

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

A MINISTER'S CONFUSION ABOUT KHADI

(By Shrikrishnadas Jaju)

Shri H. Siddhaveerappa, Minister for Home and Industry, Mysore State, in his written speech delivered at the Conference of Khadi workers held at Bangalore on 2nd June, 1953, after narrating what the State had done to encourage Khadi, said :

"(I) We are accused of nourishing and pampering an inefficient cottage industry at the expense of the successful industrialization of the country, and particularly at the cost of the Indian textile industry. I would, however, point out that while we are pledged to promote and develop the Khadi cult, it will be wise for us to consider the other side of the problem also. We are devoted to Khadi because it has played such a prominent part in the liberation of our country. It has in fact been our most potent weapon in combating the forces of imperialism and economic exploitation. But now that the battle is won, we are being constantly asked whether we should still adhere to this old weapon which, as a weapon, has outlived its usefulness? Our critics wish to know whether it is right to encourage Khadi and to subsidize and support it at the expense of our own indigenous textile industries merely on ideological grounds or whether it has any positive advantages that make this encouragement worthwhile.

"(II) No doubt, it has certain advantages of its own: It provides for a fuller employment of the manpower available in rural areas, a better utilization of the raw material available, and for a more productive use of skill and initiative. It provides useful spare time occupation to our rural folk whose agricultural activities are seasonal. It also provides them with a means of supplementing their all too meagre income. It is also a most valuable recuperative pastime which provides mental relaxation and tranquillity and helps us, harassed mortals, to stand up the stress and strain of this hectic civilization. All these factors no doubt, render it a very valuable hobby or pastime.

"(III) But, considered in the context of India's industrial progress and self-sufficiency, we are asked whether Khadi as an industry has any claim to be encouraged at the cost of any other industry. Have we any reason to believe that, given adequate assistance and support, it will, within a reasonable period, be able to hold its own against the Indian textile industry and stand on its own legs without further support? *In my humble opinion, State subsidies and other forms of support are justifiable only if we have this positive assurance.* And it is up to us Khadi-lovers assembled here to put our heads together, to apply our minds to this vexing problem, and to devise ways and means by which, through efficient organization, improved manufacturing technique, and by the provision of adequate marketing facilities, this industry, so dear to all of us, comes into its own and stands four-square with the other industries of our country. I appeal to all Khadi

lovers in the State to extend their co-operation in this important task."

About the year 1927 when in some of the other Indian States Khadi cap was frowned upon and even subjected to humiliation, the Mysore State had the courage and sagacity to start the production and sale of Khadi on its own. The work was organized through one of its departments which was specially set up for this purpose and has continued ever since. In the beginning there was much enthusiasm and good progress, but subsequently slackness set in and there was consequent decline. At first for some years they worked as an institution certified by the Charkha Sangh. The connection with the Sangh was, however, severed in 1945. At the present time their spinning wages are three-fourths of the Sangh wages. It is now hoped that, as a result of the constitution of the Khadi and Village Industries Board by the India Government, the Khadi-work in Mysore State also will undergo an appropriate change as elsewhere and receive greater encouragement than before.

I invite the attention of the readers to the italicized portion of the speech of the Minister of Home and Industries, Mysore, quoted above. It depicts fairly well the mentality of most of those in authority who want to develop Khadi and village industries. They want Khadi if it would subsist without their having to restrict the textile mills which would be allowed to work freely as at present. Of course, they are prepared to provide some aid to it for a short time. At the same time, they make it clear that meanwhile Khadi lovers should devise a suitable technique which will enable Khadi to stand on its own legs in competition with the mill-industry. Such aid as is being granted today cannot be continued for very long, it is only a temporary affair. If you want to preserve and perpetuate Khadi then make good use of this chance. Hereafter it should be able to maintain itself independently without any aid.

A study of the past fifty years of our economic history will show that many of the centralized industries like iron, cloth, sugar etc. have all along been receiving financial and other forms of protection worth crores of rupees from the Government. All the countries of the world have

long abandoned the *laissez-faire* policy and every one has come to adopt the policy of judicious restriction and protection in the sphere of trade and industries. In India too, the Tariff Board is constantly considering and deciding questions relating to the protection of deserving industries. There are many centralized industries which are given help in the beginning on the understanding that it will be tenable only for a specified period. But the period is subsequently extended, either in continuation or after a short break. This is apart from many other forms of indirect help which such industries enjoy. It is only in the case of Khadi and village industries that a whole host of economic principles are brought forward as a clever subterfuge to disprove their claim for such help.

The Hon. Minister again asked for an assurance that within the period of grace, which is being allowed to Khadi at present, efforts will be made to develop a suitable technique which may enable Khadi to stand its ground in competition with the mill-cloth. Why this demand for such an assurance? We have about 30 years' experience of manufacturing Khadi. Efforts have continued to be made for effecting improvements in the various operations which compose the manufacture of Khadi. But none has ever claimed that Khadi can withstand competition from the mills in respect of the prices. Anybody can easily see that a village industries product is bound to cost more than that of mechanized industry based upon centralization.

The power-loom is a miniature form of the mill, but even the power-loom cloth cannot compete with the mill-cloth. It is the same with the hand-loom cloth. How can Khadi then which is made up of hand-spun yarn? Supposing that we are able to devise a Charkha which is driven by electricity, would it then be possible for the cloth made from its yarn to stand successfully against the mill-cloth? The Charkha Sangh has introduced many improvements in the various processes involved in the making of Khadi. And in carding at least they have achieved a sufficient degree of success. Efforts are being continuously made for the improvement of Charkha. Models, although incomplete as yet, have been devised, which, if they succeed, will considerably enhance the speed of spinning. Even so, can we hope that the Khadi produced from the yarn of this Charkha will be able to successfully compete with the mill-cloth?

In the second paragraph of his speech, the Hon. Minister has correctly and beautifully enumerated the advantages of Khadi, but he ends with a note of warning that if Khadi cannot compete with the mill-cloth in prices then it will forfeit its claim for Government help. There is, it seems to me, a basic fallacy in his argument. If the ability of Khadi to hold its own in the competition with the mill-cloth is to be the basis of Government help, then he should not spend

Government money in aid of Khadi until he has received the assurance he asks for. How is the Government justified in spending money in aid of Khadi from now when no one has given such an assurance nor has anybody held out its hope? His outlook on Khadi being what it is, his arguments are calculated more to strengthen the contention of his critics than to refute it.

His is the case of an individual who does not know his mind. When he looks at the advantages of Khadi he feels he should have it. But when he looks at its price then he is inclined to reject it. Let him then weigh up the pros and cons and decide one way or the other. Let us hope that the powers that be will clear their minds about the issues involved. If they find that the advantages of Khadi are quite enough to justify its demand for protection and the question of money in the form of prices can be ignored, then only should they help Khadi.

9-6-53

(From Hindi)

THE VALUES OF THE SMALL COMMUNITY

(By Wilfred Wellock)

No one who meditated upon the history of the last fifty years would conclude that Western civilization had more than the remotest connection with the good life. Two world wars, long periods of mass unemployment, the merciless repressions of Right and Left Dictatorships, mass purgings, and liquidations, mass migrations, mass concentration and forced labour camps, testify to a civilization that has lost its bearings and is on its way to self-destruction.

Today the West is gripped by a three-fold fear — of failing markets and economic breakdown, of communism and of the third world war. In consequence, increasing percentages of its substance are flowing into armaments. Yet none of these fears need exist, and they only do so because man has lost his grip on Truth and thus upon himself. How is he to recover that grip?

Our age requires a new pattern of life which takes account of the whole man, — the economic man who lives by bread and the spiritual man who lives by truth, fellowship, service and self-giving, meditation, affection, religion, love.

That pattern must embrace three important rights or values: responsibility and creative opportunity in one's daily labour, and vital relationship with the community in which one has one's being. These rights the social system must provide, so that every man may live creatively and satisfyingly in the fullest use of all his powers.

Our age has lost sight of the fact that man is a social being whose life can be fulfilled only in vital, vocational relationship with his community. A man's vocation, the quality of his personality and of his labour, and the vitality of his community relationships all hang together; they flourish and decline together.

If we relate the process towards industrial and civic giantism with the process towards industrial specialization which has attended it, we shall perceive that they have degraded workmanship to robotism and citizenship to the paying of rates, and incidentally laid the foundations of the totalitarian state. This degradation, like so much else, was accepted in the name of progress.

To remedy this situation we must restore to society its functional character and to man his basic freedoms and rights. One of the means to this end is the establishment of small agro-industrial communities in which every person has the status of a responsible worker and citizen, and enjoys organic relationship with a community which controls its economic and political life by means of Guilds, Councils, and such other institutions as it deems advisable.

History proves abundantly that it is in small, largely self-governing communities that workmanship reaches its highest quality, and citizenship its peak of culture and grandeur. To produce for a user, a neighbour, is far more satisfying than to produce for a trader, in that it establishes a permanent relationship of esteem and goodwill. It is in these conditions that a man puts all he has into his labour, while to have something of one's soul in the homes and surroundings of one's habitation, is to be widely honoured and beloved — a reward which means more to a man than the cash return of his labour.

There is a vital connection between institutional smallness and human wholeness. In the small social unit every member is able to grasp all its functions, to know how they work and who is responsible for them, and to have contact with every person who achieves any kind of distinction. Hence civic affairs are vital and have a homely ring, being concerned with matters which come within everybody's ken.

It is infinitely easier to become a creative and neighbourly person in a small community than in a large, or even to think and meditate. This is because tradition, habit and intimate knowledge of one's neighbours pave the way to communication and co-operation. Thus, as Lewis Mumford says, "Fifty thousand people gathered in a single place can do fewer things together than twenty-five groups of 2,000." He adds: "Dictators love crowds and seek to provide bigger arenas and auditoriums for them; the bigger the crowd, the emptier their function." (*The Culture of Cities.*)

In the big city everything has to be sacrificed to its smooth running. The individual becomes as a grain of sand. Yet there is no such thing as a city soul.

In small communities every man's work and worth is known. Persons are a primary interest. More people take notice of what one does, and appreciate what one does well, a fact which

stimulates one to do one's best, and even to live uprightly.

I am not arguing for a return to the Middle Ages, but I am arguing for a recovery of some of its values — values that have been lost in the perilous journey to modern industrialism. Every age has its evils, its shortcomings, temptations and failures, and the Guild era was no exception to this rule, but there are human rights and values which ought to belong to every society in every age. It is because so many of these precious rights and values were sacrificed during its reckless pursuit of riches and power, that the Industrial Revolution stands condemned.

In the Guild era every village and country town had character, a quality and beauty of its own. In comparison, our industrial towns are monsters of ugliness, dreariness and vulgarity. The comparison is well described by G. M. Trevelyan in his classic *English Social History*.

"The modern city, in the unplanned swamp of its increase lacks form and feature: it is a deadening cage for the human spirit. Urban and suburban life in modern England made no appeal through the eye to the imagination, as had the old village life of our island, or the city life of ancient and mediæval Europe...." He goes on to say that in these conditions "the stage is set for the gradual standardization of human personality."

Two more values I must mention: neighbourliness and the influence of nature. Few things are more painful and tragic than the spiritual isolation and starvation which obtains in vast populations where there are no organic or functional ties and values.

Another value of the small agro-industrial community is close contact with nature, for nature is still man's finest teacher and a potent means of maintaining his spiritual balance. Nature stimulates the habit of observation, of thought and meditation, and these tend to produce stability of character.

Civilizations collapse when they become rich and powerful, not when they are small, diligent and hard-working. It was when Rome became a powerful empire founded on slave labour and began to devour the fruitage and fertility of the Sahara, thus transforming it into a desert, and allowed her own once rich acres to return to swamp, that her civilization began to decay, and ultimately perished.

Are we doing much better? What of the Near and Far East, and of Africa, in the current struggle of the dinosaurs for world power? Most of the world's soils are being mined and bled, and Western demands are rising.

The hope of mankind lies in the creative society of the small community, not in the mechanistic society of the giant state, and from now on all man's genius must be directed to building it, here and everywhere.

(Abridged from *The Orchard Lea Papers* No. 5)

HARIJAN

June 27

1953

AMENITIES TO WORKERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A friend draws attention to the following extract from a series of articles written by 'Industrialist', that appeared in *The Times of India*:

"The Factories Act lays down that mills should make provision for the supply of at least one gallon of drinking water per employee per day, besides six gallons of water for washing purposes. This is an unexceptional stipulation provided the supply of water is plentiful. In Bombay city where water becomes a luxury during summer strict enforcement of this statutory obligation is impracticable.

"It is, of course, necessary that canteens, dining halls, rest rooms etc. should be built in those factories where they do not exist. But it is equally necessary to remember that in most of the mills in Bombay city there is little or no space for such constructions. There is also a serious shortage of building materials... The capital expenditure would be Rs 160 lakhs. The Government of Bombay seems to have realized the magnitude of the task and has been most accommodating in enforcing the provisions of the Factories Act."

And he remarks,

"Since the factories cannot supply one gallon of water per man for drinking and 6 gallons for washing, it is useless to attempt it — is the capitalist argument. It never enters into their head whether alternative methods such as sinking wells and pumping water from them should not be attempted.

"Further since it will cost Rs 62 lakhs (an aggregated figure) to provide canteens and Rs 100 lakhs to provide shelters, rest houses and lunch rooms, it must not be attempted. They can go on without these! These 'gentlemen' should join the workmen and work under their conditions and they would then not talk or write like this.

"If this is too much for the 'industry' and 'nation' to bear, then it proves that these gentlemen cannot give amenities to workers — essential amenities. If these things cannot be done under capitalism then the logic is capitalism should be liquidated rather than the workers should go without amenities. A system which cannot give the necessary amenities should be scrapped."

That the capitalist logic is faulty and fallacious is obvious. The present world is realizing it to its great cost and worry. What I wish to add by way of further comment is that if money needed for giving these amenities which are essential living conditions for labour, must be provided for by the industry, or as the 'Industrialist' says, if 'this expenditure of money and material is justified,' — which means, if it is a due and reasonable charge on the industry, then it must necessarily be found.

And this is what the capitalist is not desirous of doing and the present socio-economic set-up allows it with impunity.

Again it is clear that this charge on the industry which is accepted to be legitimate, is not met because it affects the capitalistically organized industry in two ways: 1. It requires the industry to raise the prices of goods; 2. It needs curtailing profits and dividends, both of which the industry would not do. However, as is obvious, if legitimate charges are to be met, some rising of prices may be necessary; however that is not done, as it would affect sales; which means the much-talked-of cheapness that machine-made goods apparently possess and which is much boasted of by the industrialist as against hand-made cloth, is simply fictitious and only nominal, and is really at the cost of the poor and unorganized worker. And the State, by patronizing such industries, knowingly or unknowingly, upholds that order.

And how does the industrialist get his title to work in such a set-up and in this manner? It is due to the right of private capital-owning. Our present ideas of private property and its use allow it. Like the land-owner or Zamindar, the industrialist becomes a capital-owner; and through the device of share-capital and the legal trick of floating limited company, the industrial order has facilitated absentee capital-ownership like absentee land-lordism, thus reducing the real worker to be a mere machine-tending wage-earner like his confrere, the tenant or the agricultural labourer. This is really the problem for the nation, which we have to solve now in the so-called industrial sector of our economy. The capitalist, the share-holder, the industrialist, and all such people who go to make up and conduct the industrial order that obtains at present should put their heads together and co-operate to find ways and means to solve it. The political parties and trade union workers should apply their minds to finding out a way that will restore labour as co-partner with capital which is today the sole owner of our industries, both in law and practice. This is unjust. Labour and capital should be joint partners and the evil of absentee capital-owning or share-holding must go. As I said in my article * 'No Cause for Misgiving' in the previous issue of 20-6-'53, it is the third task for which an instrument of direct action is necessary. I shall leave this question here, to be developed further hereafter.

18-6-'53

* "There remains the question of capital concentration also in a few private hands and for their narrow profit. We have to find out a peaceful way to reform this undesirable state of things also."

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LANGUAGES DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE, POONA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

I am glad to report to the readers of the *Harijan* that the All-India Languages Development Conference that was held at Poona and to which I had referred in the *Harijan* of 16-5-53 was a success from many points of view and its deliberations have made a distinct mark on some of the problems confronting our educational and cultural reconstruction. The following are the three sets of conclusions arrived at by that Conference.

Section A

Building up a Vocabulary of Technical Terms

(1) All technical terms for all sciences should be drawn as far as possible from Sanskrit sources.

(2) All international symbols, signs and formulae should be retained for use as they are in use at present.

(3) International scientific terms and expressions should be retained if suitable Indian equivalents cannot be framed.

(4) Scientific and technical terms should be uniform throughout the Union as far as possible."

Section B

Development of the Official Language of the Union

(1) One of the existing obstacles to a ready spread of the official language of the Union is the apprehension that it will encroach on the sphere of regional languages. It should, therefore, be made clear that the regional languages should each in its area be the language in which all the affairs of the area are conducted and all instruction is imparted.

(2) Hindi having been chosen as the official language of the Union, the States in which the other languages of the Country are spoken should take steps to spread a knowledge of the official language of the Union among their populations.

(3) The development of the official language of the Union, in accordance with the directives of the Constitution, is the common concern of the speakers of all Indian languages. This Conference calls upon the Universities, Language and Literary Associations, Academic Institutions and State Governments to take up immediately the study of concrete action on lines indicated by Section 351 of the Constitution. It is hoped and expected that the official language of the Union that will develop as a result of these efforts will conform to the genius of the parent stock and, therefore, will be easily and naturally acceptable to those whose mother tongue is Hindi."

Section C

Methods of Increasing Knowledge of Regional Languages

"This Conference recommends:

(a) that the regional language or the mother tongue at the option of the pupil be the first language of our school going children,

(b) that provision be made, for the teaching of Hindi at Secondary Schools,

(c) that provision be made, whenever possible, for the teaching of another Indian language other than the regional language at Secondary Schools,

(d) that advanced courses and research in Indian languages and literatures be instituted at all our Universities,

(e) that Bureaus for translation of literary and scientific works from one Indian language into another be instituted at State Education Ministries, Universities and Language Societies,

(f) that at the first step, grammars, conversation books and bilingual dictionaries of Indian languages be prepared,

(g) that every regional language should have one (All Literatures) magazine, in which the users of that language should find information about currents in other Indian literatures,

(h) that the Central and State Governments should establish Indian Language Teachers Training Centres to serve the needs of schools,

(i) that the Central and the State Governments should institute prizes, scholarships, grants and funds to encourage writers, Societies and Universities to take up and accomplish the items detailed above."

The reader will note that the question of the medium of instruction has been well decided: the Conference came to the conclusion that it should be the regional languages for all grades of education up to the University. The Governor of Bombay, Shri G. S. Bajpai, who addressed the Conference at the end of its deliberations put a seal on this decision by clearly expounding that hitherto English has been the unifying factor—the common link that held together administration and law, promoted inter-provincial as well as international commerce, and was the common currency of political debate. Now English must go, not because he regarded it as a symbol of bondage or something which Indians cannot master, but because it could never become the language of the greater majority of people or even of a substantial body of our intellectual élite.

Moreover, Shri Bajpai continued, democracy demands equality of opportunity for all, in every walk of life; it also demands freedom of intercourse and intimacy of understanding between the masses and those who represent them or serve them, and for this we need the idiom of the soil. But this does not mean either the substitution of Hindi as the medium of education for regional languages or the latter's subordination to Hindi. On the assumption that the flowering of the human mind, in arts and in science, is imperfect except in the mother-tongue, it would be criminal even to attempt to supplant Bengali or Marathi or Tamil etc. by Hindi, which is not so highly developed. These regional languages must remain the vehicle of teaching and thought in all stages. Hindi must be left to develop its linguistic appeal through organic growth which must be gradual and cannot be forced by official decree.

The second point that emerged from the deliberations of the conference was that Hindi should be taught as a subject, and the Hindi which is to be the official language of the Union is not the Hindi of the U. P., but it will develop as the common concern of speakers of all the Indian languages and according to the directive of the Constitution of India, Section 351.

The work of building up a vocabulary of scientific terms, was the third important matter gone into by the Conference. I am sorry to report

that this section, in comparison with other two sections, did not go into the problem so thoroughly, perhaps because of a defective perspective for or approach to the question. Science was not thought of as a subject for the common knowledge and information of the people; but was taken to be, as if, a mere subject for B.Sc., M.Sc. etc. in higher education. Therefore, it seems, the Conference in its deliberations noted these needs only and did not clearly say that like arts popular science also will develop in the regional languages of the people and necessary terms for such development will be not a special jargon devised unnaturally from Sanskrit etc., but will be according to the genius of the people's language, where no preconceived impositions can have any place.

The Conference did not go into the question of the teaching of English, though Shri Bajpai touched it in his address. He asked whether English should be banished altogether and said that it was not necessary as we stand to lose more than the outside world if we do so. But he doubted whether, for the somewhat restricted purposes, like diplomatic intercourse, world trade, higher technical skill in sciences, English need be taught in our High or Intermediate Schools; but said that facilities for learning it as an optional second language ought to be made available after the Intermediate stage.

And at the end of his address Shri Bajpai summed up to say that (1) regional languages should be the medium of instruction in all stages beginning with the primary.

(2) Hindi, to be a compulsory second language from some point in the secondary stage.

(3) English, to be an optional language after the Intermediate stage.

And he warned that to treat all three as compulsory at or from any stage would be to lay premium on imperfection, to create the 'Babu mind' not in one but in three by overloading and confusing it.

Thus was some solid contribution made by the Conference in the solution of our burning question today, viz. the place of our languages in education and administration and their development accordingly.

12-6-'53

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GANDHIJI AND SOCIALISM

The Editor, *Harijan*,

I do not think that Gandhiji was against Socialism as Shri Wellock believes. I remember his having said some time: I am the great Socialist existing. But his ideas of Socialism may be — are — different from that of Western Socialists and he may be nearer Socialism than Western Socialist — I mean more correct.

Gandhiji believed in voluntary (not coerced) Socialism. Abolition of class-society and establishment of classless society are alike Socialism. That is what the Western Socialists and Gandhiji stood for. But he believed the people must themselves go about doing it instead of leaving to others "to organize Socialism". During the elections, Pandit Nehru told the truth that Socialism cannot be established by legislation. That means classless society cannot be furthered by the State.

Gandhiji once said: In my State there will be neither army nor police. That will never be tolerated by any State.

Russian revolution if it has taught anything has proved that Socialism cannot be established by violence. Britain has shown that legislation can only create a new class of rulers who run the State in the interest of their salaries. Both are monstrous abortions of Socialism.

Gandhiji understood Socialism as a Socialist while "Socialists understand Socialism like capitalists. If classes have to be abolished and a classless society has to be generated — we must start thinking in terms of classless society to produce a classless society — instead of thinking in terms of class conflict and class struggle and class war and class State as the starting point. Destruction of private capitalism is not necessarily the basis of Socialism, for instead of private capitalism, State capitalism will be erected, which will have to prevent Socialism. But so-called Socialists mean only State ownership as Socialism or State capitalism as transition vehicle of Socialism. That is falling from frying pan into fire.

From all that is pointed out above, it means Gandhiji did not believe any State will establish Socialism i.e. classless society. He was right. In this matter, he was an anarchist, may be philosophical anarchist. He even went further when he said: "The nearest approach to pure democracy is anarchy based on non-violence. To my mind, Western democracy is the negation of democracy." That means Gandhiji did not think that any State can be democratic but only the people. What cannot be done by the people cannot be democratic. But people can act only decentralistically and Gandhiji stood not for village autonomy under a State but complete and unfettered village independence. Today Gandhism is watered down to make it "respectable," but it is killing Gandhism.

Bombay, 20-4-'53

M. P. T. ACHARYA

NOTES

Priorities

One need not describe how, when the nation is planning to rebuild itself, deciding priorities rightly and judiciously becomes very very important. One may say it is one of the essence of true planning. In this connection the following news-item will be read with much interest and might be noted and followed with profit by those who decide priorities in our country :

Aruppukkottai, June 9

"Mr C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, today gave an assurance to the 50 lakh handloom weavers in the State that everything would be done by the Government to give them relief. He added that if the question of either closing one mill or 12 handlooms was put to vote, he would vote for the closure of the mill. He was also sure that the Prime Minister would endorse his view." (*The Hindu*, June 10, 1953.)

166-53

M. P.

The Main Cause of War

Bertrand Russell in the course of an article with the caption 'The Next Eighty Years' (*The Saturday Review*, August 9, 1952) says :

"The first half of my life (1872-1912) was spent in an atmosphere of nineteenth-century optimism while the second half (1912-1952) has been spent in the era of great wars. In a large view, great wars are an outcome of industrial competition between nations (The Italics are ours). Both wealth and military power depend upon industrial development, but a well-developed industrial technique, if it exists in many countries, produces more than the world can absorb, and therefore leads to a cut-throat competition which is not conducted by the old orthodox economic methods but by fighting. If the world is to recover stability, it will be necessary that industrial development and production shall somehow be internationally regulated and controlled, since a world of unrestricted national industrial freedom must involve continuance of the devastating wars that have so far characterized this unhappy century."

V. G. D.

What's in a Name ?

The Parson draws a "stipend,"
The Lawyer pockets "fees,"
The Banker adds up "interest,"
The Merchant "profit" sees.
Shareholders cash their "dividends,"
The Landlord calls for "rent,"
The Statesman takes a "salary,"
To Royalty "grants" are sent.
The Pirate seizes "booty,"
The Smugglers "plunder" lag,
Bribe-givers demand a "ransom."
The Burglar collars "swag."

What's in a name? 'Tis all the same —
Obtained by law or stealth :
But from the Workers' toil alone,
Comes every form of wealth.

— A. E. Anderson

(*Industrial Worker*, 1910)

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM

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THE FOUNDATION OF OUR
AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

(By C. Rajagopalachari)

My convictions and policies are old and simple. This country must stand erect on the foundation of agriculture. Work on the land and the raising of food must be our principal concern. Then our most backward industry, namely, cottage-weaving must be our next main concern. We must make the peasants happy and hopeful and sure of the fruits of their labour and we must fill the life of the weavers with hope and assurance of a market for their industry. Neither the weaver nor the peasant should be made to feel that he is treated as a thief or an unwanted man. If the zamindari system in land must go, the zamindari of textile production must also yield place to individual production. So, I began my administration with two things. I did not mind what others feared or doubted. I did not mind what the doctrinaires grimly threatened. I announced decontrol of food. It made farmers and peasants feel that they were free men. The laws of human endeavour and the motives that feed it cannot be ignored in a field that has little joy but demands much labour and patience in the task. So I said decontrol is the best grow more food programme.

Plight of Weavers

I declared war against mill *dhotis* and *sarees* and wanted the handloom products to be assured of an unhampered market in India. I do not wish to go into arguments now on this or expatiate on the reasons for my persistent demand for a ban on mills against *dhoti* and *saree* production. I feel that the resistance to my demand is unwise and in the result unpatriotic. My demand is not for a dying cause or for a few people, but on behalf of millions of honest and industrious men and for an industry on which twenty million souls depend. And the articles produced by these handloom weaving families are not inferior but in every respect superior to those produced in mills even as truth is superior to a mere show of honesty. It is a sin I say to buy a mill *dhoti* or a mill *saree* when you can buy and wear a handloom *dhoti* or a handloom *saree*. It is not politics or economics but human fellowship and compassion for the man and the woman and the sucking baby. The weavers know their craft and work hard and produce the best cloth in the world for you to wear. India consists of peasants and weavers. What is left for patriotism or politics if we do not feel for them? Do not turn the weaver away and go and buy a factory-made cloth.

(From a report of a speech in *The Hindu*, 24-5-53)

A RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE

By Mahadev Desai

This is the story of the historic non-violent struggle carried on by the Ahmedabad mill-hands under Gandhiji's leadership in 1918.

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THE CONTEST BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL

After the prayer-meeting in the evening, the interested among the audience stay over to hear Vinobaji talk about various questions raised by the inquisitive. It all assumes the form of an *Aam darbar*, so to say to which all—the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, have free access and where they can freely give vent to their doubts and have them cleared. At Vishrampur, a friend asked, "How is it that in the contest between the forces of evil and the forces of good we often find the former dominating the latter?" It is a question which troubles most of us and especially those who are weak of faith and temperamentally pessimistic. Shri Vinoba gave a very illuminating reply to the question, which such of us will do well to ponder over.

He said that evil opposing good serves one very valuable purpose. It puts goodness to test. But if one keeps patient and goes on returning goodness in the face of evil, he will see that ultimately it is good which wins. Goodness to be effective should be allowed a real chance. The good must take care not to resort to evil out of impatience. The weapon of the good is goodness. And they can prove themselves strong only by using their own weapon. Of course one must have the patience to wait. Christ was crucified and killed. Outwardly it would appear as though he lost. But the world has forgotten the killers of Christ while Christ lives in countless human hearts. But you cannot hope to succeed in 15 minutes. The seed of goodness takes time to sprout up. Bhoodan is an outstanding example of the success of goodness. So far as the individual is concerned goodness has always won. We are now engaged on an experiment whether it can also win in the social sphere.

But for success in the social sphere on a social scale, we must organize goodness. What happens is that while the wicked organize and unite for serving evil, the good do not care to unite on the side of good. Bhoodan is now doing this. Charity has always been practised but only individually. We are now organizing it on a social scale and in the form of a country-wide movement with a view to resolving some of our problems. This was not attempted before. The good should throw in all their might for the success of this movement and for the triumph of good over evil.

Gaya, 23-5-'53
(Adapted from Hindi)

N. D.

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD

By Pyarelal

This is a brochure on the science of Non-violence as propounded by Gandhiji, its nature and scope, the techniques of its application and how they worked out in relation to the various problems confronting the modern world.

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TRAINING FOR LEPROSY ORGANIZERS

Maharogi Seva Mandal, Wardha, has started a Training Centre for lay workers at Dattapur Leprosy Home under the auspices of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. They are to be trained in such a way that they should be able to organize and run a leprosy colony with medical help if available. But in case doctors are not available, the trained lay workers should be able to run colonies on approved lines. Applications are invited before 31st July, 1953, for being admitted to the third term of this class, which will commence from 1st November, 1953.

Educational Qualification: Minimum qualification for admission is inter-science, inter-arts, or graduates of institutions recognized by the Indian Faculty of Medicine. Rural Medical Practitioners of Madhya Pradesh will also be admitted. Exceptions can be made in suitable cases by the Governing Body of the Maharogi Seva Mandal.

Age: Between 21 and 40 years. Exceptions to the age in special cases.

Other Requisites: Candidates must have humanitarian spirit of service, sincerity and devotion to such a type of work. The candidate may be of any sex, but must be healthy and capable of undertaking pioneering organizational work.

Training Period: 12 months.

Medium of Instruction: Medical subjects with the help of English but non-Medical subjects will be taught in Hindi or Marathi.

Arrangements for Lodging and Boarding, Stipends etc.

At present the number to be admitted will not be more than 10. Each candidate, selected to undergo the training will be given free quarters and a stipend of Rs 50 to Rs 100 per month according to the needs of the individual for twelve months. Boarding charges will have to be paid by the candidate.

The candidate will have to give a binding to serve for five years after training on a salary up to Rs 150 per month according to his merit.

Dattapur, Kushthadham, M. B. DIWAN,
P. O. Nalwadi, Wardha Secretary,
Maharogi Seva Mandal

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