

HARIJAN

Editor : MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE

Notes

Terrible If True

A terrible tale of ordered anarchy comes from Khurja. A correspondent writes to say that, for no cause he can understand, practically all normal activities have been stopped. Even the sale of bamboos and mats for biers was prohibited. Even building activities have been stopped causing the greatest inconvenience and damage. Money is taken from the people on the slightest pretext and a reign of terror prevails. I have given here the barest outline of the doings in Khurja in the hope that there will be full investigation and if the facts are true further damage will be prevented.

Sevagram, 25-5-42

Why The Difference ?

A Professor writes :

" You have advised the British to withdraw. About the Princes you say, ' But I would fain hope that the Princes and their advisers will, for their own sakes and for the good of India, curb the tendency in many States which cannot be described by any other adjective than lawless.' Why not ask the Princes whose tyranny is older and perhaps more deep-rooted than that of the British to abdicate immediately ? "

I am surprised that the Professor has failed to see the distinction between the Princes and the Paramount Power. The Princes (present) are a creation of the Paramount Power. They derive their authority from it. Their abdication will not end the princely rule. Another will immediately take the vacant place and in the absence of one the State will be under British administration. Thus, whichever way you look, you will find the British Power by its very nature blocking the way to Truth.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

M. K. G.

Khadi and Village Industry

Q. You have often said that khadi and village industry are supplementary to each other. But you have created separate organisations for them with the result that a khadi worker, when he goes to a village, is unable to spare time from his own particular work for either village industries or uplift. Recently you have asked for khadi and village industry *bhandars* to be run jointly. Times are such that transport of goods is becoming increasingly difficult. Should not khadi and village industry centres, therefore, be converted into one ? Would it not be a good thing if khadi workers gave up all ideas of sending locally produced khadi to distant places and concentrated on both khadi and village

industry production for local use ? Khadi workers are asked to penetrate into the houses of artisans with charkha and train them, to rouse a love of village products in them, improve their ways of living, health, sanitation, etc. But if they have no time to spare, how can they do all that is expected of them ?

A. I admit that, if a khadi worker's entire time is employed in khadi work, he cannot possibly attend to either village uplift or industry. Three persons would be required for the three tasks. My idea is that in a well-organised village one person should suffice. For example, one worker may devote two hours to taking in yarn, distributing slivers and spinning tools, and sales of khadi; village industry work might take even less, and the remainder of the time he could give to village uplift and general education. This has not till now been possible because the khadi worker's time has been devoted to teaching people how to spin etc. But now the time has come when khadi and village products, locally produced, must also be locally absorbed. In that case one person will be able to do all the work. Today it suffices to say that all this work is complementary — and must become one as far as possible. The amalgamation cannot be imposed; it must be a natural growth. I do not, I cannot, apportion any blame to anyone for the existing position. Our plans have progressed as far as our intelligence and experience could have taken them. The creation of khadi *vidyalayas* is meant to expand and improve the technique of work. We shall learn from them how all departments of village work can be amalgamated.

(From *Sarvodaya*)

M. K. G.

What Cost Violence ?

Many who paid homage to non-violence from afar are disturbed about its practicability when the perspective is altered and when naked violence unashamed threatens to stalk the land. It is, therefore, necessary for us to consider the so-called effectiveness of violence. We shall not have space here to weigh the evils and benefits of violence and non-violence in the social, ethical and cultural spheres. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves purely to the economic field and that too more especially to armaments. Man differs from the brute in his creative propensities. Man's progress, therefore, is measured by his creativeness. Modern warfare, on the other hand, is a competition in destructive capacity. What with centralised methods of production and standardisation we are reaching a rate of destruction which bids fair to wipe out

all civilisation. Instead of men being occupied in supplying one another's wants today they are engaged in destroying not only the productivity of the enemy but also their own, under the scorched earth policy.

In normal times we used to regard a crore of rupees as a colossal sum. A battleship of the type of the "Prince of Wales" costs about 15 crores, and it is sent to the bottom of the sea in a few minutes. During a whole year the Government spends hardly 12 crores on education throughout India — barely three-quarters of the cost of a single battleship. A submarine boat will cost about 50 lakhs. With barely half this amount as capital the A. I. S. A. has provided work for years on end to about 3 lakhs of workers in over 13 thousand villages, distributing in wages over 15 lakhs of rupees amongst them. A single 16 inch gun on a battleship costs about 6 lakhs. Two to three such guns will more than pay for all the famine relief given by Government in a year all over India, the expenditure on which score is about 15 lakhs per year. Two shells fired from such a gun will more than pay the expenses of running the central office of the A. I. V. I. A. for a whole year. When we hear that ten bombers have been shot down it is equivalent to the loss of the whole capital of the A. I. S. A. What Great Britain spends during a single day on this war will more than pay the expenses incurred by all the Provincial Governments and the Central Government for fifteen years in India on the promotion of industries.

J. C. K.

NON-VIOLENCE IN EVOLUTION*

Scientific discoveries make books on the various sciences out of date within a short time of their publication. A student of medicine reading books on the aetiology of cancer, for instance, would go to the latest books on the subject, and reject one published two or even one decade ago. Books on surgery published fifty years ago, however valuable then, would not, at an old bookseller's, fetch even the cost of printing them. A monument of research and industry, Hume's History of England, is not read nowadays, as historical research since its publication has made many statements of fact inaccurate or untrue.

Not so however with books of spiritual science. Sage Patanjali gave his Yoga aphorisms centuries ago. Books about the date of Patanjali written fifty years ago would be displaced by later researches. But no commentary, provided it is written by one who has tried to carry out the aphorisms in actual practice, can be out of date, no matter when it was written. For each represents the result of the author's spiritual experience and growth, and every step towards the goal of self-realisation offers help and guidance to pilgrims on the path. Every such pilgrim is an experimenter in the laboratory of Truth which is Infinite. The discovery of Truth

*Foreword to *Non-violence in Peace and War* to be shortly published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4. Postage 10 As. extra.

will never be complete and any honest record of earnest striving has its value. It is from that point of view that this book¹, which reproduces chronologically all the most important writings of Gandhiji on the subject of Non-violence, is of the greatest value to those who will follow Truth at all costs and who recognise that Non-violence is the road to that pursuit. This is all the more so when one realises that Gandhiji's experiments in Truth and Non-violence are not only in pursuit of Truth but also in pursuit of aims which one describes as mundane. Prof. Toynbee, the celebrated Research Professor of International History, has in the monumental volumes of *A Study of History* drawn this distinction. "Gentleness" — which he says might equally well be called 'Non-violence' — looks a superficial negative label, but carefully examined it "covers more than one positive reality" and he reveals four distinct positive meanings of the term. Thus "at its lowest the practice of Non-violence may express nothing more noble or more constructive than a cynical disillusionment with the fruitlessness of a violence which has been previously practised *ad nauseum* without having produced the intended results. A notorious example of a Non-violence of this unedifying kind is the religious toleration which has been in vogue in the Western World from about the last quarter of the seventeenth century of the Christian era down to our own day. Alternatively, Non-violence may express a conviction that Man's divinely allotted role in the economy of the Universe is to adopt a patiently passive attitude towards a mundane scene on which it is God's exclusive prerogative to execute His divine will through His own action — which would be hampered and not assisted, if Man were to presume to intervene in what is wholly God's business. Such is, for example, the conviction that underlies the Non-violence of *Agudath Israel*. This second philosophy of Non-violence is as pious and as scrupulous as our first is unprincipled and cynical; but at the same time it resembles the Non-violence of disillusionment in being unconstructive. Non-violence may, however, also be practised as a means to some constructive end; and such an end, again, may be either mundane or 'other worldly'. A classic example of the practice of Non-violence for a mundane end is presented in Mahatma Gandhi's political tactics of Non-violent Non-cooperation. The aim of Mr. Gandhi and his followers is to obtain for the people of India the political boon of complete self-government; and the pursuit of this aim by these tactics is evidence of a high degree of intellectual and moral originality; for the aim in view has been valued at its present enormously current price in a Western Vanity Fair; and our Western nationalists have seldom or never abstained from resorting to violence — of heart, if not of hand — in their endeavours to gain possession of this coveted pearl. Mr. Gandhi's tactical recourse of Non-violence is therefore a noteworthy new departure in the political technique of a Westernized 'Great Society'; but it is not, of course, so great a departure as a

¹ *Non-violence in Peace and War*.

practice of Non-violence for reasons which are not just tactical but are strategic. While Mr. Gandhi practises Non-violence because he considers this to be the most efficacious means of pursuing an aim that is mundane, the Non-violence of Jesus and Johann ben Zakai is a reflection on the mundane plane, of a transference of the field of action from that mundane plane to another."

But Prof. Arnold Toynbee does not quite see the reason why Gandhiji has dared to experiment the method of Non-violence on the mundane plane. It is precisely because Gandhiji refuses to make any distinction between the mundane and the 'other-worldly' plane so far as the moral and physical laws which govern them are concerned. For him the outside universe is but a reflection of the inside universe, and he repeats time and again that "the universe is compressed in the atom. There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe." It is not only the eye of the poet that enables him

To see a world in a grain of sand
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And Eternity in an hour

but an actual spiritual experience that gives the conviction that moral principles have no meaning unless they can be made to serve as guides of conduct in the daily affairs of men. It is therefore as a steady growth and evolution of the meaning and implications of Non-violence that this volume deserves to be studied by all who aspire to practise it for mundane or ultra-mundane ends. There is no royal road to train individuals or communities in the difficult art of Non-violence, except, as he says, "through living the creed in your life which must be a living sermon. The expression in one's own life presupposes great study, tremendous perseverance and thorough cleansing of one's self of all the impurities." And then he reveals the tremendous superiority of the spiritual force over physical force: "If for mastering of the physical sciences you have to devote a whole lifetime, how many lifetimes may be needed for mastering the greatest spiritual force that mankind has known? But why worry even if it means several lifetimes? For, if this is the only thing in life, if this is the only thing that counts, then whatever effort you bestow on mastering is well spent. Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and everything else shall be added unto you. The Kingdom of Heaven is Ahimsa."

To outward seeming quite a number of contradictions will be found in this book—as, for instance, were pointed out by that great Pacifist B. De Ligt who strongly criticised Gandhiji's participation in the Boer War and the First World War of 1914-18, which apparently is irreconcilable with his stubborn opposition to the present war and all wars. Thus there was a time when he felt it necessary to say: "I would not hesitate to advise those who would bear arms to do so and fight for the country." Not that he visualised a Swaraj won by violence. "Under Swaraj of my dream there is no necessity for arms

at all," he said, but added: "But I do not expect that dream to materialise in its fulness as a result of the present effort,"—he meant the Khilafat Struggle of 1921—"because I do not consider myself advanced enough to be able to prescribe a detailed course of conduct to the nation for such preparation." Again and again he used to say in those days: "I have not yet the attainments for preaching universal non-violence with effect." In one sentence he summed up the reason why even as a votary of non-violence he did not preach non-participation in 1914-18: "I had no status to resist participation"—by status meaning the status that service of the country and active practice of the principle for 29 years have given him now. By sufficient service he hoped then to attain some day "the power and confidence to resist the Empire's wars and its war-like preparations." There was a time when he thought in terms of his duty as a unit, however humble, of the Empire, and said that so long as he enjoyed the peace and security that "Pax Britannica" gave, it was his duty to serve the Empire. Today he continues to enjoy that "peace and security", but the peace is the peace of the grave and the security is the security of abject slaves. His soul therefore rebels against the Empire which now to him is a synonym for iniquity and he has vowed incessant opposition to that Empire and its war. Even twenty years ago, he knew that India's impotence affects and corrupts the whole of mankind, but he realises now as never before the implications of that knowledge. These are no contradictions. There is no more contradiction between them than there is between the root and the stem and the bark of a tree and its leaves and its flowers and its fruits. The same sap runs through all as the same passionate pursuit of non-violence runs through Gandhiji's life as through all that he has thought and done, said and written. Let the student read, study, chew and inwardly digest all that is included in this volume, and he will find that there is revealed in it the organic growth of a vital rule of life as of a soul aspiring not only towards Self-realisation, but also towards the emancipation of mankind from strife and bloodshed until, to use the words of Prof. Toynbee, "Violence annihilates itself and leaves Gentleness alone in the Field."

Bombay, 15-5-42

M. D.

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HARIJAN

May 31

1942

FRIENDLY ADVICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus reasons a friend :

"Most people will agree with you that Britain's inability to play fair by India deprives them of the right to expect even our moral support. Ideologically also most people will agree with you that their only honourable course would be to withdraw from India. But inevitably the withdrawal will confront us with immense difficulties which you yourself have admitted. You say you are willing to take all risks. Every brave man is. At the same time is it not your duty to prepare the ground up to a point so as to minimise the risks as far as possible? The people must, for instance, be made to shed cowardice and feel that it is possible for us to stand on our own legs. They must not desire, as so many do, Japanese help or even submit to Japanese domination as they would have to, if that help were taken. They must be weaned, as far as possible, from hatred of the British. And then every effort must be made to secure Muslim support. This is your last and supreme effort to bring freedom to India. Let no step be taken in haste or without due preparation. The time is too critical to bear failure."

As these columns show, with the overwhelming sense of the truth as it appears to me, I am taking every care humanly possible to prepare the ground. I know that the novelty of the idea and that too at this juncture has caused a shock to many people. But I could not help myself. Even at the risk of being called mad, I had to tell the truth if I was to be true to myself. I regard it as my solid contribution to the War and to India's deliverance from the peril that is and the peril that is threatening. It is too my real contribution to communal unity. No one can visualise what it will be like. Only it will not be the sham we have had up to now. It has touched only the few politically minded people. The masses have remained unaffected by it.

Whilst therefore I will take every imaginable care consistent with the urgency, I cannot guarantee freedom from cowardice, before taking any forward step. The cowardice will probably not be shed without much travail. Nor is waiting possible, till hatred abates. Withdrawal of the hated power is the only way to rid the land of the debasing hatred. The cause gone, hatred must cease.

Of course the people must not, on any account, lean on the Japanese to get rid of the British power. That were a remedy worse than the disease. But as I have already said, in this struggle every risk has to be run in order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease — a disease which has sapped our manhood and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure, I know, will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

FOR RAJAJI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is no doubt that Rajaji is handling a cause which has isolated him from his colleagues. But his worst enemy will not accuse him of any selfish motive behind the extraordinary energy with which he has thrown himself into the controversy of which he is the author. It reflects the greatest credit on him. He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty. It is a noble thing to strive for Hindu Muslim Unity, equally noble to strive to ward off the Japanese intrusion. In his opinion the two are intertwined.

Hooliganism is no answer to his argument. The disturbances at his meetings are a sign of great intolerance. Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or having listened make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. Whilst with the limits that nature has put upon our understanding, we must act fearlessly according to the light vouchsafed to us, we must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be truth was, after all, untruth. This openness of mind strengthens the truth in us and removes the dross from it, if there is any. I plead therefore with all who are disturbing Rajaji's meetings not to do so but to give him a patient and respectful hearing to which he is entitled.

The reader knows that I hold Rajaji to be in the wrong. He is creating a false atmosphere. He does not believe in Pakistan nor do the nationalist Muslims and others who concede the right of separation or secession. They and Rajaji say that that is the way to wean the Muslim League from the demand for separation. I am surprised that many Muslims rejoice over a concession of doubtful value. I see nothing but seeds of further quarrel in it. It should be enough to state the proposition that nothing can prevent the Muslim League from having it if the Muslims really want it. They will take it by the vote or the sword unless they will submit to arbitration. But all this can only happen when the British Power is entirely withdrawn and the Japanese menace has abated. Till then there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan or any other 'stan'. It is today Englistan and may be tomorrow Japanistan, if we do not take care. If all who consider India to be their home now and for ever will pull their full weight to deliver it from the present and the impending peril, and when both the perils are finally removed, it will be time to talk of Pakistan and other 'stan's and to come to an amicable decision or fight. No third party will or should decide our fate. It should be reason or the sword. Rajaji's method leads us to the blind alley unless his admirable and patriotic persistence opens a way unknown to him or any of us. Whatever the fate of different opinions, my plea is for mutual toleration and respect.

Sevagram, 24-5-42

INDIAN SOLDIERS RUN AMUCK ?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I take the following from the report of the Secretary, B. P. C. C., on the shooting alleged to have taken place by soldiers of Indian Signal Corps on 17th and 18th instant at Nivodhai near Dutta-parkar in Barasat subdivision, Bengal:

"A batch of Indian troops about 7 or 8, while engaged in sinking telephone posts entered the garden of Rabindranath Bose at about 1 P. M. on the 17th May, plucked fruits and willfully damaged green mangoes and jack fruits etc, whereupon, Rabindra and Shashindra protested against their conduct. The soldiers thereupon assaulted them and kicked Sashindra when he fell down. Sashindra was attended by Dr. Tulsidas Sarkar, a local medical man. The soldiers also raided the house of Hari Charan Das and Sashanka Das and damaged the cooking and other utensils and threatened the local people with dire consequences.

... "Pachu Gopal Mookherjee, President, Union Board, Suresh Chandra Dey (Honorary Magistrate) and Dr. Tulsidas Sarkar lodged the first information at Barasat Thana at about 5-30 P. M. and reported the matter to the S. D. O. Barasat and sought his protection. The S. D. O., thereupon, directed the Thana officer to post four constables at Nibodhai village in the morning of the 18th and 19th May. The complainants carried written instructions from the S. D. O. to the Thana officer, but unfortunately no police constable was found in the village on the 18th morning, when that unfortunate firing took place. ... Next day on the 18th May, the soldiers numbering about 25 came to the scene of occurrence with arms at about 7 A. M. Out of these men about 12 or 13 entered the Nibodhai village at 8-30 A. M. and started patrolling the streets using abusive language to the villagers and womenfolk and threatened them with their rifles and bullets. They, then, entered the tailoring shop of Ratan Das and assaulted him. After assaulting Ratan Das they again entered the garden of Robin Bose, knocked at the door and threatened to assault the female members of the house. The panic-stricken inmates having raised a hue and cry, a large number of villagers (40/50) assembled there to rescue them. Thereupon, the troops gave a signal to the other members of the corps who were waiting in the neighbourhood, when they also ran to the place of occurrence.

"Four or five local young men, namely, Sushil Kanjilal, Bejoy Kumar Mukherjee, Sambhu Nath Dutta and Santosh Nath approached the soldiers and requested them not to intimidate the innocent people and asked them to leave the place, whereupon they got enraged and assaulted Sushil Kanjilal on the head with the butt end of a gun, (who has since been removed to Calcutta Medical School Hospital for treatment). At this the villagers got frightened and tried to run away when Bejoy Mukherji was pushed down by the soldier and a tussle ensued between them, then he fell into the adjacent tank and the soldiers got hold of him and ducked him in water. The villagers, thereupon, being exasperated ran to his rescue and some of them pelted stones at the soldiers. They then left Bejoy in the tank and opened six rounds of shot as a result of which

Bejoy was wounded and fell down. Santosh Nath and Sambhu Dutta also received gun-shot wounds and have subsequently been removed to Calcutta Medical School for treatment. The condition of Santosh Nath is reported to be very serious. Immediately after firing the signallers left the place dragging the body of Bejoy towards the place where the military lorry was standing. After the soldiers had gone away, villagers began to search for the victim when Sudarshan Mukherji, Sripada Mukherji, Bojomohan Bose and others found Bejoy in a dying condition with intestine ripped open and groaning under the bush, near the railway home signal in a ditch close to Rabindra's garden. He was carried to the nearest Kalibari where he died saying that he was dragged in and trampled upon by the booted-soldiers on his chest and other parts of the body and was also bayoneted. He could say no more and he succumbed immediately.

"It was a deliberate and cold-blooded murder. The whole village seems to be exceedingly panic-stricken. The police did not arrive on the 18th morning although the S. D. O., Barasat, apprehending some trouble directed them to post constables at Nibodhai from the 18th morning. If the police authorities had been a bit more vigilant the catastrophe could have been averted.

"Santosh Nath who had since been lying in a precarious condition died on the 20th morning at Calcutta Medical School Hospital."

No comment is necessary on this wantonness on the part of the so-called defenders of India, assuming the truth of the statement.

Sevagram, 25-5-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The six questions that follow are from workers who endorse my plan for the withdrawal of the British Power. The answers have to be read in the light of the plan. The workers should know that no plan, however wise it may be, can produce the intended effect if it does not commend itself to those for whose benefit it is presented, or if they are too weak to follow it out. Now for my answers:

Not Right

Q. Are we right in believing that you wish the Congress and the people to become capable as soon as possible of taking over the administration and to do so on the first opportunity?

A. You are not right. I cannot speak for the Congress. But I want no organisation or individual to become capable of taking over the administration. In non-violent technique, it is unthinkable. You do not take over power. It may descend to you being given by the people. In an anarchical state, all turbulent elements will make a bid for power. Those who will serve the people and will evolve order out of chaos will spend themselves in removing chaos. If they survive, the popular will may put them in as administrators. This is wholly different from what you have imagined. People who make a bid for power generally fail to achieve it.

Q. In resisting unjust military or civil orders, is the primary motive, (a) protest against the

Government action? (b) alleviation of the peoples' sufferings? or (c) a preliminary step towards the capture of power?

A. The central point of my conception is non-violence. In trying to educate the people to be without the British or any power, the chief thing is to resist all injustice, no matter how or by whom it is perpetrated. Here resistance is not by way of protest, certainly not a preliminary step towards gaining power. I want thousands of people to resist injustice. If they all were to do so to seize power, they will never succeed. It is surely enough for them to resist the injustice they feel. It is in itself a duty.

Q. Do you expect individual Congressmen to offer resistance in cases where the villagers or general public are not prepared to come forward?

A. If I can speak for Congressmen I would say most emphatically "yes". People who are terror-struck have no gumption. Those who have, have to intercede even at the cost of their lives.

Self-Protection

Q. Shall we go to reason with the officials who refuse to allow the organisation of self-protective units? And if they do not listen, shall we still go on?

A. People have to protect themselves against officials, against dacoits and possibly Japanese. If they do not, they are doomed. Therefore they may not brook any interference with their preparation. But they may not bear arms without licence. What I have in mind is gymnastics, drill, lathi play and the like. The authorities are not likely to interfere with these practices. But if they do, the people affected may disregard prohibition and take the consequence.

Salt

Q. Villagers here are much troubled for want of salt which they used to get largely from Calcutta. If they defy the Salt Laws they can easily make sufficient stocks for the needs of the Province. Cattle in these parts are given no salt. If salt became free this serious defect could also be removed. May we advise the people to make all the salt they need for the Province? After the rains begin they will not be able to make salt.

A. Manufacture of salt for home consumption is covered by the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. The ten mile radius at present is unworkable. I do think that in these hard times the restriction should be relaxed and as far as possible the people should be left to help themselves. The main revenue from salt is not likely to be affected by the laxity of administration in favour of the poor people. I would advise local adjustment with the authorities.

The idea underlying my plan, however visionary or even mischievous it may appear to be, is that if the setting given is non-violent and the workers understand and carry it out, the withdrawal of British authority can take place without much disturbance and certainly without the Japanese replacing that authority unless, as has been suggested, the popular mind is in favour of the Japanese.

While I was preparing this note, I received a letter from Rajen Babu who writes as follows about salt:

"During my tour I have made it a point to meet representatives of merchants and traders at every place I visit, with a view to ascertaining the position of stock of food-stuffs, kerosine oil and salt and other necessary articles of daily consumption. At every place it has been impressed on me, both by merchants and members of public, that a most serious situation is developing with regard to supply of salt. A big shortage in salt is apprehended at almost every place that I have visited and unless immediate steps are taken it may cause great hardships and sufferings to the people, particularly to the poor who very often have to depend only on salt to enable them to gulp the coarse food they can somehow manage to get. The steps to control the price of salt are ineffective. It is worse than useless to control the price of an article of vital necessity, without ensuring a regular supply of it. The price fixed remains only on paper and cannot be enforced unless there is arrangement to ensure a supply of the commodity. Despite the price fixed by the Government, salt sells at higher prices at many places particularly in mofussil. But what is feared is much more serious than mere high prices, viz., more or less total disappearance of salt from the market and grocers' shops. I am told that orders placed by the merchants are not executed by the people at the centres like Khewra and Shambhar. There is nothing like price control there and a lot more than the apparent price has to be paid by the merchants if they want to get a supply. It is said that this extra cost comes to something like Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/- or even more per waggon in addition to the standard price of Rs. 1075/- for 550 maunds. At Calcutta although the price control has fixed Rs. 170 for 100 maunds the actual price paid by the buyers is Rs. 270/- This is the state of price control. The difficulty in securing a waggon is not the least of the difficulties that has to be encountered. With increasing difficulty in supply of waggons the prospect is dismal. The Government should take immediate steps to ensure a regular supply of salt: (a) by securing a regular supply of waggons, (b) by ensuring a just and fair distribution of the available stock among dealers, (c) by opening new sources of supply of salt, and (d) by removing all restrictions on the manufacture of salt from sea-water at sea-coast and from earth in the interior. It must be realised that dislocation of transport may make it impossible for salt to be carried from long distances and efforts should be made to make it available within manageable distances so that ordinary means of country transport like bullock carts, boats, pack bullocks, horses and mules may be employed for transporting it. With the monsoon already in sight it is already very late and any further delay in taking effective steps may mean untold sufferings."

I wish the authorities will listen to Rajen Babu and relax the restrictions, before it is too late and people suffer before actual war overtakes the land.

In Case of Requisition

Q. Land is being requisitioned for military aerodromes, and villagers are being ordered to vacate. If no reasonable arrangements are being made for

the villagers should the orders be resisted? or should we resist in any case as we do not want the aerodromes which are in themselves a danger not a protection, and no arrangements can ever adequately compensate a peasant for his house and fields?

A. No resistance on the ground of all war resistance is contemplated in the present plan. Resistance is permissible only if villagers do not get equal facilities elsewhere in the shape of land and cottages. No monetary compensation can give evacuated people the land they will need. High-handedness should be resisted.

Sevagram, 22-5-42

Out of Touch

Q. Do you know, being confined in Sevagram, how much you are out of touch with the public? If you were not you would not talk of resisting the Japanese as you do. For the dislike of the British is so great that the man in the street is ready to welcome the Japanese.

A. I cannot endorse your proposition that I am out of touch with the public. Though I am confined in Sevagram I see all sorts of people and receive correspondence from every nook and corner of India. Probably, therefore, I am more in touch with the people than you can be though living in a big town. You have not the opportunity that I have of gauging the public mind. But let us grant that what you say is right, (I believe you are partially right,) my suppressing the true remedy will not alter the public mind. On the contrary, I am showing the futility of hatred. I am showing that hatred injures the hater never the hated. An Imperial Power cannot act otherwise than it has been doing. If we are strong the British becomes powerless. I am therefore trying to wean the people from their hatred by asking them to develop the strength of mind to invite the British to withdraw and at the same time to resist the Japanese. With the British withdrawal the incentive to welcome the Japanese goes and the strength felt in securing British withdrawal will be used for stemming the Japanese inroad. I endorse C. R.'s proposition that the millions of India can resist the Japanese even without the possession of arms, modern and ancient, if they are properly organised. I differ from him when he says that this can be done even when the British arms are operating without coordination when you force yourself on the British Power. Experience teaches us that hearty coordination and cooperation is impossible where mutual trust and respect are wanting. British presence invites the Japanese, it promotes communal disunion and other discords, and what is perhaps the worst of all, deepens the hatred born of impotence. Orderly British withdrawal will turn the hatred into affection and will automatically remove communal distemper. So far as I can see the two communities are unable to think or see things in their proper perspective as long as they are under the influence of the third power.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

LABOURERS AS CO-PARTNERS

Gandhiji has for years been saying that in industrial enterprises "workmen should be regarded as equal owners with the shareholders" and that "labour should have the same status and dignity as capital". In the midst of an acute industrial crisis he once seriously asked mill-owners to give to the workmen every year a fixed percentage of the mill's profit after all reasonable charges had been met. The suggestion, if adopted, would have ushered in an era of abiding peace between capital and labour. But that was not to be. That the suggestion, however, far from being either utopian or chimerical, was eminently practicable (provided the millowners' outlook underwent a little change,) is now proved by the following report from America published in the New York weekly *Time* dated 5th January, 1942:

"The plushiest employee profit-sharing plan in big corporation history last week was announced by Beech Aircraft Corp. (The biggest U. S. mass producer of heavy, twin-engined bomber trainers.) The scheme which was okayed with a whoop and a holler by Beech's 6,000 employers gives them one-half of all company profits. Distributions (50% cash, 50% U. S. Defence Savings Bonds) will be made every three months on the basis of the preceding quarter's earnings. Beech thereby expects to generate enough worker co-operation and efficiency at least to offset the cost of the stockholders."

This is no eyewash, for the Beech's is a prospering concern and is going through a boom period. "In the year ended September 30, Beech sales rose 240% to \$ 8,063,000, profits 600% to \$ 472,000. Both were all-time records." Again, "October and November sales almost equalled all those made last year; by next September sales will cross \$ 75,000,000." The labourers will thus be getting substantial sums. But whether the sums are substantial or otherwise, the underlying principle is sound, and will make the workers look upon the concern as their own.

The same issue of *Time* also contains the following news item of a somewhat similar nature:

"Another munitions-maker, Jack & Heintz, Inc. of Cleveland, also paid a remarkable bonus last week: \$ 650,000 to 800 employees. All employees are called 'associates'. They punch no time clocks, get monthly bonuses averaging \$ 30, free coffee, jazz music four hours daily, free hamburgers every Wednesday, will soon get free grub from a company cafeteria."

As regards Britain, a well-known British economist, Geoffrey Crowther (editor of *The Economist*) says in a book of his (*Economics for Democrats*) that "there is a profit-sharing arrangement in the mining industry by which the workers share immediately in any greater prosperity of the employers."

Why should something of the kind not be feasible of adoption in India? C. S.

By R. B. Gregg

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FACE THE FACTS

Some time ago commenting on a frank speech by Major General Molesworth I tried to show that even if we could be armed the game was not worth the candle at this very late stage. But some of us continue to cry for arms, and when there is no response we bravely say, "Well, we will fight without arms." So far as Government are concerned more frankness from them cannot be expected. In answering the remark: "We are unarmed. What can we do? Let the Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man", the Viceroy frankly said: "Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941? During the long agony of China had ordinary men arms in their hands? The answer is 'no'. The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign." He ignored the fact that in Great Britain, Russia and China, the mass of the people who were not armed in 1940 or 1941 are armed today, but his answer should leave one in no doubt that it is impossible for him to arm the mass of the people of India. A suicidal military and political policy makes it impossible for the British to do so, no matter what the cost and the consequences. In Malay the same policy was followed. Sir Richard Winstedt, formerly General Adviser to the Johore State, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* scouts the suggestion that the Malays were "soft" or unpatriotic, asks how the Malays could be expected to defend their country when there were only two regiments led by officers with poor knowledge of Malays and their language, and says: "It is for the Imperial Defence Committee to explain the omission to raise more troops and provide a permanent nucleus of officers with a thorough knowledge of the Malay terrain, language and peoples. What must Malays think of that omission now? British prestige has had a staggering blow and quite the least we can do now is to refrain from criticism of those whom we were pledged to protect and whom we could not save and not to dream of reprisals against a country which, left by us in the lurch, may have to pretend collaboration with Japan."

Nothing can be more patent than this that they were either unable or unwilling to arm the mass of people in Malay and they are in the same predicament here. Then why not face the facts? The demand for withdrawal of the British power far from being intended to embarrass them is meant to indicate an honourable and dignified way to extricate themselves from the miserable mess they have made. If they depart they will have had the credit of having done the right thing. The Indians will then be free from one complication.

As for those of us who cry for more arms, we should realise that it is a cry for the moon, and it is best for us to educate and organise our people for non-violent non-cooperation. A writer in the

New York *Nation*, who is supposed to be a military expert, has made out a case for providing the people of Hitler-occupied Europe with arms, which should be rained on them from aeroplanes from America. "The weapons supplied must be simple enough," he says, "for untrained persons to operate and effective enough when employed with surprise and stealth to give the men temporary equality with German soldiers. The rifle does not possess the shock power required. The ideal weapons for counter-revolution are the submachine gun and the high power fragmentation grenade. Both are relatively simple to manufacture, easy to operate and deadly at close range." Whatever be the military knowledge of the writer, those in charge of the war in America certainly know better and they would not think of launching on the quixotic plan put forth in the article. It is impossible both selfishly and practically. America cannot afford, for naturally selfish reasons, to proceed on that wild goose chase. It would be easier for America to follow the plan with regard to India, but America and England know their business better. As for the poor people of vanquished Europe, if they tried to rise up in arms against Hitler, there would be far more death and destruction in the wake of their armed rebellion than there is today. But it is open to them to follow the way of non-violent non-cooperation. Nearly two million Poles are in Germany as agricultural labourers and the same number are in Russia which is fighting the war for democracy. And people from other countries are being drawn as combatants and non-combatants by Hitler. Would it not be easier for them, provided they had the will, to refuse all cooperation rather than rise up in revolt with the help of arms which may be supplied to them from America?

But whatever may or may not be possible for them, there is no doubt that that is the only way that is open to us, and also possible to us having in view the fact that we have received training, however imperfect, in the technique for several years. Both the authorities and we have to face the facts.

Sevagram, 24-5-42

M. D.

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