

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII. No. 51

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY, 20, 1954

TWO ANNAS

MANAGING TRUSTEE'S STATEMENT

The audited accounts of the Trust for the year ending 31st December 1953 approved by the Annual Meeting of the Navajivan Trust, held in Bombay at the Chairman's residence on 7-2-54 are published below. The budget for the current year i.e. 1954, as passed by the Trust is on the lines of the Income and Expenditure Account for the year 1953.

While discussing the budget for the current year, I drew the Trust's attention to an important point. It was the loss the Trust incurred in running the *Harijan* Weeklies. Since the Editor has written about it at length, I do not propose to go into it here.

In his article the Editor has also referred to the financial position of the Trust. From the accounts published below the reader will be enabled to see that the debt is of the nature of investment and that it is being gradually repaid, i.e. the interest as also a small amount towards capital is being annually paid. No doubt, the repayment is not as much as it should be. We are making serious effort for getting more and more printing work from outside, to expedite the process.

Queries are often made about the financial position of the Trust. I would permit myself to quote here from a letter I addressed to a respected leader who shows keen interest in the work and progress of the Trust, in response to his anxious query about its financial and other position:

"At the end I may be allowed to convey to you as to how the Trust stands financially at the present moment. From the last balance sheet of the year 1953, you will be enabled to see that the position of the Trust as a working institution is sound; but we carry liabilities to the extent of about rupees 21 lakhs. This was necessary to set up the press building which you saw when you came here for the A. I. C. C. meeting which was held on our premises and for the housing units for our workers, about 41 tenements in all, which we have built. The Trust has to see that it meets this burden in a reasonable time which it feels confident it will be able to do. It certainly does not mean that we may price our books heavily to this end, and we do not do it. But I am sure you will agree that the reading public has to meet reasonable charges of the printing and

publishing establishment. We, however, are utilizing our printing plant and establishment to the fullest extent by undertaking printing work from outside. We allow our workers free medical service, over and above the usual provident fund, dearness and housing allowance. All our men, including compositors, binders etc., are not employed on the daily wage system, but are servants of the Trust on a permanent monthly pay basis, and are provided with the amenities described above."

Moreover, I may specifically mention here an item of work undertaken by the Trust. A short time after the demise of Gandhiji, on the suggestion of its Chairman, Sardar Patel, the Trust resolved to prepare and publish a life of Gandhiji. In order that this might be an authentic work the preparation was entrusted to Shri Pyarelal. He has undertaken the duty very willingly and is working on it from the end of 1948 onwards. I am sure the readers remember his general plan of the work which he had published in the *Harijan*. He has first taken up and by now has prepared the last phase of Gandhiji's life and is revising it with his characteristic perseverance and care so that no mistakes of fact creep in and the life becomes fully authentic. The Trust believes this is its own special responsibility and is spending about Rs 10,000 on it every year since the end of 1948. The total amount spent till now from January 1949 to December 1953 is Rs 44,530.

It would not be out of place if I mention here the total work put in by the Trust during the year 1953. During this year the Trust has published books in different languages as follows: English 12, Hindi 8, Marathi 1, and Gujarati 16. This shows a total of 37 publications, some of which are useful collections of Gandhiji's original writings on subjects like education etc. All told these 37 publications supply sound and healthy reading of 7,259 pages at the total price of Rs 69-11-0.

I take this opportunity to appeal to the readers of the *Harijan* to buy Gandhian literature as also to propagate it among others.

15-2-54

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

(From Gujarati)

NAVAJIVAN TRUST ANNUAL ACCOUNTS
Balance Sheet of Navajvan Trust as at 31st December 1953

FUNDS & LIABILITIES	Rs. as.ps.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS	Rs. as.ps.
Income and Expenditure account		Land (at cost) as per last Balance Sheet	3,12,150-9-0
Balance as per last Balance Sheet	8,56,577-15-9	Buildings (at cost)	16,42,211-1-6
Machinery Depreciation Fund	1,52,095-0-0	As per last Balance Sheet	16,38,878-13-6
As per last Balance Sheet	1,22,095-0-0	Additions during the Year	5,029-3-0
Addition during the Year	30,000-0-0		16,43,908-0-6
Provident Fund Contribution	98,468-6-9	Less Refund of Sales Tax	
Building Fund	1,65,219-2-8	on Cement	1,696-15-0
As per last Balance		Furniture & Fixtures	40,000-0-0
Sheet	1,39,685-9-8	Balance as per last	
Addition during the Year	25,533-9-0	Balance Sheet	39,000-0-0
	1,16,081-0-4	Additions during the Year	4,844-10-9
Deposits			43,844-10-9
Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi		Less Misc. sale	416-13-9
Amount to be given to it in		Less Dep. during	
terms of Gandhiji's Will		the Year	3427-13-0
according to annual		Machinery	3,16,585-11-6
accounts	2,456-0-0	Balance as per last	
Subscription of Journals		Balance Sheet	3,02,662-4-6
and Copyright fees	1,11,187-10-10	Additions during the Year	13,923-7-0
Books & Salaries	873-11-6	Types	91,058-4-9
Sales Tax	1,563-10-0	Balance as per last	
Loans	21,20,433-8-9	Balance Sheet	96,320-9-3
Loan secured including interest on		Additions during the Year	14,737-11-6
equitable mortgage of land, plot			1,11,058-4-9
No. 96 from the Mahadev Desai		Less Dep. during the Year	20,000-0-0
Memorial Trust	10,10,252-9-6	Type Foundry Goods etc.	15,000-0-0
Loans unsecured from		Type Foundry Goods and Types Manu-	
individuals together		factured in the Press as valued and	
with interests subject		certified by the Managing Trustee	9,38,350-0-0
to confirmation	11,10,180-15-3	Stock-in-trade (at cost)	
Liabilities	1,56,483-5-9	As per inventory certified	
For Expenditure	49,030-12-6	by Managing Trustee	
For Goods, Books, Misc.		Books	7,77,000-0-0
debts etc.	1,07,452-9-3	Paper	1,46,000-0-0
		Press Materials	11,000-0-0
		Binding Materials	4,000-0-0
	Rs. 36,65,358-8-0	Khadi	350-0-0
		Advances to Translators, deposits	
		against purchases etc. including	
		unadjusted accounts	86,448-8-6
		Sundry Debtors (Unsecured)	1,14,230-11-6
		For Sale of Books etc.	1,06,450-14-6
		Loan Advances to Staff	
		from Provident Fund	5,380-0-0
		Misc. advances to Staff	964-13-0
		Outstanding rent of	
		building for the month	
		of December 1953	1,435-0-0
		Deposits against Rent and for	
		telegrams etc. with Governments	6,642-0-0
		Investment out of Provident Fund in	
		Fixed Deposits with the Ahmedabad	
		People's Co-operative Bank Ltd.	90,000-0-0
		Interest accrued on Fixed Deposits	1,595-8-0
		One fully paid up share of the Ahmedabad	
		People's Co-operative Bank Ltd.	15-0-0
		Cash and Bank Balances	11,071-1-3
		In current a/c with Banks	9,438-2-6
		Postage Stamps	290-0-0
		Cash on Hand as per	
		Cash Book	1,342-14-9

We have audited the foregoing Balance Sheet of the Navajvan Trust as at 31st December 1953 and the Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ended upon that date with the books of accounts. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the Trust's affairs according to the best of our information and explanation given to us and as shown by the books of the account of the Trust.

Dt. 2-2-1954
 51, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
 Fort, Bombay

NANUBHAI & CO.
 Chartered
 Accountants
 & Auditors

R. B. DAYE
 Accountant

Rs. 36,65,358-8-0
 JIVANJI D. DESAI
 Managing Trustee

Income and Expenditure Account of Navajivan Trust for the Year Ending 31-12-1953

EXPENDITURE	Rs. as ps.	INCOME	Rs. as ps.
To Salaries, Provident Fund contributions (including interest)	2,75,725-5-9	By Excess in Printing, Binding, Paper, & Type Foundry etc.	3,65,370-7-6
To Postage, Telegram charges, Despatch, Library & Stationery	6,642-1-9	By Excess in Sale of Books	85,207-7-0
To Telephone & Electric Charges	13,023-11-0	By Excess in Proof Reading, Translations etc.	18,045-4-0
To Travelling Expenses, Medical Expenses, Legal Expenses, Audi- tor's Fees, Khadi and Miscel- laneous expenses	9,374-12-9	By Excess in Copyright fee	4,485-11-9
To Land Revenue	35-14-0	By Rent	1,917-7-6
To Insurance Premium	5,050-5-0	Rent of Building	16,970-0-0
To Machinery Equipment	24,746-12-6	Municipal Tax and rent paid by Branches	15,052-8-6
To Building Repairs	3,810-13-0	By Excess of Income in Journals, (Without deducting salaries, Postage, Stationery etc.)	3,592-9-6
To Interest	61,487-10-6	By Income of Land and Miscellaneous receipts	239-13-0
Int. paid	70,398-3-9		
" reced.	8,910-9-3		
To Depreciation	53,427-13-0		
On Machine & Types	50,000-0-0		
Furniture & Fixtures	3,427-13-0		
To Building Depreciation taken to Building Fund	25,533-9-0		
	Rs. 4,78,858-12-3		Rs. 4,78,858-12-3
Dt. 2-2-1954	NANUBHAI & CO.	R. B. DAVE	JIVANJI D. DESAI
51, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay.	Chartered Accountants & Auditors	Accountant	Managing Trustee

AMERICA AND PAKISTAN

[The New Outlook of December 1953, New York, writes in its editorial "Theocracies and American Aid":]

Last month Pakistan elected to drop dominion status within the British Commonwealth and become instead a theocratic republic, presumably retaining the nebulous sort of commonwealth ties held by India. Although the move was expected at London and, undoubtedly, at New Delhi as well, its consequences for future India-Pakistan relations cannot be foretold. This is in part because its proposed new constitution would give no assurance of minimum rights for the 10 million Hindus within Pakistan's borders.

A new tension has been added, then, to a situation already bad, and this alone should give us pause.

But we must add to it the fact that America has elected to support a military buildup on the part of Pakistan. This is being done because Washington and London recognize in Pakistan the strongest ally against Communism among the Moslem States. A fair appraisal might conclude that Pakistan is the only strong Moslem State aside from Turkey in the world today. Our government leaders feel, and rightly, we think, that militant Communism is the threat to world peace; but they also tend, in our view, to conclude that any means of combating Communism is a good means. It is our opinion, with respect

to the military buildup, that the relationship between Pakistan and India is more significant than that between Pakistan and the USSR and that, in the long view, it would better serve our interests to do whatever we could to bring about rapprochement between the two than to build up either primarily as a possible ally against Russia.

Possibly this is assuming a long-view attitude that will never come to fruition because of a short-view catastrophe, but no one can be certain one way or the other. And a nation like an individual, must pursue *moral ends by moral means*. In the potentially explosive Asian situation, any attempt of ours to divert attention from a possible mutual settlement to another crisis looming however large on the horizon may have the most grave consequences.

If by some means an India-Pakistan settlement can be reached, and a real era of co-operation and neighbourly relations instituted between the two, that development alone would create the strongest possible bulwark against Communism in South Asia. If, through any wrong policy on our part, or neglect, or for other reasons beyond our control, this does not come about, then no munitions pumped into the Moslem theocracy of Pakistan can create more than an illusory dike against the red seepage from the north.

HARIJAN

Feb. 20

1954

TO THE READERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The readers must have learnt from the daily press that the Navajivan Trust has decided to continue the three *Harijan* weeklies. It is hoped they will welcome the decision. Readers from India and abroad have been writing off and on to assure me that these periodicals are serving a definite purpose in the public affairs of this country and their discontinuance, therefore, would create a void difficult to be filled otherwise. None the less, it is evident that if their circulation falls short of what is required to enable them to pay their way, it cannot but cause serious concern to the Trust. Naturally, therefore, the Trust has felt the need for some years past to review its policy in regard to this matter from time to time. The question was considered again this year at the annual meeting of the Trust and, as referred to above, it was decided to continue them.

In modern times, it is considered almost impossible to conduct a newspaper without advertisement. And yet like so many other miracles achieved by him, Gandhiji was not only able to carry on these papers without advertisement, but also to build up the Navajivan institution on their foundation. No doubt, he alone could do it. Moreover, those days were different. He was then preaching a new *mantram* — a new gospel of strength and freedom. People were full of ebullient enthusiasm to fight with the alien Government. The weeklies were in his hands an instrument to direct and guide it along constructive channels. All these factors were no insignificant incentive.

But as soon as this atmosphere began to change, the circulation of these papers began to suffer a corresponding fall even during Gandhiji's lifetime. After his departure from our midst, the situation changed radically giving rise to new problems concerning Hind Swaraj. The old enthusiasm tended to fade away; new and in some cases quite strange and undesirable urges replaced the old ones and swayed the hearts of the people. It is not to be doubted, however, that there is, — there should be, even under these changed conditions, a place for Gandhiji's ideas; we might add that today they are more imperative than ever.

These periodicals, therefore, continued, though their circulation was all the time shrinking more and more. At last, in 1951 when the number of subscribers came to 9,000 only, the late Shri Kishorlalbhai made an appeal to the

public, which resulted in raising it to about 18,000. However this increase disappeared with the end of the year, and at the opening of the year 1954, it stands at 11,206.

Under the circumstances, the Navajivan Trust had to consider whether to continue or close the publication of these periodicals. The number of subscribers required to enable the papers to pay their way is about 18,000 and the Trust had to bear a loss of about Rs 25,000/- last year on their account.

One of the suggestions to meet this loss was to raise the subscription from Rs 6/- to Rs 8/- or 9/-. It is much dearer today than when the subscription was fixed at Rs 6/-. The increase therefore would not be unjustified. But if it results in decreasing the circulation still further, as, one might well fear in view of the present dearth, there would be no gain, on the whole. The suggestion was therefore dropped.

Some readers have asked us now and then why we should not accept selected advertisements. Where is the harm in it? — they say. I should mention for the information of these friends that it is one of the conditions expressly laid down in the Trust-Deed of the institution which asks, "not to take advertisements in the newspapers conducted by the institution and in pamphlets, books etc. published by it."

There is another thing in the Trust-Deed which should also be noted here. The object of the institution, it says, is:

"To propagate peaceful means for the attainment of Hind Swaraj i.e. Swaraj for India, by educating the people through cultivated and enlightened workers devoted to the Gujarati language who desire to identify themselves with the life of Gujarat through the means of Gujarati and to serve India in this pure manner.

"For the fulfilment of this object to conduct the 'Navajivan'; through it to carry on propaganda for peaceful attainment of Swaraj....."

"The Trustees will continue the publication of the weekly 'Hindi Navajivan' so long as they deem it proper for the fulfilment of the object as mentioned in sub-clause (f)* of para 4 of the Deed. The Trustees have the right to conduct newspapers or publish and propagate books or pamphlets etc. in other languages when they deem it inevitable for the fulfilment of the aims and objects of the institution for a definite period, but they shall consider such activity as secondary or subsidiary. The Trustees will carry on, on the same basis, the activity of conducting the weekly 'Young India' and publication of books in English as at present carried on under the Navajivan Institution and such other activities till they deem it proper."

This shows that while the publication of the Gujarati weekly may be regarded as a duty laid on the Trust, the same cannot be said of its

* The sub-clause referred to here is: "(f) To break the unnatural glamour the English language has gained in the eyes of the people all over the country and to propagate for the establishment of Hindi or Hindustani in its place."

English and Hindi editions. Hence the Trust holds that it can close the latter two if circumstances warrant such a step. Unfortunately, it is the English and Hindi editions which are mainly responsible for the loss. But that is not to suggest that the Gujarati edition commands a very good circulation. There is room for a substantial increase in its circulation also. It does not yet reach every village and town, all our schools and libraries, and the homes of the educated amongst us. If this is brought about, the Gujarati edition by itself may sustain the continuance of its two sister editions. The readers of 'Harijanbandhu' are requested to help it in all ways open to them.

The question would still remain: Why should we then not close both or either of the Hindi and English editions? The reader will find a part of the answer to this question from the annual accounts of the institution and the accompanying statement of the Managing Trustee appearing elsewhere in this issue. He will notice that though there is definite loss on account of the publication of these periodicals, the Trust balances its budget and is able to make up the aforesaid loss through doing extra work. This would indicate another way in which the people can help us, viz., they may give their printing work to the Navajivan Press.

Another thing which the reader will notice in the statement of the accounts is that the Trust has incurred a debt of about twenty-one lakh rupees.

The Trust has spent this amount on the construction of its press building and quarters for its workers. It was Gandhiji's idea long since to set up an independent colony for this institution. Land was purchased for this purpose as early as 1929. But owing to the political vicissitudes through which we had been passing since then, the project could not be undertaken until 1947. The late Sardar Shri Vallabhbhai Patel was very keen on it and looked on it as his personal responsibility. After the attainment of freedom, he soon applied himself to this task and saw it through. And in view of the debt thus incurred, the Trust adopted the policy of accepting job work from outside so as to pay it off. The readers will see that this has enabled the institution to carry on its activities satisfactorily even under the present trying conditions.

It goes without saying that the Trust is faced with the question as to how and when it will get all this money so as to pay off the debt. In view of the fact that the Navajivan is an institution founded by Gandhiji, is devoted to propagation of his ideas, and is entrusted by him for this purpose with the copyright of all his writings, a suggestion was made, while the Sardar was still alive, that it could very justifiably seek help from the Gandhi Memorial Trust which was created by the people for serving similar objects. The idea was to ask the Gandhi Memo-

rial Trust for a loan of money free of interest which could also have helped the Navajivan Trust in making Gandhiji's books available to the people at lower prices and on a bigger scale. Unfortunately the idea could not fructify.

It is quite plain that the policy pursued by the papers also plays an important part in building up its circulation. To mind this part of the task has come to my lot. I have accepted it in the spirit that what the Trust asks me to do, I cannot refuse. But I know my limitations. It is evident that they may also affect the circulation and to that extent I might surely be held answerable for it. If however I still continue to shoulder this responsibility, it is because I believe that the readers are satisfied with the papers and are ready to bear with me.

Finally I again request the readers to help these weeklies by enlisting more subscribers and thus to free the Trust from any anxiety on their account.

12-2-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

NOTES

The Freedom He had Worked for

The following is from a letter from Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose to late Shri Kishorlal G. Mashruwala, dated 21-4-'50. It will interest the reader in two ways: Firstly about the freedom that has come to us and which we celebrated a few days back; and secondly, regarding English which is being highly and hyperbolically talked about:

"On 11-8-'47, two representatives of the B. B. C. approached Gandhiji at Belaghata for a short message to be broadcast all over the world from London on 15-8-'47. The gentlemen did not meet Gandhiji, but I carried their request to Gandhiji. He refused. It was repeated with the addition of the remark that the whole world was anxiously awaiting to hear India's message, and who could speak on behalf of India better than Gandhiji?

"When Gandhiji heard this, he told me that he did not at all feel happy and would advise the representatives to see Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the purpose. The freedom for which he had worked has not yet come.

"I went back to the gentlemen waiting outside. Came back with their request a third time, and with the additional request that as the message was going to be broadcast not only in English but in various other languages, Gandhiji should reconsider his decision.

"Gandhiji refused again and wrote on a slip of paper:

"I must not yield to the temptation. They must forget that I know English."

13-2-'54

M. P.

Vinoba's Biography

Shri Anant V. Barve of Roha, Dt. Kolaba (Bombay State) writes to me to say that he is writing Shri Vinoba's biography in English; therefore he requests all concerned to send him their anecdotes or reminiscences of Shri Vinoba.

13-2-'54

M. P.

Waste of Public Funds

While goodness knows how many men like Dastagir (*Harijan*, 6-2-'54, p. 390, 'Obituary') are facing starvation, sterling assets of which they are the owners in common with the rest of us are being squandered by a Delhi minister in buying abroad things like English woolen dress crepe ('usually Rs 75 to Rs 89-8 per yard'), ladies' Swiss floral rayon knickers, briefs and slips, cardigan jackets made by Blank of Scotland ('reduced from Rs 150 to Rs 89'), English poplin shirts ('usually Rs 36-8, now half price'), Italian Tweed, American nylon stockings, Blank's English jams and 'olde English' marmalade, French perfumes and what not!

How long can this anarchy last?

V. G. D.

COLONIALISM—A FORM OF SLAVERY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The London Weekly, *Freedom* in its issue of December 12, 1953, quotes an Italian anarchist (1853-1932) who said, "When violence is used to reach positive ends, either it fails completely or succeeds in establishing oppression and exploitation."

And, as if in illustration thereof the paper makes the following front-page observation regarding Europe's colonial rule in Africa:

"The deposition of African rulers by colonial administration continues. First there were the cases of Sereste and Tchekedi Khama. Then the French Government's deposition of the Sultan of Morocco. Now Mr Lyttleton, the Colonial Secretary, has deposed the Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda—the main province of Uganda. All these cases serve to show up the role which imperial powers expect native rulers to play, and expose the nakedness of the force which really underlies colonial rule."

We in India are not surprised at these ways of European imperialism. The history of the 19th century in our country gives numerous instances of such depositions, usurpations etc., in Indian States which had been brought under the armed protection of the British. The only question relevant today is whether the British people should still continue to work in the same outmoded manner, when imperialism and all that it means is a discredited creed and a war-making dispensation. And the opposite question for the suppressed peoples of the world is, how will they prepare themselves to be free from their colonial bondage? It appears they are adopting the Gandhian way. It is as well that the imperial powers learn a similar lesson, and just as human slavery was abolished, these

powers themselves or the U.N.O. should rule that colonialism which is only a modern form of slavery is taboo in the modern world, as it is a fruitful source of much trouble and tensions leading to avoidable bloodshed and war in the world. Surely colonialism is standing violence by a foreign ruler towards the native population of a land, with the positive aim of exploiting them. As the Italian anarchist says, this does establish oppression. Even the little foreign islands—French and Portuguese—in India illustrate this today. Colonialism is political slavery and hence a denial of the fundamental right of a people. The U.N.O. should rule it out as uncivilized behaviour for modern nations.

15-1-'54

STRENGTH THROUGH SELF-PURIFICATION*

(By Vinoba)

The Congress is a big organization. Moreover, it has at the present time in its hands the reins of the government of the country. Its responsibility, therefore, is really great. Needless to point out that it cannot fulfil this responsibility unless it keeps constantly clear of the danger of internal corruption.

There was a time before the advent of freedom when to be a member of the Congress was to face the wrath of the alien Government. It meant a readiness on the part of the member for sacrifice and suffering. This is not so now. On the contrary, it might mean, if the person in question is not inspired with the spirit of service, an opportunity for gaining power, position and such other selfish ends. It is therefore necessary for this organization to place before its members programmes demanding service and sacrifice from those who will work them. It will be a test of their sincerity and an effective deterrent against self-seekers from slipping into the party. The acceptance of Bhoodan work by the Bihar Congress was therefore a step in the right direction.

People talk of strengthening their respective parties. I wonder if they think seriously as to what they mean by it. Strength, I hold, whether in the case of an individual or a party, can come only as a result of a process of purification. They, however, concentrate all their effort on adding to the number of their followers. It is quite common for the parties to defend and glorify even those of their members whom they know to be corrupt. But they try to run down and defame those whom they know to be good and noble, for the absurd reason that they belong to an opposite party. This sort of perverse mentality is hardly calculated to strengthen the parties concerned, far less the nation which they profess to serve.

* From a speech at Patna before the members of the Provincial Congress Committee and other Congressmen, on 12-1-'54.

Do they realize that this is one of the worst forms of violence? If we sincerely believe that the existence of different political parties is a necessary adjunct of democracy—a factor which contributes to its efficient functioning then we should be glad to see them purify themselves and grow strong. If the opposite party purifies itself, we do not lose anything. It rather provides an incentive for us to similarly purify ourselves.

I do not suggest that only this or that party needs to be purified. Every party needs it in some measure. The Congress needs it and so does the Praja-Socialist Party. And the constructive workers need it even more than others. There may be workers who think they are superior to others because they spin regularly, do not eat spices, and walk on foot. I need not point out that this sort of egoism can only degrade them. Every party is open to this danger of egoism, but constructive workers should be particularly on their guard against it because they claim to be Gandhiji's closest followers. For them too the Bhoodan work provides a necessary test.

Let each party in this way take up one or the other programme of work with a view to serving the people and grow strong by thus purifying itself. All parties growing strong in this way jointly build up the strength of the nation. Various items of nation's service will be common ground for these parties to co-operate with one another. In the absence of such common ground, there is bound to be conflict and competition and in consequence an enormous wastage of energy. The party which comes out strongest will win, but on the whole the country will lose. The party winning at the expense of the good of the country is a prospect which all real patriots should view with great concern and do all in their power to ward off.

It is therefore necessary for us to find out those items of service to which all parties may agree. Bhoodan, I think, fulfils all the requirements of such a programme. Every party has admitted its need and usefulness.

I do not say that all parties or all in a single party are equally enthusiastic about Bhoodan. That stage has yet to be reached. There are different shades and colours among those who support the Bhoodan movement and much remains to be done to convince all of its undoubted utility. And yet even such support as it has received from all quarters is quite surprising.

Lastly a few words about the proposed Pak-American military pact which, I know, has been greatly exercising your minds for the past few days. I agree we must be vigilant and fully prepared to meet any eventuality. But I suggest that concentration on building up the armed strength is no answer to the challenge which it

offers us. It means we lose control and initiative and succumb to circumstances. Let the Government do what it thinks necessary about building up the armed strength. For our part, we should concentrate on doing all we can for promoting love and goodwill between not only India and Pakistan but all other countries as well, and as an earnest of it, for eradicating all the inequalities which divide various sections of our people.

(Adapted from Hindi)

GANDHI—THE MAN AND HIS TECHNIQUE*

(By Pyarelal)

IV

If we analyse Gandhiji's whole technique of non-violent resistance it reduces itself ultimately to making the people shed their three fears under which we in India constantly lived under alien rule, namely fear of jail, fear of loss of possessions and finally fear of death. That was just the goal of Ashram discipline. Workers who were trained in the Ashram disciplines by working among the people and for them were able by the force of their silent example to carry the message of the same to the masses.

To inculcate the habit of spontaneous co-operation among the people and to develop in them the strength of non-violent discipline and organization, he devised his constructive programme. It included such items as the propagation of hand-spinning and the use of hand-spun, to bridge the gulf between the haves and have-nots and to provide a supplementary occupation to millions of the starving poor who lived in forced unemployment for nearly nine months in the year. The well-to-do were asked to take to spinning and Khadi as a token of their identification with the toiling masses. Uplift and emancipation of women, building up of communal unity and complete eradication of untouchability were the means for realizing the goal of mass cohesion and social equality, and the eradication of the drink and drug evil, the means for affecting social purification. He called this programme "constructive non-violence". It enabled him to knit together in a bond of common fellowship the millions, and weave the pattern of non-violence in their every day-to-day relationships. Constructive work, he said, is for a non-violent army what drilling and practice in the use of arms etc. are for an army that fights with weapons. Preparation and training in constructive work, he found, were an absolute necessity where the fight was over vital issues involving large numbers of men. "Trust begotten in the pursuit of continuous constructive work becomes

* Concluding instalment of the address delivered to the U. S. Educational Foundation, New Delhi. The first three appeared in the issues of 30-1-54, 6-2-54 and 13-2-54 respectively.

a tremendous asset at the critical moment. Individual civil disobedience among an unprepared people or by leaders not known or trusted by them is of no avail and mass civil disobedience is an impossibility."

It was Ruskin who said that the goal of all education was to make the love of truth and abhorrence of cruelty and injustice instinctive in man. The goal of all of Gandhiji's activity was to make the masses to realize and live truth and express non-violence in their day-to-day economic and social relationships. They would then not be slaves, and nobody would be able to enslave them.

Constructive activity in his hands thus became the most potent instrument for the education of the masses. Later Gandhiji devised his scheme of basic education to enable people to realize the full content of independence in free India just as he had given us constructive programme to attain independence non-violently. This system of education does not divorce education from the day-to-day life of the individual or the community; it makes the basic activity of the individual and the community the means for the whole education of man. It was conceived by Gandhiji as an all-comprehensive complex of all his previous activities.

I can do no more than give you a few sidelights on Gandhiji's personality, method and teaching within the brief compass of this paper. I can only hope that it will whet your appetite for more. There is enough literature on the subject for those who may feel interested. And I hope you will make it possible specially to study on the spot the Land Gift Movement of Vinoba Bhave and the Basic Method of Education in operation in its fulness at Sevagram under the able and devoted guidance of Aryanayakams.

One thing more and I shall have finished. If Gandhiji had ended his career just after all his phenomenal successes, it would still have left unanswered the question: Are right and might after all identical and inter-changeable terms? If Satyagraha is an all-conquering force—as it undoubtedly is—what is there to prevent one from regarding whatever bears the mark of success as right? And might it not lead one unconsciously to make of successful might his God and declare that might is right—a dangerous doctrine—since on viewing events and processes not in the fulness of time but in a restricted segment of time and space, as we generally do, might is very often seen to win in the world and right and justice to suffer? Gandhiji removed that question mark for us by his end. "Our acts are ours, their ends none of our own." Man cannot control the course of events always and an undesirable situation may

develop in spite of all human effort owing to the operation of what has been called the "fifth determining factor"—the Unseen Power. But a Satyagrahi can always take the evil out of it and turn even poison into nectar by reacting to it in the right manner in terms of truth and non-violence and thus baulk life's accidents of their sting and the grave of its victory. By meeting the assassin's bullets—at the height of his career and as a reward, as it were, for a lifetime of service to the nation—without a trace of ill-will and anger in his heart and with the name of God and prayer for the assailant on his lips till the last conscious moment, he converted a tragedy into a triumph and fulfilment, thereby dramatizing the central truth of Satyagraha as nothing else could have done—that it converts reverse into a stepping-stone to success, conquers through surrender and wins in spite of and sometimes even through apparent defeat. The establishment of communal harmony for which he had toiled and laboured all his life but which had baffled him while he lived—so much so that a growing section had begun even to question its very basis—was by his last act, in an instant, lifted beyond the pale of controversy and India was saved to the ideal of the secular State once and for all.

(Concluded)

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