necessary army of hundreds of workers spread over the whole country. For, they also serve. Shri Nargolkar is wrong where he magnifies the importance of the former and minimizes that of the latter. Both are equally important in their respective functions.

What about the landless ? How do they — how should they function ? This is another, and the main question of Shri Nargolkar. If Bhoodan Movement is mere giving and receiving, surely the landless would function as a dumb recipient and naturally he cannot be anything else. But the movement is not merely that, as has been repeatedly told by Shri Vinoba. Giving land is only a part of it ; one may grant its important part. However it is as much a part as receiving. Both are to be in the spirit of *yajna* and as items of a magnificent picture of a new society to be brought about. The giving is not to be in a patronizing or obliging manner, nor is receiving expected to be any way an obliging gift. Both these acts are aimed to be component parts of a process of readjustment of our land problem and to restore social justice and dignity of labour in our body politic. If at all, the landowner by giving away his land only makes a *प्रायश्चित्त* — makes atonement for his past sins of omissions and commissions. That is for his own good as well. Surely the landless can have no function in this atonement — *प्रायश्चित्त*. But he also had had his own

share of commissions and omissions, for which self-purification is necessary. Surely the landless has to make himself ready to receive and benefit by and serve society through the land-gift. The Bhoodan has a message for him as well, and it is that he too should rise and be ready to become an intelligent and co-operating partner in the decentralized and self-reliant agro-industrial economy that the movement aims to bring about in India. In it is contained in a nutshell a whole programme of social work and education to which the landless are called by this movement. It is a vast programme both for the landless as also for those that work among them as well as the landowners. Like Khadi during the days of our fight for independence, the Bhoodan has become an emblem of, and a slogan for, the establishment of a just and non-violent social order in India, based on the dignity of labour which is really the emblem of universal *yajna* that sustains creation. I invite Shri Nargolkar to evaluate the Bhoodan Movement in this larger perspective, wherein all are called and all can have full measure of "opportunity for self-expression and development of personality" for the larger good of us all.

18-3-'53

ROOTS OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

[The following is reproduced from the speech of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, at the Gandhian Seminar in New Delhi on the 17th January, 1953.]

Gandhiji was not a philosopher or a thinker in the sense that he had studied and thought out a philosophy of life and chalked out a programme of action, which he left to others to study and to implement. He had some fundamental principles to which he stuck in his life, but with regard to the rest he took up the work that came to him, found solutions for problems that presented themselves to him and in that way without defining and putting down on paper, as in a text-book, his entire conception of life and society, he dealt with particular individual questions and covered almost the whole of life, particularly in this country. There was no department of life in India which he did not touch, which he did not influence and in which he did not make his own contribution and in that way he evolved a complete picture of society arising not from a study, arising not from abstract thought, but arising out of practical experience of every-day problems, finding their solutions, meeting their difficulties and getting others to see his point of view and accept them.

* * *

Gandhiji had a picture of his own for society, because he felt that non-violence could not be established and violence could not be abjured unless the causes which lead to violence, which make non-violence difficult of application, are removed. We know that all conflicts of this world arise because of conflicting desires of individuals and these desires relate to something material,

something external, desire to have something which the other man also wants but which cannot be made available to him or shared by both. Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhiji made removal of the poverty of our people as one of the fundamental planks in his active programme; but at the same time, as far as I can judge, he was never enamoured of an undefined, indefinite, unlimited rise in the standard of our living depending upon external things. While he wanted that we should have our essentials of life, that no one should be troubled by want of these essentials, he also felt that no one was entitled or at any rate no one should desire to have more than the essentials. These essentials were not to be determined by the individual himself, but by other considerations. One of these considerations must be that what is essential for me must be essential for others also, and, therefore, it should be capable of being shared by all and so long as that was not possible, I had no right to regard it as an essential for myself. In other words, he insisted upon a limitation on our physical and material needs. Again in a society which is based primarily on a desire to extend and expand these needs, he felt, you could not avoid violence and, therefore, you have to go back to a stage when you have to limit your requirements and when you have to set a limit, not only upon what you want for yourself, but upon what you want for others, because it is this want which is at the basis of all conflicts and has in it the seeds of violence. Therefore, it was that he wanted a society in which the principal factor would not be the multiplication of wants or the means of supplying these wants in the quickest manner possible, but a society which will ensure to all what is absolutely necessary and at the same time not creating the conditions, which cannot but end in competition and ultimately end in violence. Whenever we think of conflict, we have to consider the various aspects which create conflict. I have mentioned one. There are various other things, which create conflict. We have got differences of opinion, may be with regard to religion, may be with regard to our ideas of society, may be with regard to the individual's rights and duties and Gandhiji wanted that we must remove from the society the causes which lead to these conflicts also. By limiting our physical and material requirements, we would be removing one such cause. We would be removing the other causes by recognizing the rights of others to have similar rights and our own duty towards others to allow them to have and enjoy those rights. This could be done only by non-violence. In a society if some people want to force their own opinions upon others, be those religious opinions, be those opinions relating to politics, relating to any other department of human life and thought, we cannot avoid that conflict, and there must be violence. It is only when complete freedom of thought is assured to everybody that conflict can

be avoided. But this can be done only when it is recognized and emphasized as a duty rather than as a right to have your own opinion. These are some of the aspects of society, which we envisaged for us and which we should have at any rate in this country.

USE LABOUR AS CAPITAL

[The following is from an article in *The Economic Weekly* of January 26, 1953. But for an irrational bias against Khadi and other cottage industries, we would easily realize that the quickest available way to tackle our colossal unemployment and under-employment is to take resort to Khadi and such other cottage industries, which will not only directly put more purchasing power in the hands of those who badly need it but will also not entail our economy into the vexed questions of distribution, as village industries goods will sell away not through centralized stores or in a highly collectivist way. The following article from *The Economic Weekly* tries to bring out these potentialities of our village-industries and suggests that a plan based on labour as capital is possible and more practical and advisable than one based on capital which is growing scarce and difficult and cannot be worked without creating a capitalist or bureaucratic order in some manner.

18-3-53

—M. P.]

Mahatma Gandhi pointed out a truism many years ago, which has recently been repeated by Mrs Joan Robinson. Gandhi mentioned that if we spend a rupee on goods manufactured in large industrial undertakings, most of the money received goes to Capital, whereas if we spend it on hand-made goods, it goes to Labour. Moreover, in India the agriculturist is idle for about eight months in the year. The supreme need of all planning, therefore, is to utilize two-thirds of the time of 249 millions of people (our agricultural population in 1951) or, in other words, to give employment to about 165 millions. In the U.K. the industrial proletariat numbers about a fifteenth of this and even in the U.S.A. it is about a quarter. The U.S.A. produces *inter alia* 600 million tons of coal and 100 million tons of steel a year. Till we have raised our production to four times these figures, we cannot hope to absorb our surplus labour in industry, working on modern labour-saving machinery. According to the estimate made by the Commission, the additional employment provided in the country, which will arise after five years when the industrial and other undertakings contemplated in the Plan are fully established, would be as follows:

	Additional employment (annual, in lakhs)
1. Industry, including small-scale industries ..	4
2. Major irrigation and power projects ..	7½
3. Agriculture : Due to additional area irrigated ..	14
Due to repairs to tanks ..	1½
Due to land reclamation schemes ..	7½
4. Building and construction	1

5. Road ..	2
6. Cottage industries ..	20 plus 36 (part time)
7. Tertiary sector and local works ..	Not estimated.

All this adds up to say 5½ millions fully and 3½ partly employed. To make even a dent in the net unemployment of say 165 millions would thus require not Rs 2,069 crores but about thirty times that sum.

It is a corollary to the truism mentioned above, that an underpopulated country, rich in material resources, should try to economize Labour, while an overpopulated and poor community, must economize Capital but use Labour with a lavish hand. While, therefore, the Plan can be regarded as an interesting intellectual exercise or even as a gaudy and tinsel toy, it should be clearly understood it will solve no problems for us. The solution lies along less attractive plans of Gandhian economics, viz., cottage industries. The economy of cottage industries is hard to understand. Such products are presumed to be very expensive and to require special protection to combat against mill-made products; but once it is realized they are merely by-products of the peasant's spare time when he would otherwise be earning nothing, so that labour can be valued very little, the difficulty would, it is imagined, disappear. Naturally this will not be an attractive philosophy to the peasant who has got used to a schedule of four months' work and eight months' holiday (he values leisure much more highly than food) and only a very sustained propaganda effort, firmer and more intensive than has ever yet been attempted, towards a reorientation of this outlook, can induce any change in the situation.

Apart from village industries, agricultural production should also be raised. Till major irrigation and fertilizer projects are completed, more homely methods should be tried. Thus there is considerable doubt as to final utility of chemical fertilization, while canal irrigation, it is said, leads to gradual salination of land. In our country all human excreta is allowed to run to waste due to ancient superstitions and prejudices. If this was fully utilized, the necessity of erection of numerous fertilizer plants might be almost eliminated and the resultant increase in agricultural production be perhaps greater and more secure. In the same manner *kachha* wells in the areas where the water level is not very deep could be an immediate solution to the problem of irrigation, while improved cropping practices, e.g., the Japanese method of rice cultivation of which we hear so much of late, could also improve the yields.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Some Suggestions

By Rajendraprasad

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CHANDIL SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

(Resolutions passed by the Sarva Seva Sangh at its sittings held at Chandil on the occasion of the Fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan.)

1. Bhoodan Yajna

Last year, at Sevapuri, the Sarva Seva Sangh decided its support to the Bhoodan Movement and pledged to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land within 2 years. One year is now over, and we have only been able to collect 7 to 8 lakh acres of land. Still, when we remember how deep man's attachment to land is and how little faith the people and the majority of workers had in the beginning, we will have to admit that securing 7 to 8 lakh acres of land is indeed a surprising achievement.

We are glad that not only big landowners but also a good number of small landowners and poor peasant-proprietors have donated land in this *yajna*. This has strengthened our faith. We congratulate them, and are grateful for the response we have received from them. They have purified themselves and have helped in creating an atmosphere conducive to the purity and enrichment of our society.

Various institutions and workers, and many from among the people, have extended their co-operation to us even in the face of difficulties. The Sarva Seva Sangh is grateful to them for this co-operation.

Today we pledge ourselves anew to this great task. We have to collect 17 to 18 lakh acres of land in the next 12 months. For this it is necessary for us to carry on our work with greater devotion and concentration during the coming year. We have to remember too that the objective of the Bhoodan Yajna is not merely to collect 25 lakh acres of land, but to prepare the background for a non-violent revolution and to lay the corner-stone of the structure of a Sarvodaya society. A special responsibility, therefore, devolves on all those who believe in the Sarvodaya philosophy, and more especially, on institutions and workers carrying on constructive work. For, their object is to strive for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society, and it is evident that this object of theirs cannot be fulfilled without integrating their programmes with the effort to bring about a peaceful transformation of our society. The Bhoodan Movement is such a dynamic movement for a non-violent revolution, on the basis of which and in integration with which alone, can the constructive work institutions progress towards the fulfilment of their objectives. We therefore hope that these institutions and workers will give first place to the Bhoodan Yajna in their programmes of work, and see that they not only collect 25 lakh acres of land in the coming 12 months, but create the atmosphere necessary for the establishment of a non-exploitative and equalitarian society by collecting 5 crores of acres of land by 1957.

We also appeal to all political and social workers to forget all their differences and to co-operate in the great work of this *yajna*.

Our youths are today anxious for a revolution. They must realize that the revolution is already in their midst, and that what has to be done today is to ensure the success of this great revolution, by setting aside all other work and placing their services at the disposal of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Such dedication on the part of the youths of our country can certainly strengthen the revolution and make it take firm roots in the soil.

In conclusion, we appeal to landowners, especially to big landowners, to realize that this *yajna* will be beneficial to them too; since Sarvodaya which this *yajna* wants to usher in, means the wellbeing of all. We appeal to them therefore, to work in every possible way to ensure the success of this movement. Up to now, only Vinobaji and his co-workers have been going from village to village and house to house asking for land gifts. But the time has now come for landowners to come forward voluntarily and to donate land; for the new society we seek to build up can only be built up by those who have undergone a

change of heart and realized the greatness of the ideals that prompt this *yajna*.

Many want the work of redistribution of land to be completed through legislation. The Bhoodan Yajna does not stand in the way of legislation, but creates an atmosphere favourable to legislation. Still, we believe that the power that the people will acquire if we accomplish this task through a genuine change of heart will be the real basis of a Sarvodaya society.

We hope that all those who have received the message of the Bhoodan Yajna and realized the supreme and inescapable duty of our times will come forward, take part in this *yajna* and co-operate in the fulfilment of our pledge, without waiting for any one to go to them and appeal for land.

2. Grama-Udyog

It is our firm conviction that Sarvodaya Samaj can only be brought into being through the establishment of *Grama Rajya*. In order to attain this ideal every village must develop the capacity to be self-sufficient at least, with regard to the primary necessities of life, viz., food, clothing, shelter, health and education so that it may not have to depend on centralized production for the satisfaction of these primary needs. This will enable the people of the villages to establish *Grama Rajya* by their own unaided efforts through the decentralization of political as well as economic power. In the opinion of the Sangh unless power and wealth are decentralized the individual will not have the opportunity for the harmonious development of his personality through labour rather than by capital.

Therefore, with a view to give a countrywide impetus to the development of decentralized industries or in other words, village industries, the Sarva Seva Sangh had, in its Sevapuri resolution, appealed to the nation to begin with the boycott of such centralized industries as have been found to prove detrimental to the self-sufficiency of the villages in regard to food and clothing. The Sangh again calls the attention of the people to that resolution with all the earnestness at its command and earnestly hopes that the whole country will make a determined effort to make the programme the success for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Yajna.

3. Prohibition

Prohibition has been an important part of our national movement. Under the leadership of Gandhiji, there was always insistence on prohibition, so much so that even when all the other programmes of the Civil Disobedience Movement were withdrawn after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, the right of peacefully picketing liquor shops was insisted upon. It was, therefore, hoped that with the attainment of Swaraj, the drink evil will be rooted out from the country. Even the Constitution of free India has accepted this as a duty of the Government. This insistence on prohibition has been due to the fact that alcoholism not only lowers the moral and ethical standards of the people but also destroys the lives of the poor and brings about their total ruin. The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore congratulates the Madras and Bombay Governments for the courage and idealism they have shown in legislating for prohibition.

But of late the wellbeing of the poor and the moral standards of the nation are being judged from the point of view of the revenues of the State, and the Central Government seems almost to have made 'Go slow' a religious aphorism for the guidance of the State Governments. Central Ministers have even gone to the extent of implying that State Governments which have proceeded with legislation on prohibition have exhibited a kind of shortsightedness. The Sarva Seva Sangh rejects this point of view, as it is sure that an instruction to 'Go slow' in this respect can only mean an invitation to 'fall fast'.

The Sarva Seva Sangh also believes that the responsibility for eradicating alcoholism should not rest entirely with the Government and that social and political workers should also take up the responsibility for creating an atmosphere favourable to prohibition.

SERVICE OF FELLOWMEN

(By Gandhiji)

Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour, simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This can only be done by service of all. I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbours. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate myself on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity.

Harijan, 29-8-36

THE LORD OF THE AGE

(By a Rebel)

There's a master whose name is GREED,
Whose rights the world does flood,
He claims the right his slaves to feed
Or starve, or murder in cold blood.
Says he: "I do great wealth procure,
My rights are all divine.
Well protected, I am secure
Forever. Yes, the world is mine,
"Civilization is the stool
Upon which I can rest.
Proud dignified; I am no fool.
Priests declare I am forever blest.

"Even statesmen praise and admire
My glory and my fame.
Preachers and teachers I can hire
To play the camouflaging game.

"My colleagues are the billionaires,
Their wives, sons and daughters,
Also the Multi-Millionaires
Who promote gigantic slaughters.

"My hirelings do faithfully heed
My call, because they know
They can continually feed
And drink from GRAFT'S perpetual flow.

"My slaves, I love their ignorance
And their childish notions!
How easy it is to enhance
Their patriotic devotions!

I'm poisoning their happiness
UNITING efforts quell
And stir their inwrought selfishness
Which leads them swiftly toward hell.

"Throughout ev'ry generation
Slaves ardently atone—
I laugh at their degradation,
While I am placed upon the throne."
(From the *Industrial Worker*, Jan. 16, 1953).

NOTES

Preventive Medicine

Major Gen. Sokhey deplores that, according to the Five Year Plan, it will take a century before we can expect to turn out 290,000 doctors (at the rate of one doctor for 1,000 population as in U. R.) and praises "socialized medicine" as in Russia as what should be our guiding star.

But he neglects the fact that malnutrition multiplies sick people which then requires a large medical service—ever increasing number of doctors, nurses and medicine and hospitals.

The proverb says: The more doctors, the more diseases.

The solution is *preventive* medicine which means adequate nourishment for all and hygienic conditions for living. That is, however, an economic matter—economic adjustment question. We must create economic conditions for it. Russia is giving less nourishment and more inadequately trained doctors (even without medicine).

M. P. T. ACHARYA

"Devoid of Mother Wit"

The Editor, *Harijan*,

The Chief Minister of Bombay richly deserves congratulations on his courage of conviction and on his much-delayed action against the paper that suffers from prohibition phobia and delights in holding to ridicule, in season and out of season, the Bombay Ministry and its prohibition policy which is an unmixed blessing to the poor misguided people.

The action taken by the Chief Minister who is wedded to thoughtful moderation seems to be very mild in comparison to the magnitude of evil brought by subtly opposing the prohibition policy which has been one of the main planks in the Congress programme. How can one be so devoid of mother wit as to hold to ridicule a certain government and in the same breath expect it to supply funds for carrying on one's work which is calculated to create hatred for the government and spell ruin to the poor misguided millions?

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