HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

SARVODAYA SUBJECTS

The Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, announces that the problems listed below are some of the subjects which have been proposed for discussion at the ensuing Sarvodaya Sammelan at Shivarampalli (Hyderabad). As I shall not be able to attend the Conference, I give my views on a few of them.

Subjects

- 1. What is the meaning of economic equality contemplated in *Sarvodaya*? How can this economic equality be implemented through truth and non-violence under present conditions?
- 2. How may the Sarvodaya sewak make his contribution to the work of national reconstruction?
- 3. What can the Sarvodaya sewak do under the present condition to help raise the character and moral standard of the nation?
- 4. The propagation, organization and utilization of *sutanjali* (yarn offering).
- 5. Will it be more useful to hold the conference every year at the same place?
- 6. Should the date of the Sarvodaya mela be changed from 12th February to 30th January?
- 7. In what manner can we run our institutions on the principles of bread-labour and non-possession?
- 8. Would it be useful to devise a plan for a country-wide tour for propagating the Sarvodaya ideology and the importance of constructive activities?
- A plan for the regularization of reports from various constructive organizations and associations.
- 10. Review of the work of the various constructive organizations and directions for their improvement.
- 1. Economic Equality :

Whatever step we take for advancing this we shall have to take it in the context of the present realities. I cannot, therefore, dream of the attainment of absolute economic equality by non-violent means in the near future.

Again, the application of non-violent principles has also to be in terms of the existing con-

ditions. In other words, there will be a combination of legislative action, intelligent self-interest and altruistic sacrifice. Of those, who will have to give up their wealth and income, some will make such sacrifices as they can under the inspiration of a high ideal. There can be no limit to the maximum of such voluntary sacrifice. Some will be prepared to make sacrifices as being a call of the times, which cannot be resisted and as the only alternative to losing all. Hence, all legislative measures for bringing about economic equality will be passed by the interaction of two forces: namely, the consent of many intelligent and far-sighted rich men, and the various forces working in society. This procedure does not imply the willing consent of every individual required to make the sacrifice. Quite a lot of them will be doing so on account of legal pressure. And legal pressure is not a purely nonviolent means. But it is the way recognized by modern society as less violent than physical force. It may be compared to milk, which is not a purely vegetarian diet, and is yet accepted by vegetarians, as if it were so.

In the light of these circumstances, economic equality is to be interpreted as the continual process of narrowing the gulf between the maximum property and income and the minimum property and income of a people.

As a first step, I shall reconcile myself to the limitation of the maximum income to five thousand rupees per month for men in businesses and two thousand rupees per month for public men and employees (whether in Government service or in non-official public institutions), and of maximum private property to ten lakh rupees for all.

As regards the minimum income I suggest the following schedule for all permanent employees and workers in Government services or official or non-official public bodies:

Below 25 years of age, monthly Rs 60. Between 25 and 30 years, monthly Rs 80. Above 30 years of age, monthly Rs 100.

For non-permanent labour, the minimum which we should reach as a first step paid on a daily wage-scale must be two square meals a day for himself and those dependent upon him and incapable of work, and six annas in cash.

Entirely in terms of cash the wages may be put down as under:

Between 18 and 25 years of age, daily Rs 1-8-0, monthly Rs 40.

Between 25 and 35 years of age, daily Rs 2, monthly Rs 50.

Above 35 years of age, daily Rs 2-8-0, monthly Rs 65.

3. Character Building:

I endorse.

- (i) Vinobaji's programme for the contribution of one hank per man at the next Sarvodaya mela:
 - (ii) the movement for honest life; and
- (iii) programme involving mass co-operation for productive manual labour, village sanitation, construction of roads, wells etc., congregational prayers and training camps with common boarding, lodging etc.
 - 5. Location of the Sammelan:

So long as Vinobaji guides its activities the Sammelan must be held at a place convenient to him.

- Running of institutions on body-labour 7. and aparigraha:
- (i) Nobody must be relieved of body-labour for showing reverence to him, e.g. if I am too weak to climb stairs, or negotiate a distance where a vehicle cannot go, there is no harm in my being carried on a chair; but if I am carried in a palanguin, or my vehicle is drawn by volunteers, or the little bag or stick in my hand is taken over from me to save me from bodylabour, or out of respect for my supposed place in society, it is wrong, unhappy and superfluous;
- (ii) Every institution must fix a maximum of monetary donation, which it would accept from a single donor at a time, say one rupee, ten rupees, hundred rupees or so, according to the character of the institution;
- (iii) No donation must be accepted on the condition of associating the name of the donor to any activity or building or other function of the institution;
- (iv) No institution must keep such large balances as might make it necessary to invest them in securities, fixed deposits etc. All the money must be invested in some public work or in any productive enterprise carried on by the institution itself or an institution with objectives similar to its own. The practice of running an institution on endowed funds must be abandoned.

8. Service Tour:

There is no harm if some influential workers, sannyasi-like men of character, undertake, as a permanent part of their programme, to tour through the villages on foot, horse, bicycle or in a bullock-cart. Ordinary workers must confine their touring to the area of their activity. I do not regard that touring which is undertaken in Shree Tribhuvandas C., Mujpur

order to attend conferences, committee meetings, etc. to be service of the people. So also a programme of travelling by motor-car, or railway or air-plane is not, to my mind, a tour of service. I believe constant travelling by workers is detrimental to solid work.

Wardha, 12-3-'51

K. G. MASHRUWALA

ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND

ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF	FUN	D	
From 8-1-1951 to 25-3-1951			
Name & Place	Rs	as	ps
Shree Chairman, Girdharnagar Co-op. Housing			
Society, Ahmedabad	25	0	0
Shree Sarpanch, Grampanchayata, Zankharia	20	0	0
Shree Jitmal Lunia, Ajmer	10	0	0
Shree Pratapsingh Lunia, Ajmer	. 8	0	0
Shree Ratanlalji Lodha, Ajmer	2	0	0
From Mota Khokhra, through N. K. Vaishnava; Donating Re 1 each: Hemantsinghji			
nava; Donating Re 1 each: Hemantsinghji			
Bhavsinghji, Nanalal Maganlal, Khedut			
Ramji Teja, Zaverbhai Raghav, Rana Vash-			
ram, K. J. Saraiya, I. B. Makwana, V. M. Go-			
swami, J. M. Dave; Miscellaneous donations:			
Rs 2-12-0 from donors giving less than			
Re 1 each (Less postage and M. O. commis-	-		
sion 6 as)	11	6	0
From Sonwadi, through Shree Ambika			
Vidyarthi Mandal, Sonwadi:			
Donating Rs 3 each: N. R. Gandhi, R. P. Nayak; Rs 2 each: C. J. Shah, D. M. Nayak,			
B. J. Mistri, J. K. Nayak, K. L. Nayak;			
Re 1 each: C. N. Joshi, M. K. Nayak, D. L. Desai M. V. Desai K. P. Nayak, B. N.			
Navak N G Patel P K Navak 7 B			
Desai, M. V. Desai, K. P. Nayak, B. N. Nayak, N. G. Patel, P. K. Nayak, Z. B. Nayak, M. B. Nayak, K. D. Nayak, R. B.			
Nayak, R. G. Nayak, C. L. Nayak, D. D.			
Nayak, M. D. Nayak, P. B. Nayak, I. M.			
Talati, I. J. Talati, N. I. Tai, I. H. Tai, M. S.			
Tai, F. Mahmoji & Sons, I. J. Tai, N. D.			
Tai, F. Mahmoji & Sons, I. J. Tai, N. D. Nayak, P. L. Patel, C. L. Nayak, S. A. Dhodia, G. B. Mistri, I. Jariwala; Miscella-			
Dhodia, G. B. Mistri, I. Jariwala: Miscella-			
neous donations: Rs 13-6-0 from donors			
giving less than a rupee each	59	6	0
Shree Khogen Gopa, Govardhan	2	8	0
Shree P. L. Shah, Bardoli	1	0	0
Shree Bechardas Lallubhai, Ahmedabad	25	0	0
From Siddhpur, through Katai Mandal: Dona-			
ting Rs 11 each: R. C. Thakkar, M. L. Padhya, Chhaganlal J.; Rs 7-10-0: Bhag-			
Padhya, Chhaganlal J.; Rs 7-10-0: Bhag-			
wandas G.; Rs 3: M. G. Trivedi; Rs 2 each:			
V. G. Trivedi, J. R. Shukla, J. C. Patel, P. M.			
Patel, B. J. Thakkar, J. N., Prahladji S.,			
Somabhai L., J. D. Thakkar, G. N. Acharya,			
Anil Stores; Re 1 each: Guljarshah A.,			
Gulamhussain U., Alibhai I., Somabhai I.			
B. V. Vyas Shree V. N. Upadhye, Dhulia	70 1		0
Shree G. Y. Dharap, Dhulia	1	0	0
Shree K. C. Samanta Ray, Jalna	1	0	0
	5	0	9
Prom Navagam: Donating Re 1 each:			
Prabhatsingh P., Chhanubha J., Prabhatsingh J., Sabalsang S., Noormuhmmad S.,			
Chatursang D., Umar Tayeb; Miscellaneous			
donations: Rs 3-4-0 from donors giving			
less than a rupee each (Less 4 as M.O.			
commission)	10	0	0
	10	9	0
From Dohad, through Sagarmal: Donating Rs 4 each: Dhuribehn, Sagarbai; Rs 2-9-6:			
Shantabenn Kothari: Rs 2: Menabai.			
Re 1 each: Chandanbehn, Mathuribehn:			
Miscellaneous As 8/6: (Less 2 as M. O.)	15	0	0
Shree Himatiai K. Bakshi, Navsari	11	0	0
Students of the Gharshala, Bhaynagar	107	2	6
Dr D. K. Dastur, Bombay		0	0

		- aron		The same of the sa
Shree Dalsukhbhai J., Mujpur	20	0	0	HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH
Shree Vrajlal C., Dabka	31	0	0	a meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was held
Shree Vinubhai Shah, Baroda	25	0	0	at Sevagram on 2-3-1951. The following points of general
Shri Sevak Fatehchand, New York	25	0	0	to the before the meeting:
The African Highland Timber Co., Nairobi	150	0	0	t who following condolence resolution on the deaths
Shri Tarachand R., Gondia	5	0	0	tarabi Demona Vogirai Aurobindo, Saruar vanabir
The Suraiya Timber Trading Co., Bombay	10	0	0	bhai Patal and Thakkar Bapa was approved for presenta-
Shri B. V. Mistri, Bulsar	3	0	0	tion in the All India Basic Education Conference.
Workers of the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmed-				"This Conference honours the memory of the
abad: Rs 101: S. B. Patel; Rs 11 each:				Coint Damana Maharshi, Yogiral Shri Auro-
M. P. Desai, V. M. Kothari, G. J. Patel; Rs				binde Cardar Patel the nation builder, and Illakkar
10/4: C. M. Upadhyaya; Rs 10 each: M. M.				Dane the ideal compant of society. It recalls with
Patel, B. H. Gandhi; Rs 7: S. J. Gandhi;				reverence their great personalities, lofty character,
Rs 5 each: C. P. Barot, S. P. Shukla,				practical achievement and steadfast loyalty. It le-
B. M. Patel, C. N. Kachhia, Giriraj, M. D.				cords its heartfelt sorrow at the loss the world and
Kalarthi, P. U. Thakor, N. K. Barot; Rs 3				the pation have suffered, and at the grievous void
each: M. N. Khare, J. M. Vyas, Rs 2/8:				which has been left by their deaths in the helds of
Ramtekji; Rs 2 each: B. C. Kothari, M. L.				eniritual endeavour, national construction and social
Dave, C. B. Jani, J. S. Patel, Y. R. Soman;				unlift This conference pays tribute to their memory
Re 1 each: M. A. Patel, M. P. Mistri, T. M.				and prays that their lofty example may guide us on
Patel, Virbalabehn, C. T. Patel, B. N. Bhatt,				our path and that their released and purified souls
N. T. Shah	236	12	0	may fill our hearts with greater aspirations and in-
Students of the Mahadev Samajseva Vidya-				spire us to more righteous deeds."
laya of the Gujarat Vidyapith: Rs 6: D. B.				2 The following were elected office-bearers of the
Shah; Rs 5: P. G. Patel; Rs 3: S. M. Patel;				Sangh for a term of three years commencing from the
Rs 2 each: J. M. Madkan, G. G. Nayak,				1st May, 1951:
J. M. Kapadia, N. M. Dave; Re 1 each:				Shri Kaka Kalelkar — President.
M. N. Patel, M. J. Patel, K. K. Patel, H. U.				Shri E. W. Aryanayakam — Secretary.
Naik, D. R. Patel, A. J. Patel, Vishnubhai,				Shri Srimannarayan Agarwal — Treasurer.
Madhubehn, Kusumbehn, M. R. Desai, P. D.				3. A managing committee consisting of the follow-
Shastri, G. M. Ijardar, P. N. Vadher, I. P.				ing members was elected:
Patel, T. B. Vashi, G. H. Trivedi, I. I.				(i) Shri Kaka Kalelkar - President (Ex-officio).
Acharya, G. J. Patel, S. S. Shah, I. P. Patel,				(ii) Shri E. W. Aryanayakam — Secretary (Ex-
V. R. Dave, R. B. Parikh	44	0	0	officio).
Craft Teachers (of Ahmedabad Municipality)				(iii) Shrl Shrimannarayan Agarwal — Treasurer.
through the Vidyapith: Re 1 each: G. G.				(iv) Prof. M. Mujeeb.
Pandya, S. A. Shah, A. N. Amin, K. J.				(v) Smt. Shanta Narulkar.
Trivedi, Chimanlal C., A. S. Trivedi, D. M.				(vi) Shri Gopabandhu Choudhari.
Vora, H. F. Barot, Natvarlal H., Bholanath				(vii) Shri Dhirendra Majumdar.
M., R. R. Jani, J. Purohit, Babaji M., N. B.				4. The following new members were elected to the
Trivedi, B. D. Patel, N. P. Pandya, K. B.				Sangh:
Pandya, Manibehn Trivedi, Y. N. Mehta,				(i) Shri K. S. Radhakrishna, Nai Talim Centre,
R. J. Parikh, L. K. Christian, S. V. Bhavsar,				Rajpura.
S. B. Jani, Harigangabehn C., M. D. Dalwadi,				(ii) Shri K. Arunachalam, Ramakrishna Vidya-
P. L. Solanki, Jethibehn C., R. R. Adhvaryu,				laya, Coimbatore.
D. N. Trivedi, P. M. Dave, U. M.				(iii) Shri Khitish Raychoudhari, Nai Talim Sangh,
Vaghela, Harmanbhai B., Laxmibehn V.,				Balrampore.
Anandibehn C., P. M. Patel, C. T. Patel,			2	5. In view of the necessity to plan for a Rural Uni-
P. H. Joshi, S. M. Shah, K. M. Patel, P. R.				versity a sub-committee with the following members was
Patel, Rabiyabehn P., S. G. Solanki,				appointed:
Narayanbhai D.		3 (0 0	
Students of the Kumar Mandir (Vidyapith)			0 9	
Spinning Wages from Kumar Mandir				(iii) Acharya Badrinath Varma.
Students — Std. VII		3 (0 0	
Jethalal Maharaj, Vidyapith			0 0	
Hirubhai Jariwala, Vidyapith			0 0	
Chanchalbehn Kothari, Vidyapith			0 0	
Residents of Umallah and Raisinghpura				The terms of reference of the Sub-Committee are as
through Bhailalbhai, Umallah		5 1	0 0	
Shri R. P. Sharma, Dhulia			0 0	
From New York: Rs 23: Shri Sashichandra		•		pupils of the post-basic department during the course
Jain; Rs 13/13: Rustom Irani; Rs 10/5:				
Adityaprakash; Rs 4/9 each: Shri Ketkar,				of four years. 2. Preparation of courses of studies for pupils
				in Bihar and Sevagram who have successfully com-
Dr Chaudhari, Deshbandhu Sikka, Viren-		5	6 0	
draprasad The people of Mangrol through Shree Jam-		110	, 0	3. Standards of attainment in the different stages
The people of Mangrol, through Shree Jam-		0 4	0 0	
shedji, Mangrol Majur Mahajan Sangh, Siddhapur			0 0	
			0 0	
Shree Jivanlal G. Shah, Pandoli			0 0	
Shri B. L. Mehta			4 0	201101111
Night School, Lilapore			0 0	
Shri Raosate Pandit, Dhulia				SARVODAYA.
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March 31

1951

CO-ORDINATION OF HANDICRAFTS AND MECHANIZED INDUSTRIES III

Integration of Khadi, Handloom and Mill

Under the present system of marketing, mill-cloth, loom-cloth and khadi are each treated as an independent article and the sale-price of each is determined by calculating its cost of production. Thus if the mill-cloth of a particular type sells at 8 As. per yard, loom- and khadicloth of the same type have to be sold at 10 As and 14 As respectively. If it is in the interest of the people that both hand-loom and khadi should be encouraged, this is an irrational system. Indeed, it is not a system at all, but a haphazard, unco-ordinated practice. Let us call the sale-price based on the cost of production the crude price of the article. Then the principle should be that all cloth of the same quality, by whatever method produced, must be sold at the same price and not at its several crude prices.

I believe the following is a rough but not quite inaccurate estimate of the total cloth-production of the country.

A. I. S. A. khadi, even with insufficient wages to the various types of workers engaged in it and particularly to the spinner, sells at present at nearly twice the price of the mill-cloth of the same quality. If a full living wage were paid it could not be sold for less than 3.75 times. Loom-cloth sells in a very irregular manner. If the supply of mill-yarn were adequate it should sell at 1.25 times. But owing to yarn famine, the weaver has often to sell it cheaper than mill-cloth. But 1.25 times the mill-cloth might be taken as its fair crude sale-price. At these rates, the market value of the three cloths would stand as follows:

	Yards in crores	Crude rate per yard	in crores of
Mill-cloth Loom-cloth Khadi	478 120 2	0- 8-0 0-10-0 1-14-0	rupees 239 75 3.75
Total	600		317.75

This works out at less than 81 as. per yd.

Now, if it is realized that it is in the interest of the nation to make the people *charkha*-minded and look to the interests of villagers, it would be clear that in order to give the greatest

stimulus to the hand-loom and the *charkha*, loom-cloth must sell at a little less than similar mill-cloth, and *khadi* must sell cheaper than loom-cloth. Consequently, since the average price of cloth comes to 8½ as. per yd. in the above table, if *khadi* is allowed to be sold at 8 as. per yd. and the loom cloth at 8½ as. per yd., it would involve a loss of Re 1-6 as. and 1½ annas per yd. on the two respectively. The total loss would be as follows:

in	Yards crores	Loss per yard	Total in crores of
Loom-cloth Khadi	120 2	0-1-6 1-6-0	11.25 2.75
		Total loss	14.0

If this loss is distributed on 478 crore yds. of mill-cloth it would work out at less than 6 ps. per yd. Even on making an allowance for inaccuracies of estimates of mill-cloth and loomcloth production and for the possible necessity of not endangering export trade of mill-cloth, if the price of the mill-cloth consumed in India were alone to be raised, it would have to be sold at the most at 9 as. per yd., that is, one anna more than its crude price. Some of us are of opinion that in order to retain the moral sentiment for khadi, khadi need not be sold cheaper than mill-cloth. Indeed, it might be always priced just a little more than similar mill-cloth. If so, the loss to be distributed on mill-cloth would become still less. If all cloth is sold at the flat rate of 81 as. per yd., the value of 600 crore yds. would be Rs 318.75 crores, i.e. a raise of even half-an-anna per yd., in the price of millcloth would more than cover the loss on both loom-cloth and khadi.

From the point of view of national economics, (as opposed to personal economics of the producers), since all the several modes of producing cloth have to be maintained, the sale of mill-cloth at 8 as. per yd. is being done at a loss. It is quite unnecessarily so done, since the loss can be easily borne by it. The consumer, who wants to save even this small increase imposed for the benefit of the village-producers can do so by purchasing khadi or hand-loom cloth, and can even make a saving by becoming a spinner and/or a weaver in his leisure hours.

Let it be remembered that in the above calculations, the quantity and prices of loom-cloth and *khadi* are put at their maximum present estimates. As a matter of fact the production and prices of both are perhaps less than 60 per cent of these. But *khadi* could be pushed up to these figures within a year or two, if the policy advocated here was adopted. As for hand-loom cloth, it would depend upon the supply of yarn by the mills, and so it is difficult to make any estimate. But the push given to *khadi* would give employment to weavers as well, and that would give relief to them too. For, the *charkha* is the bread-winner of the weaver too, as the co-

operation of the hand-loom is indispensable for its progress. Not so to the mill. The greater the production of the charkha, the less will be the pressure on the mill to supply yarn to the handloom weaver.

Such a policy would certainly give a fillip to the charkha and khadi. But even with considerable improvements in the implements of production, the most optimistic calculation would not, I believe, put the figure of expansion at more than 10 crores within the next five years after the inauguration of the policy. Without improvements, this would increase the loss on khadi by Rs 11 crores, and would work out at less than 6 ps. per yd. With improvements in tools and techniques and production also, or the increase in the mill-cloth side by side with khadi, the incidence of loss per yard would be reduced. Thus in any case, the loss would be covered by the above mentioned raise of one anna per yard in the price of mill-cloth. That is, other factors being normal, there will be no necessity of revising the prices for at least five

years.*

The present position is more favourable than the one assumed above. The present crude sale-price of khadi is hardly more than twice that of the mill-cloth, and its production is less than 2 crore yards. Also improvements in the technique of khadi production are being introduced at a rapid pace, and are bound to be fur-ther intensified if *khadi* is looked upon as a reserve force of the nation, (as it really is). Moreover, khadi of special artistic patterns would be sold at fancy prices as before; and a great deal of khadi will not enter the market, being produced for home consumption, or made of yarn, on which no spinning charges are paid. Hence taken as a whole, the raise in the price of the mill-cloth may not have to be as great as estimated above, and if that much is made, it will enable the nation to meet the cost of research work for cotton, khadi etc.

Of course, this raise must go to the Government and not to the mills, and must be utilized by the former for subsidizing loom and khadi.

I shall conclude this subject in the next article, in which I shall try to examine the consequences and implications of this policy.

K. G. MASHRUWALA

* Even if the	se figure	s are revised	d as	follows as	s sug-
gested by a frier	nd in a c	onversation,	the	ultimate	result
remains the sam	e:	Dete		Wel	

	Yds.	Ra		Value		
	in crores			cror	es of R	
Mill-cloth	408	Re 1-0-0	per ya	rd	408	
Loom-cloth	102	Re 1-4-0	,, ,	,	127.5	
Khadi	2	Rs 3-12-0	,, ,		7.5	
metal	512	THE LAND			543	
Total						

i.e. less than Re 1-1-0 per yard.

Even if the production of khadi shoots up to 10 crore yards in the next 5 years, without any improvement in the means of its production, the other cloths remaining stationary, the average price will be less than Re 1-11 per yard. Thus a raise of one anna per yard on man-cloth will support both khadi and loom-cloth till khadi Thus a raise of one anna per yard on millreaches to ten crore yards per annum.

SHUDDHA VYAVAHARA ANDOLAN

(HONEST LIFE MOVEMENT)

Dishonesty has entered into every walk of our life and public institutions. Profiteering, black-marketing, adulteration, corruption, misappropriation of public and trust funds, intrigues etc. have become rampant. Presumably with the purpose of preventing extreme hardships to people of very limited means Governments have introduced a policy of controlling the prices and rationing distribution of some important articles of constant use. But the general opinion is that the reasoning behind the policy and the manner of its imposition and administration have not been less disastrous in their economic and demoralizing effects than the consequences of the absence of controls and rationing. Degeneration has reached perhaps an unprecedented level.

Nevertheless, in every part of the country there are to be found people who are honest and want to lead an honest life, but find it very difficult to do so in the present economic fabric and environment. They are to be found in all sections of the society: cultivators, producers of goods, dealers, consumers, Government servants and others. They find themselves in a dilemma. If they do not conceal their crops, goods etc., do not give bribes to railway and other officers for services which they are bound to render but do not render until they are paid their bakshis, insist on selling or purchasing at controlled rates etc., do not try to get more than their quota of rations, do not connive at irregularities and dishonesties perpetrated by their superiors or subordinates, they find it impossible to subsist. There are several people who have, during the last few years, given up one trade after another, because the control policy of the Government has made it impossible for them to carry it on honestly or profitably, profitably in the sense of giving them even a reasonable margin of profit.

They want to be honest, but they want someone to help them in their effort, and give them the strength of co-operation and mutual support.

Some way should be found so that such people might come together and get to know one another. Thereafter they might enter into relations of mutual dealings; i.e. they might sell their commodities to and purchase their wants from one another, and assist one another in getting right things done by officers without recourse to corrupt methods and without dilatory tactics. In controlled commodities they should, in the first instance, try their utmost to conform to the Government control rates. When they find that it is impossible to do so, they must meet together to investigate the causes and consider the means of remedying the defects and resisting corruption. They must realize that in order to bring about pressure on Government as well as society to reform their measures, methods and conduct, it is necessary in the first instance to

build up their own prestige by setting an example of a high standard of business morals and honesty. It is impossible for any authority or society to resist the demands of men of high character, particularly when they are also acting

together.

Ideas of starting some sort of Satyagraha are in the air. Satyagraha, in the true sense of the word, is the continuous practice of truthful and non-violent behaviour. Any movement of breaking laws does not constitute Satyagraha, simply because the breakers do not resort to injuring life and property and are prepared to go to jail. As a weapon of resistance, Satyagraha against dishonesty and corruption can be em-

ployed only by and through persons pledged to Shuddha Vyavahara (honest life). Hence a movement for Shuddha Vyavahara must precede any contemplation of Satyagraha.

The excessive importance given in life to money is one of the greatest causes of the present degeneration and corruption. If a will for honest life is created, it may be possible to devise methods which will eliminate or reduce the use of money from most of the ordinary buying and selling transactions, (for instance, by barter through suitable articles or labour) and thus get over the difficulties of blackmarketing, profiteering, corruption etc., so far as these are due to the over-importance given to money.

Shri Kedarnathji in Bombay has been already working for Shuddha Vyavahara. The present suggestion is made to further the same cause. It should be worked upon with greater zeal consistently with proper precautions for preventing its own exploitation from ulterior motives.

How may people set about the work? It is clear from the nature of the movement that to a considerable extent it can be carried on locally and with local initiative only. A person or body or organization inspired with zeal for this type of work, and having sufficient contact with the local people should at once begin to work without waiting for any outside leader to help the movement. They should, however, enlist and induce only such persons to take the pledge about whom they might feel a reasonable certainty that they would be able to keep it. In the absence of a suitable local organization, a new organization will have to be set up when ten or more persons ready to work for this movement come forward. Before the organization is actually formed an intending participant would do well to declare his intention in writing in something like the following form so that it might be possible to know who are willing to join the movement. Where there is no local organization already in existence, which is willing to undertake the work, or where a participant is unable to ascertain whether there is a sufficient number of intending participants, it is suggested that he should forward his declaration to the address given in the postscript. When it is found that there are sufficient workers ready to join the movement in any compact small area, that office will introduce them to one another.

The Initial Declaration

"I wish to become a Shuddha Vyavahari (honest citizen). I do not wish to resort to hoarding, blackmarketing, profiteering, bribery, corruption etc. in my sales, purchases and other acts of life, but often find myself in such an embarrassing situation that I cannot avoid doing so. I seek company and co-operation of similar people from all ranks of life, and if I can find sellers, customers, Government and other employees of the same type, I shall pledge myself to deal with them in all those commodities and transactions with which they are concerned."

When ten such shuddha vyavaharis are available and a new organization is found to be necessary, they should organize themselves into a local mandal. This mandal will have the power to frame rules, regulations and principles to guide their conduct and to enable them to stand together with one another for resolving mutual difficulties, raising the moral level of society, resisting dishonest and corrupt practices and generally for helping one another in life.

After a *mandal* is formed, each member will sign a pledge appropriate to his calling and category, in the form determined by the *mandal*.

The Pledge

A general specimen of such a pledge is given below for guidance :

I pledge that —

(1) as a dealer, (a) I shall not hold back my stock so that a searcity thereof might be created; (b) I shall not raise my price, simply because there is an artificial high demand for it; (c) I shall not demand a high or profiteering price or surcharge from any one; or take advantage of the purchaser's ignorance or need, nor shall I practise deception in measuring; (d) I shall not refuse to sell a commodity possessed by me in order to get a higher price. But in order that shrewd people may not deplete me of my stocks for re-sale at a higher price, I shall be at liberty to sell it only in a particular quantity to retail customers.

(2) Whether I am a producer or a middle-man or trader, I shall openly declare the sale-price I seek to get on it—whether the article concerned is a controlled or non-controlled one; (b) I shall not adulterate my articles with any inferior or injurious stuff or waste material, and shall not keep for sale any thing which is to my knowledge so adulterated.

(3) As a purchaser (a) I shall not purchase more than I reasonably need out of apprehended scarcity or rise of prices in the future, and shall not lend a helping hand to forces creating artificial scarcity; (b) I shall not purchase things which are not available at controlled rates, but shall try my best to go without them as long as possible; (c) I shall not purchase things secretly and in evasion of laws for leading a life of comfort and luxury or for holding "social functions"; (d) I shall not bribe or get notes of influence to get my demands or applications preferred to others.

(4) As a public servant or worker, I shall not accept a bribe or gift or allow myself to be influenced by notes of influential men or officers in the discharge of my duties.

I shall try to induce as many people as I can to become Shuddha Vyavaharis (honest citizens).

In token of my sincerity for the above, and as a physical symbol of my desire for a clean society, I hereby pledge that unless prevented by illness I

shall daily clean at least a part of my premises, surroundings, gs, or clothes, or utensils etc., and remind while doing so that from the exterior cleanliness I have to ascend to the moral and spiritual clean-

Wardha, 20-3-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

PS. In accordance with the suggestion made above, the Sarva Seva Samiti, Wardha. has, as an immediate measure, decided to commence this activity at once, so far as it can organize it within its own area under the guidance of Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju. People elsewhere also wishing to work in this direction and desiring any guidance, information, or further clarification in the matter, will please correspond with the same body at the address given below. All such letters should be marked "Shuddha Vyavahara" on the top and should be confined to that subject only to enable quick disposal:

ecretary, Sarva Seva Samiti, C/o Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Bajajwadi, Wardha, M. P.

K. G. M.

ON WAY TO SHIVARAMPALLI (A DIARY OF VINOBA'S ITINERARY)

Ralegaon (Second halt, 17 miles from Vaigaon), March 9.

Vinoba recalled a Marathi puzzle, which he had heard from his mother in his childhood. It asked, who are the twin brothers who have always lived close to each other and vet have never met? The answer was, the eyes. But it was regrettable that this was also true of himself in relation to the residents of Ralegaon, which was only 25 miles from Paunar.

Message of the Sarvodaya Samaj

Vinoba explained in short the reason for his journey to Shivarampalli, and what the Sarvodaya Samaj meant. It was a society, in which none was high, none low, and all lived in peace and amity with love for one another. As a part of the movement, there was the programme of the annual mela at various places, where as many people as could, gathered together for joint prayer and meeting, and all were expected to contribute a hank of self-spun yarn. The last mela for this part had taken place at Paunar on 12th February last. He would like that as many people of the village as possible should attend the mela next year and send their hanks.

Worship through Service

The text which happened to be sung at the prayer time was:

नारायण असे विश्वीं, त्याची सेवा करीत जावी,

या कारण तोषवावी कोणी तरो काया।

(Narayana i.e. God pervades the world; serve him; for this purpose do something which will cause happiness to some other being).

Explaining this Vinoba said Swami Ramadas had indicated in this verse a rule of life for every man. It was one's duty to worship God every day. But God is all-pervading. How may a man worship Him? Ramadas taught us that this could be done by rendering some service to a life in affliction. Before retiring to bed at night,

every one should think whether he had rendered an act of service to any person, other than his own self and his family. Had he done anything, say, for a stranger, or for the village? Did he attend any person or animal, whom he knew to be sick? Did he render any assistance to any needy being? Did he clean any place which he saw soiled with dirt? If he was unable to put anything like this in his daily account, he had failed to worship God that day.

The Joy of Service

The joy which an act of loving service gave was greater than the joy of pleasures and comforts. In the village in which he passed his childhood, Vinoba said, his family owned a jack-fruit (phanas) tree. People in Madhya Pradesh might not have seen a jack-fruit tree. It was a huge tree, and its fruit was very heavy and big, much larger than the cocoanut. Inside it, it contained a few hundred seeds, each larger than a date. They were very sweet and nourishing, and were much appreciated by the people. When the first fruit of the year was ripe and brought home, his mother would cut it, separate the seeds, and ask him to go to every house in the village and present 3 or 4 seeds to each family on her behalf. Not until this was done, was a seed tasted by any member of the family. He remembered what joy he felt in carrying out that command. It was a greater pleasure than enjoying a thing oneself, and sweeter than sugar itself.

It was usual to offer service to God by presenting fruits, flowers and tulsi leaves. Ramadas has given us another form of worship, namely, through service of a being. It was doubtful, Vinoba said, if he would ever go to that village again. Let them remember that a travelling fakir who had once been to their village, told them that success in life did not consist in multiplying possessions and pleasures for oneself, but in giving happiness to others.

Wages in Kind Vinoba had discussed with the cultivators and labourers of the village the subject of paying wages in kind, and was able to induce three cultivators to do so at the rate of 50 tolas of juwar per day along with some cash. Vinoba was satisfied with the result. The three, he said, would in course of time multiply indefinitely.

A villager warned Vinoba not to place too much reliance on such promises. People had got habituated to sign pledges and break them immediately afterwards. Vinoba said that he always liked to trust people. Trust begets trust. There was nothing to be gained by a false pledge before him. He was a fakir, who could give them nothing in return. And if the people still made a pledge before him, he would take it as an act of sincerity. The pledgers should, however, take the villager's criticism as a warning, and remember that a vow was a serious thing. It was not to be broken even at the cost of life.

(Abridged)

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES UNIVERSITY DEGREES

There are two main things which have been the bane of English or University Education in India:

A foreign language as the medium of instruction and examination;

2. The unholy linking up of educational degrees and certificates with Government administrative services.

The resultant effect of these two has been to blast away real education and kill the growth of an independent outlook and resourceful originality to grapple with the true problems of our national life and progress. Objectively speaking, success in examinations has been the hall-mark of education and learning. As a result, the seats of learning had to prostitute themselves to the state of mere examining bodies, who rate their efficiency and achievement on the percentage of their examination results.

The situation calls for urgent treatment and a drastic remedy. The Government of Bombay went into the idea of regional universities; but unhappily it seems to be a still-born remedy. The new universities cannot leave the beaten track. They do not show the creative urge born of a new idea or any urgency for inevitable reconstruction. It is feared, as was apprehended by some, this new step has only added one more bone of provincialist contention among the linguistic groups. It has entailed avoidable financial burden on the Government and is a futile strategy from the point of view of reform. Thus the question of grappling with the problem of university reform remains almost as it was:

What to do now?

The People's Raj, the official organ of the Government of Bombay, in its issue of 15-3-'51 writes as follows under the caption, "Place of University Degrees in Recruitment to Government Service":

The method of recruitment to the Government Administrative Services should be so formulated as not to give undue advantage to the persons with university education. This is the opinion expressed by the informal committee appointed by the Govern-ment of Bombay in January, 1950.

"The Committee was to examine the problem of

recruitment to the administrative services vis-a-vis the university degrees.

"The Government, while appointing the Committee had stated that a 'long-standing complaint against our educational system is that the passing of University examinations is looked upon mainly as a stepping stone to Government employment' the Committee was expected to examine the problem against this background.

"After carefully examining the problem in all aspects, the Committee holds the view that in order to secure the best material available, recruitment to the public services should be made through tests which should be competitive in character. Candidates appearing at these tests should possess cer-tain prescribed minimum academic qualifications to

be eligible to appear for any particular test. With a view to making these examinations as valid and reliable and objective as possible the Committee suggests that the tests should be functional, i.e. the group or groups of subjects to be prescribed for a particular test should have a definite relation to the duties of the post which the candidate will be expected to fill. In addition, intelligence and attainment tests, as also the interview, should be used in conjunction with written tests. In the case of technical posts a technical degree or diploma will have to be a condition for the eligibility for test.

"As regards the present minimum qualification

for a large number of administrative posts, the Committee holds the view that it calls for a downward revision. A university degree need not be insisted upon except in cases where it may be absolutely

necessary.

This is a very hopeful line of approach. It will take away the baneful incentive to serviceseekers flooding the colleges and will thus give a reasonable scope for real work of education to begin. The Government of Bombay must publish the report of this Committee, if they have not done it till now, and educational reformers should carefully examine it.

23-3-'51

Is This Not Sheer Waste?

The papers inform us that a tree-planting programme is going to be staged again this year. Is this going to be an annual function, one is inclined to ask. Is it necessary? Should Government undertake it? Is it proper to spend so much money after this propaganda of "Growing More Food" and "Planting Trees"?

Along with this news we are told that over three crore trees were planted last year in response to the appeal of the Food Minister. Reports from States say that about 60 lakhs, i.e. 20 per cent, out of these have lived. Surely, 80 per cent is too high a death-rate for these saplings.

And what a huge amount was spent after the planting of these trees? How much money did the Government spend after this programme and propaganda! Can not governments save themselves from such expense? The Ministers would do well to bear in mind that the people in general look upon such programmes as mere stunts and advertising.

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