

HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE

CRY FOR WHEAT

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar in his elaborate defence of the Government position failed to explain why Government were not prepared to accept the one practical solution of the situation created by the anarchy in price control, viz. the purchase of stocks by Government and selling them at a fixed price to the wholesale or retail buyer. There is no doubt that the country's production, as pointed out by one member, is about 10 million tons of wheat, and the consumption about 9 millions, and yet wheat is scarce in the Punjab and Delhi, where any wheat flour available is mixed with barley and other flour. The Commerce Member questioned the accuracy of the figure for our annual consumption, but he revealed that 178,000 tons of wheat and 82,000 tons of wheat flour were exported during the current year as against 10 million tons of total yield during 1940-41. That should not make wheat or wheat flour scarce, for if the consumption is 9 million tons, this export should leave a fair surplus. The deplorable fact is that the Commerce Member, who says that the problem in October was neither shortage of wheat nor control of wheat prices, does not realise that control of prices has the inevitable result of producing scarcity of the article concerned, unless it is accompanied by the safeguarding measure of making the commodity available at control prices by Government themselves.

If as the Commerce Member suggests vast quantities of stocks have been hoarded or buried underground, even that is the result of the short-sighted price control policy, and the much more short-sighted political policy of the rulers having no relations or responsibility to the ruled. It should not be difficult for the Government to ascertain the actual facts, and make stocks available. If, however, that is impossible, they should make way for popular national Government and let the whole responsibility fall on their shoulders. As the London *Economist* said some time ago, "the State cannot, in war time, evade responsibility for what happens to the community." We agree that neither can "the community dissociate itself from the individuals who compose it. In a very real sense, we are all members one of another."

This last truth must be realised by every one of us. The State exists today and functions as best it can, but it may cease to function any day. Then the responsibility will be thrown on the

individuals composing the community. Unless we realise that "we are all members one of another", there will be chaos. In this connection the example of a friend in Ceylon is very commendable. He writes: "As you probably know there is a rice shortage here and only about two measures are allowed each week; I am glad to say that I had stored about 800 bushels and have bought 500 kurakan as well, so I have enough for about six months anyhow. I am issuing it to my people at Rs. 4/9 and will lose about Rs. 700 a month, but the price at which I bought most of it is too high to ask them to pay it, so I am very glad to be able to help them." Those who have stocks of grain should follow his good example.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. D.

EVIDENTLY A LONG WAR

Almost as though in continuation of my article "British and American Nazism", Shri Chandrashanker Shukla sends me exhaustive extracts from American daily and weekly papers to show that the American brand is, if anything, worse than the British brand, and cites numerous instances of the most ruthless prevalence of the colour bar there. There is no room in these columns for those copious extracts. But in order that the duration of the present war may be gauged a bare mention may be made of the bar sinister as it prevails today:

(1) Negro students are not admitted to common educational institutions, nor are separate equal facilities provided for them.

(2) In spite of the U. S. Supreme Court decision establishing the principle of equal treatment for all on trains in Southern States, the equal treatment consists of equal kind of accommodation in a compartment marked 'for Negroes only'.

(3) Housing accommodation in white localities is impossible for Negroes even in the Northern States.

(4) Negroes are debarred from jobs in the defence industries, and Negroes already employed are systematically being hounded out.

(5) Arrogant hatred of Negro recruits in the Army—the "niggers must be made to know their place, with violence and terror if necessary."

There was an affray at an army camp in which a Negro soldier and a white military policeman were killed, and "after the shooting whole companies—Negro officers included—were forced to stand all night with their hands above their heads."

No wonder that a "Negro-man-in-the-street" wrote to the editor of a paper: "When I read these things I am forced to wonder just how far removed is the brand of democracy that we practise from Fascism, Nazism, and barbarism."

This is happening in a country where 80 years ago Abraham Lincoln spoke of the Americans as a "new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." He fought what is regarded in history as a righteous war, in order that "this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom," and after the successful conclusion of that war also forfeited his life for the ideal. But perhaps because that war was tarnished by bloodshed, the new birth of freedom is yet to come. Mr. Churchill speaking some days ago said that the war may last even twenty years. He had, I am sure, not the social conditions in America or in the British Colonies or India in mind, when he said so. But there is no doubt that there cannot be a peace to which Indians or the Negroes can give assent unless it has for its foundation democracy broad-based on the freedom and equal citizenship rights of all — white, black, yellow, etc. Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. D.

Tolerance according to Some Muslim Writers

[A correspondent sends these beautiful selections.

M. K. G.]

Win over a heart, for it is the greatest pilgrimage,
One heart is better than a thousand Kabas,
The Kaba was built by Abraham the son of Azar,
But the heart is the frequenting place of the greatest
Glorious God.

Maulana Rumi

If thou desirest to behold the face of the Friend (God),
Win over hearts, for the heart is His mirror.

Attar

Who am I as a believer that I should pass the verdict
of unbeliever on others, O Akbar?

Those only are unbelievers who are unbelievers in the
judgment of God.

What is religion? a social and political arrangement,
This is not the way of recognising a believer and
heretic,

There are some believers and some heretics in every
religion.

Remember these words of one who knows the secrets.

Akbar

Religion does not teach to become one another's
enemies. We are Indians and our country is India.

The Muslims are quarreling with their own people.
Nor do they paint pictures other than duality. They
cry out and complain if someone removes a brick from
a mosque which they themselves avoid. This means that
the so-called religious fend is not religious but irreligious.

Iqbal

Do not hurt anybody and do what thou wishest, for
in our creed there is no sin but this (himsa).

Hafiz did not mean licence for everything else
because he knew intuitively that in the final analysis
we can see that every sin carries injury to the indi-
vidual and the race.

Hafiz

YARN CURRENCY

(By Shriman Narayan Agarwal)

The other day about a dozen workers of various local institutions assembled in Gopuri to discuss Gandhiji's scheme of yarn currency. Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju were also present. A very interesting and useful discussion ensued, the gist of which is given below.

Yarn cannot be termed currency in the strict sense of the word, because it cannot circulate freely without soon getting spoiled. Yarn can be used as a restricted form of barter. The currency will be mostly paper; it can be pieces of cloth or leather as well. The sanction behind the currency will be yarn and not silver or gold. The system could, therefore, widely be called the yarn standard.

The advantages of the yarn standard will be many. It will enhance the prestige of spinning and, through it, of manual labour. Unlike gold or silver, yarn can be earned alike by a child or even a decrepit person; it can be produced at any time and for any duration. It has its direct utility in meeting one of our vital needs, namely clothing.

The new currency will also make our villages panic-proof in these days of international holocaust. Even in the event of internal dislocation of trade, commerce and currency, the villager will feel secure within his self-sufficient co-operative life. The villagers will also be obliged to restrict their wants and make their village self-sufficient by producing all the necessities of life. Exploitation will be considerably reduced, and production will be almost simultaneous with distribution.

Payments will be made in terms of 'lattis' and 'gundis'; the paper or cloth currency notes will bear the numbers of hanks on them. The value of each hank (640 rounds) will be roughly one anna. The prices of commodities like grain, cloth, milk and ghee produced in the village will not be allowed to fluctuate violently in terms of hanks. The real and face values of khadi currency, therefore, will be, more or less, constant and identical.

The stability of the value of yarn currency will have to be maintained by establishing a Central Co-operative Stores and supplying the commodities at fixed prices. Without regulating production and distribution, price control will be an impossibility. The whole village economy will have to be assiduously and intelligently planned.

If necessary, the village may also establish a Bank to accept rupees or annas for the yarn currency to provide for travelling or remitting money to relations and friends living outside the village.

The introduction of the yarn currency or standard implies the existence of village panchayats. Without a corporate life and village self-government no scheme of indigenous currency can make any headway.

Wardha, 10-3-42

WHAT AFTER THE FINAL ADIEU?

Apropos of my article 'A Peep into British History', a friend has sent an extract from Hume's *History of England*, which is fuller than the ones I have quoted:

"That they might leave the island with the better grace, the Romans assisted them in erecting anew the wall of Severus, which was built entirely of stone, and which the Britons had not at that time artificers skilful enough to repair. And having done this last good office to the inhabitants, they bid a final adieu to Britain about the year 448, after being masters of the more considerable part of it during the course of near four centuries.

"The *abject Britons regarded this present of liberty as fatal to them; and were in no condition to put in practice the prudent counsel given them by the Romans, to arm in their own defence.* Unaccustomed both to the perils of war and to the cares of civil government, they found themselves incapable of forming or executing any measures for resisting the incursions of the barbarians. Grasian, and also Constantine, two Romans who had a little before assumed the purple in Britain, had carried over to the continent the flower of the British youth; and having perished in their unsuccessful attempts on the imperial throne, had despoiled the island of those who in this despicable extremity were best able to defend it. The Picts and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally relinquished Britain, now regarded the whole as their prey, and attacked the Northern wall with redoubled forces. The Britons, *already subdued by their own fears*, found the rampart but a weak defence for them; and deserting their station, left the country entirely open to the inroad of the barbarous enemy. The invaders carried devastation and ruin along with them, and exerted to the utmost their native ferocity, which was not mitigated by the helpless condition and submissive behaviour of the inhabitants. The unhappy Britons had a third time recourse to Rome, which had declared its resolution for ever to abandon them. At times the patrician, sustained at that time by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the Empire, and revived for a moment among the degenerate Romans the spirit, as well as discipline, of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen which was inscribed, '*The Groans of the Britons*'. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. 'The barbarians,' say they, 'on the one hand, chase us into the sea; the sea, on the other, throws us back upon the barbarians and we have only the hard choice left of perishing by the sword or by the waves.' But Aetius, pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. The Britons, thus rejected, were reduced to despair, deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and flying for protection to the forests and mountains, suffered equally from hunger and from the enemy." (*Italics mine*)

This extract is important inasmuch as the facts given by the eighteenth century historian have stood the test of later evidence.

The date given by Hume (446 A. D.) is the same as Gardiner—perhaps Gardiner's source was Hume—and the date of the "final adieu" by the Romans is perhaps a typist's error. It should be 428 and not 448. The extract is coloured by Hume's prejudice against everything English, but there is no doubt that the Britons felt "the present of liberty as fatal to them", and they abjectly appealed to the Romans not once but three times to save them from the sea and the barbarians and appealed in vain.

There is also no doubt that the "present" of freedom was to them a blessing in disguise. They may have been driven to desperation and into the wilderness for the time being, but it was because they were left to fend for themselves that they later came to their own. The Romans were at least good enough to ask the Britons "to arm in their own defence". The singular contribution of the British rulers to India is the emasculation of the whole people by forcible deprivation of arms, so much so that, however hopeful some of our leaders may be of bringing an army into being after freedom is declared, the prospect is really nil. To raise a formidable army—and a mechanised army at that—to fight formidable foes, is no matter of a mango trick. Non-violent organisation is the only thing feasible, whether with or without freedom, and one can only hope that they may soon see the error of their thought and bend all the nation's efforts to organising it non-violently against the invader.

But says C. R. in a recent speech (I am quoting from *The Hindu*), "If Britain did not respond and this country had to face dangers, still I would appeal to all to be brave and organise measures for local safety and protection. If anyone thought that, if Japan succeeded, the freedom of India could be easily obtained, he was woefully mistaken, for Japanese exploitation would be more ruthless. We will have to resist every foreign rule and probably, if that rule was not British, we would have to give up the methods we had so far adopted for winning our rights against Britain and devise new methods." While it is true that Japan's or Germany's success cannot possibly make our freedom easy, it is no use adopting the theory of Edward Thompson and others that the British and American species of exploitation is or can be better than the Japanese or the Fascist species. These friends forget two things, viz. (1) the past history of British imperialism; and (2) that present comparatively milder repression is due to the non-violent methods employed, and that in the past the ruthlessness—no better or worse than that which is now attributed to the "enemies"—was in response to our ill-considered violent methods. Besides, if the milder methods will not succeed against other and worse foreigners, one wonders why it is not realised that wilder methods will succeed still less, for the simple reason

that it is not possible when the country is invaded to organise any of the wilder methods, even if we were free.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. D.

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1942

'SCORCHED EARTH'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Russian technique of scorched earth has staggered humanity, but humanity has been powerless to do anything except applaud the amazing sacrifice and bravery that counted no cost too great to circumvent the enemy. I have shared the amazement with the admirers but not their admiration.

We like to imitate what we admire. Now that the prospect faces us, are we able to contemplate with equanimity, or feel the glow of bravery and sacrifice at, the prospect of India's earth being scorched and everything destroyed in order that the enemy's march may be hampered?

As a war resister my answer can only be one. I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence. I would far rather leave, if I must, my crops and homestead for the enemy to use than destroy them for the sake of preventing their use by him. There is reason, sacrifice and even bravery in so leaving my homestead and crops, if I do so not out of fear but because I refuse to regard anyone as my enemy—that is, out of a humanitarian motive.

But in India's case there is, too, a practical consideration. Unlike Russia's, India's masses have no national instinct developed in the sense that Russia's have. India is not fighting. Her conquerors are. Supposing that the conquerors are worsted and the Japanese come, the inarticulate masses will not even notice the change for the time being or for a long time. The intelligentsia are divided on the issue of the war. The motive here is irrelevant. India's soldiers are in no sense a national army. They are soldiers because it is their profession. They will as soon fight under the Japanese or any other provided they are paid for fighting. In these circumstances the policy of scorched earth would be a wholly indefensible act.

It is therefore a matter for satisfaction that Indian opinion is being expressed against the policy of scorching. I know nothing of the requirements of the military, but they can never be allowed to supersede national or humanitarian considerations which the nation may have accepted. The military must thus be an arm of the dominant civil power, not its substitute. The Government of India will considerably ease the situation and allay anxiety by declaring in unequivocal terms that they will not apply, if the occasion ever arise, the scorched earth policy to India, especial regard being had to her peculiar position.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

Notes

Defending the Indefensible

I have read Qaid-e-Azam's answer to my appeal. It has caused me deep pain. I had expected a better response. The reproduction of the whole offending article would make worse reading. For the whole of it is venomous. Qaid-e-Azam knows that I do not hesitate to criticise any party or person whenever the occasion demands criticism. I have more than once criticised unbecoming writings in the non-Muslim Press.

I do not know the writer of the offending article. If he is a Hindu, it makes Qaid-e-Azam's defence of it all the worse for it. I am sorry that Qaid-e-Azam has resorted to special pleading for defending the indefensible. This unexpected defence of an article designed to wound deep susceptibilities makes ominous reading.

Sevagram, 17-3-42

M. K. G.

A Harijan Colony in Bihar

Raja Bahadur Kamakhya Narayan Sinha, while opening a Harijan Colony in Arrah the other day, spoke against the sin of untouchability in a way which reminds one of the recent message to Harijans sent by the Maharaja Saheb of Indore:

"It is a crime on the part of us so-called Caste Hindus to treat lakhs of people as untouchables. They too are God's creation. They have the same physical form as we, they are activated by the same human desires, they feel insults and misery just as keenly as we do. But they are today powerless to raise their voice in protest. Their cry of distress, however, does go up to heaven, and we shall surely be damned by it if we do not mend. We must atone for our sins. That we have put up for them a dwelling place of bricks and mortar is only a drop in the ocean. We shall have atoned only when we give them a dwelling place in our hearts and shall embrace them as the great Bharat embraced the humble boatman Guha and thereby raised himself."

If all Caste Hindus were to root out untouchability from their hearts as Raja Bahadur has done, this blot would soon be removed from our society.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

M. K. G.

The Married Estate

A sister, who is a good worker and was anxious to remain celibate in order better to serve the country's cause, has recently married having met the mate of her dreams. But she imagines that in doing so she has done wrong and fallen from the high ideal which she had set before herself. I have tried to rid her mind of this delusion. It is no doubt an excellent thing for girls to remain unmarried for the sake of service, but the fact is that only one in a million is able to do so. Marriage is a natural thing in life, and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong. When one imagines any act a fall it is difficult, however hard one tries, to raise oneself. The ideal is to look upon marriage as a sacrament and therefore to lead a life of self-restraint in the married estate. Marriage in Hinduism is one of the four Ashramas. In fact the other

three are based on it. But in modern times marriage has unfortunately come to be regarded purely as a physical union. The other three Ashramas are all but non-existent.

The duty of the above-mentioned and other sisters who think like her is, therefore, not to look down upon marriage but to give it its due place and make of it the sacrament it is. If they exercise the necessary self-restraint, they will find growing within themselves a greater strength for service. She who wishes to serve will naturally choose a partner in life who is of the same mind, and their joint service will be the country's gain.

It is a tragedy that generally speaking our girls are not taught the duties of motherhood. But if married life is a religious duty, motherhood must be so too. To be an ideal mother is no easy task. The procreation of children has to be undertaken with a full sense of responsibility. The mother should know what is her duty from the moment she conceives right up to the time the child is born. And she who gives intelligent, healthy and well-brought-up children to the country is surely rendering a service. When the latter grow up they too will be ready to serve. The truth of the matter is that those who are filled with a living spirit of service will always serve whatever their position in life. They will never adopt a way of life which will interfere with service.

Sevagram, 3-3-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

M. K. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How to Ward off Starvation?

Q. Is it not far more important today to find some solution for the shortage and high prices of foodstuffs than to organise civic guards? Speeches will not quench the fire of hunger. And we have neither enough capitalists nor capitalists with the right ideals to set things right.

A. It should be part and parcel of the work of civic guards to protect people as far as possible from hunger and exploitation. I have already given some advice as to how to economise in food during times of stress. Such economy should begin from today.

1. Food should be regulated scientifically so that there is no waste and a maximum of economy.

2. Whatever seasonable foodstuffs can be sown should be planted at once.

3. Use should be made of herbs etc. which grow wild and which can be eaten with advantage. Research therein is necessary.

4. No one must remain idle. If he cannot find employment, he should provide work for himself, such as spinning.

5. I fear that, if the war does not come to a speedy end and the Japanese invade India, it will become difficult or even impossible to transport foodstuffs. Therefore, if there happens to be any surplus anywhere, efforts should be made to send it where it is most needed.

I am aware that all this is no easy task. But I see no other way out of the difficulty.

What for City Employees?

Q. You have given the rich an idea of what their duty is if they migrate to the villages. But there will be thousands of evacuees who have been employed in the cities all their lives. They have no money and no ancestral homes in the villages where they can take refuge. What of them?

A. It is possible that many such workers will migrate with their masters. Those who do not will have to seek out some occupation for themselves in the villages. One of these is spinning. It would be as well for all such to prepare themselves for the crisis.

Sevagram, 16-3-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

SOME FALSE ASSUMPTIONS

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

A professor in one of the best of our Universities asks if we hope to utilise our resources to the best advantage by means of cottage units, and cites the meat packing industry of Chicago as an instance of a complete utilisation of bye-products in large scale industries and thereby cheapening of the goods to the consumer.

There are three assumptions in the above question, viz. (1) that complete utilisation of bye-products is *only* possible in large scale industries, (2) that large scale industries are *always* economical in the utilisation of resources, (3) that low price is an *invariable* desideratum. These we shall consider in turn.

It is true to a certain extent that large scale industries do utilise their bye-products more completely, but to make that an inseparable feature of large scale industry is wrong. A walk through our tannery at Nalwadi or the one run by Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta at Calcutta will show the visitor that every part of a carcass, the horns, the hide, the hoofs, the fat, the flesh, the bones, the entrails, etc., can all be used even through means within the reach of cottage units. If this is not being commonly done, the reason is the ignorance of our cottage tanners and not that such utilisation is foreign to cottage units. The remedy is not to abandon cottage units but to bring the light of science to cottage workers. This is where we have failed, and selfless scientists with the necessary initiative to adapt their knowledge to the simplicity of cottage resources are the desideratum, and not the large scale units.

In so far as a large scale unit reduces overhead charges it is economical, but it cannot be said to be the most economical utilisation of our resources, especially under a competitive regime, as the economic history of America can testify. Fields of cotton had to be burnt, shiploads of coffee were dumped into the sea or used as fuel, and many waste products, like molasses, rich in mineral products, are thrown out, which would not be the case under cottage units. In many cases the large scale units are the most extravagant when we look at it from the national viewpoint. Take paper-making from bamboos. No large scale unit can function unless it has a forest of bamboos at its disposal. Fresh cut bamboos have to be fed

into the mill steadily. On the other hand, when we use a cottage unit, fresh cut bamboos are used for baskets, mats granaries, roofs, etc., in the first instance; when these get rotten with use, such waste bamboos can be converted into beautiful paper. Which then is the more economic use of our resources?

Whether low or high prices are good will depend on the cost constituents that make up the price. If the price is made up largely of cost of materials, low prices are good; but if such prices are made up of human labour represented by wages, then high prices will represent a better tendency to distribute wealth. When one rupee worth of mill cloth represents 12 as. worth of material, transport, interest, etc., and 4 as. of wages, then it would be desirable to cut the items totalling 12 as. and lower the price. But when in khadi the price is made up of 12 as. for wages and 4 as. for materials, cutting the price will lower the very function the industry serves in bringing happiness to mankind. Therefore under an economy of cottage units where labour enters largely into the composition of price, high prices are good, and under large scale industries where labour forms a low percentage of the cost, low prices are to be aimed at.

Without a careful analysis of all these factors it would be disastrous to draw conclusions. We have to carefully scrutinise the assumptions in most of the arguments advanced in text-books, written for consumption in capitalistic countries, and not accept them at their face value. The danger is often great because we are fed with half truths.

VINOBA ON KHADI

Shri Vinoba delivered on 20th January an address on khadi to the Khadi Vidyalaya in Sevagram. It was a valuable contribution to the khadi movement. I give below a fairly full summary of his address which was in Hindi:

"In all the practical schemes for national awakening, uplift and freedom that have been placed before us I give first place to spinning as a daily spiritual sacrifice with a view to identifying oneself with the poor and adding something to national production. But it is a tragedy that in spite of its tremendous intrinsic value it has not yet become universal. We produce annually Rs. 50 lakhs worth of hand-spun and hand-woven today. We are to make an effort to raise the output by another 50 lakhs this year. But we need Rs. 200 crores for the nation, reckoning on Rs. 5 per head. Why have we not been able to make khadi universal? It is because we have not understood the fundamentals of the science of khadi. We have failed to realise its moral and spiritual value and hence have failed to spread the gospel throughout the length and breadth of the land.

It is unfortunate that meditation and worship in the popular mind are divorced from the daily tasks. Yet we had some mediaeval saints who were craftsmen also. They pursued their crafts for their livelihood. And I always ask myself whether they

experienced the joy of gaining spiritual progress through their daily activity. Did they experience the ecstasy of worship in it or was it an unescapable drudgery? Did they perchance feel that they were worshipping the eternal while they ploughed their fields or plied their spinning wheels? Were these crafts, as it were, their rosary? Did they sing praises to God only through their bhajans? I wonder whether the plough and the spinning wheel were not the best means of worship for these saints, whether absorption in them was not their best meditation, whether the balance of mind gained through their work was not their best 'yoga', whether intelligent and skilful pursuit of the crafts was not their knowledge, and whether offering the produce of their labour to society did not constitute their real offering to God. My inner experience makes me like to feel that the spiritual progress of these giants among men could not have been possible if they had not put the daily task on a par with the rosary and the bhajans.

Yet prayer and meditation have been separated from labour by the mass mind. I see no reason why this should be so. In fact the prevailing tendency has been to decry *Karma* and put an exclusive emphasis on worship. This has done our society grave harm. The honest labour of man is his best offering to God. If we want to become energised on a nation-wide scale, there is only one way and that is to practise and preach this truth. The daily labour thus considered puts us in tune with humanity or the infinite. Time was when the Congress asked every member to spin in token of membership of the national organisation. A bare minimum was demanded; but owing to mental laziness, apathy and lack of true appraisalment of khadi, the membership relapsed into the mere payment of 4 annas. Instead of making labour the keynote of our fitness to serve we have made money the standard. There is much talk of socialism and the levelling of society, but we have rejected the only practical proposal suggested to achieve this end. It has been a definite step backwards. We have thereby not become one with the people, we have not upheld the dignity of labour, nor have we contributed our full quota to the economic and moral uplift of the country. I read in the *Maharashtra Khadi Patrika* that every worker of the A. I. S. A. there has to spin $7\frac{1}{2}$ hanks during the month, but alas! all do not understand why they should. So much yarn comes in from the villages, what matters a paltry $7\frac{1}{2}$ hanks from them, is how they probably argue to themselves. It is this laziness and un-understanding mentality that we have got to get rid of. Remember that insistence on even half an hour's spinning in silence daily is to make it a form of national sacrifice. Such acts discipline us and help us to make our lives orderly. It is not enough for you who are here to learn the science of khadi to be content with merely learning its processes. You have to dive deep into the whys and wherefores of khadi. And only when you have understood its inner meaning will you become fit representatives of this great endeavour.

I am convinced that, if we can bring about this spiritual revolution within us, it will also mean a political and economic revolution in the country. The spiritual aspect of khadi then is the first thought I want to leave with you today.

The second thing I want to talk to you about is carding, and here I want you to look at the practical aspect of khadi. This question has been before me for many years. Many of us took to spinning, but few learnt how to card. They were dependent on others for their slivers. Now inasmuch as spinning depends on slivers it cannot exist without carding. Much improvement has been made in carding instruments, but the problem of universal carding has not been solved. I have been experimenting for some little time in spinning from slivers made from cotton that has been carded purely by hand, and I have come to the definite conclusion that the method of hand combing (*tunai*) will solve our problem. I had placed a standard in my own mind whereby a person could prepare cotton in this way and spin 160 rounds in an hour, but only day before yesterday in Paunar one of our workers, Shankar, exceeded my expectations. He spent $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours in preparing $7\frac{1}{2}$ tolas of slivers. He spun 3 hanks (of 640 rounds each) of yarn of 20 counts in $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours from 6 tolas of slivers. Of course I know that this output cannot be equalled by the average person, for Shankar is an exceptional spinner; but it just shows the possibilities of this method. It proves that it can definitely make khadi universal. It is a method that can be employed by children of 5-6 years old, it will produce stronger cloth than yarn spun from machine or bow carded cotton can, it cannot hurt anyone from the point of view of health, and it is extremely simple. Stronger cloth is in itself an economic asset, but even if the output of cloth is less by this method, we should not mind. Our main object is the self-sufficiency of the village, and from that point of view *tunai* is capable of working wonders. Then again for basic education I have no doubt that it is the only thing. Self-sufficiency is our goal not only from the point of view of our poverty. It is of special importance to us during this period of war, particularly if this goes on for some years as it well might. I want you students to become experts at *tunai*. Do not think of khadi in terms of production and sales. People look at the moon, and think it is the most important star in the heavens whereas it is not. Self-sufficiency is like the vast expanse of stars in the heavens far more important than the moon which we worship because she appears to be larger and more beautiful.

Finally I want you to realise that khadi cannot be separated from the other village industries. It has its unique place no doubt, but it is closely related to other village crafts. This realisation will dawn on you without any difficulty, if you grasp the spiritual power of khadi. I hope you will make the philosophy of khadi a part of your being. Let it become the breath of your life. This is more than ever necessary today when another philosophy is threatening to overpower the world.

If you succeed, as I hope you will, you will certainly have made this Vidyalaya worth while."

Sevagram, 21-1-42

A. K.

THE SIXTH YEAR OF WORK

II

Paper-making: Handmade paper is gaining in popularity with the public. It may be said to be becoming—like khadi—a symbol of nationalism. The higher price has, therefore, not been a handicap as far as sales are concerned. But we cannot be satisfied until it is able to sell at a higher price because of its superior texture rather than because of sentimental reasons. Every effort is being made to improve the technique as well as experiment with various types of equipment. Data in regard to pulp-making from various materials is also being collected at the Paper Production and Training Centre at Poona. It is interesting to note that the Gujarat office sales of handmade paper have increased from Rs. 1,058 in 1937 to Rs. 26,085 in 1940.

Soap-making: This has been carried out chiefly in the Gram Saboon Karyalaya, Sabarmati. The output and sales have been steadily increasing.

Dairying: Not many workers have so far interested themselves in this industry. Inasmuch as it is very important from the point of view of diet and cattle breeding, it needs endless emphasis being laid on its study and scientific encouragement.

Tanning and Leather Work: Centres for training in tanning, *chappal*-making and manufacture of leather goods have been started in certain places. Improvement is steady.

Horn Work: This industry is doing well at Cuttack.

Button-making: This is making headway in Karnatak. Ivory nut, horn, sandalwood, rosewood and ivory are the raw materials used. Improvements in sawing circular pieces, drilling holes and polishing have been introduced. The income of button-makers ranges from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per month of 24 days and 7 hours.

Coir Spinning and Weaving: Training experimentation and production are being carried on at Honavar (Karnatak) with the aid of a Government grant. The yarn is now as good as that produced in Travancore or Cochin. Several improvements have been effected in the looms and spinning wheels as also in the rope-making machine. But more capital is needed to employ more workers.

Mat and basket making are being tried to be revived in the Ranivan centre in the U. P. Good slate pencils have been made in Hubli.

Vegetable Oil Lamp: Experiments are nearing completion in the matter of producing a lamp which will burn indigenous vegetable oils instead of kerosene. This will be a great boon.

Maganwadi experimented with success in producing boiled oil on a cottage basis. The oil so prepared was mixed with finely ground charcoal powder and zinc white and gave a pleasing grey paint.

37 students were trained at the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganwadi, from June 1939 to March 1940, and 32 are now in training.

The report gives one a good idea of how much can be done for the economic betterment of our people if more attention were paid to village industries. A few only of these have been catered for. The field is immense. The work has barely touched the fringe of the problem, but it has, without any shadow of doubt, pointed the right way. Many workers are needed in this as in every department of nation-building. It is to be hoped that Gandhiji's emphasis on the constructive programme will fulfil this lack. The report should be read by everyone. It can be had from Maganwadi, Wardha.

Sevagram, 1-2-42

A. K.

TARRED WITH THE SAME BRUSH

In a remarkable article demonstrating by practical examples the similarity between Nazism and Imperialism George Padmore, the Negro leader, proves how essential it is for all predatory 'isms' to be destroyed if the world is to live in peace.

"In the country which is mine by birth and which is supposed to be part and parcel of the Empire I could neither write this article nor have it published unless I wanted to spend the duration of the war in a concentration camp. British democracy is not for export. The whites are the Herrenvolk, the blacks the 'lesser breed without the law'." While sympathising with the sufferings of the people of Europe the writer feels their misfortune is due in large measure to their callous indifference to and participation in the sufferings and exploitation of the people of Asia, Africa and other so-called backward peoples. He points out how in 1885 at the Berlin Conference the Germans conspired with the British and other imperialists to carve up Africa and they used all the methods said to be employed by the Nazis and Fascists today. Mr. Padmore quotes the French historian Halevy who has described the battle of Omdurman as "a massacre rather than a battle. Kitchener apparently had given orders that no prisoners were to be taken. 30,000 Dervishes were killed and only 4,000 wounded. The Mahdi's corpse was taken from his coffin, his head severed from his trunk, and the officers of the Expeditionary force made souvenirs of his nails." Similar atrocities can be attributed to the Belgians in the Congo, the French in Equatorial Africa, the Portuguese in Angola, the Spaniards in Morocco, the Italians in Lybia and Abyssinia, and the Germans in S. W. Africa.

The writer goes on to show how similar to colonial conquest and exploitation is the German ideal in Europe today. Germany wants to de-industrialise those sections of Europe over which she has secured control and make of them "sources of agricultural produce grown by the cheapest possible labour and markets for the absorption of finished goods of which the Reich will be the unique manufacturer." What of Britain? "In Sierra Leone there are iron ore mines at Marampa. The Gold Coast is one of the Empire's main sources of

manganese ore while Nigeria contains large deposits of coal and tin. Yet these three colonies with a population of over 25,000,000 could not produce a single article for use of any kind. Britain is obliged to transport them across the sea to factories at home with all the risks, expense and loss of time which this entails." The cruel treatment meted out to the Poles is what the 'blacks' have borne for centuries. They have been branded as racially inferior, barbaric, and incapable of self-government. Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said openly, "It is time for the people of England to realise that the white man in Africa was not prepared and never will be prepared to accept the African as an equal, socially or politically." Just as the 'new order' in Germany wants to ensure for the German the highest wages possible in order to give him a higher standard of living, so in South Africa the colour bar regulations lay down that the white worker must be engaged on skilled jobs at a minimum wage of 20/- per day while the average wage of a black worker is 1/-.

The writer avers that the District Commissioner in colonial Governments is a sort of 'Gauleiter' who carries out his dictatorial rule with the aid of 'black' Quislings. In Nigeria 'Emirs' are permitted their own courts, police force, prisons, etc. They collect the taxes and supply forced labour whenever necessary. As a reward the British Government allows them part of the taxes collected from the peasants and the court fines. The Emir of Sokoto gets £ 5,000 per annum plus £ 1,000 State entertainment allowance, free palatial quarters, servants, etc. But rulers who "refuse to carry out official orders can be summarily dismissed by the 'Gauleiters' under the 'Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs' Ordinance'."

Is not all this proof positive that all the warring nations, barring Russia and China, are tarred with the same brush? How can peace and security ever come into the world without a frank acknowledgment of the wickedness of any sort or kind of domination by one race over the other?

Sevagram, 16-3-42

A. K.

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