

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

SHRI C. P. SHUKLA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

I had never even dreamt that I will be required to pen these lines for Shri Chandrashankar. He was younger to me. We worked together for fairly a decade and more since 1923-4, first in the Satyagrahashram and then at the Gujarat Vidyapith. It is painful that he went away at an early age of 52. I send my deep condolences to Shrimati Ramubehn Shukla and her two daughters, to Shri Shukla's old mother, and his brother and sister.

Shri Chandrashankar was one of the young band of students who left their schools and colleges when Gandhiji announced his great programme of Non-violent Non-co-operation in 1921. Chandrashankar was at that time in the intermediate class at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad. He left it and joined the Gujarat Vidyapith, the National University established by Gandhiji at Ahmedabad. It was here that he came in intimate contact with Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Late Shri M. D., Swami Anand and others. This drew out from him the literary abilities which Shri Shukla possessed, and he left off formal studies at the Vidyapith and began to work as Shri Kakasaheb's secretary. In 1933-4 when Harijan papers were started at Poona, he undertook to manage them there and worked as the editor of the Gujarati 'Harijan Bandhu'. The three papers were transferred from Poona to Ahmedabad, and Shri Shukla came over with them. He continued there for a year or so and then left that work and entirely took to literary work. He was not a story-writer or a novelist. He was a brilliant translator and an able essayist. His 'Sitaharan' is a beautiful instance of his abilities; the book is read by thousands of school boys. Ancient Aryan culture was his special subject. He gave Gujarat some of Dr Radhakrishnan's books in Gujarati. He edited and gave to the world, in English and Gujarati, two fine collections of Gandhiji's reminiscences. For the last few months he was with the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, helping it in its Gandhi film production at Bombay. He was ailing from asthma for the last 22-3 years. And he succumbed to it. He had a strong attack of the disease a few days back and had to be brought to the Bombay

Hospital, where he expired. May he rest in peace. Chandrashankar will be remembered by us all as one of the brave band of young men who came out to serve the cause of India freedom. May God give courage to the members of his family to bear patiently this their irreparable loss.

20-10-'53

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT BHOODAN*

(By Vinobha)

Such conferences are intended for an exchange of views among the workers in an atmosphere of peace. We should therefore listen to everybody attentively. Everyone has something important to say and though they may at times seem to be wandering away from the subject or speak more than is necessary, it should not be deemed as waste of time.

Shri Jayaprakashji has expressed his views on the question of evictions.† I agree that Bhoodan workers must help such helpless peasants. But we are bound by certain limits. About this question of evictions I had made it clear quite earlier when I was in Kashi that he who is evicted should refuse to give up the land if he has nothing else to turn to for his livelihood. I repeat it. A soldier must show courage, if he is called to fight. But often it so

* Adapted from a speech, on 5-9-'53, at the Conference of Bhoodan workers from various provinces, held at Khadigram, Jamui (Bihar).

† The following is the relevant portion from the summary of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's speech to which reference is here made:

I have received a number of complaints about evictions. Evictions are being carried out in Balla at a steadily growing and an alarmingly high rate. The Government officers are siding with the landlords. There is another aspect of the question which should be seriously considered. What am I to do if I am evicted from my land? It is all very well to say that you will get your land in due time as the revolution progresses. But how am I to overcome my difficulty in the present?

It will be no use going to courts because poor tenants have no money to pay for the exorbitant expenses which the legal proceedings involve.

Under the circumstances, they want to organize themselves on an independent basis. If they take to violence, we should certainly check them. But if they fight for their rights in a peaceful way, how are we to help them?

happens that this is given a political colour and political parties wish to exploit it for political ends. Therefore there should be no such movement. Let every man do the duty as it comes to him in the course of his work. Let it be done unflinchingly but peacefully without getting agitated over it. There should not be even mental violence. The mixture of violence will bring him defeat.

When the question arose in Bihar and I was required to deal with it, I personally went to the zamindars and told them that there was no use going into the legality of the question whether or no the peasant had the right to the particular piece of land from which he had been evicted. God alone could pronounce a just decision on it. But I know as well as you do that if he is evicted, he will be left without any other means of livelihood. You should therefore give him at least half the land. The landlords generally agreed to this advice.

Shri Jayaprakashji has also said that big zamindars and landholders were not giving due portions of their lands. This is true. But then on our part we will not be satisfied until they do so. We are going about our work at present rather gently. This may not do when the time arrives for the final solution of the question. Then we may have to change our technique and tune it to a stronger key. We should therefore be mentally prepared for it.

When Raja Sahib of Ranka told us that he would give us what we liked, we could have, like Vishvamitra, put him to a severe test. But we asked for his entire uncultivated land and only a sixth portion of his cultivated land. He gave us all that and a little more. We called his donation 'Purna Dan' or a full gift. At this, Gadreji said that I had made a mistake. He said that I should have left only twenty acres for the Raja Sahib and taken all the rest. I wrote to him that this was a Yajna, that is, a duty which has to be performed continuously. When the time comes, we will go to him again.

Shri Jayaprakashji has also raised the question of the capitalists. Our ideas regarding this question are quite clear. About land there are even some difficulties. There are no such difficulties about wealth and property the accumulation of which by individuals we hold to be an unmixed curse. It is a disease as pernicious in its effect on the mind as a physical disease in its effect on the body. Christ says that a wealthy man perforce remains occupied in his mind with his wealth; the wealthy are therefore to be pitied.

Just as a doctor would advise a man suffering from obesity to give up taking ghee and sugar, so do we advise the wealthy to give up the

attachment for wealth in their own interest. If the former does not give up ghee and sugar, it means he does not want to live, but to die. It is the same in case of the wealthy. We want to make *aparigraha* i.e. non-possession the very basis of the society. We want to make the people see the power of non-possession as the principle of a rich and happy social life. People have so far thought of non-possession as an individual virtue which may be useful for him in his inner purification. We now seek to bring out its power for social good. People do not as yet realize the fact that giving one's wealth to society is as good as keeping it in a bank.

We ask for only one-sixth of a person's wealth, but that is only by way of the first instalment. It is intended to be a recognition on his part of the principle that he has to renounce his claim to the wealth which is not his but of the society.

Some speakers have referred to the paucity of workers in our movement. They say our movement is not attracting the workers in the measure that, for example, the Non-co-operation movement did. The latter attracted literally thousands and lakhs of workers. Now we must understand that there is great difference between this movement and that. At the time the Non-co-operation movement was launched, the Government servants were stigmatized as the enemies of the country. They have now become patriots after the attainment of freedom. A Government servant also serves the country in his own way. Naturally everyone is attracted towards the lucrative Government services where he cannot only better his lot in the worldly way but also get the satisfaction of having served his country.

Moreover, when there is a strong gust of wind, not only birds but also leaves leap up into the sky, and are carried along in the storm. But now only birds can fly, and not the leaves. Only workers with a strong spirit of renunciation can join the movement. In fact, we have to produce our own workers and for that we have to evolve a new type of education. We want men who will be imbued with sacrifice, faith and knowledge. The Khadi Board has appointed 500 workers for producing 30 lakh rupees worth of Khadi. It is apparent that we shall require many more for collecting and distributing 30 lakh acres of land.

(From Hindi)

BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land-gifts Mission]

By Vinoba Bhave

Pages viii + 134 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 6

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

NON-VIOLENCE NEVER FAILETH*

(By Vinoba)

It rains only in drops but it results in an illimitable supply of water for our use. Even so we want that gifts in Bhoodan, Sampattidan and Shramadan, though they be only in small drops, must come from every man. That will ensure the success of our mission and bring it much earlier than most people think. Some might doubt if a consumption such as this can ever come about. How can all men come to feel the urge for giving? — they ask. I wonder why it should be regarded as impossible. Man is essentially a thinking being. He thinks and tries to fashion his life, however imperfectly, in the light of his thought. So if we convince them of the correctness of our thought, there is no reason why they will not follow it in their conduct.

These doubts arise because we have no idea of the wonderful powers which lie latent in man. But as we proceed forward in our exploration of the boundless field of the spirit, we will discover more and more of these powers. This is the secret behind what is called the phenomenon of *avatar*. It means the manifestation of the inner and hitherto hidden powers of man and their expression in his active life. Devotion to truth is one such power; it manifested and there was Rama. Another is the capacity for detached action; it manifested in Krishna. Compassion was embodied in the person of the Buddha. Thus were Rama, Krishna and Buddha *avatars* in the sense that they represented respectively the manifestation of the virtues of devotion to truth, detached action, and compassion. For convenience of *upasana*, men took to worshipping their images and this has led to a distortion of the real meaning of the process of *avatar* in the popular mind. Otherwise *avatar* does not mean the Divine descending into human form, but the manifestation of divine virtues in men. And the manifestation of these virtues in men in an ascending series marks the upward progress of human society.

It is sheer ignorance to think that man has reached the limits of his spiritual development and must now remain what he is. The spirit has endless powers. As new conditions arise bringing new problems in their wake, and men intensify their quest for right solutions, more and more of these powers are brought out into active manifestation.

When the English came to India and in course of time seized the political power, they adopted a very ingenious device for consolidating their position. They disarmed the people. The Indians were thus faced with a peculiar problem. They had either to bear the yoke of English overlordship meekly without any hope of ever throwing it off or they had to find out some entirely new means of fighting the alien ruler-

ship. It was the demand of this peculiar situation which ultimately led to the discovery of the weapon of non-violent resistance or Satyagraha. The discovery was, so to say, inherent in the situation, though, of course, Gandhiji served as the human agent for it. Thus Ahimsa came to be introduced as an active power in the field of human affairs and the world was amazed to see its capacity to solve the almost insoluble problem of the Indian independence. It not only enabled the Indian people to fight successfully the mighty empire which ruled over them but also achieved the hitherto undreamt of victory of establishing love and understanding between the oppressors and the oppressed. They ceased to be enemies and became friends. The world history furnishes many glorious examples of struggles for freedom, but this one was more distinguished than any, because it brought forth a new power of the spirit and gave a fresh start to humanity on its onward march.

Now after Swaraj, we are faced in India with the task of the abolition of poverty and the building up of economic freedom and equality. We have therefore to manifest the same power of non-violence in the economic field also. And there is no doubt that this is being done quite successfully through Bhoodan and Sampattidan.

I know people would say, if they are asked about it, that legislation can solve the problem quite as effectively as Bhoodan. But what is legislation? Legislation is nothing but the will of the people expressed through their elected representatives. If then they will submit to the rule of law which they themselves bring into being, why would they not submit to the rule of the divine law — the law of love of which we have recurring experience in our life? Man is born through love, he grows through love, he thirsts for it even in his last moments and feels supremely comforted when he gets it. If, therefore, his entire life, in its beginning, the middle and the end, depends upon love, if that is for him the source of his greatest delight, why would he not feel prompted to participate in the Bhoodan and Sampattidan, which are but an aspect of this all-embracing law of love, and give to his poorer brethren a due share of what he has in land or wealth? Let those who advocate legislation ponder over this question. For our part, we are convinced that if law which is at the most an indirect expression of man's will can work, his direct will as expressed in love must work better, more quickly, and more easily. Those who share in this fundamental faith will not be troubled by doubt. And we hold that if we would but make the society see the truth of this belief, it will certainly respond and co-operate with us in our endeavour. The belief is already there rooted in his soul. If it were not so, no force, howsoever violent, can avail us in making him see it. But in his heart of hearts man knows it; we have only got to explain it to him and he will begin to see

* From a speech at Khadigram, Jamul on 3-9-'53.

it. As it is, people have given within this short period more than we had expected.

I assure you that, with your help and co-operation, the demand of the times and the sanction of the Lord above, this problem is going to be inevitably solved by the year 1957.

(From Hindi)

HARIJAN

Oct. 24

1953

EQUALITY AND TRUSTEESHIP

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri M. P. T. Acharya writes from Bombay :

"With regard to your comment on 'Capitalism as a Social Trust', (*Harijan*, 22-8-'53, p. 200), I wish to point out that when a man can invest 25 lakhs and can earn even Rs 2 lakhs (although he wants to earn more), even then it will not be social trust. For why should any one earn in proportion to the money he can invest and turnover he makes, when most people do not even earn Rs 250 a month and have to maintain large families? Social trust is when the investors earn as much as any ordinary earner and no more. The man who can invest more must earn more than the ordinary employee is accepting capitalism and not social trusteeship. When an investor erects a palace and satisfies his whims at great expense, he is evidently making all others pay these costs on account of his vast investments. These come from the employees and workmen who part with their purchasing power to pay for these. That is not social trusteeship. He must get no more than an ordinary employee if there is to be social trusteeship—whatever may be the amount of his investment.

"If a man invests (because he has somehow acquired) vast sums or makes a large turnover, he charges upon millions of consumers a bit to maintain his paraphernalia and even puts by something after investing more of his earnings for further exploitation. It is a vicious circle. It is depleting the purchasing power of millions of people after which he cannot sell either."

I have no difficulty in accepting the suggestion of Shri Acharya in principle. For I agree, as I wrote in the said article, that "all capital is a social product and as such will be sheer misappropriation and social injustice if it is misused for personal gain and against the social purpose." According to this doctrine it must be remembered that even the two lakhs that a social economic order might allow at best are again only a trust and are not for selfish gain and for the satisfaction of individual whims. To do that would not be trusteeship. The two lakhs earned are only added trust money and not more private income, as, I fear, Shri Acharya seems to believe. Higher incomes or earnings that one might make—and surely there are bound to be differences in the incomes of various people, though these should go smaller and smaller as we build up a new order based on trusteeship,—do not mean that one owns it in the sense that one can misuse it or

squander it away just for pleasure and self-gratification. That will not be trusteeship. More income is only added trust, involving added responsibility and social or moral liability.

The question, why any one should earn more than another, therefore, is another matter; it is one of bringing about equality, a new line of idea, though worthy of our attention. The doctrine of trusteeship is not a variant or a rival of any 'ism' like capitalism or communism, but it is a basic principle in social morality; it defines the real social and individual status of an individual. It refines the concept of private property by saying that whatever one has in a social order as so-called property or ownership is really not so as commonly understood; but is to be taken only as a trust given to one; and hence one is not permitted to use it merely for personal whims or pleasures. One might at best take from it as much as one requires for one's earthly existence and no more; otherwise it will be misappropriation of the trust money. Therefore the equality that trusteeship will naturally achieve thereby will not necessarily be in rupees, annas or pies, but will be on the line of the adage—to every one according to his needs and no more. Hence such a point like the one that "a man who can invest more must earn more than the ordinary employee is accepting capitalism and not social trusteeship" becomes irrelevant. Because the larger earnings or investments are not private property, but only added trust, as I said above, I agree that it is up to the social order and the State to devise an order whereby glaring inequalities are levelled up. The basis to do it is the doctrine of trusteeship, which lays down that there should be legislative regulation of the ownership of wealth and its use. But even under such an equalitarian order, the doctrine of trusteeship has its need, because even then it says that what one earns is a social trust, not to be used away for individual whims or asocial selfishness. It must be noted that it is not the rich only who misuse their income. Even a petty labourer with his small earnings might err in discharging his trusteeship, though not on the score of equality.

10-10-'53

THE DIARY OF MAHADEV DESAI

Vol. I

Translated from the Gujarati and edited

By Valji Govindji Desai

This volume gives a full and interesting account of Gandhiji's life with the Sardar and Mahadevbhai in prison (10-3-'32 to 4-9-'32).

Pages, viii, 335 Price Rs. 5 Postage etc. Re. 1-3

MAHADEV DESAI'S EARLY LIFE

By N. D. Parikh

Pages, vii, 71 Price Re. 1 Postage etc. As. 5

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PROPER USE OF SATYAGRAHA

[The *Peacemaker* is a bi-weekly from Yellow Springs, Ohio, U.S.A. It is published as a medium of intercommunication of the Peace movement. In its August 17, 1953, number reaching us some days back, there is an editorial article on the "Proper Use of Satyagraha" from *Gandhi Bodhak*, organ of the Gandhi Mission Society. The article may be said to tell us in India, who have heard and read the great Author of the Satyagraha weapon himself, no new thing about it. However, its restatement by peace-loving friends and students of the Gandhian way in America is surely instructive, specially where it notes the much-to-be-seen aberrations or pseudo-Satyagrahas going on around us at the present time. The following is reproduced from that article.

15-10-'53

M. P.]

Satyagraha has become a very common word nowadays with people who have some grouse against the government. They are handling the technique with such callous carelessness that it offends the very basic principles on which this new method was conceived. They do not even seem to give a thought about the existence of an "other side".

However just one's grievance may be, it is the bounden duty of a Satyagrahi to analyse the causes of the grievance and to weigh in the balance of truth the pros and cons of any action he may take to remedy the defect. Satyagraha surely does not help one who has other ways of doing things. When you come to the stage of resorting to Satyagraha, you are satisfied that every avenue has been explored and found wanting.

Gandhiji took to the use of that weapon only after he had laboured for years to find solution by other means. His subject was thrashed into shreds on the rocks of public opinion and he was very careful in assessing the nature and degree of possible reaction in the event of his launching the fight.

Every day newspapers publish names of individuals who announce their resolve to offer Satyagraha for the remedy of this or that grievance. The grievances range from the student being given lower marks than he expects to the failure of the government in recognizing the merits of certain disputes. The aggrieved seem to think that Satyagraha means fasting unto death and one wonders why none of them have died though few have gained their object.

The term 'Satyagraha' is misread in all these cases with the result the denouncement of all these adventures always leading them in still more difficult situations when they lose the force in their appeal and alienate public sympathy. They fall into utter disrepute to escape from which they again do so many mad things and begin the vicious circle.

To these and others who think of Satyagraha as the only end to their agony it is worth while to remind them that "Satyagraha presupposes the living presence and guidance of God. The leader depends not on his own strength but on that of God. He acts as the voice within

guides him. Very often, therefore, so called practical politics are unrealistic to him, though in the end his prove to be the most practical politics."

Founded on this faith in the guidance of God, the Satyagrahi has always to be conscious of the truth on which his whole case rests. He also has to remember that he does no injustice to the opponents in thought, word and deed, in his zeal to win. In the process of acting with faith in God and entrenched in truth, he will find the need to commandeer all his resources of patience and vigilance to guard him from the wrong step.

All these are impossible of practice for one who has no lifelong training and tuning for the use of this technique. Satyagraha is not the coward's way to escape from agony. It is the way of the heroes who sportingly stake their all for the cause they espouse and play the game gallantly and well. The sleep of such a Satyagrahi when his work is over is indeed a gift of gods.

INDUSTRIALIZATION MUST BE AVOIDED

(By Gandhiji).

To make India like England and America is to find some races and places of the earth for exploitation. So far it appears that the Western nations have divided all the known races outside Europe for exploitation and that there are no new worlds to discover.

What can be the fate of India trying to ape the West? Indeed the West has had a surfeit of industrialism and exploitation. If they who are suffering from the disease are unable to find a remedy to correct evils, how shall we, mere novices, be able to avoid them?

The fact is that this industrial civilization is a disease, because it is all evil. Let us not be deceived by catchwords and phrases. I have no quarrel with steamships or telegraphs. They may stay, if they can, without the support of industrialism and all it connotes. They are not an end. We must not suffer exploitation for the sake of steamships and telegraphs. They are in no way indispensable for the permanent welfare of the human race.

India has withstood the onslaughts of other civilizations, because she has stood firm on her own ground. Not that she has not made changes. But the changes she has made have promoted her growth. To change to industrialism is to court disaster. The present distress is undoubtedly insufferable. Pauperism must go. But industrialism is no remedy.

India's destiny lies not along the bloody way of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life. She must not, therefore, lazily and helplessly say, 'I cannot escape the onrush from the West.' She must be strong enough to resist it for her own sake and that of the world.

Young India, 7-10-'26

CAKE, CRICKET AND COLLAR

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Inaugurating the Conference of State Agricultural Ministers at New Delhi on September 24th last, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave a very remarkable speech which deserves to be remembered and to be paid particular attention to by all public workers of the country, official or otherwise. Here are some extracts from it. From *The Statesman*, 26-9-'53 :

"1. The country's progress can never be measured by policy statements of Ministers or officials.

2. The peasant is sought to be taught better methods of agriculture through holding these conferences and the printing of brochures. What is all this fantastic nonsense? The more I think over this the more I am amazed at this way of working where the common man who is to be benefited most from such deliberations does not come into the picture at all.

3. The biggest question was whether the officials, in doing their work, tried to bring themselves closer to the ordinary man in India.... This relationship cannot be created if Ministers and officials approach the problems of the common man with a coat and necktie and collar mind.

4. Today a vast gulf separates the ordinary people from the officials. The officials do not speak the language of the common man, which makes it difficult for them to convey the results of their research and labour to others.

5. You cannot reach the ordinary man until you make changes in your attitude of mind to the common man, and in your dress. It is not so much a sartorial problem as a problem of the head and the heart.

6. The caste system had been the cause of India's ruination. But a new caste had sprung up in India now—a caste wearing a hat, a necktie and collar."

Hardly any man or woman true to India can deny God's own truth contained in the above spontaneous and heart-felt assertions of our Prime Minister. It is more than six years now that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been steering the ship of the Union State. That a 'vast gulf' should separate the ordinary man from the official even now or that a 'new caste' cutting itself from the common people should thrive is a matter of extreme grief and intense concern. There must be something very wrong somewhere for the horrible and sad state in our body politic.

A little reflection will show that if one single individual can be held largely responsible for the said 'vast gulf' and 'new caste', he is, curiously and regretfully, our Prime Minister himself. Brought up in a very high and luxurious society under the guidance of an English tutor and educated in British schools and universities, he is the most cultured, polished and thorough embodiment of the British way of life. Though an enemy of British rule to the core, he was (and continues to be) an ardent devotee at the shrine of the British tradition. In popular language, he hated *Angrezi* (English) Raj but loved *Angreziat* (Anglicization). Which is why during his long tenure of office as Prime Minister he has kept in

tact the British-laid lines of India's administration, defence, finance, industry, education, courts etc.; and foreign economic interests are far more entrenched in India today than ever before. Not that he does not love the common man; nor does he feel for his country any the less. In fact, India does not know a more fearless, selfless and sincere servant, patriot and defender of her interests and welfare than Jawaharlal Nehru. But, naturally, he cannot do things in a manner other than his own. And his method is, in one word, *Angreziat*. Hence the woeful spectacle of the emergence of an *Angreziat*-mad community believing in hat, necktie and collar and all that they imply.

I wish my conclusion were wrong. But day in and day out one meets solid evidence in support of this grim contention. Only on August 15th last, our Prime Minister cut the 'Independence Day Cake' with a sword at a function held in the Rashtrapati Bhawan. A thing more alien to the spirit of the common man in India can scarcely be conceived.

Next, there was recently a cricket match between the Prime Minister's XI and the Vice-President's XI—a typically British pastime or cult. Little wonder that it evoked the admiration of none but Britain's leading paper, *Sunday Times*, whose observations bear repetition :

"Nothing—not the stately piles with which Baker and Sir Edward Lutyens burdened the Delhi plain, not the thousands of miles of railway between Cape Comorin and the Chenab, not the English tongue as the *Ungua franca* of the educated, not even the umbrella—proclaims the deep impress left on India by the British Raj than does today's news of a sporting engagement in the capital of the Republic.

"That Prime Minister Mr Nehru and grave and revered philosopher Dr Radhakrishnan should lead rival teams in a Parliamentary cricket match may baffle most of the rest of the world, but will seem perfectly comprehensible and admirable to all Britons and Indians....."

Yes, to all Britons no doubt. But no, certainly not to all Indians, save those who have fashioned themselves according to Briton's pattern. To them collar is the *sine qua non* for enjoying cake or cricket. In the Rome (of New Delhi) one must do as the Romans (of London) did or do. It is futile, nay unjustified, to blame officers for wearing 'a hat, a necktie and collar' when cake and cricket mark the order of the day in India. They are Pandit Nehru's own Ministers who in the 'interests of India' import more and more of these and like articles or 'consumer goods'. They must needs be consumed. The ordinary man has neither any taste nor money for them.

The Prime Minister's speech of 24th September is an illustrious index of the painful and pitiable struggle going on between the head and the heart of the members of the educated class or the ruling community in India. With every

passing day its head and heart are going asunder. Inevitably the gulf between the rulers and the ruled grows wider and yet more numbers are added unto the 'new caste' of collar-wallahs. No country can afford to continue long in this morbid state.

Allahabad, 6-10-'53

NOTES

Bhoodan Collection and Distribution

S.N.	Name of the State	Land Collected up to 5-10-'53 (In acres)	Land Distribution Acres	Families
1.	Assam	1,349		
2.	Andhra	7,097		
3.	Orissa	28,514		
4.	Uttar Pradesh	5,11,414	24,263	3,459
5.	Karnatak	1,197		
6.	Kerala	6,500		
7.	Gujarat	16,765		
8.	Tamilnad	14,000	255	
9.	Delhi	7,569		
10.	Punjab and Pepsu	2,435		
11.	Bengal	354		
12.	Bihar	11,12,343		
13.	Madhya Pradesh	56,535	928	
14.	Madhya Bharat	51,221		
15.	Maharashtra	8,922		
16.	Mysore	1,642		
17.	Rajasthan	2,20,000		
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	3,467	125	
19.	Saurashtra	8,000		
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,350		
21.	Hyderabad	66,543	9,910	2,117
Total		21,27,217	35,481	5,576

Note: The above details are given from the authentic reports received from various Regional Committees. Some States have not sent their latest reports as yet.

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,
Office Secretary,
Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh,
Sevagram, Wardha (M. P.)

Bee-Keeping Industry

[Scheme for 1953-54]

The bee-keeping industry should occupy an important place in our rural economy. Besides production of honey and wax, the bee-keeping industry aids agriculture and fruit production by increasing their yields through cross pollination.

There is a general lack of knowledge in India that honey-bees can be domesticated and bee-keeping can be made a profitable part-time employment at one's own home.

The problem of developing the bee-keeping industry relates to want of appreciation of its importance as a village industry, ignorance of its technique, lack of sufficient trained and experienced staff for doing bee-keeping work, inadequacy of supply of bees, improved type hives etc. and absence of organization.

It is, therefore, necessary:

- (1) to train fieldmen;

- (2) to impart elementary training in bee-keeping to would-be bee-keepers at their doors;
- (3) to locate and establish bee-keeping stations;
- (4) to stock and supply appliances etc.;
- (5) to assist in marketing honey, wax;
- (6) to maintain at a central place a unit to extract, process and pack honey;
- (7) to provide standard type bees, bee-hives and bee-keeping appliances to be made available at reasonable rates and on instalment system.

There will be a selected area in a State suitable for development of bee-keeping consisting of one or more districts.

The scheme is sought to be implemented in the first instance in States in which some progress has already been made for the development of the bee-keeping industry, such as Madras, Travancore, Cochin, Coorg, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Bombay, Orissa and Assam.

The help of bodies like the All-India Village Industries Association at Wardha or their stations at Sodepur or Martandam, will be taken in training apiculturists etc.

(From a bulletin issued by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board).

SCRAPPING PROHIBITION

(By Swami Sitaram)

Complete prohibition has been introduced in Madras and Bombay States. It was expected that all the other States in the country would follow suit soon after, and there would be complete prohibition all over the country. If Mahatmaji had been alive for at least two or three years after the departure of the English, and the consequent installation of the National Governments at the Centre and in the States, there would have been such total prohibition. Precept and practice of the Congress under Mahatmaji's lead since 1920 and the sufferings undergone by the Congress volunteers and the advocates of prohibition would have required the implementation of the Congress resolutions adopted from time to time during the course of a quarter of a century. But that was not to be. The politicians who formed the governments and directed their policies were faced by the bureaucracy with deficit budgets and were induced, at the instance of vested interests, to cry halt to this programme; and unfortunately Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the *de facto* dictator of the Congress and the Government, advised the States "to go slow".

Those States which had introduced prohibition in some modified form were led to revise their policy. The prohibition policy was not strictly enforced and it led to grievous abuses. Those were taken advantage of and put forward as grounds for repealing the prohibition law.

If the grounds urged for repeal of the prohibition law are carefully studied, they will not hold water for any length of time. If these arguments are applied to other laws in force, strange and awkward results will follow. Take for instance, bribery and theft. It is admitted on all hands that bribery has increased and it is the sad experience of several people that unless

adequate bribes are offered, papers will not move from one office to another or from one clerk to another in the same office. Will this then afford ample justification for repealing all the sections against bribery? Similarly crime is increasing. Petty and serious thefts are also on the increase. Shall we repeal the sections which make these acts liable to punishment?

Recently the question of prohibition came to the forefront in Andhra. The Andhra State to be formed was said to be a deficit State and people began to canvass how best to wipe out the deficit. Prohibition came handy to them and there were discussions in the Press and on the platform about the advantages accruing from the repeal of the prohibition law. About 5 crores were expected from this source and people saw in it a happy chance of clearing off deficit and financing welfare schemes. These friends forgot that prohibition itself was one of the best and noblest welfare schemes for the downtrodden and unfortunate people of the country. They also forgot that the first Congress ministry in Madras in 1937 had introduced the sales' tax as compensation for the loss of drink revenue. This sales' tax is yielding richer and richer results every year.

A study of our Constitution and the relevant portions thereof will show to an unbiased mind that an attempt to repeal prohibition in a State where it is in full force is *ultra vires* of the powers of the Government. However it is a matter for acute lawyers to argue and experienced judges to decide. But the constructive workers in general in the country and particularly those in Andhra are opposed to the abolition of the prohibition law.

May the spirit of Mahatmaji inspire us with courage and determination to carry on this fight for the regeneration of our unfortunate brethren in this country.

6-8-'53

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GODSPEED TO ANDHRA

(By *Maganbhai P. Desai*)

On the first of this month Andhra has come to be a new State of the Indian Union. May it prosper as a happy member of the Indian Family. May the Andhras grow up to the great and onerous responsibility that they long wished to undertake and which, thank God, is now theirs in free and independent India. As Swami Sitaram says in his article, may they specially remember prohibition which is their national duty to continue with further success.

A question has been raised whether the event is a warning to other linguistic groups or is an example to them? Andhra is said to be the first State created on the popular plea of reconstructing the States on a linguistic basis. Naturally therefore the event becomes noteworthy. And as such, it is both an example as well as a warning. To those who, like the Andhras, are dead-keen to have their own province, it says that they must be discreet to begin on the line of least resistance; viz., they might decide to have their separate State with the undisputed parts and without going into the attempts of 'Vishal'-ization. But it must be realized that such attempts in linguism are a warning also, as they might threaten our national unity. Shri Jawaharlalji has aptly smelt imperialism in it. It might degenerate into linguistic Pakistanism too. Further, means like fasts etc. should have no place here. They are not democratic nor Satyagraha. Again it must be noted that the act of creation of a new State by itself solves no problem; rather, if it does not become one itself, it surely creates for it some new ones — financial, political and perhaps communal as well. And it is not certain that a new State is necessarily the better for solving them, because it is linguistic. At best, the popular sentiment which is satisfied with the achievement of a separate State might create a helpful psychology to work with zest in the new situation. All wish that Andhra has that good fortune and that it develops to be a strong and happy unit of our one country and one people.

15-10-'53

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