

HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE

Notes

Acharya Anandshanker Dhruva

The death of Acharya Anandshanker Dhruva is an irreparable loss not only to Gujarat but also to the U. P., for he had rendered invaluable services to the Benares Hindu University for a number of years. It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to replace him. He was an active educationist to the end. Many students have lost a true friend in him. He was Malaviyaji's right hand. Malaviyaji's grief can be better imagined than described. But Anandshanker Dhruva was no mere educationist. His interests were many and varied. He was a keen student of politics, a worshipper at the shrine of Swaraj, and a social reformer. His relations with the orthodox were cordial, for he was an observer of many of their ceremonials. But his instinct and heart were always with the reformer, and he expressed his views fearlessly. He was widely respected for his outstanding knowledge of Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, and was a fine representative of the Hindu religion. As for me I had invariably received his help. He was friends equally with labour and capital and, having gained the confidence of both, was able to render great services to both in Ahmedabad. The bereaved family's sorrow will be shared by, and they will have the sympathy of, all who had the privilege of knowing the late Acharya.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

Lala Shankerlal

I have two letters about the treatment accorded to Lala Shankerlal of Delhi in jail. They say he is no better off than Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar. I have nothing to do with Lala Shankerlal's politics or views, but the same remarks apply to his case as to Caveeshar's. He is as much entitled to decent and humane treatment as Caveeshar. This is what his nephew writes:

"I went to the place in the company of my aunt, the wife of Lala Shankerlal, for an interview at 3-30 P. M. on the 23rd inst. When face to face, I at once detected signs of great weakness and reduction in the energy of Lalaji. He was reduced physically, his complexion was pale, and his face drawn. To my great horror and dismay I found that he is confined day and night to a dark, damp and unhealthy dungeon which could hardly be a befitting place for confinement even for a criminal, much less a gentleman of Lalaji's status."

If this statement is true, the matter calls for immediate attention and redress.

Economy in Travelling

B. B. & C. I. Railway management are discountenancing travelling as far as possible. It is a timely warning. People should travel as little as possible. Only urgent necessity can warrant railway travelling. One fine morning we may find that all civil booking is stopped. Movement of troops may render this precaution absolutely necessary. It is a good thing to accustom ourselves to the practice well in advance of the necessity.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

Distress in Bengal

Bengal has suffered from communal riots, it is suffering from famine, and now it threatens to be the target of Japan. Military preparations are inevitable. This means eviction of villagers. Satish Babu sends me a graphic account of an eviction near Chittapore. Thirtythree villages have been evacuated under very short notice. The notices were dated 1st April, served on the 2nd, and the villagers had to leave on the 4th. The troops entered on the 4th. In one village the villagers got the notice on the same day that the troops entered. The evacuees were paid removal cost at the rate of Rs. 10 to 100 according to the Union rates they were paying. Compensation is to be determined and paid hereafter. The rules framed for evacuation are elaborate and read reasonable. But however reasonable they may be, the hardship of sudden evacuation is inevitable, and the enforcement of the rules having unavoidably to be left in the hands of many and petty officials, fairness cannot be ensured. Under the circumstances the utmost that workers like Satish Babu can do is to cheer up the people. Their solid contribution must be to teach the villagers to face the inevitable hardships calmly and bravely and derive comfort from within. Unless they are depressed by their so-called comforters, they respond to the best in them and cheerfully face the worst. This is not to say that the authorities should be callous to the sufferings of the poor. In the present case I do not see what they could have done if the troops had to be located where they have been all of a sudden. Laymen cannot judge whether the military officers should not have anticipated events and made arrangements in good time.

Sevagram, 14-4-42

Linguistic Basis

My reply to the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram on the Andhra Province has brought me lengthy correspondence about Hindi- and Marathi-speaking provinces. The argument is that all Hindi-speaking

areas should be regarded as one province, as also should Marathi-speaking areas. So far as I am concerned I am quite in sympathy with the suggestion. I believe that the linguistic basis is the correct basis for demarcating provinces. I should not mind two provinces speaking the same language, if they are not contiguous. If Kerala and Kashmir were speaking the same language, I would treat them as two distinct provinces.

The writers suggest, however, that I should lead the agitation for the redistribution, or in this case amalgamation, of the Marathi-speaking and Hindi-speaking areas. This is an impracticable proposition. The demand for amalgamation has to be made by Congressmen living in the respective areas. If it is unanimous, the Congress cannot resist it. The thing is entirely in their own hands.

Let my correspondents and others not mix up the Andhra agitation with their proposals. Andhra is already a separate province for the Congress. But, whilst the Congress ministry was in office, the Andhras agitated for legal recognition. My correspondents ask for Congress recognition of their proposals.

Whilst on merits I endorse the proposal, I would discountenance any such agitation and diversion from the main theme before the country — the duty of every Indian in face of the impending invasion of India by Japan. Redistribution of provinces etc., important matters though they are in themselves, pale into insignificance before the question which overshadows every other. These things may easily await the termination of the war. We hope to see a new vision and a new order at the end of the present catastrophe.

Hissar Famine and Spinning

Dr. Gopichand has been discussing with me famine in Hissar. It seems to have become almost chronic. The A. I. S. A. has been working for many years in that district and giving relief to the poor people through spinning. Dr. Gopichand thinks that, if more capital can be made available, much aid can be given. It is perhaps not possible to make a successful appeal outside Hissar. There is so much distress everywhere, and with the terrible spectre of war much more is to be expected. Therefore everywhere local charity has to be depended upon. As often happens even in poor areas there are to be found monied men. Bhiwani is a big trade centre in Hissar, and it has several monied men. Let me hope that they and those others in Hissar who can will come to the rescue and do what they can for the much-needed relief.

Sevagram, 12-4-42

M. K. G.

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SOME DANGER-SPOTS OF YARN CURRENCY

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

I have long been an advocate of a currency based on a commodity like grain or yarn. I agree that yarn is more suitable than grain in this respect. Naturally, I am glad to find that the idea is now taking some practical shape. But haphazard isolated experiments of introducing this currency are likely to be attended with failure and loss either to the public or the institution introducing it. I, therefore, hasten to point out a few danger-spots which should be avoided in making the experiment.

Firstly, it should be remembered that, as long as the rupee continues to be the legal tender of the country, it will remain the ultimate controller of prices. All the problems of 'bimetallism' and 'ratio' will arise, and the advantage will generally accrue to the legally recognised currency. The attempt to maintain a fixed ratio between the yarn and the rupee will not succeed in the event of heavy fluctuations in money-prices of essential commodities. This is more likely than not during the war. If you insist on having a fixed ratio, there will be a heavy loss either in your grain and village products department, or in your khadi department. For you will be constantly faced with the operation of Gresham's Law. You will find either the yarn-*rukkas* or the coin-money disappearing rapidly from circulation. The disappearance of the former will mean that shrewd people are hoarding the *rukkas* and, since you cannot exceed your own limits of issuing them, you will find that after a certain stage you have to pay and receive ordinary coins only in your dealings. The disappearance of the coins, on the other hand, will mean that all those who have need for it will have to pay premium to those who have them.

You should also remember that the A. I. S. A. has a special schedule of wages for its spinners and other artisans. It is higher than what they are able and willing to receive elsewhere. A part of the wage is paid in the form of khadi. The dire economic condition on the one hand and the low standard of life on the other tempt the A. I. S. A. artisans to sell off their wage-khadi even at a discount to consumers or uncertified khadi dealers. The latter as well as professional money-changers will purchase the yarn-*rukkas* at a cheap rate, when the ratio between yarn and coin is in their favour, and the coin is not easily available though badly wanted. This will happen when they have to discharge their legal obligation to the Government and creditors; also, when you cannot provide all those things which the villagers rightly or wrongly badly desire, e. g. toddy, tobacco, kerosene, a cup of tea or sweets at the hotel, a cinema show (on the bazar day), a showy foreign toy, an umbrella and the like. The yarn-*rukka* thus cheaply purchased will be returned to you in exchange for khadi, which will be resold by them at prices lower than yours. It will be in all outward appearances genuine khadi made by your own institution, and still sold cheap.

So, I think, it will not be right to lay down a principle that the ratio between the gundi and the coin will be unalterable in any case. I do hope, however, that the necessity to revise the ratio will not be very frequent, if proper precautions are taken in fixing the right ratio.

The precautions are : (1) You should not make all your payments in *rukkas* only, but partly in *rukkas* and partly in coin. (2) the gundi price of the commodities which you undertake to sell must be as nearly as possible equivalent to their money-price. That is to say, if the price of grain in our centre is, say, $1\frac{1}{2}$ as. per seer, and your gundi is priced by you at 1 anna, you should not sell grain very much cheaper than $1\frac{1}{2}$ gundis per seer. (3) If you want to help your villagers by giving them cheap grain, you should do so directly. That is to say, you should set apart a sum to be written off as loss, issue passes to such villagers as you consider to be deserving of help, and put a control on the quantity to be sold to each. (4) Until the yarn-currency becomes the legal tender of the country, i. e. it is accepted by Government in payment of revenue and taxes, and debtors are entitled to tender it in discharge of their obligations, it would be wrong to expect that it can by itself keep prices steady. So, if in your enthusiasm to rapidly introduce the yarn-currency, you begin by giving an undue advantage to the possessor of the *rukkas*, you will ultimately ruin your own business. (5) In the initial stages, you should not undertake to sell too many articles which you yourself do not produce or get produced and have to purchase them from the market. If you want to open a general store, you should freely sell the commodities for money, and not give an extra advantage to the possessor of the *rukka*.

The possibility of counterfeit *rukkas* will be another danger-spot. You cannot afford to take all those precautions which a Government takes in manufacturing its currency notes. Very probably you will use handmade paper. It will more often than not vary from piece to piece both in its quality and tinge; and your design will be far from complicated. In spite of their vigilance, even Governments have to face the problem of counterfeit notes. If the ratio between the *rukka* and the coin is in favour of the possessor of the *rukka*, the temptation to make counterfeit *rukkas* will be very great.

To avoid this, I make the following suggestions :

(1) There should not be a common issue of the *rukka* for a large area but a separate issue from each centre. The forms and policy will be common, but the patterns of the *rukkas* should be different, so that each centre will easily identify its issue. (2) The *rukkas* of one centre should not be accepted at another centre as currency. They should circulate only within the limits of that centre. (3) If a person from one centre wants to use his *rukkas* in another centre, the issuing authority should give him a credit note or draft upon the other centre *at par*. Thereupon the other centre will issue to him its own *rukkas* of the same value. (4) The denomination of the freely

exchangeable *rukkas* should not, for the present, exceed, say, 25 gundis, and should not be less than one lati (a quarter of a gundi). I suggest a lati, a gundi, 5 gundis, 10 gundis and 25 gundis. Large payments should be made either in these prices or by appropriately drawn cheques, hundis, promissory-notes etc., drawn in favour of a specified individual or institution. Of course, I assume that the usual precautions about numbering, section, dating, signing etc. will be carefully taken.

Sevagram, 26-3-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Why Not in Universities ?

Q. You have expressed yourself against communalism in cricket. Are not communal universities also to be deplored? In colleges and hostels that are open to all, deep friendships spring up and religious tolerance becomes a natural thing. Would not well-endowed Chairs in common centres of learning serve the purpose of advancing different cultures?

A. You are right. If we can do without communal institutions, it would be good. But I am unable to say that there should be no Muslim or Hindu Universities as I am able to say positively that there should be no communal cricket. The communal universities, if their origin is not tainted, may conceivably serve a national purpose. Thus the Hindu University and the Muslim University may, as they ought to, be seats of communal concord. But communal sports seem to be a contradiction in terms. I wholly agree with you that there should be, as there are, non-communal colleges and hostels. Unfortunately the virus has entered even these. Let us hope that it is a passing phase.

When Leaders Differ

Q. You say people in the cities should evacuate under certain circumstances. Panditji and Rajaji say they should not on any account. What are we to do?

A. I appreciate your difficulty. I can only advise you to use your judgment and choose that advice which appeals to your reason. We are living in hard times such as we have never experienced before. I am quite sure of my ground. People who are not wanted should evacuate from cities which are within the danger zone. There is no cowardice in orderly withdrawal. Women and children and aged people and all those who are not wanted should evacuate so as to enable the defenders the better to regulate defence of cities under their control. The evacuees will show real courage, if they will settle down in villages and tackle problems that face villagers. Differences of opinion between leaders ought not to worry people. Honest differences are often a healthy sign of progress. And the differences you refer to are honest.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

Practical Non-violence

By K. G. Mashruwala

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Apr. 19

1942

THAT ILL-FATED PROPOSAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a thousand pities that the British Government should have sent a proposal for dissolving the political deadlock, which, on the face of it, was too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere. And it was a misfortune that the bearer should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, acclaimed as a radical among radicals and a friend of India. I have no doubt about his goodwill. He believed that no one could have brought anything better for India. But he should have known that at least the Congress would not look at Dominion Status even though it carried the right of secession the very moment it was taken. He knew too that the proposal contemplated the splitting up of India into three parts each having different ideas of governance. It contemplated Pakistan, and yet not the Pakistan of the Muslim League's conception. And last of all it gave no real control over defence to responsible ministers.

The fact is that Sir Stafford Cripps, having become part of the Imperial machinery, unconsciously partook of its quality. Such is its strength. It is the almost invariable experience in India that those Indians who are drawn into it lose their originality and become like their companions in the service and often outdo the latter in their loyalty to the Moloch of Imperialism.

Had Sir Stafford remained detached, he would have conferred with his radical friends in India and secured their approbation before undertaking his very difficult mission. If it be said in answer that he could not very well do so, that is exactly what I mean when I say that, having become part of the machinery, he was bound to fall under its spell and could not do the obvious thing.

But it is no use brooding over the past or British mistakes. It is more profitable to look within. The British will take care of themselves, if we will take care of ourselves. Our mistakes or rather defects are many. Why blame the British for our own limitations? Attainment of Independence is an impossibility till we have solved the communal tangle. We may not blind ourselves to the naked fact. How to tackle the problem is another question. We will never tackle it so long as either or both parties think that Independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle. There are two ways of solving what has almost become insoluble. The one is the royal way of non-violence, and the other of violence. In the first way the formal consent or cooperation of the other party is unnecessary. If there is a dispute between two boys over the ownership of an apple, the non-violent way is to leave the apple for the other party to take, the latter well knowing that it would mean non-cooperation on the surrendering

party's part. The second way is the usual way of violence. There the parties fight with each other till one is for the time being worsted. All interested in freedom have to make the choice. I suppose the choice has already been made by the chief actors. But the rank and file do not know their own minds. It is necessary for them, if they can, to think independently and take to non-violent action in terms of unity. It consists in Hindus and Muslims on the wayside fraternising with one another, if they believe that joint life is a perfect possibility, nay a necessity. Whether those who believe in the two nation theory and communal partition of India can live as friends cooperating with one another I do not know. If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition, unless Hindus want to fight against such a division. So far as I can see such a preparation is silently going on on behalf of both parties. That way lies suicide. Each party will probably want British or foreign aid. In that case, good-bye to Independence. The fight will then range round not Independence but the imaginary apple after the manner of the imaginary boys. I dare not contemplate the actuality. I should not like to be its living witness. I would love to see a joint fight for Independence. In the very process of securing Independence it is highly likely that we shall have forgotten our quarrels. But if we have not, it will be then only time to quarrel, if we must.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

WITH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

There were three foreign correspondents in Delhi who succeeded better with Gandhiji than others. Miss Eve Curie, the daughter and biographer of her distinguished mother, Madame Curie, has had an American education and is now a press correspondent representing *New York Herald, Tribune* and allied newspapers in London. She happened to catch Gandhiji when the Working Committee meetings had not yet begun. The other two were war correspondents from London and Chicago—Mr. Moorehead representing *The Daily Express* and Mr. Busvine of *The Chicago Times*. Some of Miss Curie's questions were the same as these war correspondents' who persisted for days in asking for a few minutes from Gandhiji and succeeded at last on the eve of his departure.

Miss Curie's question was direct—on the present situation. She admired the sincerity with which Sir Stafford Cripps was trying to bring about a settlement, and she wanted to know Gandhiji's reaction to his efforts. The other friends asked if there was any hope of a settlement. To these latter Gandhiji said: "It is a question I should avoid. I am not officially on the Working Committee which has not yet arrived at a final decision." To Miss Curie he gave a more suggestive reply: "Sir Stafford is a very good man, but he has entered bad machinery—British Imperialism. He hopes to improve

that machinery, but in the end it will be the machinery that will get the better of him."

Miss Curie spoke like a partisan, and naturally. She belonged to a nation that had lost its freedom, and the hope of betrayed France lay in the victory of the Allies who had pledged to restore freedom to their erstwhile Ally. "Axis Powers' triumph would bring India to a fate comparable to that inflicted on Poland and France. That is why the average citizen of conquered countries puts his belief and hope in Allied victory," she said.

"India can win her laurels only through non-violence," said Gandhiji to her. "What we have achieved during the last twenty years shows what immense results could be obtained if the principle of non-violence was generally practised by our people."

"But," said Miss Curie, using the stock argument, "Indians will have a tougher time opposing by non-violence German and Japanese divisions than undermining British rule."

"Quite possible," said Gandhiji. "But this is the hour to live up to our faith. If the Japanese invaded India, I would not encourage our people to fight with arms. Neither would I suffer them to make a pact with aggressors. Our struggle will be hard, but it will bring out the best in us."

"So you accept the idea of India refusing to fight or even to be defended by others?"

"It is physically impossible to transform India suddenly into an armed nation. To give our people weapons and to teach them non-violence are two different methods of making them strong. Both take time. I simply believe that my method is surer, more precise, and in the long run more successful. In order to beat the Japanese and German armies by force, you must become stronger than they are, and therefore worse and more ruthless. Then what have you won? Nothing. On the contrary, nations fighting with non-violence are unconquerable, for their strength does not depend on the number of rifles and machine-guns they possess. And when the method is good, there is no need to worry about immediate results. Success is bound to come in the end. In a non-violent struggle there are two alternatives: either the enemy comes to terms with you, then you win without blood; or the enemy annihilates you. This last solution is not worse than what a violent war in any case brings about. I don't blame you for wanting to liberate France just as I want to see India free; but it is a sign of too great impatience to think that any country can really be liberated by use of arms."

The American and British correspondents tried to take a more detached view, and thus succeeded in drawing Gandhiji into a fairly long argument. They requested Gandhiji to say something generally about the situation. "I would not like to say anything," said Gandhiji. "All I can talk about is my special subject, viz. how non-violence can work in the difficult circumstances of today. But what use is that to you? Is it relevant? As war correspondents, it will not interest you."

"No, sir," said Mr. Moorehead, "anything you say would be of importance."

"Well, then," said Gandhiji, "it puzzles me to find fine people deriding non-violence, when it is emphatically made clear that non-violence requires greater courage, though both the violent and non-violent men have to face death. The one inflicts death and destruction; the other inflicts no death but endeavours to gain what he wants by death, if he has to die. Let us take the instance of China. If that mighty nation said to the Japanese hordes, 'Do what you like, we will not cooperate with you'?"

"It did happen to some extent. But it did not succeed."

"No, it should have happened to the fullest extent. A sufferer from malaria must take the full course of quinine—say thirty grains for the prescribed number of days—and cannot stop short midway."

"But if the Japanese were to run over the whole of China?"

"They cannot do so. They have to cut to pieces every man and woman before they do so. Violent warfare requires tremendous previous training; not so non-violent warfare. It is not the skill of arms, but the skill of the heart. It will mean an immensely larger number of men and women in the field; it will be a living wall. If the nation is trained in non-violent warfare, it will give no kind of cooperation to Japan, who will have either of the two alternatives—exterminating the whole of the Chinese race (assuming that the whole nation participates), or retiring and leaving the country free."

"But the Japanese will do no such thing. They will quietly occupy the country, consume the food crops, etc. Or do you suggest that the Chinese will destroy the crops?"

"The Chinese will destroy nothing—not a single crop grown with patient toil. But the Japanese cannot use the crops, because there will be a human Chinese wall between the Japanese and the crops, if the Chinese can bring that non-violent courage into play."

"But what about a nation (like Japan) which has no heart?"

"Then China has a victorious death."

"If the whole of India takes to non-violence, the Japanese will enter India."

"That being the assumption, you can see that the Japanese cannot have India without mowing down 350 million people."

"But they will land."

"I grant that."

"You will also have to grant that the Japanese are evil people bringing a crop of evils to India. In that case non-violence will succeed in inviting results which you would never desire."

The correspondents had probably in mind the stories of Japanese and Nazi brutalities in China and Poland respectively, e.g. the injection of various poisons in defenceless men and women, rapes, etc.

"Non-violent resistance means resistance to all these things. I am prepared to assume the worst."

If Japan will kill every man and woman, we will be the better for it."

"So the only hope of survival is non-violence?"

"Yes. What is happening today is mutual slaughter."

"You mean to say that violence will cause worse evils in the *long run*?"

"I do not admit that the evils of non-violence in the *short run* will be greater, if that is what you mean. The evils of violence *both* in the *short and the long runs* are terrible. The only evil, if you will call it so, of non-violence is voluntary death. But I proceed all the while on the assumption that the stoniest heart will melt, given sufficient non-violence."

The war correspondents went on putting questions one after another, deeply interested.

"But how would people protect their food? By surrounding it?"

"In the technique I have assumed, while there is a single Chinaman living, the Japanese cannot help themselves to the crops. They will have to kill all."

The whole argument rested up till now on the fact that we were an unarmed nation. But if we had arms? Would we then too talk of non-violence? That was the next question.

"Then I would say," said Gandhiji, "choose. Why kill the Japanese who have the same skin, the same eyes, the same ears, the same minds as we have? It is easier to lay down arms than to take others' lives. Why not lay down arms and be killed?"

"But that would be, if you had inferior arms. If you were superior to them in military strength?"

"The same answer—for it would be beneath human dignity to crush one's inferior."

"I see. There are three alternative situations to which you react with the same answer for different reasons. If you are inferior—do not fight. If you are equals—the mutual slaughter is useless. If you are superior—it is beneath human dignity. So there is no compromise on any point between British policy and yours. There is thus no hope of a settlement?"

"You are trying to catch me," said Gandhiji laughing. "I like your quick grasp of what I am saying. I will not say, 'There can be no settlement.' On the basis of non-violence a settlement is always possible. But I know I am treading here on delicate ground."

"You are not thinking of a surrender, I hope," said the American friend.

"Never any idea of a surrender. That is what I said in my open letters to the Czechs and to every Briton. I am sorry that my words have been wrenched from the context and my appeal has been distorted both in England and America."

"Then our difference is a difference of degree, not of principle. For both of us want to avoid war, if it were possible, and both want India to remain for the Indians."

"You may put it that way, if you like, but our means are different. No one will, however, admit that it is only a difference of degree."

M. D.

PLANNED ECONOMY

The following is an abridged version of Shri J. C. Kumarappa's illuminating article in the March issue of *The Indian Journal of Social Work* on the Gandhian approach to planned economy.

The writer maintains that while planned economy is new to the Occident it was the rule in India and, what is more, while the Western plans are conceived purely from the economic standpoint the Indian is all-inclusive, covering the political, social and religious aspects too. Inasmuch as our ancient social order was planned to fulfil the requirements of people thousands of years ago it cannot cater in detail to the needs of today, but the soundness of the eternal principles on which it was based remain. It was based on the philosophy of non-violence. Gandhiji clings to this ancient culture with might and main, and that is why we also find him battling for our political freedom through non-violent means. "Freedom for the individual means freedom to do what is right, to think for himself and express his thoughts and to work for himself as and how he likes. Freedom implies duties, rights and limitations. Our rights are curbed by our duties to others. When the curbing comes from within we have a society based on non-violence." Naturally when the curbing is external society has to depend on force. But true freedom cannot be in a State based on violence. In the modern highly organised States, like Germany and Italy, citizenship has become a form of slavery to the State. Fear, hatred and suspicion are bred, man becomes selfish, materialistic; his growth and evolution are unnatural and therefore ephemeral. If then we are to save ourselves and rebuild on solid foundations, we have to preclude violent methods and resort to cultural means to develop the individual. Self-discipline and self-control are the pivots on which a non-violent society can work. They cannot be developed in a day. "Superficial experience and knowledge do not produce culture; it comes only with the permeation of experience into the subconscious self. It will involve considerable conscious effort." A cultural standard means a standard based on eternal values. It is as poles apart from the money values which dominate Western civilisation. These have led to the glorification of wealth and violence, whereas in a non-violent society the emphasis will be on the renunciation of property and the dedication to service. There is always a temptation to mistake the means for the end; but Gandhiji has with unerring precision pointed to the non-violent way in economics, social reform, education and politics.

Economics. If we concede that the wealth of a nation does not consist in what the few possess but in the majority being able to satisfy their daily wants, we shall have to condemn centralised methods of production. Cottage industries which will distribute wealth must predominate in a country where there is no shortage of labour but where capital is deficient. Methods of production must, therefore, be adopted which involve little or no capital and for which raw materials and a ready local market for

finished products are easily available. The money spent on village industries goes towards payment of wages, whereas the bulk of expenditure on mills is for overhead charges, sales organisation and materials. Unlike the economics of the West which are dictated by prices, the prosperity of an agricultural people demands high prices. The capitalistic system depends for its development on the helplessness of its customers. It kills initiative—the opposite is the case with cottage industries. Division of labour there must be, but drudgery makes an automaton of man, while work intelligently performed develops the individual both mentally and spiritually. The writer stresses the necessity of cow protection in any scheme of economic reconstruction in an agricultural country, in particular, for obvious reasons. He wants exhibitions to be centres of education and research, not organised merely to attract sales. People should know what they buy, how it is produced, and why khadi, to take one example, is the only type of cloth one should buy from the moral and humane standpoint. "For a business transaction does not begin and end with the transfer of goods and payment of money. It involves the consideration of one's duties to one's fellow men."

Social Reform. In the matter of social reform emphasis is laid on communal unity, untouchability, prohibition, sanitation and hygiene, and uplift of women. All these connote the right relationship between man and man and are essential to a well-ordered society.

Education. In the matter of education the urgency of instruction through the mother-tongue is stressed. It is surely violence to do otherwise, and the English medium of instruction has been one of the biggest crimes committed by the alien power against our motherland. The value of basic education or education through a craft is being gradually acknowledged by most countries. For us, as Gandhiji has said, it is the only type of education that will develop the minds and bodies of our children.

Politics. Most interesting of all is the portion on non-violence in politics. The main difference between Gandhiji's approach and that of most politicians is that the former looks upon political power as a means to serve the masses better, while with the latter politics is an end in itself usually culminating in a political career and enjoyment of power and patronage. The moment Gandhiji entered into politics in India he brushed aside the city outlook and told us that the roots of politics were in village India. The essence of democracy is that the executive and legislative power must be vested in the people—in each individual. Each citizen must be capable of being a law unto himself; and if the State is to work for the common good, a high standard of moral individual development is essential. Democracy in the West differs little from the totalitarian States. They are based on rights. An emphasis on rights leads to conflict ultimately. In the non-violent approach the emphasis is on duties. The one may be said to be the primitive stage, the other a high stage of evolution. When each citizen

is disciplined to act on what is right, he can be trusted not to abuse executive and legislative power. It follows that there will then be no place for armed forces. The effort, in Gandhiji's plan, is to ennoble man. Satyagraha invites self-suffering. There is no room in it for the baser elements of human nature. It is an appeal to the higher nature in man.

Government. Those items which have to be undertaken in the common interests of the nation will be detailed out to a group of trusted men. Their pay will be on the basis of the earnings of the average citizen of a village. Today this income is about a rupee a month. "The best of village industries cannot pay more than about Rs. 75 per mensem per family. Hence even a salary of Rs. 200 p. m. for a Commissioner of a Division would be on the liberal side." Everything, including emoluments, professional fees etc., would be on a standard in keeping with the country's capacity to pay.

The Government—apart from efficient administration—has to be the chief partner in the business of the people. Therefore it should control forests, minerals, power resources, and communications for the economic betterment of the people. Today, for example, only the revenue-yielding capacity of forests weighs with the Government. Mines and quarries are treasure houses. They may be exhausted by exploitation. The ores may not be sent out of the country as they are today. A Swaraj Government will help the people to use them in their industries.

Supply of cheap power and light must be provided by the Government. Roads, canals, railways, shipping etc. all have to be provided by the Government too, but all must be in the people's interests. Today railways in many instances impoverish the people by depriving them of employment.

Taxation. This may not fall heavily on the taxpayer who is below the subsistence level. Taxes from the villages today go to benefit the towns. This must cease. Taxes may also be collected in kind. Allowances to officials can be met partly in kind. This system worked well in ancient times, still prevails in most Muslim countries, and is employed with satisfaction today in the Pathan States of the North West Frontier Province. Money from taxation should as far as possible be spent on the area from where it is gathered.

Large-scale Industries. There will be a restricted field for these, but they must be State-owned and State-managed. Within those limits there is a large field of service for such units. If run on a service basis, their natural place can only be as part of the Government organisation of the country.

Sevagram, 27-3-42

A. K.

Constructive Programme

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TREACHEROUS JAPAN OR COMPLACENT BRITAIN ?

(By Rammanohar Lohia)

The Japanese victories are incredible. But the British attempt to explain them is fantastic, at least in one direction. It is said that Japan struck treacherously, and that her onslaught was so sudden that the Briton in Asia was taken unawares and the swift series of Japanese victories inevitably followed. Had I been a friend of the British Empire in Asia, I would have called this explanation subtle fifth column work, an attempt to sleep-dose the patient before his death.

Let us recall the first act in what is now misnamed Japanese treachery. A good two years before the war in Malaya broke out a British Commission of expert Generals and such like investigated into the defences of the country. It reported that the soil of Malaya was too soft to bear the weight of 10 and 15 ton tanks. Bren-gun carriers were, therefore, ordered for the defence of the country. One may easily guess the surprised and tortured faces of the British commanders, when the Japanese actually marched into Malaya with their heavy tanks. Were these really tanks? But the experts had said no! Unless it is suggested that the British experts were bribed by the Japanese — and I have nowhere heard this charge made — it would be ridiculous to call this first collapse of Britain in Malaya an act of Japanese treachery. The British experts are foolishly ignorant, although excellent diners and winners who dance through the small hours.

The second act of the Malayan collapse has something similar to tell about the British administrator. Some six months before the Malaya war broke out, a deputation of Indians waited upon Governor Shenton and asked for shelters and other precautions against air raid. The reply of the Governor was characteristic. After gentlemening the deputationists, he pooh-poohed the idea of a Japanese attack on Malaya, oh, the tiny Japanese craft against the mighty British navy, and added that, although a very occasional bomber might come, that surely would be nothing so serious as to worry about. This amazing complacency was not the monopoly of the British administrator; it was shared by the army-man. May I ask to be told the number of hours that elapsed between the first request for instructions from Kota Bahru and the reply from the Headquarters?

The good and frank Americans have given us documentary evidence of this amazing complacency in their own ranks. The Pearl Harbour authorities were far too complacent to listen to the panicky calls from Washington! The British and Americans do not yet realise that enslaved Asia has its own way of revenge. Through constant association with our kow-towing gentry and because of their mounting luxury at our expense the Gentlemen of the East combine an overdose of arrogance with an underdose of grit.

Naval and air bases on the coast are of no importance unless the hinterland is secure. The real security of Britain in the Mediterranean, it was so well said years ago, was not the little rock of Gibraltar but Don Alfonso of Spain. The Alfonso tribe in Asia, even where it exists, is barren. The British themselves have castrated it. Did not the lifts of Singapore carry a notice, until a few months ago and perhaps even up to the date of surrender, that Asiatics, unless carrying heavy loads, were not permitted to use them? Have not motor cars been commandeered from Indian owners in Burma ostensibly for the war effort but actually for the evacuation of Europeans? And an Indian refugee has come back to this country with the pathetic story of how, when he was trekking, he glimpsed his car and British evacuees inside. Indians and Burmans have no inducement to fight the battles of Britain against Japan; it is the other way about.

Indians are a humbled and humiliated Asiatic race, let us not run away from that fact. And Japan is an Asiatic power. Had I been trained merely in the European ethic and not been impressed by Mahatma Gandhi and what I consider as the nobler side of my history, I would have hailed Tojo. He is not merely defeating Britain, that is a small affair, he has outclassed Hitler. If Hitler can strike over a thousand mile front, Tojo is fighting over how many thousand miles, I do not know. As the Indian idiom goes, Tojo has proved to be the uncle of Hitler. That is a matter of vicarious satisfaction for all Asiatics. As it is, I regard Tojo just as wicked as Hitler or Churchill, for, if this wretched slaughter were to end in the victory of one or the other, my hopes for a better world are dashed.

It is perhaps too late for Britain to save India and, presumably, too early for India to save Britain. But what we can do, Indians and Britons alike, is to attempt to save the whole world. That is not so absurd as it sounds. Formulate a genuine basis for a free and peaceful world, and ask every warring power to accept it and, should some powers prove too greedy and arrogant, it might then be a different war for the Asiatics.

[I do hope that this note will receive the attention it deserves from all concerned.

Sevagram, 12-4-42

M. K. G.]

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