

HARIJAN

12 Pages

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[TWO ANNAS

ON ITS TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a pacifist still in one sense; that is to say, I realise that Christians should be able to meet material force with spiritual power. It is horrifying to reflect that after nineteen hundred years, we are still unable to do it except in individual cases and on a small scale. But to me it seems merely 'wishful thinking' to act as though we had a power which in fact we have not and for which we have neither trained nor disciplined ourselves in the past. Such power does not come to those who have not disciplined themselves, at the last moment, in the hour of need. It has not come to us. I would rather, therefore, do what I can in defence of principles which I believe to be both right in themselves and of enormous importance to the future of the human race, than stand aside and do nothing. It is *doing nothing* that is the worst expedient of all.

When, therefore, my pacifist friends ask me whether I can imagine Jesus Christ dropping a bomb or firing a gun I am entitled to reply: 'No, I cannot; but neither can I imagine him standing aside and doing nothing at all.'

I am compelled to echo the words of a very dear relative of mine who, loathing war as much as any pacifist that ever breathed, said to me at the beginning of the last war (in which he lost his life): 'If you can stop war with spiritual power, do it. If you can't, let me do what I can; and if you are right in thinking that war is so damnable that anyone who takes part in it is damned, then I would rather be damned than let these things go on without doing all I can to stop them, even at the cost of my own life.'

Is this not very close to the meaning of our Lord when he said: 'He that loseth his life shall save it'?"

The foregoing is the concluding portion of a touchingly sorrowful article contributed to *The Survey Graphic* of December 1941 by the celebrated Dr. Maude Royden of the Guildhouse, London. She is one of the foremost pacifists of the West. Like many she has felt compelled to revise her position and is now most reluctantly but fully ranged on the side of the defenders of the British Isles.

The article demands a considered reply. I have been in constant touch with the Western pacifists. In my opinion Dr. Royden has surrendered her position in the portion I have quoted. If individuals have lived up to the Christian teaching (i. e. on non-violence) and that on a small scale, one would think practice should make such a life

possible for many people and on a large scale. It is undoubtedly wrong and foolish "to act as though one had the power which in fact one has not." "But," says the worthy writer, "such power does not come to those who have not disciplined themselves, at the last moment, in the hour of need."

I suggest that with the knowledge of the defect no time should be lost in seeking to remove it. That by itself is doing not only something but the right thing. To deny one's faith by contrary practice is surely the worst thing one can do.

And I am not sure that "doing nothing is the worst expedient of all." In septic treatment, for instance, doing nothing is not only expedient, it is obligatory.

There is no cause whatsoever for despondency, much less for denial of one's faith at the crucial moment. Why should not British pacifists stand aside and remodel their life in its entirety? They might be unable to bring about peace outright, but they would lay a solid foundation for it and give the surest test of their faith. When, in the face of an upheaval such as we are witnessing, there are only a few individuals of immovable faith, they have to live up to their faith even though they may produce no visible effect on the course of events. They should believe that their action will produce tangible results in due course. Their staunchness is bound to attract sceptics. I would also suggest that individuals like Dr. Maude Royden are not mere camp followers. They are leaders. Therefore, they have to live their lives in strict accord with the Sermon on the Mount, and they will find immediately that there is much to give up and much to remodel. The greatest thing that they have to deny themselves is the fruit of imperialism. The present complicated life of the Londoner and his high living is possible only because of the hoards brought from Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. In spite of the fierce criticism which has been levelled against my letter 'To Every Briton', I adhere to every word of it, and I am convinced that posterity will adopt the remedy suggested therein against violence however organised and fierce. And now that the enemy is at the gates of India I am advising my countrymen the same course of action I advised the British people. My advice may or may not be accepted by my countrymen. I would remain unmoved. Their non-acceptance will be no test of failure of non-violence. I would subscribe to the charge of my imperfection. But a satyagrahi does not wait for perfection before he invites others to experiment

with him, provided always that his faith is immovable like a mountain. The advice that Dr. Royden's relative gave her and which she quotes approvingly is altogether wrong. If the war is damnable, how can he stop the things that go on by taking part in it, even though it may be on the defensive side and at the cost of his own life? For the defence has to resort to all the damnable things that the enemy does, and that with greater vigour if it has to succeed. Such a giving of life is not only not saving it but a mere waste.

I have attended the Doctor's services in her Church where a living belief in the efficacy of prayer is much in vogue. When the impenetrable gloom surrounded her, why did she not find strength and consolation and real action in heart-prayer? It is never too late to mend. She and her fellow-pacifists, many of whom I have the privilege of knowing, should take heart and, like Peter, repent of the momentary loss of faith and return to the old faith in non-violence with renewed vigour. Their return will mean no material loss to the war effort but will mean a great deal to the anti-war effort which is bound to succeed sooner rather than later, if man is to live as man and not become a two-footed brute.

Sevagram, 8-3-42

THE SIXTH YEAR OF WORK

I

To all who believe that in the resuscitation of village economy lies the salvation of India the latest report of the All India Village Industries Association will be of interest.

Like all national activity the work suffered in certain parts owing to some members of local committees and agents being arrested and owing to Government in some cases not wishing to help new schemes or expand old ones. But in spite of handicaps the report shows good all-round progress.

Sanitation and Diet: Wherever there are good workers sanitary conditions may be said to have definitely improved, but the lack of education of both village adults and children in this matter is a serious handicap to permanent improvement. Until the intelligent support of the villager is forthcoming sanitary habits will fail to take root in village soil. The same applies to diet reform, and in this matter apart from conservative habits the poor villager can only eat what his few pice will bring him.

Rice-pounding and Flour-grinding: There is an increased demand for hand-pounded rice which furnishes an opportunity for organising its supply. The Governments of Bombay, Madras, U. P. and Assam have commended its use in their hospitals. Guntur District tops the list of the Association centres as far as sales are concerned. They sold over Rs. 30,000 worth of hand-pounded rice and distributed over Rs. 2,200 in the form of wages to 8,116 persons at Re. 0-4-4½ per head. In the Vizianagram centre the sales and wages have more than doubled since 1938. Flour ground by hand *chakkis* has received an incentive from the certified

shops which sell it. Patterns of the improved paddy-husking and flour-grinding *chakkis* and *dhenkis* have been supplied to various parts of the country.

Oil-pressing: Both Governments and individuals have begun to take an interest in this industry. 40 *ghanis* have been reconstructed according to the improved pattern by a Maganwadi-trained man in Baroda. The Bombay Government sent students to Maganwadi for training. The C. P. Government has encouraged the setting up of *ghanis*. Orissa has trained 12 students in the industry. The Madhusudan Village Industries Institute, Cuttack, runs four *ghani* propaganda centres in villages where it stocks seeds and supplies them to oilmen who are paid 5 annas per charge. Since they press 4 charges daily they each earn Rs. 1/4 per diem. The U. P. Government have been training carpenters in *ghani* construction and oil-pressing and have supplied Maganwadi *ghanis* to village oilmen. In Bengal the A. I. V. I. A. have marketed the village oilmen's products. Rs. 10,225 worth of oil and cake were sold during the year in Sylhet, Chittagong, Betur, and Diamond Harbour. A few *ghanis* are working systematically in Bihar, Khandesh, Gujarat, Punjab, C. P., Mysore and Assam, and constant enquiries come in regarding the improved *ghani*. "It seems to us," say the writers of the report, "that, if only oil seeds are prevented from leaving the village, are stocked locally and made available for the oilman, there will be no difficulty in reviving the industry. As oilmen do not themselves have capital to store seeds, consumers should do so, take the seeds to be pressed, and thus obtain pure, unadulterated oil for their use and cake for their cattle. This is the good custom that prevailed in the past, and some people in our neighbourhood have been induced by us to bring seeds for pressing. We pressed 104 charges at the rate of 6 annas a charge. We hold that *ghanis* need not fear competition from mills on the score of the greater efficiency or cheapness of production of the mill. . . . It is quite possible for a village oilman using the Maganwadi *ghani* and, assured of a supply of oil seeds at harvest rates, to sell his oil at mill rates. When he does so he can be sure of ousting mill oil from his village."

Gud-making: This has been going on under A. I. V. I. A. supervision on a commercial basis chiefly in Bengal and Orissa. In Murshidabad District a newly started palmyra *gud* manufacture centre with its four sub-centres produced 81½ maunds and sold it for Rs. 614-4-0. 17 labourers were employed at an expenditure of Rs. 397-9-0. All the trees available in the locality for tapping were leased so that none was left for tapping for toddy manufacture. The tappers were, however, employed in supplying unfermented juice, and much *gud* was thus manufactured in a short time. In Hooghly District one man was able to earn Rs. 40 in 3 months through date-palm *gud* manufacture. In Orissa the average earning was Re. 0-6-9 a day. It has been estimated that Rs. 12 per annum can be earned from each tree.

The Association has been experimenting with new furnaces for boiling. One which consumes 75 seers of fuel for boiling 100 seers of juice in 2 hours is very simple and costs only a rupee to make. Their newly devised sugar hand centrifugal machine has been much in demand and has gone as far afield as Ceylon. It costs Rs. 56. Still further improvements in it are being made.

Bee-keeping: This industry requires little capital, running expenditure and time and makes a valuable addition to food. The apprentice bee-keeper learns the industry in a practical way in his own home under A. I. V. I. A. guidance in a year. Every centre of village uplift should also be a centre for bee-keeping. In Orissa one student produced 180 lb. of honey worth Rs. 112 during the year. At Maganwadi they have been able to reduce swarming from 40 % to 5 % partly through better bee-pasturage. 18 colonies yielded about 100 lb. of honey. Iron grooved wheels for the honey extractor have been substituted by the ordinary wooden wheels of the charkha and answer the purpose equally well. The cost of the iron wheels, now very difficult to get, was Rs. 10 whereas the wooden ones sell for Rs. 6/8.

Sevagram, 1-2-42

A. K.

WHEN MACHINE POWER

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

The Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. at its last meeting decided to allow shops certified by the Association to sell hand-lifted paper from pulp produced by power, provided such pulp was obtained from a recognised producer under the control of the Association. This being the first occasion on which a partly machine-processed article comes within the field of the Association, some friends are at a loss to understand the grounds on which the Board took this step.

It is, therefore, proposed to explain the general principles under which we may resort to machine power, taking this particular instance as an example and comparing it with the case of mill-spun yarn in hand-woven cloth, which has been cited as an instance where the A. I. S. A. had set its face against the use of machines.

Machine power can only be used as a physician uses doses of poison, with extreme care and in rare cases. Under such a restricted regime machines have a great part to play in economic production. We have been brought to our present sorry plight because of the indiscriminate use of machinery in the interest of capital in disregard of the welfare of the millions, but that does not mean that machines are taboo under all conditions. The purpose of an industry is to supply a demand and while doing so distribute wealth to those engaged in production. Therefore, to decide on the conditions under which any particular industry may work, we have to study various factors such as demand, supply, raw materials, production and distribution.

To begin with we have to grasp the distinction between spinning as a handicraft and paper-making. When Gandhiji likens the position of spinning to that of the sun in the solar system, he is thinking

chiefly of the close contact of the demand with the supply, and hence the universality of the handicraft. Every spinner is to spin for himself or herself primarily. This is not so with most other crafts. A potter makes pots for his livelihood; so does the *teli*, the oil-presser. Hence certain rules that govern a cottage handicraft based on self-sufficiency of the producer cannot be applied in toto to other industries which cater to a demand apart from the producer. When I spin for myself I have only to satisfy myself. But a paper-maker has to deal with a fluid demand. The user of the paper calls for a certain standard in quality. If you do not meet it, he will go elsewhere. Hence the paper-maker is circumstanced by conditions outside his control, and he has to adjust himself to the demand.

Where the demand is fluid the supply has to follow carefully the specifications laid down by the demand. Hence the producer has to adopt processes, etc. which will satisfy the quality expected and bring into existence the quantity needed. Today there is a great shortage of paper. Paper and paper pulp used to be imported. India is more or less thrown on her own resources now. Making paper from waste paper is only rehashing and is not real paper-making, for which we ought to resort to original materials like grass, straw, rags, jute, sunn hemp, bamboo, etc. The first two are easily reduced to pulp, but the others are hard to deal with, and when reduced to pulp by hand yield paper of very inferior quality. We cannot confine ourselves to grass and straw, which have important alternative uses as fodder, while the other raw materials can be obtained from village waste and are therefore more advisable.

Spinning is a pleasant occupation and needs little or no equipment. Apart from speed, machine-spinning has hardly any technical advantage not open to hand-spinning. In fact the highest and finest counts of yarn can only be spun by hand. To mechanise spinning would be to deprive millions, especially women and children, of a pleasurable spare time industry, though it may, to a limited extent, be appreciated by the hand-loom weavers. Pulp-making, on the other hand, has not been a separate industry but only one of the many processes involved in paper-making. Allowing the use of power here will not destroy any existing industry, while it will definitely stimulate a dying industry.

Pulp production, on the other hand, is the heaviest, most dangerous and tedious part of paper-making, and presents a knotty problem. Besides, the investment on a man-worked dhenki for making pulp is not so much less than that of a unit required for production of pulp by power as to make the latter prohibitive, as is the case between a takli or a charkha and a spinning mill unit. We have been experimenting with various methods which can be made available. Over five years' work on this question reveals that good pulp needs power to produce it in sufficient quantities. We have to make sure that we do not subject the paper-maker to exploitation. If we

can guarantee that and give him good pulp on a service basis, we can afford thousands of persons a good occupation. If we fail to do that, exploiters will capture the market. Therefore the Board felt called upon to arrange for control by restricting it to recognised producers.

Hence in extremely rare cases where the life and expansion of an industry calls for aid from machines in one or the other process which cannot be performed by hand, where the fullest advantage of the raw material available can be taken over by the use of machinery, where processes involved are so heavy that it would be cruel to use manpower, where the capital and equipment needed for the due carrying out of the process is beyond the means available to the artisans, where it is possible to render the needed help by resorting to the use of machinery under safeguards to make sure that no exploitation is possible and the aid is given on service basis, there can be no objection to machine power being used.

HARIJAN

Mar. 15

1942

DESIRABILITY OF EXODUS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent asks for my detailed views on the exodus that I have advised from the cities of all who are not wanted there and all who are unfit or unwilling to stay there. No one is obliged to stay in against his will. In the event of bombardment, it is clear that non-combatants can only be a burden in every way. Successful defence against a powerful enemy requires exclusive concentration on holding the enemy at bay. The defenders' attention must not be divided. This is from the military point of view.

But we have war resisters too, either humanitarian or political. They may not stay unless their object is merely to cause embarrassment for the sake of it. I hope there are none such. They should, therefore, be out of the cities. Then there are those who do not know what to do in the event of bombardment. They should all evacuate. As the reader will see, my opinion has little to do with my war resistance. For in this case and up to a point military necessity and duty of war resisters demand the same action.

If I could convert any city or all cities wholly, including the combatants of yesterday, I should welcome the invading host and try to convert even them or challenge them to do their worst, without offering retaliation. But no such good luck awaits me. If the cities were converted, all India including the rulers would be converted and there would be peace in India and peace in the world. But that must remain a daydream yet awhile. Only I won't be moved from my position by being told that the Jap or the Nazi is not the same man as the Englishman. I draw no such fundamental distinction

between man and man. But I must not detain the reader on the speculative side of the matter-of-fact question that faces us.

Assuming then that all who should or a part of them have evacuated the cities and have gone to the villages or are about to go, what should they do? They must go with the village mind to live the village life as much as possible. They may not reproduce city conditions and build temporary palaces. They should go to the villages in a spirit of service, study their economic and other conditions, and ameliorate them not by giving alms but by giving the villagers work of a permanent nature. In other words, they should work the constructive programme among the villagers. Thus they will identify themselves with the villagers and become a kind of co-operative society with an ordered programme of economic, social, hygienic and political reconstruction.

The greatest problem the new-comers will have to tackle will be to deal with loot and dacoities. It will tax their resources to the utmost. The non-violent way is there. If that is not clear to them, with the co-operation of the villagers they should organise themselves for armed defence against robbers and dacoits. We have too long looked to the Government to do this elementary work for us, not excluding even the reclamation of castes called criminal tribes. The Government cannot do much, if anything at all, at this critical time. The work has perforce to be done by the evacuees violently, non-violently, or both ways.

Sevagram, 10-3-42

Sad Contrast

Readers of *Harijan* will quite recently have seen the encouraging remarks of a high Government official in Bihar re: basic education. And the following news from Kashmir under the guidance of Prof. Saiyyidain, who is in charge of education there, is heartening: "The Kashmir Government have sanctioned a new programme of educational expansion for the next year. The programme includes the opening of sixty new primary schools, conversion of thirty existing primary schools into basic schools, construction of a number of basic school buildings, and appointment of more teachers for basic schools."

In sad contrast, however, to the above is the following, if true. One can only hope it is a canard. "The closing down of the Basic Normal Schools at Wardha and Seoni is, it is understood, being seriously contemplated by the Government of the C. P."

Sevagram, 1-3-42

A. K.

A Correction

In the last issue, on p. 69, col. 1, line 4, instead of "land, and", please read "land in".

Constructive Programme

Its Meaning and Place

By Gandhiji. Price As. 4. Postage 1 Anna extra.

Can be had at Navajivan Office, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad, and at 130 Princess St., Bombay.

PLEA FOR MORE FRUITS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Menkel, who is also a dietetist, comments as follows in *The Oriental Watchman* on my note on 'Real War Effort' in *Harijan* of January 25th:

"First is the statement that food taken in excess of actual requirement for repair and energy is as much food actually wasted. Excess food is not only wasted food, but this excess also places a tax on the organs of digestion, detoxication and elimination, producing premature exhaustion with such developments as diabetes, nephritis and auto-intoxication. Another economy recommendation is that half the quantity of grain as wheat or rice will meet the food purposes when not taken in sloppy form. Cooked or baked grains when taken as near dry as possible must then be masticated and moistened with saliva to be swallowed. This results in better digestion and therefore less food providing the needed energy. Mr. Gandhi suggests that an ounce or two of raw salad vegetables is worth eight ounces of cooked vegetables. This applies particularly to their vitamin and mineral values. There is also something vital in raw fruit and vegetable which is destroyed by cooking. For this reason it is desirable that some uncooked raw fruit and vegetables be taken daily. India needs to make more extensive use of such raw uncooked foods. The elimination of sweet dishes as advocated would greatly relieve the stress upon the pancreas and liver imposed by the average Indian diet, and thus reduce the incidence of diabetes. It is in regard to Mr. Gandhi's statement about fruit that we do not find ourselves quite in agreement. He writes: 'Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system.' While we can hobble along on low power with little fruit in the diet, it is the contrary that is required. Because so little fruit is available and consumed by the population, that there is so much vitamin and mineral deficiency in India. Writing about fruits and berries in his book *Food*, Sir Robert McCarrison states: 'They are among the best of all foodstuffs and should form a considerable part of our daily diet. They contain much mineral salts of the alkaline kind which keep the blood pure and prevent it becoming acid and sour. Fruits are most useful in keeping the bowels healthy and active.' (p. 88) Man's physical structure indicates that he is intended to be a frugivorous creature. His natural food, the food on which he can be at his best, is fruit, nuts, milk and the more succulent vegetables. Cereals would be better introduced as additional rather than as basic to the diet because of their strongly acid-ash-forming tendency. On the other hand, as stated by Sir Robert McCarrison, the fruits and vegetables are rich in the alkali minerals. The importance of this difference will be recognised when it is recalled that most of our ailments and all our pains, except those due to accident, are of acid origin. Obviously there would be less pain, and more enjoyment of life, if we kept more definitely on the alkaline side. This necessitates more fruit and vegetables, with proportionately less of the acid-tending cereals. The normal proportion is four parts of the alkaline—fruit and vegetables—to one of acid, which includes all the other foods. This would be the diet of health economy,

and should be made economically within the reach of all, in a well-organised world. Under existing emergency Mr. Gandhi has advocated a very rational and possible food economy. His suggestions merit careful study and application."

While I appreciate Dr. Menkel's endorsement of my remarks, I like better his correction of my apparent lukewarmness about fruit. No one perhaps, as far as I know, has eaten as much fruit as I have, having lived for six years on entirely fruits and nuts and always having had a liberal supply of fruit as part of my ordinary diet. But I had in my mind, when writing, the special conditions of India. Its people should have, by reason of its extent and variety of climate, a most liberal supply of fruits, vegetables and milk. Yet it is the poorest country in this respect. I therefore suggested what seemed to me to be feasible. But I heartily endorse the proposition that for retaining health fresh fruit and fresh vegetables should form the main part of our diet. It is for the medical profession to study the peculiar condition of India and suggest the list of vegetables and fruit which are or can be easily and cheaply grown in the villages for local consumption. Wild berries, for instance, grow abundantly. They may not be taken to the market for sale but can be used for the picking. This is a vast field for research. It can bring neither money nor perhaps fame. But it may earn the gratitude of dumb millions. Sevagram, 28-2-42

Spinning by Sweepers

Spinning was introduced among the sweepers of Navsari, the second biggest town in the Baroda State, about 16 months ago, and now 50 box charkhas and one carding machine are at work among them. I examined the records kept of the quantity of work done and of the earnings made therefrom. The sweepers took to it rather cautiously and hesitatingly. But slowly they began to like it and have stuck to it. 50 charkhas among less than 60 families is not a mean achievement. Of course they work only during their leisure hours after doing their day's work of municipal sweeping and scavenging. They now earn by spinning Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per charkha and add to their low incomes of Rs. 8 to Rs. 13 per month.

By the by, it will not be out of place, if I mention that the Baroda administration has seriously neglected to provide housing for these sweepers, though the matter has been on the anvil for more than the last ten years. The land was acquired for them by the Municipality three years ago, but rich and influential residents are using all their influence and trying by all possible means not to have them settled in good houses in this particular locality. At present the sweepers' huts, made of rusted kerosine tin sheets, walls, roof and all, are in close touch with a block of public latrines, and are very unsightly and uncomfortable to live in. The citizens of Navsari want to have their street-refuse and night-soil removed by these people, but want them to live miles away on starvation wages. Such callousness seems possible only in our caste-ridden country.

A. V. Thakkar

BASIC CURRENCY

(By Bharatanand)

[Bharatanandji's active brain, having approved of my note on hand-spun yarn as a measure of value, has produced the following note. Let knowing workers study it and see if they can improve upon the scheme propounded by the author.

Sevagram, 4-2-42

M. K. G.]

Gandhiji's idea that a warp length of hand-spun yarn should be made a basic unit of Indian currency is one more stroke of his genius, which is bound to have a great influence on the economic future of this country as his ideas soak into the life of the people. For in the idea of yarn as a standard of value lies the seed of a basic currency for India, admirably suited to her needs.

The fact that the idea by itself is of hoary antiquity and was practised at the dawn of human civilisation in no way reduces its merits. The ancient Slavonian tribes, inhabiting Europe from the Elbe to the Volga before and during the time of the Roman Empire, used cloth as the standard currency. Even now the words 'pay' and 'cloth' are almost the same in Slavonic languages.

In Polish 'plata' means pay and 'plate' means a sheet. In Russian 'platit' means to pay and 'palatno' means cloth. 'To pay' in all Slavonic languages is etymologically derived from 'give cloth' or 'exchange for cloth'.

It may be interesting and useful to work out a practical scheme on the lines of a basic currency linked up with khadi with a view to its immediate adoption by the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A., the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Congress, if possible, in all their internal dealings so as to pave the way for its becoming the official currency of free India.

The standard hank adopted by the A. I. S. A. is of 640 turns of 4 feet per turn.

We can base our khadi currency on such a hank with sub-divisions by 4.

Thus we shall have, as suggested by Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala:

1 anti = 640 turns = 4 lati
1 lati = 160 turns = 4 pati
1 pati = 40 turns = 4 tana
1 tana = 10 turns = 40 feet

A 'lati' may also be called 'vishi'.

The khadi centres may issue khadi currency for local circulation. The khadi currency is intrinsically a warehouse receipt, and its text will run more or less like this:

No. Place Date

For value received we shall give to the bearer one anti (lati, pati, tana) of certified standard hand-spun yarn on demand.

Treasurer—

Secretary—

On the reverse the following may be printed:

One anti consists of 640 turns of 4 feet each of hand-spun yarn of to counts and not less than per cent strength.

1 anti = 4 lati = 640 turns
1 lati = 4 pati = 160 turns
1 pati = 4 tana = 40 turns
1 tana = 10 turns = 40 feet

The khadi currency may be exchangeable at all A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. centres for yarn, cloth, cotton, spinning and weaving implements, and various village products and foodstuffs at standard exchange rates as fixed from time to time by the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. The khadi currency may be freely exchanged for State currency at A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. branches at rates depending on the current spinners' wage per hank of yarn.

The khadi currency may be printed on small rectangles of khadi cloth or strong hand-made paper made dirt-and-water-proof by soaking in an appropriate solution. The exchange rates at the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. shops will be naturally advantageous to holders of khadi currency. The khadi currency representing a standard product of universal necessity will not undergo the depreciation of a paper currency. The khadi currency when hoarded will tend to appreciate in terms of State currency even in normal times because of the policy of raising progressively the spinners' wage. All this will reduce the tendency to exchange khadi currency for State currency and ultimately abolish it altogether, thus creating for the A. I. S. A. a source of working capital naturally expanding with the production of yarn and cloth.

There is nothing to prevent the A. I. S. A. from introducing the khadi currency immediately. The expansion of the reconstruction programme in general and khadi work in particular will be considerably hastened and facilitated and, if some 5 or 10 year plan for khadi is adopted, the khadi currency is the best solution for financing it.

KHADI FORGES AHEAD

II

Another noteworthy feature has been the starting of training centres for khadi experts in several provinces and the institution of graded examinations for the trainees. The importance of this work cannot be exaggerated. We can never have too many khadi experts, for there has been a growing demand for them in recent years, and the expansion of production work has often been checked primarily for want of experts to take up the work or to train or guide other people. In countries of the West where handicrafts are fostered, training institutes have always been given their due importance, and in many cases itinerant instructors of crafts have been moving about from place to place, instructing people in the technique of production. Some such thing would be useful in our country also, provided we have a sufficient number of men with the requisite knowledge and zeal.

The amounts given to the A. I. S. A. by way of grants-in-aid by the Congress Governments while they were in office have dwindled where they have not been stopped altogether. The purchases of khadi by these Governments have also met with the same fate. The production work of the Sangh received a great spurt as the result of that encouragement, and must have suffered dislocation as a result of withdrawal or

contraction of an aid which the Sangh was led to believe would continue much longer and planned its work on that basis. What a sad contrast this apathy presents to the policy (to cite but one instance) of the U. S. S. R., where "the various Government departments, central or municipal, together with the manufacturing trusts and the consumers' co-operative societies, have, during the past decade, willingly supplied their own needs by contracting to take from the manufacturing associations of owner-producers (incops), at agreed fixed prices, a large proportion of their output, thus ensuring for long periods a profitable market for their wares." (Sidney and Beatrice Webb)

Among the States, Mysore has been running a production centre at Badanwal for the last twelve years, and there are three other centres run by Local Boards, the total production in 1940 amounting to Rs. 92 thousand. A few other States have given a little aid here and there, but it is little more than a drop in the ocean.

The Sangh has been serving all communities alike, as the following figures will show. The 2,76,146 artisans engaged by the Sangh belong to the various communities as follows:

Harijans	19,645
Other Hindus	1,70,273
Muslims	57,378
Those regarding whom information has not been obtained	28,850

The year under report has also witnessed a number of improvements in the wheels and other implements, the outstanding being the invention of the dhanush takli by Shri Bharatanand. The intensive programme of training an increasing number of spinners and others in the improved processes is sure to result, in fact has already resulted to some extent, in an improvement in quality and acceleration in the rate of output.

This training work is closely connected with the progressive increase in the spinners' wages, with the ultimate aim of reaching the rate of 8 as. per day, which has been perhaps the most important experiment launched by the Sangh in recent years at the instance of Gandhiji. After an experience of about four years the Sangh had to fix the limit, for the time being, at 3 as. per day, with the freedom to any Provincial Branch to exceed the limit. The reason for the decision lay in the fact, as explained by Gandhiji, that "the middle class khadi buyer simply has not the money to buy khadi at the increased price necessitated by the rise in wages beyond the point of three annas." Even this was a good rise in conditions of sub-human poverty obtaining in the country, and was particularly remarkable because of the fact that it was wholly unasked. And it is in this respect that the economics of khadi differ radically from the orthodox economics which allow to labour much less than what would be their due under a just and equitable system of distribution.

Intimately bound up with the question of wages is that of uncertified dealers, to which reference has been made time and again in these columns. These persons have turned a deaf ear to all appeals

made to them. The more deplorable fact, however, is that many Congressmen, who should have known better, have not hesitated to support them in their unpatriotic conduct. "We cannot hope," says the report with a sigh, "to prevail upon the traders to give up this business. But those who want to wear khadi should think twice before they buy the uncertified stuff. When they are already out to spend in the name of khadi much more than they would otherwise have to spend for mill cloth, why should they not resist the temptation of buying the spurious khadi which saves them only an anna or an anna and a half per rupee but leads them to act against the fundamental principle of khadi? There is no greater obstacle in the way of universalising the principle of a living wage than the selfishness of the sellers and buyers of uncertified khadi." Will they even now listen?

If cheapness is allowed to be the sole guiding factor, it cuts at the root of all movement for encouraging Swadeshi goods in preference to foreign ones. The maxim of 'buy cheapest' was propounded by the economists of a country which needed markets abroad for its machine-made products. The country of its origin never seriously applied it to its own affairs except in so far as it suited its interest or convenience, and has long since given it the go-by even as a theory. Indeed it is an exploded myth in the age of high tariff walls, quotas, preferences, restrictions of output, State-controlled prices, and destruction of crops in order to maintain a high price level.* In no free country of the world is cheapness allowed to override other considerations. What is even Autarky (which not only Germany but England and the U. S. A. adopted in their own manner) but another name for Swadeshi—an effort at achieving a maximum of

* This may be true, a critic may remark, of countries under a capitalist economy, but what of Russia where there is no capitalism interested in artificially maintaining high prices? Now please read this: "On the whole, in the Soviet economy selling prices are based on costs of production, and are coming to be so to an increasing extent. But the costs on which prices are based are controlled costs, dependent on the levels of remuneration fixed for workers of different kinds, on the charges made for the use of capital and credit, and on the taxes levied on the various enterprises. Of these controlled costs, the cost of labour is obviously by far the most important." — G. D. H. Cole: *Practical Economics*, p. 80. Thus in Russia the wage rates are fixed by the State, the selling prices are in effect State-controlled, as also is all foreign trade, and the so-called law of demand and supply is not allowed to operate freely. In fact planned economy is itself a negation of free trade. What is the A. I. S. A. doing (only it has no State authority) except to fix the prices on the basis of "costs of production", considering "the cost of labour" (i. e. wages paid to artisans) as "obviously by far the most important", and, in addition, eliminating or minimising other items like interest, administration and advertisement, so as to ensure to the producers the largest share of the prices paid by the consumers, and thus bringing about a more equitable distribution?

self-sufficiency irrespective of high prices and other inconveniences? Well did Gandhiji describe 'buy cheapest' as "one of the most inhuman among the maxims laid down by modern economists". And where individuals, as apart from States, short-sightedly and oblivious of their duty to the poorer among their countrymen, follow it in their daily practice, the results to the nation as a whole prove disastrous, as we have seen to our cost in the history of our country. It therefore behoves Congressmen the least—in view of their pledges—to put forth the plea of cheapness, and one may hope that such of them as have encouraged uncertified khadi so far will see their error and will help whole-heartedly in the effort to do the poor spinning sisters—the lowest paid among the artisans—a tardy justice in the form of an increased wage for their work.

Ahmedabad, 30-1-42

C. S.

Constructive Work in Sind

From a letter of Prof. N. R. Malkani to Gandhiji, the following account of constructive work in Sind will be found interesting:

Khadi—There are 7 bhandars and 3 production centres out of which one is for woollen goods. Sales of khadi have increased from Rs. 75,000 in 1938 to Rs. 3 lakhs in 1941. It is becoming increasingly difficult to get khadi from outside to replenish diminishing stocks. Efforts are being made to increase local production. Two new centres are being opened in Thar. More could be opened, but the question of capital is a serious one.

Village Industries—Shri Pratap Sheth has given a pukka building for the paper industry, and Swami Bhagwandas Udasi of Hyderabad has donated Rs. 2,000 for running the same. The latter has also given Rs. 500 for medical relief in the city.

Hindustani—Six persons have been detailed for organising the work. Voluntary classes have been introduced in several schools, but there is a dearth of well-qualified teachers as also a lack of enthusiasm on the part of school authority which prevent large numbers of boys from sitting for the periodical examinations. Muslim boys often attend Hindu private schools and are willing to read the same books in the Urdu script. It is only fair that these should be available to them, but such publications do not seem to exist, which is a definite lack. A Hindi-Sindhi dictionary in Devanagari script is under course of preparation.

As elsewhere Shri Malkani has found it difficult to secure village workers of the proper calibre. He feels that, while khadi and Hindi workers can be prepared, Harijan and village servants have to have a special urge within them. He has 13 whole-time workers, one of whom has selected a village and put fresh life in the entire taluka. Rs. 8,000 were spent by the Sind Village Workers' Association in 1941. Six friends have promised to maintain a worker each in six villages this year. The administration have promised Rs. 10,000 for improving village drinking water supply and sanitation, provided Rs. 2,500 can be raised by the organisation. Government is promoting famine relief on suitable lines.

Sevagram, 24-2-42

A. K.

JAMNALALJI AND WOMEN

The other evening the girls and staff of the Mahila Ashram, Wardha, walked over to join in our evening worship and to present to Gandhiji the sacrificial yarn they had spun in memory of their patron and benefactor. In speaking to them Gandhiji tried to bring home to them the lessons they should learn from Jamnalalji's life:

"Members of the Mahila Ashram, in particular, owed a deep debt of gratitude to him. How were they going to repay it? There must be no idle tears. The best memorial to him was service. The soul does not die. It is the body alone that perishes. But not everyone lives for ever in the hearts of men as Jamnalalji will. The Mahila Ashram students and staff must pull their full weight in making Wardha an ideal town. Clean it, remove illiteracy, spread the gospel of khadi, remove untouchability, and serve the women. Then all of you can become members of the Goseva Sangh and help in enlisting members too. The pledge is not a rigid one, and, if you love the cow, you will willingly sign it. Last but not least there is Urdu. Each one of you should begin to study the Urdu script. Only those who know both Hindi and Urdu will be able in due course to create that beautiful mixture, the Hindustani of my dream, which shall be the national language.

"Jamnalalji created the Mahila Mandal in order to create women workers. The least each one of you can do is to imbibe his spirit of service and take it as your armour when you go into the wider sea of life. Most of you will marry. It is the natural thing to do, and I used to chaff Jamnalalji and call him a registrar of marriages because he was always arranging marriages. He was no less anxious than I that many of our girls should elect to remain unmarried for the sake of serving their less fortunate sisters, but such women are rare. In any case I shall expect service from you, and when married you will be two persons and will have to give fourfold. In many ways a married life—if well and truly lived, not for the sake of satisfying carnal desires—is harder than celibacy.

"Jamnalalji was a rare man. He was born to serve and serve universally. Nothing that he did was done half-heartedly. His diligence was amazing. He had even begun to tend the cow that gave him milk. Such was his thoroughness. He died in harness as he would have wished. Everyone cannot follow him in everything, but, at any rate, if you really loved and admired one who did so much for you, you should learn one lesson from his life. Work hard and give yourselves utterly to the fulfilment of those high ideals of womanhood which he set before you."

Sevagram, 1-3-42

A. K.

Constructive Programme

Some Suggestions

By *Rajendra Prasad*. Price As. 4. Postage 1 Anna.

Can be had at Navajivan Office, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad, and at 130 Princess St., Bombay.

THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY AND FRIENDS

[This is my address to the Quakers in India delivered in Hoshangabad at their Conference held on the 29th of December last. M. D.]

If I consented to attend your annual meeting, it was more to express my gratefulness to you for having invited me to a gathering which in its very nature must be confined to "Friends", and to make your acquaintance, than to air my views before you. You have in your letter of invitation described me as one "not altogether unfamiliar with Quaker history and practice". You will pardon me if I make a larger claim. I have the privilege of counting among my friends some eminent Quakers, and I share with you in a full measure the Quaker's hostility to war, which, as a Quaker has said, "follows from the Divine Presence in man, from human brotherhood, from disbelief in force, from the whole spiritual doctrine of human life. War blows away and fouls the soul in reckless tempest." If it also follows from the Christian conception of God as revealed in Christ, with me it follows from the Hindu conception of the One-ness of all life. I honour the Quakers for standing out from other Christians and declaring that "war, is, always contrary to the spirit of Christ"; I admire them for their gentle tolerance, their humanitarianism, and their beautifully quiet form of prayer. In this last respect we at Sevagram have paid you the tribute of imitation in that our vocal prayer is begun with two minutes' silence. I am thus here in your midst exercising the privilege of a 'friend' with a small 'f', if not a capital 'f'. That does not mean that my gratefulness to you is any the less for having invited me, an outsider, to take part in the deliberations of what is almost like your historic "Yearly Meetings".

In thus making a new departure you have declared your witness to what I may call a progressive assimilation of truth. Neither Jesus nor his apostles ever sat down to write moral codes, and neither did Lord Krishna sit down to write a code. The spirit of their teachings has been handed down to us, and unlike the written word which is rigid and unchangeable, that spirit is adaptable to every need and does not become an unwieldy drag on one's conscience. That is why you are assembled here to face the issues which you, not only as Quakers but as Quakers in India, are bound to face. The war, of which the flames are fast enveloping the world, is to outward seeming a war between Britain and America, China and Russia on the one hand and the Axis Powers on the other, or, as it is often described, between democracies and totalitarian powers. Really it is a war between Imperialisms ranged on either side, and whatever be the issue, it is not going to decide the ultimate issue of war as such. The war which will end all wars will be the war between violence and non-violence, and in that war all the forces of non-violence will have to be brought together, whether they are represented by the

Quakers or the Pacifists, Peace-loving Communists or Freedom-loving Pacifists in India. Your meeting is a forerunner of a vaster assembly of the kind I am contemplating, and if we can join hands together, we may pave the way for a future war to end all wars and their causes summed up in the word 'imperialism'.

That, however, is a far cry. It is best for us to address ourselves to the present. The Quakers have before them a glorious tradition and a rich heritage. Dr. Cadoux's valuable volume *The Early Christian Attitude to War* has about a hundred pages of solid quotation from the pre-Nicene Fathers in strong disapproval of war. They have all regarded war "wholesale murder". Tertullian tackled the question for all time. "Will it be lawful," he asked, for a Christian "to occupy himself with the sword when the Lord declares that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace, for whom it will be unfitting even to go to law, be engaged in a battle? And shall he who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs, administer chains and imprisonment and tortures and executions?" And Cadoux adds that Tertullian then goes on to suggest that those converted while soldiers must in practice leave the army or suffer martyrdom. It is after Constantine that the Church loses its spiritual character and denies its spiritual heritage and becomes the handmaid to Imperialistic ambition. But though abandoned by the Catholic Church, the teaching of Christ was harked back to through the centuries by numerous groups of reformers until the early founders of Quakerism inscribed on their banner "Primitive Christianity Revived". George Fox, whose name should be a perpetual inspiration to all, was invited when in Derby Jail to become a captain in the Commonwealth Army. He declined, "saying that he lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars", and so he lay among the felons, filthily, for six months more. Graham, who in his *Faith of a Quaker* has traced the history of succeeding years, gives some glorious instances of Quakers having borne brave testimony to Christ's teaching. When the Catholic rebels and English troops scattered terror in Ireland in 1798 the Friends there "destroyed any guns which they might have for sporting purposes, and left themselves absolutely unprotected." In America in 1704 the Quaker Colonists never carried arms, nor bolted their doors, and the "Indians left the Quaker farms alone, devoting themselves to killing Presbyterians who had killed their people and taken their lands." During the Civil War the Friends were faced with a real and almost insuperable difficulty whether to fight on the side of Abolitionists and abandon a dearly loved principle, or not to fight and thus acquiesce in the continuance of slavery. A considerable number went to war, but "Friends in the Southern States bore the full brunt of a really savage persecution for refusing the Confederate conscription. They were at times driven into the line of fire, but refused to shoot. During the last World War Graham records that 32 per cent of the

available young men in England, Australia and New Zealand joined the forces, but the remaining 68 per cent served their country as non-combatants. I am told that during the present war some Quakers have belied their legacy and advised the Czechs to bend the knee to Hitler. Thus when the testing time comes some may be found wanting, but some have always passed through the fire, and I am sure there is enough in past history to inspire us. The Friends' humanitarianism has been beyond dispute. Thus when the Czar insisted on the Doukhobors producing a large sum at once as passage money before he allowed them to migrate to Canada, John Bellows, Brooks and others raised from the Friends £40,000 by telegram within twentyfour hours, and enabled the Doukhobors to migrate.

There have been occasions when the Quakers emphasised only the letter of the Master's teaching and took up an attitude of seclusion from the world, and John Bright was called to account when he plunged into the national affairs as a political reformer. But, says Graham, that attitude has vanished now. Even as the Master came not to destroy but to fulfil, the disciples can fulfil the Master's teaching by boldly applying it to new occasions and new necessities.

I am glad that the Conference of Quakers in Rasulia which met two years ago declared that the way of Jesus was the supreme need of the hour, and that "our duty of witness may involve for us even the complete rejection of the claims of our nation to our service in war." The time has now come for some of you to reiterate the faith and the duty, and you who have temporarily or permanently made India the land of your adoption owe a duty to India.

That brings me to the call of the present hour. The call of Christ and of service has brought you to India. I do not know if any of you have had to sign the pledge similar to the one which some American missionaries had to sign before coming to India. If you have come under such a pledge, I am afraid your position here is anomalous. For as Quakers you have to speak out against war as wholesale murder and "the greatest social sin of modern times", as Quakers you have to speak out against Imperialism, and against the persecution of those who are trying to overthrow Imperialism; and such a pledge would prevent you from doing these obvious duties. You are believers in silent prayer, but I am sure your creed tells you no less than the creed of the Methodist Church "that to be silent in the face of need, injustice and exploitation would be to deny Him." Some missionary friends have had to face the alternative between keeping the pledge to Government and thereby denying Christ, and leaving the country but remaining true to Christ. They chose the latter. These disciples of Jesus have left shining examples for Christian missionaries in India. The duty of the Quakers is crystal clear. They are pledged to opposition to all wars and therefore necessarily to the present war. They have to declare their faith and suffer for Christ's sake.

Instead of swords being beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, the Cross has been turned into a sword. You have to speak out against this process of desecration and preach the method of turning enemies "not into corpses but friends". A private declaration of faith as you did two years ago is not enough.

You have to study the situation in the country and throw your whole weight on the side of Right. This war is said to be fought for the sake of democracy and freedom of all peoples, but those who are fighting the totalitarian powers are doing their very best to deny freedom and democracy to the people in their charge. Quite apart from the question whether India would voluntarily help in the war effort or not,—you as Quakers could not think of military co-operation by India—it is the duty of those who profess to fight for high ideals not to belie their professions. It was the duty of America to refuse all help to Britain until she had made India free. Americans among you can still strive to bring home to their motherland this obvious duty.

There is a movement of pacifism in India being carried on by conscientious objectors who are members of the Congress. They started the movement of civil disobedience in order to secure the right to declare all opposition to participation in the present war. I would ask you to understand the position of the conscientious objector in India. If we were a free nation, the task before the pacifists amongst us in case we were invaded would be similar to that before the pacifists in Britain, America and elsewhere. In free countries, where pacifist citizens have a full share in the government of the country, it may be right for them to abide by the national decision, except in so far as it touches their conscience. But the case would be entirely different if the pacifists lived under a despotism. They owe a double duty—one to their creed and the other to their country. That is the essence of the struggle in India. It is often complacently said that Government have no objection to Gandhiji and his few pacifists expressing themselves against the war; but it is forgotten that, if anything, Gandhiji's opposition to the war is stronger than that of those who ground their opposition on political reasons. Gandhiji's non-violence would not be worth a moment's purchase, if it were divorced from the desire to break the chain of his country's slavery. Under a despotism—and the Government of India is one of undiluted autocracy today—it becomes the duty of the pacifist to fight to reverse the Government's imposed decision both on the grounds of non-violence and politics. But the conscientious objector in India—both on political and ethical grounds—pitched his demand deliberately in a lower key. He just asked for the liberty to declare his opposition to participation in all war, and therefore this war, by men, money and munitions. It was his right to carry on a crusade to cripple all Government's resources. But under Gandhiji's guidance and leadership he pursued the policy of non-embarrass-

ment, restricting himself to just a public expression of his opinion, and avoiding recruiting depots and munition factories. Even this restricted demand for freedom of expression was not conceded, and thousands were put into prison for the exercise or intended exercise of that right. They are now released no doubt, but a number of those who were suspected of opposition to this imposed war are still in prison for no overt act of civil disobedience. Government have no doubt said in the course of their communique that the Satyagrahis "can be released", suggesting perhaps thereby that in future such Satyagraha would be ignored. But the honourable and graceful course for them would have been to declare that the conscientious objectors had the right they claimed within the limit they had imposed on themselves. It is for you to support this simple demand of your brother pacifists in India.

I wonder if you have moved among the masses sufficiently to find out what the so-called 'voluntary' war effort means to them. You know the scandal of *The Hindustan Times* case. It brought to light a fact which would otherwise have been suppressed. In Madras almost the entire official machinery including the Police and the Magistracy and the taxing authorities are engaged in selling tickets for war lotteries to the poorest and most helpless of people and making collections otherwise from persons who are either under or are likely to come under their authority. In some parts in Bombay agricultural labourers earning scarcely two annas a day have had to pay four times and eight times as much to the war fund, without actually knowing what the amount was extorted for. In a well-known province I can say in the words of a high-placed official that the "war collection business is horrid. It stinks." You have to expose cases of the kind wherever you come across them, and even help to prevent their occurrence.

I will not dwell at length on the place and work of the Missionaries in India, with reference to the spread of the gospel of Christ. Gandhiji's views are now very well known, and such of you as may care to study them in a compact form may turn to a volume of his writings called *Christian Missions—Their Place in India*. If the Missionaries will realise that they are here not as patrons doling out wisdom and coins but as humble seekers and servants, all will be well with them. Let them confine all their preaching and their teaching to the living example of their life and their acts of service. There is the work of communal unity. I think if every Quaker could show in himself an example in active practice of the wonderful Quaker maxim—"In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in other things charity"—much could be achieved. And what John Woolman used to say is equally apposite in this connection: "The law of Christ consisted in tenderness towards our fellow-creatures and a concern so to walk that our conduct may not be the means of strengthening them in error." John Woolman has also left for the Quakers an inspiring lesson in another direction. It was the lesson of

greater and greater identification with the poor. He ruled out every kind of trade that involved unrighteousness and injustice and ministered to luxury, waste, and sweating. I commend to you the work of the All India Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association, and appeal to you to use khadi and village-made articles as far as may be possible for you. I also commend to you Gandhiji's latest booklet on Constructive Work.

I come to the last and the most important point. The war is now at our door. Rangoon has been bombed, and our turn may soon come. We may even be invaded and find ourselves face to face with a conqueror asking peremptory surrender. How shall we face the issue? Quakers in the past have not objected to organising Ambulance Units which are subject to military discipline and control. I will not discuss the question whether this does or does not involve co-operation with the war-machine, and I would not quarrel with you if you should feel called upon to raise Ambulance Units or organise War Victims' Relief work. But I would ask you to consider whether it may not be more in consonance with your creed to cast in your lot with the voluntary organisations that may be set up for these purposes by the people of India.

It is when we are faced with the last question that you with your great faith and "desire to treasure the integrity of the Christ within" can play a heroic part. It is easy enough to refuse military service and go to prison, it is easy enough to insist on the right to preach non-participation in war and take the consequence. But the world is in need of more heroic deeds. The conqueror asking for surrender will not offer us the alternative of prison, and we as pacifists will not at the crucial hour betray our faith and take up what arms we may have to resist him. The alternative will in all likelihood be immediate death by being shot. Among us Indians there may not be many prepared to take the grim decision to prefer death to surrender. But some war has to be the last, and nothing but heroic acts of self-immolation can work towards that happy consummation. It is said of an officer of the British Fleet Air Arm that he left a letter, to be delivered to his parents in the event of his being killed, in which these words occur: "Flesh and blood had to be sacrificed if the things in which we believe were to survive and flourish. It has been my lot to be one of those whose gift has been accepted." This officer had since made the "gift" of his life. It was truly heroic, but even more heroic would be the gift by an innocent pacifist of his flesh and blood to the victor demanding abject surrender of his soul. There may be a handful of such heroes today, but out of the ashes of the few will arise many who will liberate the land and war-weary humanity. I am sure that when that fateful moment comes Gandhiji will expect you to stand side by side with the Satyagrahis in India who will embrace death cheerfully, and to live up to the creed of the old Quaker who said to his torturer: "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot; for I owe

my conscience to no mortal man. I value not your threats nor resolutions. In me shall you behold a resolution above fear, and conscience above cruelty. He that would reap and not labour must faint with the wind, and perish in disappointments; but an hair of my head shall not fall, without the Providence of my Father who is over all."

Notes

Untouchability and Indore

The Maharaja Saheb of Indore sent a message to the organisers of the Harijan Day in Indore on the 1st inst. It is published in the Holkar Government Gazette of 2nd March, and will repay perusal. It is on a par with the Travancore Proclamation which declared the abolition of untouchability. The opening lines demonstrate the spirit in which the problem is approached by the Maharaja. They are:

"It gives me great pleasure in associating myself with you in celebrating the Harijan Day. I have been deeply interested in the welfare of a community which for many generations has suffered in every way from the fanatical orthodoxy of Caste Hindus. Without realising their obstinacy they have done a great disservice not only to their country but to humanity in general. I, for one, could not conceive of the continuance of this evil in Holkar State, and with a view to eliminating it issued a proclamation in 1938 thereby placing the so-called untouchables on the same footing as any one of us. I am glad to see that something substantial has been done in ameliorating their social and economic conditions in my State. There is plenty more to be done in this field, and I can commend this urgent work to everyone interested in public welfare. I want to point out with all the emphasis at my command that it is impossible to evolve a sound body politic on democratic lines in this country unless we achieve social solidarity among ourselves. In achieving this we must, in the first place, liquidate the very word 'untouchability' from our vocabulary."

Gram Panchayats in Aundh

The Raja Saheb writes:

"Since we last met at Wardha three years ago, the system of village administration by the panchayats has been introduced in Aundh State, and I have great pleasure in saying that the results so far achieved are most hopeful and encouraging. Every village now has a school. Most of these schools are built with local help and partial grants from the taluk samitis. The villagers have made their own roads, they have made water arrangements, and every inhabitant in almost all the villages has come to feel a sort of consciousness of his right as well as of responsibility and of love for his village. A copy of the report of the judicial administration of my State has already been sent to you. Now I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the administration report of the panchayats. You will get just an outline therefrom as to how we are progressing in the villages on their constructive side."

Stud Bulls

At the meeting of friends of the late Jamnalalji which recently met in Wardha, one of the schemes announced was the production of 1,000 good bulls. It was conceived by Seth Rameshwardas Birla. He has not allowed the grass to grow under his feet. He has already issued an appeal for assistance. The scheme is likely to cost five lacs which should be forthcoming without an effort. The following form the committee of management:

1. Shri Rameshwardasji Birla — President
2. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
3. Shrimati Suvratadevi Ruia
4. Shri Laxminarainji Gadodia
5. Shri Bhagirathji Kanodia
6. Shri Hiralalji Shastri
7. Shri Keshavdevji Nevatia — Secretary

Gopalan Nambiar

Gopalan Nambiar is a patriotic youth who in the heat of the moment is said to have instigated a crowd, at a meeting in Malabar, to assault a Sub-Inspector of Police resulting in his unfortunate death. The High Court at Madras has sentenced him to be hanged. I take it that the evidence justified the sentence, but it is a clear case for commutation of the sentence by the Government. This is no case of private murder deliberately committed. We are living in the midst of murders on a wholesale scale which no court of law can ever reach. It is a mockery to send a young man to the gallows for an act, however indefensible otherwise, in which malice is wholly absent. I am glad, therefore, that leaders of public opinion and the Press are moving in order to secure a reprieve. It is hoped that the Government will listen to the public voice.

Sevagram, 9-3-42

M. K. G.

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