

HARIJAN

16 Pages

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VOL. XI, No. 3

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1947

TWO ANNAS

WHERE IS THE OBSTRUCTION ?

The papers say that the Government was considering a cut in the ration for cloth by one-sixth. The reason assigned was that owing to communal disturbances in Bombay and Ahmedabad, the mills could not get enough hands to work fully, resulting in the diminution of cloth-production.

Just imagine! Seven lakhs of villages scattered all over India must suffer cloth-famine, because two of her cities were involved in riots!

The cotton from which cloth is manufactured grows in those very villages; and yet they cannot turn it into cloth in their own homes! Why? The answer is—on account of the dullness of the masses, the muddled heads of the learned and the inertia common to both. Owing to dullness, the masses are unable to move unless stimulated from outside. Owing to want of clear thinking, the learned are filled with doubts. "Can it be seriously urged" they ask, "that we should in this age of scientific progress personally spin and ask people to spin on the *charkha* of the middle ages? Is it conceivable that we could ever clothe ourselves sufficiently without the mills? We concede that the *charkha* can produce some yarn. But what is it good for?" Learned as they are, they are unable to see that it is good enough for covering their bodies! To add to both these causes, there is the inertia common to all, born of age-long slavery.

But then should people go naked? The Government seem to say that for the time being there was no alternative. They had made a scheme for starting new mills in the province. It would take some years to implement it. Till then, people would have to feel the pinch of scarcity. The provincial quotas were fixed by the Central Government and all that the Provincial Government could do was to distribute its share equally among the people.

But I don't see even equal distribution. All around me, I find that it is only the poor who go in rags; the others are more than fully clothed.

However, let me assume that the Government will bring about equal distribution. Still I do not see why the people should feel the pinch of scarcity until new mills are built and they begin to work. Is there any want of time to spin? Is it difficult to manufacture spinning implements? Or is it want of sufficient cotton?

The ancient logicians said that three factors were essential in order to produce a thing, say cloth: the basic material i. e. cotton; the instrument of production, i. e. spinning implements; and the efficient cause, i. e. a capable man. But here

we are faced with the situation that cloth cannot be produced, though all the three factors are present. Were the logicians wrong? If not, where is the obstruction?

The obstruction is with the efficient cause—the capable man. The agriculturist has enough time and capability to spin, because he does not possess more land than three-quarters of an acre. But the capable men who rule over him, are unable to see this. Most of them do have *khadi* on their heads, but it has not yet entered into those heads.

Perhaps they might deny this. They might say, that I was unjust to them. True, they were not convinced about the potentiality of *khadi* that I ascribe to it. But they were not unwilling to encourage it while the mills were insufficient. Indeed, they invited the Charkha Sangh to give them a scheme. But Gandhiji advised the Sangh not to submit any scheme to the provinces, which wanted to establish mills also. The obstruction, therefore, lay in Gandhiji's advice.

Let us examine this piece of logic. It might take about two or three years to start new mills. Even assuming that *khadi* is needed only during the time the mill production is insufficient, is it seriously intended to encourage hand-spinning during the interval? If it is, has it been considered whether it is physically possible to introduce the wheel in every village in a period of two or three years? Has it been realized that before the spinning wheel can be usefully plied, it will be necessary to give the people training in spinning and the ancillary processes? This means that an intensive and country-wide scheme for giving this training will have to be planned out and executed. If the Government is serious it might say, of course, they would be prepared to do all that. Well, if measures are taken to introduce the *charkha* in so thorough a manner, then by the time the plan is executed, the mills will have begun to work and the mill-cloth will begin to be dumped upon the villages. Are the two positions consistent? If the scheme to set up the *charkha* in every home is to be seriously implemented, why should the mills be brought in to dislodge it again? If, on the other hand, the setting up of the mill-industry is a settled programme, why should there be all this waste of energy to introduce the *charkha*? Encouraging the *khadi* during the interval does not surely mean putting in a few lakhs of rupees into hand-spun and hand-woven cloth for the satisfaction of the *khadi* complex, which Congressmen have developed to a certain extent by long association!

And after all this expenditure of energy and public funds, what will be the net result? The present ration of cloth in this province (C. P.) is 12 yds. per head. Of these six yards are meant to be mill cloth wholly and six yards of hand-loom cloth. This is practically unavailable. Taking the minimum need to be as low as 16 yds. per head, it is no joke to supply the deficit on the *charkha*. It cannot be done by doling out a few lakhs of rupees into the *khadi*-made charity-bag.

Therefore, let there not be any loose thinking about *khadi*. The ministers must think it out in a serious manner. Gandhiji cannot be so irresponsible as to allow tax-payers' money to be spent on a programme in which the ministers have no clear faith. You cannot encourage both *khadi* and the mills. The mills that be, must disappear with the wearing out of their machinery and no new mills must come in to displace hand-spun cloth.

The Madras Cabinet alone has ventured to chalk out a *Khadi* scheme. It has been made the target of severe attacks by the vested interests. Some have prophesied the failure of the scheme; a few are hopeful. And the irony of it is that several of those who attack the plan clad themselves in *khadi* top to toe!

I may be again told that this was an unjust criticism. It was not that those whom I had criticized did not want *khadi*. But they were realists. In a case depending upon hard facts mere will to believe cannot generate faith and in the case of *khadi* facts did not show that it could be universalized. The A. I. S. A. had been after it for these twenty years. The Congress had encouraged it. But they had not succeeded in installing it in the place which *khadi*-lovers wanted for it. That was the reason for their want of full faith in *khadi*.

The answer is that uptill now the *khadi* movement had to be carried on under a Government hostile towards it. So many times, it actually burnt the wheels, confiscated *khadi* Bhandars, and imprisoned people simply because they put on *khadi*. It even had the tyrant's heartlessness to burn stocks of *khadi* in the face of actual cloth-famine in the country. If, under such adverse circumstances, *khadi* succeeded in becoming the symbol and the uniform of Swaraj, and has actually brought the country to the threshold of Swaraj, and placed people, who could, if they wished, make it universal, in possession of the power to carry out that wish. It cannot, therefore, be said that it has not fully rewarded the efforts made for it during all these years. *Khadi* can now justifiably say to the Congress Governments that it was now for them to decide whether it should hereafter stay or quit along with the Government, which by its assistance, had been brought to the stage of quitting. The Congress was in power now and it was for them to retain or discard the weapon which gave them that power.

Pavnar, 24-12-'46

VINOBA

(Adapted from the original in Marathi)

ONE MORE FEATHER IN THE CAP

In most economic activities both the long range programme and short time measures must go hand in hand and must be well co-ordinated if they are to function satisfactorily. If the carpenter wants seasoned wood for his cabinets, the long range counterpart of this is the forest policy of the Government. When the farmer needs to water his fields the Government has to lay out long term irrigation schemes to answer the purpose. These items are complementary but the long term policies are based on the demand of the short range policies. It is the function of the Government to provide the long term measures to supply the needs of the short range economic activities. A maladjustment between these two aspects causes waste. For instance, the Government will be foolish to go on building irrigation works where there are no fields to irrigate!

During the feudal days England was an economy based on horse power. The horse was the beast of burden. It provided the motive force for the farmer on the fields, the mount for the wayfarer, the charger for the warrior, the draught power for the post chaise, etc. At that time the feudal lord functioned partially in the place of the State in a modern democracy. So it fell to his lot to take care of horse-breeding which was a long range programme. Because of this the institution of horse racing came into being to set the required standards of quality and to reward the successful breeder. Since the advent of power machinery, coal and oil have ousted the horse, leaving us only its long range counterpart, horse breeding and racing as an anachronism for the indulgence of the gambler and wastrel. This phenomenon of an economic long range item outliving its partner has developed into a monstrosity destroying the lives of hundreds of simple city clerks and petty traders who are enticed away by betting booths and has become a carbuncle on the body politic. This disease has invaded our country too. Many of our Princes and wealthy men are wasting crores on this pastime. The ever wasteful spendthrift governments, instead of ending this meaningless rudiment of an ancient economy, have made capital of it by making it a source of income. The magnitude of its operations can be gauged from the fact that the Bombay Government pools nearly a crore from its betting taxes, while Calcutta makes about three fourths of it. It is high time for any rational Government not driven by its greed to put an end to this nefarious occupation.

The Madras Ministry has again given the lead by legislating against wagering or betting at horse races. While some types of horses for the tonga, etc. have yet to be bred, the kinds that are found in the races are of no use for the ordinary man. Under the circumstances all racing of such animals should be completely banned. We trust the other Provincial Governments will follow this example.

Besides, our country being in a cow-centered economy, which badly needs long schemes in cattle-

breeding, poultry rearing, sheep-breeding etc., we would commend that the energies now running waste in horse-breeding may well be profitably channelized into these activities which will fit into the economic life of the country.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

Notes

Orissa's Suicide

One of our poorest provinces is Orissa. As a consequence of the last war it has been impoverished further. When we talk of the economic condition we have in mind the common farmer and the villager. It does not at this stage require any exposition of the fact that centralized production accumulates profits to the "haves" and creates unemployment and distress for the "have nots". To relieve poverty and unemployment, therefore, we need to spread industries which distribute wealth and bring employment to the largest number. Such is *khadi* production to relieve shortage of cloth as quickly as possible.

The ill-advised Orissa Government is the first to take the bait of the provincial spindle quota scheme and has obtained an over-riding priority for the import of plant and machinery for the new company, "Orissa Textile Mills Ltd." for its 25,000 coarse and 19,000 fine spindles. They are awaiting permits for steel, cement and coal to start construction work at Cuttack.

For this company, under the most favoured terms, to start production it will take about three years. In the meanwhile the cloth shortage will grow from bad to worse; and by the time the mill begins functioning, the U. S. A., Great Britain and other countries which are pushing forward their export trade with all their might and main will be comfortably settled in the market. Will the Orissa Textile Mills be powerful enough to oust them?

We are sorry that the Orissa Government has taken this short-sighted view and has introduced a scheme which will bring greater distress for the masses than the one they are suffering from now.

A Share in the Booty

Nadir Shah invaded India for booty. This booty was in the form of hoards of precious metal, jewellery and gems. Such is not the booty our moderns look for. They want instruments of production, raw materials and markets. It was the search for such booty that brought in the global wars.

After the first world war the "conquerors" unburdened Germany of her colonies and claimed reparations to compensate for the loss caused by the wars.

Now again Germany has been "vanquished". The international vultures have foregathered where the carcass is. An assembly of delegates from the Principal Allied Countries have drafted a "Final Act and an Accord" to pool all German Patents in Allied countries. India has also been dragged into this arrangement, by whom we do not know.

When we buy a stolen article knowing it to be such we become morally responsible for the stealing that had preceded the transaction. India refrained from entering this war. To that extent she is free from the blood guilt of this war. Can we now ask for a share in the booty consequent on this war without assuming moral responsibility for the carnage?

Can we buy and bring into our country German plants taken over by the allies as "reparation"? There is a list of 51 German war plants, which are for sale, circulated among the Indian Chambers of Commerce. These are stained with injustice, cruelty, avarice and human blood. Are we prepared to take these on our hands? If we do, we become imperialists no less than the British or the Americans. If India stands for the freedom of all suppressed nations, Germany being one such today, our National Government should protest against such loot and ban such tainted property.

J. C. K.

THE PROPHET'S CONVENTION FOR ALL TIME

A Muslim friend sends the following quotation from the Bengali book *Mustafa-Charit* by Maulana Akram Khan. He has been circulating it in the form of a handbill.

"After arrival in Medina Hazrat Muhammed turned his attention towards the peace and welfare of the country. Medina with its neighbourhood was the seat of three independent tribes. The thoughts, tastes and religion of the Jews, the Idolaters and of the Musalmans were incompatible with one another. The Prophet realized the need of bringing them together under one common plan of action—they were to be fused politically into one 'nation'. They had to learn that different religious communities who inhabited the same country could preserve their religious independence fully intact and yet could work together in the service of their common motherland. Such a State was possible and also desirable.

"For the first time in the history of the world this ideal was preached by an inhabitant of the desert of Hejaz, viz., the unlettered Muhammed Mustafa. The latter gathered together the Jews, the Idolaters and the Muslims of Medina and made them sign the first international agreement and created a republic out of the various religious communities and mutually hostile factions. We give below a few items from that convention.

1. Jews and Idolaters belong to the same *Ummat* (Nation) as the Muslims.
2. They will fight unitedly for preserving the country's freedom.
3. Jews, Muslims and other communities are free to follow their own religious practices; none shall interfere with the religious freedom of another.
4. Muslims should generally behave with affection towards other communities and work for

the latter's welfare. They should never harbour thoughts of injuring them in any way.

5. This promise taken in the name of Allah is for all time. He or they who break it will suffer from the wrath of Allah."

HARIJAN

February 16

1947

WANTED CORN, NOT CURRENCY

It is usual to say that India is an agricultural country. If one understood thereby that India had plenty of agricultural land, it would not be correct. For, it has only $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an acre of land per head. The proposition, therefore, must be taken to mean that the Indian village and the life, habits and thought of the Indian people are more suited to agricultural pursuits than to non-agricultural ones. It can also be understood to mean that at present India has not much left of avocations other than the agricultural one. There is a third sense also for treating India as an agricultural country, namely, that the country having far less agricultural land than necessary, it must concentrate its main attention and energy on the improvement of agriculture. No prosperity could be expected otherwise.

Indeed, this was realized as early as the time of the *Upanishads*. One of them says, "Grow more corn. Regard this as your pledge." During the war period the Government also began to repeat this phrase, but it failed to create more corn. Instead, it created more currency. As a result, thirty lakhs of people died of want of corn.

Ultimately, the British Government handed over its failing concern to the leaders of the people. With the full knowledge of the risk involved in taking over a failing concern, the leaders have accepted the responsibility. Hence, keeping people alive is the most important problem that faces the country at present.

Businessmen say that agriculture is not a profitable avocation in India. But, since life depends upon agriculture, where agriculture is not profitable, life itself cannot be profitable. This result is not, cannot be, natural; it is the result of an artificial civilization. Currency is the symbol of this artificiality. The false prestige given to the possession of currency has become the cause of the destruction of so much life.

The people of India live in *khedas*—fields (remember that one of the synonyms for 'village' in several Indian languages is *kheda*, which also means a field). If we can undo in the *khedas* the false importance given to currency, agriculture cannot but improve. The importance given to the possession of currency is the cause of the frenzy for raising 'money-crops'. Why are so much tobacco, a considerable part of cotton and similar other

crops raised? Why should there be so much need for currency? Because, the villager has to obtain all his wants by purchase. He must bring his cloth and the oil-cake and several other necessities from the market; hence his need for money. Hence he raises crops not needed by him or his comrades in the village, but those wanted by a far away exporter or industrialist. And so, food is scarce. The village itself has no industries of its own. The villager cannot supply himself with his essential needs from things manufactured locally. The deduction is clear. Sufficient food is not grown in the fields because sufficient industry is not carried on in the villages.

Of course, our agriculture needs considerable improvement; and there is no gainsaying the fact that improved agriculture will be more profitable. It will need all our talents, energy and years of patient endeavour to do this. While all this must be done, it must also be realized that the population will also increase along with the years of effort and the results of improved agriculture alone may not be proportionate to the needs of an enlarged population. Therefore an agriculturist should not be defined merely as one who lives by tilling land, but one who both tills the land and produces from the raw produce of his land articles needed for his own use. This idea is at the root of the Khadi and Village Industries movement. In the immediate future, the miseries of the poor will not end without a simultaneous impetus to Khadi and Village Industries.

Government is busily engaged in making calculations of the deficiency in the quantity of food needed for the country and devising ways and means of meeting it. But, if you think hard, you would realize that the 'Grow More Food' movement must not be limited by calculations of deficiency. Indeed, there should be no limit to the amount of food to be grown. It must not simply meet the annual needs of the country, but there must be plenty of surplus left for the next year. Like air and water, there must be plenty of food too. And food should not mean merely various corns, but also vegetables, fruits, roots and tubers. Nor should they be raised with an eye on their price in money; they must be consumed by the producer himself. He himself must become the principal buyer of his produce; the unneeded surplus alone should be for sale. This is Swaraj. "I salute the eater of his own produce," said Tukaram. No one would desire to put up his own son for sale in the market! He can never feel that he got full value for him. Hence, he cannot afford it. But he produces milk and butter, fruits and vegetables, and puts them up for sale! He says that he cannot afford to consume them himself! Why should it be so? My answer is—for want of village industries. Possibly some people might feel I am obsessed by this idea. But as long as I have not been given any other explanation for it, I must adhere to this view.

Pavnar, 13-1-'47

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Marathi)

GANDHIJI ON TRUSTEESHIP

Gandhiji deliberately referred to his private life because he had never thought the private life of individuals did not affect the course of the public activities of those individuals. Thus he did not believe that he could be immoral in private life and yet be an efficient public servant. His public conduct was bound to be affected by his private. He held that much mischief was made throughout the world by divorce between public and private conduct. And when he was engaged in the supreme test of non-violence in his life, he wished to be judged before God and man by the sum total of his activities, both private and public. As he had said years ago, non-violent life was an act of self-examination and self-purification whether by the individual, group or a nation.

This led him to the answers of some questions addressed to him and arising out of his remarks on trusteehip.

Q. Is it possible to defend by means of non-violence anything which can only be gained through violence?

A. It followed from what he had said above that what was gained by violence could not only not be defended by non-violence but the latter required the abandonment of the ill-gotten gains.

Q. Is the accumulation of capital possible except through violence whether open or tacit?

A. Such accumulation by private persons was impossible except through violent means but accumulation by the State in a non-violent society was not only possible, it was desirable and inevitable.

Q. Whether a man accumulates material or moral wealth he does so only through the help or co-operation of other members of society. Has he then the moral right to use any of it mainly for personal advantage?

A. No, he has no moral right.

Q. How would the successor of a trustee be determined? Will he only have the right of proposing a name, the right of finalization being vested in the State?

A. As he had said yesterday, choice should be given to the original owner who became the first trustee, but the choice must be finalized by the State. Such arrangement puts a check on the State as well as the individual.

Q. When the replacement of private by public property thus takes place through the operation of the theory of trusteehip, will the ownership vest in the State, which is an instrument of violence or in associations of a voluntary character like village communes and municipalities, which may of course derive their final authority from State-made laws?

A. That question involved some confusion of thought. Legal ownership in the transformed condition vested in the trustee, not in the State. It was to avoid confiscation that the doctrine of trusteehip came into play retaining for the society the ability of the original owner in his own right. Nor did he, the speaker, hold that the State must always be based on violence. It might be so in theory but the

practice of the theory demanded a State which would for the most part be based on non-violence.

Satgharia (Noakhali), 2-2-'47

SUPPRESSED CLASSES AND CONGRESS WORKERS

Until recently disturbances like strikes etc., were confined mostly to labourers of large-scale industries and city areas only. But now we see even workers like *bhangis* in small towns going on strike for an increase in their salaries. So also *halis* in the Surat district and the *adivasis* and the *raniparaj* (aborigines and forest-tribes people) have become restive and are offering resistance to land-owners and money-lenders. When this happens, instead of examining the merits of the case we are disposed to ascribe them to the instigation of the Kisan Sabha or Red-flag people or communists. Our stock argument against them is that they are totally unscrupulous and take resort to any means regardless of truth or justice and take advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the people, mislead them into violence and thus do harm to the poor masses. We also argue that it is not the whole or even a majority of these communities that takes part in such disturbances, but that these are stage-managed with the help of the fifty or hundred hooligans, who terrorize and coerce the rest to join the strike and take part in the disturbances. We feel that under the circumstances, nothing could be done except suppressing the agitators and their hired hooligans. I accept that there is some truth in these allegations. But that fact does not satisfy me much. For the question is: how is it that these people instead of going to the Congress for advice and for removal of their grievances, run to those mischievous agitators? We have been working amongst them for more than two decades now. We claim to serve them and give them the correct lead. Our institutions are older and ably organized and the government machinery has also come into our hands. How is it that even then we have not been able to generate such strength and understanding amongst the masses that they would not fall a prey to the lures of unscrupulous agitators and to the intimidation of the hooligans? Let us, therefore, probe deeper into the matter and do a bit of hard heart-searching. If the result of such heart-searching proves our attitude to be erroneous, I am prepared to take my own share in the blame as a worker. Thus what I write here is not to accuse my co-workers in the Congress, but to make an attempt to find out the truth. I request my readers in the Congress to take this article in that light.

To resume the thread, let us enquire how many of us have gone to these extremely suppressed and down-trodden people and to what extent have we been helpful to them in removing their miseries and sorrows? It cannot be gainsaid that the upper class people actually live on the toil of these people. They derive undue benefit from every variety of economic relationship with them. They consider themselves as a socially superior people and do not let go a single opportunity of insulting them and

keeping them in their present suppressed condition. We workers do not have the courage to tell this fact plainly to the upper class people. We are afraid that we shall incur their displeasure, they might discontinue monetary and other help for our public activities or withdraw their cooperation. So we are inclined to maintain silence over these things and thus compromise our fundamental principles. We take shelter under the hackneyed maxim, 'hasten slowly', it being a safer course than antagonizing such people. If the elections of Local Boards or Municipalities or legislative assemblies are imminent, we think it advisable to postpone all such programmes, as are from the point of view of justice and urgency very important, but are likely to be unpopular with our constituencies and affect the vote. In selecting candidates for such bodies we attach more importance to their social influence amongst the voters and their possibility of success at the polls than to their capacity, their devotion to principles or loyalty to our programmes. Consequently, in practice we attach greater weight to castes and communities, which in principle we are out to abolish. Such candidates when elected are naturally found to be wanting in their zeal or devotion in discharging their duty towards these suppressed sections of our countrymen. For example, though the government resolution is clear regarding admission of Harijan students in Local Board Schools, the Harijan Sevak Sangh has to face a number of difficulties in getting students admitted to them. Hardly any School Board takes an active interest in this work. Similarly, we find some legislative assembly members elected on Congress tickets criticizing adversely even such a mild measure as the Bombay Tenancy Act. The tenants are accused of dishonestly defrauding the landowner of his legitimate half share of the crops by clandestinely removing the crops, so that the land-owner or the money-lender is hardly able to recover more than one third. The following extracts from a letter written by an old and experienced worker in the Surat District will show how flimsy the accusation is:

"A majority of villages on our side are so firmly in the clutches of the *sowcar* that 95 per cent of the tenants have to give away the whole produce of rice, *jowari*, pulses and cotton to him. Tenants are required to thrash their rice, *jowari* and pulses in the *sowcar's* farm. From the produce the *sowcar* first deducts the value of his advances and usurious interest thereon, leaving hardly one fourth of the produce for the tenant. The tenant should consider himself fortunate if he gets 1/8th share in the produce of the pulses. As regards cotton the whole produce is taken away by the *sowcar* in lieu of his old claims. If the tenant has grown wheat, he is not allowed to keep even a grain of it. 'Surely the beggar of a tenant does not need wheat' is an expression which you may often hear from the creditor's mouth.

"And as if this was not enough the tenant is called a thief if he eats some green *jowari* or some

green beans while he is watching the fields. The *sowcar* on the contrary might legitimately take a cart-load of friends and relatives on a picnic in the fields and use any amount of green *jowari* or take away any amount of green beans! But then he is rich and the tenant is poor and that makes all the difference!

"As a matter of fact this tenancy legislation is likely to benefit more the *sowcar* than the tenant. The protection given to him will create for him permanent interest in the land and will induce him to make improvements therein as also to work with greater zeal. As a consequence the produce will be doubled or at least increased by more than one half. Thus even with the one third share, the *sowcar* will be getting more than what he used to get as his half share. Increase in national wealth will be a further advantage. Yet the *sowcars* have been agitating against this legislation!"

Let us also consider the *hali* system prevailing in the Surat District. The *halis* (agricultural labourers) have been reduced to the condition of serfs and are so much degenerated under this unjust and crushing system that they have reached the stage of an almost sub-human species. Their labour output has gone so low that it is no longer economically advantageous to the employers. Yet the latter are so much accustomed to this system that when attempts are made to improve the lot of these *halis*, local Congressmen who happen to be owners are enraged and make bitter complaints against our own workers. When such is the mentality of persons calling themselves Congressmen both 'active' and general, if a very large part of Congress workers remain complacent and discourage or run down those few from amongst us who take up this work, is it surprising that these suppressed people should eagerly listen to the counsel of the Kisan Sabha and other workers who believe disturbances and violence to be the *sine qua non* of any revolution?

The Congress has always claimed to stand for the poor, the down-trodden and the exploited. The Constituent Assembly has also put its seal on this objective. But we the Congress workers have not the courage to displease the exploiters, black marketeers or such other traitors to society, whose sordid interests are surely to be affected if we carry on our just and necessary activities of helping the poor on right Congress lines. If the poor and toiling people who have been either fully or partly awakened to their grievances fall a prey into the hands of mischievous agitators, it would be due to our default and we shall have no cause to complain. Even Churchill who led his country so ably during the war was almost unceremoniously thrown out when he began to resist the new spirit and used his advocacy to promote or maintain the interests of the exploiting classes. Even so, we calling ourselves Congressmen, if we begin to play the role of the Conservatives, we shall lose our prestige and our hold on the people.

NARHARI PARIKH

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SCHEME OF COW-BREEDING

Eleventh February is the death anniversary of Sheth Shri Jamnalalji. It reminds us of his single-minded devotion to the service of the cow. The memory of that devotion awakens us to our sense of duty towards the cow. Five years have already passed in mere wishing. Others have had their five years' plans and have executed them, thereby changing the face of their countries. We are not in a position to show to our credit any substantial work during these five years. But during these years we have fought a great battle for Swaraj and that has won for us some political power which we can utilize for preparing and executing a country-wide programme of cow-service. Ours is not a small achievement and it compensates for the want of progress in cow-service. But what about the coming five years? We must prepare a plan and gird up our loins to put it into execution.

Even during the period of turmoil the Go-Seva Sangh has put in some substantial work though in a very limited sphere. The quantity of achievement is small, but it is very valuable. It can give some guidance to the country in preparing a plan for the future. The small experiments in Sevagram and the Gopuri *goshala* have demonstrated that we can improve both the milk strain and the draught strain of our local cows. From the point of view of cow-service it is essential that we should make improvements in the local breeds. This has been done by these institutions without any fuss and without spending large sums of money. Of course there is much yet to be done and we are far from reaching our goal. But what has been achieved is doubtless noteworthy.

With Congress Ministries in the Provinces our responsibility for improving the condition of our cows and bullocks increases immensely. It is necessary that we should definitely chalk out the lines on which the work should now proceed. The necessity of supplying good and sufficient milk to the cities at once comes to our notice. I offer some suggestions in this respect as well as in respect of cow-breeding in general.

1. As soon as the question of milk-supply is considered, we start with the idea of importing cows giving plenty of milk. In my opinion this is not necessary. We should select for our work local breeds as far as possible. A little reflection will help to make my point clear. Our purpose cannot be served by ignoring local breeds. We cannot betray the agriculturists. It is essential that we should show them a way to improve the condition of the cows that they have. It will be harmful to neglect these animals in our enthusiasm to supply milk to the cities.

2. It will be wrong to concentrate on the milk yielding quality of the cow and neglect its draught-strain. To have good bullocks for agriculture is one of the chief aims of breeding. To get good milk is another. Both these aims should well be kept in mind. We will not be able to save the cow if we concentrate only on the milk strain. And the

cow will not be economic if we totally neglect the milk giving quality and concentrate only on getting good sturdy bullocks. We have to make the cow serve the dual purpose. The cow should give us good bullocks useful for agriculture and also a good supply of milk. Only those countries, where agriculture does not depend upon bullocks and where calves form an item of food, can afford to say that we care only for more milk, we do not mind if we do not get sturdy bullocks. In India only that cow has a future which is able to give us a fairly good supply of milk as well as fairly sturdy male animals.

3. It is certainly no duty of the villages to supply milk to the cities. The village people should themselves drink plenty of milk and may sell only the surplus. This aim can be achieved only if milk in villages is so abundant that the villages find it within their means to drink plenty of it.

4. Agriculture, cow-breeding, oil-pressing by the bullock-*ghani*, tanning hides, and preparing good manures; all these make one single unit and must go together. Agriculturists and their children will get sufficient milk only if all these industries are carried on together. In any scheme of cow-protection all these should be carried on simultaneously.

5. Cow-breeding cannot be separated from other village industries. If arrangement cannot be made to engage the agriculturist in essential industries in his own home, he will have to depend upon outside markets for his essential requirements and would be in need of cash to buy them. So long as this state of things continues, he will always have to sell his milk and milk products for cash.

6. The villagers need not purchase bullocks from outside. It should be possible to breed fine bullocks in every village. For this Government will have to provide proper facilities such as stud bulls. This should be considered as of primary importance.

These are the minimum conditions that I suggest for cow-breeding. I have not gone into details. In preparing any plan for cow-breeding, if these suggestions are kept in mind it will do good to the country. But if we begin our work on wrong lines no good will come out and our labour and money will be wasted.

In preparing a comprehensive scheme these points have therefore to be borne in mind.

Pavnar 3-2-'47

VINOBA

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR

(Second Revised Edition)

By

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CINEMAS

Thus writes Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru :

I beg to add a word in support of the appeal, made by a correspondent for the restraint over the modern talkies by our National Governments, published in the *Harijan* of 5th January.

I am not a frequent visitor of cinema pictures but the little I have seen of them has convinced me that whatever she has said, about the evil effects of these pictures on the morals of young men and women, is perfectly true.

The cinema habit is fast growing and the real danger lies in the fact that it is penetrating the villages. These pictures are taking the place of the healthy entertainments of former days. Recital of *kathas* and playing of *rashilas* and other semi-religious salutary entertainments, which built up the moral calibre of the people, are getting out of vogue. Instead, cinemas are becoming more and more popular every day. The country, therefore, stands in great moral danger which we should make all possible efforts to combat. Using Shri Mashruwala's simile I would say that these pictures are big boulders on the path of the Nation's moral progress and the strength of the mighty elephants is certainly needed for their removal. It is by no means a trifling matter which can be left to the people to deal with as they choose. The danger springs from the fact that the production of cinema pictures lies in the hands of money-making men who, with a few exceptions, run the industry with the profit motive. Thus an innocent instrument, which science has placed in our hands, is vitiated. With a little control by the Government it can become the best means for the educational and cultural advancement of the people.

The cinema industry is one of the most prosperous industries in India today and as is the case with all industrial mass production, cheapest articles, which bring highest return are produced. It happens that in this case the largest audiences are drawn to sensational pictures which have a sex appeal. Thus it is that private individuals, for personal profit, spoil the taste of the public. The demand does not precede the supply; it is the supply which creates the demand.

There is a great deal of talk about Nationalization these days. In my opinion nationalization of the cinema industry is needed more than anything else. In any case, strict control by the Government is essential. Control is already exercised and all provinces have Cinema Censor Boards.

I myself was a member of the Punjab Provincial Censor Board some time ago. It was a foreign Government then. Censor was exercised from the point of view of that Government. All reference to the movement for the liberation of the country or to its national leaders was sedition and had to be expunged. The moral and cultural level of the pictures was of no concern to the Board. No standards were observed for the maintenance of these. I had to resign from the Board

because I could not reconcile myself to this method of censoring. But now things are different. We have our own Governments. There is no reason why they should be apathetic about it. I strongly feel that all Provincial Governments should take up the matter and exercise a very strict control on pictures released for public view. Particularly, the education departments should take a lead in the matter.

I have also received other similar communications rebuking me, gently or severely, for not fully stressing the duty of the National Governments to take action in the matter complained of. As the majority of the new correspondents refer only to the cinemas, I have omitted in this article the other evil, though the same could be said with regard to it also. The original correspondent was from Central India. Those who have supported her represent the Punjab, Gujarat, C. P. and Madras. It shows that the dissatisfaction regarding the movies is shared, by a thoughtful section of the people, all over India.

In my article I had by no means absolved governments from their duty in the matter. Acting on the maxim, "a word to the wise is enough", I contented myself by saying that there was much truth in what the correspondents said and that the popular governments should take note of it. As I write this I read in a local newspaper a report that the Bombay Government has already taken some action in the matter and contemplates some further legislation for making the cinema shows more educative in the right direction and improving their moral quality. I hope other governments will also take, if they have not already done so, steps in the same direction.

But having said this, I wish to re-emphasize the duty of the public in the matter. More can and should be done by the moulders of public opinion than they do, or expect governments to do, in respect of entertainments and habit-forming indulgences and if they do not discharge their part of the duty, even at the risk of becoming unpopular with the entertainers and entertainment-seekers, they must not expect the government ploughs to furrow sufficiently deep.

I may further develop this subject at some other time if I have to continue this office long.

Sabarmati, 22-1-'47

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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