

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

OUR GREAT HERITAGE

[This is the fourth instalment of Gandhi Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr. Sushila Nayyar on 2-12-52, before the students of the Agra University.]

IV

Gandhiji was an artist in living. Every word and action of his fitted into a pattern in which the central motif was Truth. He stood for a society in which there were no exploiter and no exploited. He was a symbol of unity in diversity. With every breath of his life he worked for peace, but he worked for it through revolution. His idealism touched the sky, but his feet were firmly planted upon earth. He was alive to the needs of the least around him. A staunch supporter of the ancient ideal of womanhood, he taught the Indian women to rebel against the he-man's egoistic lording, claimed and exercised over them by their husbands. From being mere keepers of hearths and homes for the men, they became equal partners with them in the struggle for freedom and social reform. His Ashram was his laboratory where he practised and perfected the techniques that he applied in wider spheres. Settling domestic differences and solving petty problems of day-to-day life received as much care and attention from him as high policies of the State and problems of national and international importance. It was through putting them to the dull routine of domestic chores in the Ashram that he trained men and women who came to him from every corner of India and several parts of the world. A true educationist, he helped everybody to develop along his own line of development and he was thus able to bring out the best in each. No other individual through the annals of history has created anything like the number of workers that Gandhiji did. None else has inspired the kind of personal loyalties that he did, or on a scale approaching his. To know him was to love him, and each one who entered his inner circle felt "Bapu loves me the most".

The personal loyalties and bonds of intense human affection thus forged were only a stage in the training and development of the individual concerned. He taught them progressively to enlarge the circle of their love and loyalty. I remember how to my amazement during a serious illness of my brother at Sevagram, Bapu

told him he was not to call upon me for his personal service. I was to render service to every one in the Ashram and the village of Sevagram except my own brother. In this way, he taught us to enlarge our family circle till it would become conterminous with humanity. He did the same in Noakhali. My services were not meant for the members of our party. I was to devote all my time to the service of the villagers. Anyone falling sick among the members of our group had to cure himself or herself by the therapy of nature's five elements or make the best of whatever medical help the locality might provide, which was next to nothing. The only exception was the old Thakkar Bapa. A super-septuagenarian like the Master himself he could very well afford to be a law unto himself. When he fell ill he simply wrote to Bapu: "I am coming to your village. Please make arrangements for my stay with you and treatment by Sushila." Bapu was quite content to take defeat at Bapa's hands. But he suffered no other exception. Thus he taught us to enlarge the circle of our love and loyalty from the family to the Ashram and from the Ashram to extend it further so as to include utter strangers living in the villages of Noakhali, amongst whom there were many perpetrators of dreadful deeds. There was nothing unearthly or unpractical in this approach. In fact, every move of his was vindicated by its intense practicality. The change of heart that was created by his technique in Noakhali was something remarkable. But I will not take you into that thrilling story today.

Today my object is merely to give you a glimpse of the life and message of a man who became a superman and yet remained intensely human. Our youth are apt to become superficial and academic in their approach and outlook. The simplicity of Gandhiji's ideas turns them away in search of more complex theories and doctrines. They forget that it was the very simplicity of his teachings that gave them the elemental strength. Anyone who wants to take the masses with him, must present to them a programme that is within their reach and capacity. He must make his message simple so that the masses can understand and follow him. The secret of Gandhiji's strength lay in his ability to sense the

mood of the masses. He had his finger ever on their pulse. Under his magic touch the lazy and the indolent became active, hard-working men and women, and the selfish and the greedy forgot their selfishness and greed and revelled in the idealism of renunciation and selfless service. The spark of divinity began once more to glow to a greater or lesser extent within the breast of every individual. The cumulative effect of such a mass spiritual renaissance was tremendous.

(To be continued)

BEAUTY PARADE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A friend sends me a cutting from a daily paper of a picture of 'Miss Austria, 1953' who will travel to America for the 'Miss Universe' competition in California in July. And he writes on it, from "a paper friendly to Shri M. Desai on Prohibition". The meaning of the remark is obvious: he hints at the apparent contradiction in the policy of a paper which stands for prohibition, but regarding sex advertises the so-called beauty contests devised by the over-rich and well-fed people of America. Last year some people in a few of our cities tried to organize 'Miss India' contest here and sent some one to take part in the world contest also. Naturally there was a strong feeling of resentment against this kind of degradation of the woman in our society and late Shri K. G. Mashruwala took note of this laudable and healthy reaction of our people and said:

"These (exhibitionist) movements have doubtless arisen originally from the minds of men and women living on prostitution. Thoughtlessly even such women should be expected to think better have become their prey." (*Harijan*, March 22, 1952, 'Beauty on Parade').

"Such exhibitionism is against India's culture and tradition." (From original Gujarati, *Harijambandhu* of 31-5-52).

We in India have learnt to deify woman as the Mother, and this has very great cultural and spiritual significance. Things like the beauty contests with the virtual nakedness in bathing costume, as it is called, that is enjoined upon the contestant girl, appeal more to the lewd and lascivious in us than to the really artistic and the beautiful. Surely the origin of this might well be the Freudian libido. History shows that a wealthy people, on becoming happy and prosperous, begins to use its leisure in questionable ways and stands every danger of going down with wine and woman, and so-called art is made its helpmate and a cultural-looking cover for such decadence. It was a wise American who warned his countrymen against the 'Wet Parade'; let some one do the same against this 'Naked Parade' of the so-called beauty contests. I learn from a cinema-goer that recently in Bombay in one of the cinema houses there was shown a picture which would have been a failure but for a few hundred feet of news reel of the last 'Miss Universe' contest which attracted the crowd.

Beauty should not be vulgarized in this manner, as it ceases to be so under such treatment. It is neither art as well, as real art tends to refine and sublimate the coarse, the ugly, the bad, the brute in us. India should refuse to take part in such obscene manifestations of the leisurely West.

30-4-53

GANDHIAN LABOUR POLICY

(By Khandubhai Desai)

What Gandhiji placed before us is not new. What he did was to put into practice the fundamental principles of humanity and eternal truths. He presented to us his true appreciation of human relations that should exist between individuals and groups. He worked out the technique of inter-relations between human beings so as to do away with all conflicts in society. His was an effort to create harmony in the body of community life. He taught us the art of living together in peace on the principles of mutual aid and love.

We generally talk of democracy in our approach to all problems. We may very well remember that democratic approach and method can never be imposed on any one artificially or by an external pressure. It should come from within. No amount of labour devoted to reading, writing, talking or hearing about democracy can make a man democratic. Democracy is not a theory, it is practice.

What Gandhiji, like all prophets, taught us was that democracy must begin at home. It should start on an individual level. It would then automatically pervade the entire society. Democracy is essentially a method and a technique of mental adaptation, mutual accommodation and gradual negation of human ego. If I insist on maintaining that what I say is absolutely correct and what others say is entirely wrong, then the opposite side can also say the same thing to me with equal emphasis. The real democratic method would be to place one's views before each other and try to understand them and their implications with patience, tolerance and sympathy. It would then be a matter of mutual adjustment to arrive at a proper conclusion.

What we have learnt about economics has all come from the West. The Western economic thought springs from peculiar political development which took the form of colonialism. It was based on the philosophy of domination by the white races over the coloured peoples. The colonies and settlements were exploited by the ruling classes to enrich themselves. The labour of one country was exploited by the other. The ruling powers thought that coloured peoples over the earth were born to toil so as to produce raw materials for their industries. The price of raw materials was deliberately manipulated so as to keep it low and the manufactured goods were sold at high prices in the markets of the countries which produced raw materials. The result was

that Western countries became rich at the expense of industrially-undeveloped Eastern countries. These Western economic doctrines which were the outcome of 'exploiter-exploitee' economy should be purged out of our minds. We shall have to think of our own indigenous agricultural economy which materially differs from theirs.

We should not forget that there are no colonies now left in the modern world for anyone to exploit merrily. We shall have to stand on our own legs. What we now require is more food, more houses, more clothes, adequate medical and educational facilities, not only for industrial workers but for all the 360 million souls inhabiting this ancient land. To achieve this objective we shall have to provide for full employment.

All able-bodied persons of the country must utilize their muscular strength and resources at their disposal for producing something which would be of use in satisfying the needs of the millions of our countrymen. Unless we make all the population of the country employed, there cannot be enough wealth for material comforts of our life. We cannot afford to be dependent for our physical existence on any other country.

The Western economic thoughts of the 19th century, the theories of Karl Marx and Soviet economy are all now out-of-date in the context of the scientific advance and mental growth of the peoples of the modern world. Constantly keeping before our eyes the rapid socio-economic and political changes that are daily taking place in the world, we have to think of our own contribution in the making of New India. We must grow with the growing world.

In the decade beginning from 1922 onwards, there was an influx of Marxian literature. I studied it carefully and came to the conclusion that Marxism was nothing but a strong reaction to classical economic doctrines. Fascism and Communism are the two sides of the same coin. Both lay emphasis merely on the material aspects of human life. They are the products of the race for loot and appropriation of the wealth exploited from the East. Marxism is a reaction against the concentration of wealth in the hands of the ruling classes.

We in India have no unsurmountable difficulty in fighting capitalism as it has not yet taken roots in our country. Whatever show of strength it makes is due to the support of the middle classes. We should, therefore, think in terms of national development and not give away ourselves to sectarianism.

Mahatma Gandhi saw this nearly thirty years back. He advised labour to organize for the service of the country. He did not favour sharing of profits with the capitalists. He did not want partnership between the employers and employees as co-looters. He, therefore, evolved a system of arbitration in all industrial disputes.

It is the duty of everyone to see that the means of production at our disposal are not sabotaged by any one. There should be no tampering or interference with the machinery which produces goods and services for the benefit of the people.

If at all there is to be a strike, it should be perfectly peaceful. It should be a form of Satyagraha against an injustice. It should be absolutely non-violent. But we should understand that the old slogan of right to strike is now out of date and antiquated. It needs to be replaced by the new slogan of right to work. Strike is no right; it is a liability. Refusal to work cannot be a right, as it does not pay anyone. It is a negative approach to a problem.

This new philosophy of right to work in place of right to strike is now being increasingly recognized and accepted by Western countries. It was taught to us by Gandhiji. It was implied in the machinery of arbitration evolved by Gandhiji for the settlement of disputes.

A worker is not merely an economic being. He is to be treated as a whole in his social and personal environments. Communists think that everybody moves compartmentally. Sarvodaya takes the man as a whole. If humanity is to survive peacefully there is no other solution but to resort to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

(Adapted from 'Economic Review', April 1, '53, A.I.C.C., Delhi).

In Defence of the Common Man

To The Editor, *Harijan*,

Shri C. D. Deshmukh during a debate in Parliament justified the common man being compelled to restrict his consumption in order to finance the Five-Year Plan. The common man is taxed upon his purchases as much as the well-to-do man. The common man lives by selling labour, while the well-to-do man lives on profits. Still both are equally put in the same category. Nice equality this!

The plans if realized will have to become self-supporting, earn their own way i.e. earn money upon the investment. Further Shri Deshmukh promises more Five Year Plans to come, which will again have to be financed by restricting consumption by the common man. Thus there will be no end of starvation demanded of him. (TVA though an engineering feat is an economic failure).

Shri Deshmukh says under no known system in the world industrialization can be carried on without restriction on the consumption by the common man. That means we must have the worst feature common to all known systems in order to "improve the standard of living" — to serve the poor.

Shri Deshmukh makes a distinction between the common man and the country when he says the former must be "asked" to contribute to the efforts the "country" is making. It means the common man who is the vast majority in the country is not of it. What is the country then? The small minority and Government?

M. P. T. ACHARYA

HARIJAN

May 16

1953

OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A few months back, a conference of representatives of Indian Universities had met in New Delhi to study problems relating to the teaching of Hindi. It was convened by the Union Ministry of Education and was presided over by its Joint Secretary, Prof. Humayun Kabir. He said that it was the first of its kind and was convened "to consider the ways by which the provision in the Constitution for the development of the National Language could be implemented." He also pointed out that "the development of the regional languages of India which, in terms of the number of people speaking them, could be ranked equal to the languages of Europe and some of which had literary traditions of over a thousand years, might be kept in mind." He also emphasized "the need for retaining English in some form for international contacts and for easy access to scientific knowledge."

The above is what we learn from the press and nothing further by way of what the Conference did or decided is available to the public so far. We hope it will be published as the matter is important as public information.

The Conference was convened to consider the ways by which the provision in the Constitution for the development of the national language could be implemented. The provision in the Constitution for the national language is given in Article 343 which is as follows:

"(1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement;

Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorize the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of—

(a) the English language, or

(b) the Devanagari form of numerals, for such purposes as may be specified in the law."

And for the development of that language the Constitution in its Article 351 imposes the following duty on the Union:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the ele-

ments of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages." (The fourteen languages specified in the Eighth Schedule are: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.)

In the wake of this conference and probably taking a clue from it, universities of the North during the last month met in conference at various places to consider what to do regarding promotion of Hindi, which is their regional language. This is a very good thing, even though it has started late by a few years. In this matter the universities of the North have a special position both of privilege and responsibility. It is their privilege that their regional language is called upon to evolve as the national language. It is therefore a responsibility. Hence if they act well and in the right spirit, they will be benefiting not only themselves and the people of the North but also of the whole country. The condition is that they should keep before themselves the wider vision of the Indian people as a whole and the broad composite and catholic culture that India has had the special good fortune to evolve in its long history. There should be a conscious endeavour to implement what the Constitution, as we saw above, lays down as the duty of the Union. They should remember that it is not the Hindi of their region that is to be the national language. They must at least not ignore Urdu, which is also their regional language though in a different script.

Another equally important thing they have to remember is that other regional languages also are to have an equal place of prominence in their respective regions and the Constitution of India wishes that they too develop fully well and come to their own in their respective regions. Therefore the national language should in no way think to dislodge them from this their rightful place. In this regard, it is tragic to see that some people in the North nurture and try to propagate the idea that Hindi should be the medium of instruction for higher education all over India. To say the least, such a thing would spell almost death for the propagation of the national language in the non-Hindi areas. They must also know that such a move will be dubbed as imposing their own regional language over others.

The non-Hindi regions and their universities also have an equally important part to play in this work. It is to be hoped that they also begin to realize soon their duty under the Constitution and begin to take their due place in this all-India cultural and educational movement. From this point of view it is a very welcome move on the part of the University of Poona, which has convened a 'Bharatiya Bhasha Vikasa Parishad'

(an Indian Languages Development Conference) at Poona in the last half of this month. It will be asked to discuss the problem in its following three main aspects :

(1) The evolution of the regional State languages with the ultimate object of replacing English as the medium for communication in all fields up to the highest research level and the procedure by which this development can be achieved on an all-India basis.

(2) The position of the regional State languages *vis-a-vis* the official language of the Union, and

(3) The evolution of the official language of the Union as the national language of India."

Representatives of statutory universities, of important literary or language associations in each linguistic region, and of academic associations in various fields of learning, as well as representatives of various State Governments and of the Union Government are invited to the Conference, who will discuss and suggest ways and means of arriving at a uniform policy in respect of the three main aspects of the problem as stated above by the conveners of the Conference.

The conveners seem to realize that the chief thing before the universities today is the replacement of English as the medium of instruction and examination by the regional State languages or by the official language of the Union. They have given out their own mind on the matter by declaring that "the University of Poona has accepted the policy of adopting the use of Marathi at all stages of University education in all the faculties, as early as possible, and is engaged in drawing up and implementing a programme for the gradual introduction of Marathi as a medium in the University". What is required further is that "as this policy affects the general development of these State languages as media of instruction in the university at graduate, post-graduate and research levels, some constructive thinking should be done by the universities, Government authorities and other organizations concerned coming together for the purpose.... so that a uniform policy on an all-India basis can be developed and given effect to." At least the Conference should, after full discussion of the question, formulate its opinion on the following points which should now be immediately decided as major policy and principle of our language problem :

1. Regional languages will be the medium of all education as also of administration in their respective regions.

2. Hindi will be a compulsory subject of study upto the degree course in all the regions.

3. In no case will English be introduced as a subject of study before Standard 7 or the end of the full primary course of 'free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years,' as contemplated by the Constitution in its Article 45, except, of course for those children whose mother-tongue is English.

Let us hope the Poona Conference succeeds in the important task it has undertaken for itself and gives a clear lead at least in the few main questions noted above which hang fire still and hence confound any progress in this great constructive work of restoring back to their legitimate place of pride and prestige our great languages as also the national language which we wish to evolve and give to ourselves as early as possible.

8-5-53

"HUMANITY HANGING FROM A CROSS OF IRON"

[From President Eisenhower's address delivered on April 16, 1953 before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.]

"... This has been the way of life forged by eight years of fear and force.

"What can the world or any nation in it hope for if no turning is found on this dread road ?

"The worst to be feared and the best to be expected can be simply stated :

"The worst is atomic war.

"The best would be this : a life of perpetual fear and tension ; a burden draining the wealth and the labour of all peoples ; a wasting of strength that defied the American System or the Soviet System or any system to achieve true abundance and happiness for the peoples of this earth.

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

"This world in arms is not spending money alone.

"It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

"The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this : A modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

"It is : Two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

"It is : Two fine, fully equipped hospitals.

"It is some fifty miles of concrete highway.

"We pay for a single fighter plane with half million bushels of wheat.

"We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.

"This I repeat—is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking. This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

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OUR UNIQUE MISSION

[The following is the concluding instalment of Shri Vinoba's opening speech at the Chandil Sarmelan.]

III

I have dealt with the various aspects of our work. I explained the ideological background from which our work proceeds, the means and methods which we must adopt, and I have also given you the general direction of our programme. I will now tell you something of the mechanism of our work in relation to our institutions.

Our Two Institutions

We have two institutions: One is Sarva Seva Sangh and the other is Sarvodaya Samaj. The latter will work in an impersonal way as a word expressive of an idea-force, while the former will work in a concrete manner. Complementary to each other, they will advance our cause together. Sarva Seva Sangh will not be a loose organization but a well-knit one. While Sarvodaya Samaj, as explained earlier, will not be an organization as such. It will be a sort of free association of those who think and who are inclined to abide by and follow such enlightened thought. The members of the Sarvodaya Samaj must be thinking men and women. And we should find ways and means which may help us to do so. We aim at creating a society where thought and not a set discipline imposed from without will be our supreme guiding principle. The members of the Sarvodaya Samaj must therefore-try for the propagation of thought among the people. One of the things which we should emphasize in this connection is the need for the propagation of our literature. People should be encouraged to study our ideas and think over them. Study centres should be opened at different places by the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj which would provide for a comparative study of our ideas and thought along with other ideological systems. This is about Sarvodaya Samaj. As to the Sarva Seva Sangh, it should not be a mere congeries of different constructive institutions, but strive to achieve a homogeneity of purpose and programme. I should confess we have not been able to do much in this direction. The institutions must change their forms so as to accord with this need. The older forms will not do now.

I will give you an example of how this lack of homogeneity affects our institutions and sets at naught the good which they may be capable of doing to the people. You will please note that I am not doing it in the spirit of fault-finding. Take the instance of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha. Imagine what is happening there. Some students—the number might have gone down nowadays because students are required to learn both the Hindi and Urdu scripts for which the prevailing atmosphere is not favourable—come there and learn the courses prescribed for the various examinations. Now if the Sangh were to achieve homogeneity, the students would learn not only the prescribed

courses but receive training in other items of constructive work also. They must devote a part of their time to agricultural work and spinning and cooking. Piecemeal work will not produce the strength and the active power which our institutions need. Every institution must therefore integrate its particular piece of work with the rest of the constructive programme. Lack of this integral conception of our work is the main reason behind the failure of the institutions to produce power and strength. The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore must strive for homogeneity in its working.

Bhoodan Work

I will now speak a few words about the *bhoodan* work. Our attitude in regard to this work must be that of total devotion. There should be earnestness not only in our speech but also in our mental attitude. We want to transfer 5 crore acres from the present owners to the landless by the year 1957 A.D. And I have firm belief that we can do so if all of us take up this work in the right spirit. I say—all of us, which includes not only us who are known as the followers of Sarvodaya but all those who accept it as valuable, such as the Congressmen and the Praja-socialists. It will be a glorious achievement if we are able to do it without legislation with the aid of *jan-shakti* alone, i.e. as a result of the voluntary efforts of the people. I will then dance with joy. This will be ideal. But then we may not achieve such perfect success and may have to do it partly with the help of legislation. In any case, our emphasis must be on doing it mainly with *jan-shakti*.

This joint endeavour by all parties in furtherance of a common objective will lead to some very desirable results. There are a number of political parties at present and each party has a considerable number of good men in its following and these parties fight against one another and waste much valuable energy. It is like a war between Bhishma and Arjun who were both of them good men. With the success of our programme all good men will be brought closer together on one side so that when the election takes place it will not be between one good man and another, but between all good men ranged on one side and those who oppose progress on the other. It will then be a war between Rama and Ravana—Rama representing the forces of good and Ravana those of evil, resulting in the vanquishment of evil. The Government which will then emerge will be very strong and possessed of tremendous power to do good to the people.

Sampatti-Dan Yajna

Along with the *bhoodan* work, I have recently launched on another programme—the *Sampatti-dan Yajna*. It is necessary for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Yajna. We cannot achieve our object of economic independence and economic equality unless we give effect to *sampatti-dan*. I knew it from the beginning but I chose

to follow the formula which says — Attend ye to the root, and all else will grow automatically. The land-problem was more fundamental than any other. So we carried on only Bhoodan Yajna and that still remains our main occupation. But when I came to Bihar and we decided to solve the land-problem of this province on a big scale I felt that it was now time to start the *Sampatti-dan Yajna*. I have already explained some aspects of this work elsewhere in some of my speeches and writings. Here it is enough to say that in regard to this work also we intend to proceed on the basis of *kartriva-vibhajan*. The money, which is donated will remain with the donor, but he will spend it in accordance with our instructions. I do not wish to widen this programme and give it the form of a social movement. It is to be done through personal approach to individuals. We have to touch his heart and impress his mind and convert not only him but also other members of his family, so that he may accept the pledge of *sampatti-dan* voluntarily and gladly. The donor should never be hustled into the acceptance, he should rather be restrained from making a precipitate decision because the pledge requires him to continue the donation year after year throughout his life. I will not say any more about it here. I will only request those of you who have wealth to think over it and join it.

Yarn-offering

Another thing, besides these two, which we have been doing is *sutanjali* i.e. yarn-offerings in Gandhiji's memory. It is a thing pregnant with tremendous power, only we have not yet recognized it. We want the people to offer *sutanjali* as a sign of the realization on one's part of one's responsibility to add to the wealth of the country by agreeing to do physical labour. I look on it as a vote for Sarvodaya. The *sutanjali* work will be of great help in inculcating the dignity of labour among our people. The work is not difficult provided we go to the villages and explain to the people what it means. I envisage another important use for *sutanjali*. Until now we have been conducting our institutions with the help of money from our friends and sympathizers among the rich. There was nothing wrong in it. But now times have changed, we are now in the age of the supremacy of labour. It is a welcome change and we should help it. One of the ways in which we can do so is to run our institutions on the basis of labour. If they cannot attain self-sufficiency with the labour of their workers and require outside help, then they should seek this help also in the form of labour. *Sutanjali* will then enable us to run our institutions without any dependence on money and to produce spirited workers.

I have touched almost all the aspects of whatever I had to say. We will be discussing many other things here but I hope you will think over the points I have placed before you and bear them in your mind while you carry on your work over the next year.

In the end I will caution you against one thing. We are neither a sect nor a party. Therefore the word 'Sarvodayists' which is often used to describe us is misleading. We are simply men, human beings like other human beings. Political parties have their different labels which may continue because they are useful to them. But we are not a party. If anything we are 'a third power', not the third power of political phraseology, which some political-minded persons desire to bring about as the way out from being entangled in the American or the Russian Bloc, but the third power which is opposed to violence — *himsa-shakti* and different from the power of the State — *dand-shakti*.

(From Hindi)

Understanding China

To The Editor, *Harijan*,

Some days ago, it was revealed in the Parliament that the recent cultural delegation to China cost the Indian exchequer Rs. 13.5 lakhs. There were 14 delegates, which means that about one lakh of rupees was spent on each delegate. This is a big sum. A poor country like India should try to avoid these expensive missions.

But we should also not forget the positive achievements of this particular mission. In spite of the fact that this mission included some long standing fellow-travellers, this was the first mission not paid for by the Chinese Government. The mission corrected some of the impressions of the previous so-called Fact Finding Mission, which was recruited and paid for by the Chinese Government.

But despite some gains like the above, the mission was not worth its price. If the purpose was to know China, then it was a failure. Different delegates spoke different 'facts' about China. Many a time the facts were misleading. For example, the delegates opined that Red China had solved its food problem, when, in fact, according to Chinese papers, sold almost freely in our country, food production in 1951 was only 92.8% of production in 1936. Similarly, most of the delegates registered "tremendous achievements" in the industrial field, when according to easily available information released by the China Communist Government, production of important industrial goods lagged far behind pre-war level. For example, in 1951 as compared to 1936, production of pig iron was only 64%, of tin 46%, of tungsten 80%, of coal 69%, of electricity 94%, and of sugar 60%.

If the Government of India is interested in understanding Communist China, then she must develop an intelligence department, a centre where Chinese literature is studied, evidence compared and sifted. Of course, the task is not exciting, but it is rewarding. Locomotion can never replace studies and sober judgement.

Jullundur, 20-4-'53

SANT LALL

AN INSTANCE IN POINT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The reader must be remembering the communication sent to me by Shri J. D. Khandhadia of Bombay on the subject of "Regeneration of Cottage Industry (Handloom Cloth) in India". It appeared in the *Harijan* of March 28, 1953. In that communication the writer had referred to the policy of the Government of India in regard to protective duties with a view to consolidating Indian Sugar Industry and making foreign sugar extinct from India without banning its import. The popular memory is proverbially said to be short and so we are apt to forget this policy of the Government. Therefore I requested Shri Khandhadia to put down briefly this policy of the Government of India for the benefit of the readers of the *Harijan*. He kindly sent to me a note on the protection of Sugar Industry which is reproduced below.

The reader also knows and must remember by now how the East India Company in alliance with the British Government of the day, through its policy of protection for the British cloth trade, wiped out the well-known cloth trade of India during the 19th century. That tale also is worth recapitulating even for the simple reason that there might be some points helpful for us today to restore back our world-known cloth trade without which it is everyday becoming apparent that we cannot remove our devastating unemployment of the masses. With these words I reproduce below Shri Khandhadia's note of information about protection given to the Indian Sugar Industry by the Government of India since 1937 or so.

1. I would refer you to Sugar Industry (Protection) Act 13 of 1932, per which a protective duty on the import of foreign sugar was imposed at Rs 7-4-0 per cwt.

2. The Government of India Tariff Board Members Report 1931 made the following observations *inter alia*:

(a) "We are not in favour of bounties. We propose that the assistance to be given to the indigenous Sugar Industry should be by way of a duty and propose that for the first 7 years the duty should be fixed at Rs. 7-4-0 per cwt. and recommend the period of protection for 15 years.

(b) "Expenditure on development and research in connection with Sugar Industry in India was recommended to be increased from Rs. 3 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs."

3. These recommendations were accepted by the Government of India per communique dated 31st January 1932.

4. The protective duty of Rs. 7-4-0 per cwt. remained in force for several years, up to about 1951 (according to my information) on the top of which there was a surcharge of Re. 1-13-0, totalling Rs. 9-1-0. To counterbalance the surcharge, an excise duty of Re. 1-5-0 per cwt. on Indian sugar was levied in 1934-35. (Vide Statement of Objects and Reasons dated 27-2-34).

5. The effect of such protective duty was to raise the price level of foreign sugar so as to enable the Indian sugar production to compete, in spite of its cost of production being higher, with the result that the Indian production of 4 lakh tons in 1931-32 shot up to about

12 lakh tons in 1932-34 and the factories increased by about 100.

In February 1934, the comparative price of Indian and Imported sugar at Calcutta was Rs. 7-12-0 and Rs. 10-2-0 per Bengal Maund, the latter price including duty Rs. 9-1-0 per cwt. or about Rs. 6/- per maund.

I admit that no subsidy was given to the Indian Sugar Industry from the collection of Import duty, although the same was much depleted on account of increase in production of indigenous sugar and corresponding decrease in the import. One cannot therefore deny the effect of such protection given to the industry on the price factor and the same should be considered seriously in the protection of handloom industry as against Indian mill products.

28-4-53

AS THE MEANS SO THE END

(By Gandhiji)

They say, 'means are after all means.' I would say, 'means are after all everything.' As the means so the end. There is no wall of separation between means and end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception.

Young India, 17-7-24

The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree.

Hind Swaraj, Ch. XVI

Though you have emphasized the necessity of a clear statement of the goal, but having once determined it, I have never attached importance to its repetition. The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there, if we do not know and utilize the means of achieving it. I have, therefore, concerned myself principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use. I know if we can take care of them, attainment of the goal is assured. I feel too that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means.

This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest.

Amrit Bazar Patrika, 17-9-33

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