

HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

A TOUCHSTONE AND A CHALLENGE

Shri Ghanashyamasingh Gupta writes:

"The employees of the Durg Municipality, including the sweepers, went on a strike from the 7th instant on the rejection of their demand for a 300 per cent increase in their pay. The Municipality requested the Karmachari Sangh not to include the sweepers in the strike. But the request was turned down. They would not refer the matter to impartial arbitration. The decision of the sweepers to strike work naturally put the Municipality into a dilemma.

"A public meeting was held on the 7th. at which both the President of the Municipality and that of the Sangh put their respective viewpoints before the public. I was present at the meeting. Although in my opinion the employees' case was weak, I took the stand that without entering into the merits of the dispute between the Sangh and the Municipality, the citizens should make arrangements to keep the essential services going. They should volunteer to take up scavenging duties themselves and maintain sanitary condition in the city rather than import sweepers from outside and thereby possibly precipitate trouble. Accordingly no help from outside was sent for or came and the sanitation work was done by the people themselves with the result that after four days the strike collapsed and the strikers returned to their work on the 5th day. Throughout the period there was no incident and complete peace prevailed.

"At the public meeting announcing the termination of the strike, the President of the Sangh said, referring to me and my companions, that in taking up the sweepers' work during the strike we were guilty of *himsa* towards the strikers. The implication was that if we had abstained, the Municipality would have been forced to concede their demands. Our intervention had hit them and therefore was of the nature of violence. What is your view? Were I and my companions guilty of violence? Was our action morally wrong? I may add that I have no feeling of antagonism in me in regard to the strikers. I have in my own small way even served them. In 1942, when I was President of the Municipality, I even brought trouble upon myself by admitting Harijan boys to schools along with other non-Harijan children."

The question raised by Shri Ghanashyamasingh is an important one. Sweepers' strikes are becoming the order of the day. They are a challenge to our civil conscience and a touchstone on which the sincerity of our cry for independence will be tested. Shri Khandubhai Desai has sent an account of similar action taken by the citizens of Ahmedabad during the recent sweepers' strike there. Sweepers occupy a pivotal position in our social and municipal life. They ought to have the first claim on our consideration for the amelioration of their living conditions and improved instruments of work. Instead of their having to resort to direct action for redress, it is the citizens and municipal rate payers who ought to resort to direct action on their behalf.

Not all the demands put forth by the strikers are necessarily just and it is, therefore, wrong to refuse to submit a dispute over wages and the like to impartial arbitration. In the two cases, if the intention behind the action taken by the citizens was simply to coerce the strikers into submission, it was reprehensible from the strikers' standpoint. But they had every right to resist the dictation of the strikers, if the latter's demands were unreasonable and unjust.

The strike however being now over, the interest evinced by the citizens in the sanitation problem should not cease. It is up to them to see that the cause for their recurrence is eradicated by the root. The disgraceful living conditions which characterize sweepers' quarters in many cities ought to go without delay. The sweepers should be taught the best method of rendering sanitation service. They should have facilities for education and medical relief for themselves and their children to enable them to become model citizens. If the wages are inadequate, they should be raised. Above all, having found from personal experience what sanitation work means, reformers should be able to judge better what should be done for the removal and disposal of night soil and refuse, so that the sweepers' avocation may cease to be regarded as unclean. If this urgent reform is not attended to in time and without further agitation, the excellent work done would be counted as waste of effort.

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

PYARELAL

MORE LEGAL OPINIONS

Following upon Shri Shivanarain's legal opinion on the question of the right of the Europeans to vote or be candidates for the Constituent Assembly, Shri D. N. Bahadurji, Shri K. M. Munshi, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar and Sir Bakshi Tekchand have sent their opinions to Gandhiji in response to the latter's invitation. After examining the question from different angles, they all arrive at the same conclusion as Shri Shivanarain. The following excerpts from their opinions will be found to be illuminating :

Shri D. N. Bahadurji after noticing paragraphs 1, 3 and 16 of the State document of May 16, proceeds :

"It is clear from the above quoted paragraphs that the declared intention of the author of the said Paper was that the future constitution of the Indian Government was to be devised by Indians only.

"I see nothing in paragraph 18 of the said Paper which may be construed as departing from the intention emphasized in the previous paragraphs of the said Paper. Paragraph 18 divides Indian nationals into three groups: (1) Muslims, (2) Sikhs, (3) "General Community" for reasons of convenient expression. Just as Muslims and Sikhs in paragraph 18 are assumed to be persons of Indian Nationality, so it must be assumed in the case of "General Community" that the persons comprising it, must be of Indian Nationality.

"In my opinion Europeans who are foreigners are not entitled to vote at the election of or be candidates for the election of members of the proposed Constituent Assembly."

Shri K. M. Munshi's opinion runs :

"In the last portion of the Statement the Mission further state :

'We hope in any event that *you* (Indians) will remain in close and friendly association with *our* people. But these are matters for your own free choice.'

"The British subjects who are in the country as non-national Britishers are clearly included in 'our people' and 'countrymen' and as different from 'they' (Indians) and 'the Indian people'."

Referring to paragraph 18 of the State Paper he observes :

"For the purpose of the Constituent Assembly the paragraph recognizes three main communities of Indians, namely, the General, Muslim and Sikh. The words to wit : 'We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each provincial legislative Assembly', in paragraph 19 (1) mean the same thing as representatives allotted to each of these communities.

"The General Community is deemed to include persons who are neither Muslims nor Sikhs. It is to consist of Hindus and other groups of persons referred to therein as 'smaller minorities'. The word 'smaller' as qualifying the word 'minority' has been used in contradistinction to Muslims and Sikhs who are classified as major

communities of Indians. The word 'community' had to be used for 'minority' for the Muslims and the Sikhs only because a new artificial group called General Community consisting of the majority, viz. the Hindus and the smaller minorities has to be formed."

He then proceeds to discuss the meaning of the word 'minority' as used in paragraphs 19 and 20 of the State Paper :

"The word 'minority' as used in constitutional treatises, enactments and documents means a group of nationals with distinct interests as against the interests of a larger group of nationals called the majority. But in all cases both such groups are treated as always belonging to the same State having a common domicile and citizenship. The Treaty of June 28, 1919, by the Allied Powers made with Poland contains provisions relating to minorities, which Poland undertook to recognize as its fundamental laws. The Articles of the Treaty have since then been recognized as a precedent for minority rights. Article 7 of the said Treaty provides that 'Polish nationals shall be equal before the law etc. Article 8 provides as follows : 'Polish Nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish Nationals.' Similar provisions are included in the treaties concluded by the Allies with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey etc. See Wheaton's *International Law*, p. 80. Clearly therefore the word 'minorities' used in paragraphs 19 (iv) and 20 of the Statement in connection with rights of citizens and fundamental rights means national minorities.

"It must not be forgotten that the doctrine of minorities and majorities among the nationals of a country is as old as the 'Federalist' and after the first world war found expression in the Weimar Constitution of Germany. In considering the rights of the minorities provided in the said Peace Treaties, Mr. William Edward Hall, an eminent jurist on International Law, states in his work on International Law that "too much stress was laid on the rights of minorities while a corresponding duty incumbent by the said minority to co-operate loyally with other fellow citizens was hardly ever stressed." The learned author at page 64 of his treatise refers to a resolution passed at the third Assembly of the League of Nations emphasizing the said duty of racial, religious, linguistic minority in a State. Hall's *International Law* (8th Edn.), p. 64. 'A minority' in the Statement, therefore, means a comparatively smaller group of nationals of the State and not a group of nationals of another State living within the boundaries of the former.

"The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform 1933-34 in its Report on page 14, while dealing with the special responsibilities and powers of the Provincial Governors and the Governor-General also gave the same meaning

to the minorities in India. It is there stated that the authority of the Provincial Governors as also the Governor-General was interlinked with their responsibilities to the Crown and Parliament both, for peace and tranquility and 'for the protection of all the weak and helpless among her (India's) people.' In paragraph 321 of the said Report, the Committee while dealing with the Anglo-Indian community and the problem of their education makes a distinction between 'Europeans' and 'domiciled Europeans'. This clearly establishes that the Joint Committee treated Europeans other than the Europeans domiciled in this country, as being non-nationals of India."

Shri Munshi proceeds:

"The representation to Europeans given in the various Provincial Legislatures under the Government of India Act 1935 and in prior Statutes, is not a representation given to them as a racial minority of India but as a vested interest existing in the country at the time of framing of a constitution which was admittedly not based on the principle of self-determination or on a recognition of Indians as being entitled to frame their own constitution.

"That the Mission did not intend to depart from the accepted meaning of minorities is clear from paragraph 18 of their Statement, where they state that 'the most satisfactory method of election to the Constituent Assembly would be the one based on adult franchise.' Adult franchise in this clause can only mean a right exercisable by persons who are Indian citizens. But the procedure of granting adult franchise having been found by them to be impracticable, the Mission adopts an alternative course. This again would lead to the conclusion that there was no intention to get the constitution framed by persons who are not Indian nationals, or citizens.

"The words 'majority' and 'minority' therefore, in my opinion, were used with reference to India or Indian people as used by the British Prime Minister in his said announcement and 'Indians' as used in the Mission's Statement and do not include non-national residents in India. Any other view would conflict with the expressed intention to ask only Indians to frame their own constitution.

"In my opinion, therefore, the words 'elected by each Provincial Assembly' and 'by the smaller minorities' in paragraphs 18 and 19 must necessarily be construed as restricting the franchise to the Indian members of such Legislative Assembly inclusive of domiciled Europeans who are Indian nationals, and cannot be extended to apply to European British subjects not domiciled in India.

"The words in paragraph 19 'elected by each Provincial Assembly' may be argued to indicate a different meaning. But *ex-concessis* the election is not by the Provincial Assembly as such, but by its members representing the three groups.

"It follows also that the 'representatives on the Constituent Assembly' have to be Indians."

Sir Bakshi Tekchand after referring to the occurrence of the words 'community' and 'communities' in paragraphs 18 and 19 of the State Paper poses the following question:

"The question for consideration is whether the expression 'all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs' is limited to Indians only, or it includes Europeans or other foreigners who may be members of the Provincial Legislatures under the Constitution of 1935.

"Clearly, para 18 is to be interpreted not as an isolated or independent clause, but in the context, according to the 'character and scheme' of the document as a whole. The rule of construction is 'that language is always used *secundum subjectam materiam* and that it must be understood in the sense which best harmonizes with the subject matter.' Where words of a general import are used, the real meaning is to be collected *ex antecedentibus et consequentibus*, that is to say, in reference to that which precedes and follows it. There is, therefore, no doubt that the expression 'all persons' included in the "General Community" means Indian members of the Provincial Assembly concerned and not foreigners or non-nationals.

"That this is the intention, is further clear from para 22 of the Statement which reads as follows:

'It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.'

Surely, it could not have been the intention that the Constituent Assembly, with which the United Kingdom is to negotiate the Treaty, will have as its members, persons who are not Indians, but are nationals of the United Kingdom which is to be the other party to the Treaty."

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar after referring to the object of the machinery to be set up, viz. to enable "Indians" to decide the future constitution of India, observes:

"If the normal procedure in vogue in the framing of other constitutions were adopted the procedure would have been to have a convention based upon adult franchise of Indian Nationals or at least persons having an Indian Domicile. The procedure of having the body elected by the personnel in the existing Legislative Assemblies is merely followed with a view to speed up Indian Independence and the framing of a Constitution to implement India's right to Independence. The accident of that procedure is not to be availed of by persons who are not Nationals to exercise the franchise for the Convention or to take part in the Convention summoned for the framing of the Constitution."

HARIJAN

June 30

1946

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN !

(By M. K. Gandhi)

According to Reuters picked Indians, men and women, headed by Dr. Naicker, commenced Satyagraha (in South Africa popularly known as passive resistance) on June 14th in respect of the Segregation Law of the Union Parliament of South Africa. The same agency further reports that neither the Government nor the Municipality had taken any action against the passive resisters but that some 'Whites' of Durban had taken the execution of the law into their own hands by raiding the camp at night, cutting down tents swiftly and carrying them away. "A band of 100 young White men broke through the cordon of 50 Indian passive resisters, pulled down the tents and dragged them away torn. Some camp stretchers were smashed and blankets and pillows removed. Two women resisters were involved in the melee. They are stated to have been kicked but not injured."

The papers report that after three days of hooliganism the Borough Police had posted themselves near the scene of passive resistance and warned the hooligans against molesting the resisters and terrorizing them into submission. This is heartening news. Let us hope that it can be taken at its full value and that the protection means fullest protection against lawlessness, sporadic or organized. Organized popular lawlessness is known as lynching, so shamelessly frequent in America.

Before the Segregation Law was passed, White men, known to be respectable, had carried anti-Asiatic agitation to the point of frenzy. Not satisfied with their triumph in having legislation compelling segregation passed probably beyond expectation, the more advanced section among the agitators have become the executioners of their own laws. They do not know that they are thereby defaming the White man's name!!!

My appeal to the White men and women who have regard for laws for which they have voted is that they should create public opinion against hooliganism and lynch law.

Passive resistance is aimed at removal in a most approved manner of bad laws, customs or other evils and is designed to be a complete and effective substitute for forcible methods including hooliganism and lynch law. It is an appeal to the heart of man. Often reason fails. It is dwarfed by self. The theory is that an adequate appeal to the heart never fails. Seeming failure is not of the law of Satyagraha but of incompetence of the Satyagrahi by whatever cause induced. It may not be possible to give a complete historical instance. The name of Jesus at once comes to the lips. It is an instance of brilliant failure. And he has been acclaimed in the West as Prince of

passive resisters. I showed years ago in South Africa that the adjective 'passive' was a misnomer, at least as applied to Jesus. He was the most active resister known perhaps to history. His was non-violence *par excellence*. But I must no longer stray from my main subject. It is the resistance of the Jesus type that the White hooligans are seeking to thwart. Let us hope that our countrymen's heroic resistance will not only shame the hooligans into silence but prove the precursor of the repeal of the law that disfigures the statute book of South Africa. In concrete form, what pure suffering, wholly one-sided, does is to stir public opinion against a wrong. Legislators are, after all, representatives of the public. In obedience to it they have enacted a wrong. They have to reverse the process when the same public, awakened to the wrong, demands its removal.

The real 'White man's burden' is not insolently to dominate coloured or black people under the guise of protection, it is to desist from the hypocrisy which is eating into them. It is time, White men learnt to treat every human being as their equal. There is no mystery about whiteness of the skin. It has repeatedly been proved that given equal opportunity a man, be he of any colour or country, is fully equal to any other.

Therefore, White men throughout the world and especially of India should act upon their fellow-men in South Africa and call upon them not to molest Indian resisters who are bravely struggling to preserve the self-respect of Indians in the Union and the honour of their motherland. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." Or, do they take in vain the name of Him who said this? Have they banished from their hearts the great coloured Asiatic who gave to the world the above message? Do they forget that the greatest of the teachers of mankind were all Asiatics and did not possess a white face? These, if they descended on earth and went to South Africa, will all have to live in the segregated areas and be classed as Asiatics and coloured people unfit by law to be equals of Whites.

Is a civilization worth the name which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch law? The silver lining to the cloud that hangs over the devoted heads of our countrymen lies in the plucky action of Rev. Scott, a White clergyman, and his equally White fellow workers, who have undertaken to share the sufferings of the Indian resisters.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

By M. K. Gandhi

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Notes

Imitation

Q. You have averred that a person who gives up eating meat in mere imitation of you cannot be said to be doing the right thing. Are you not wrong in holding this view?

A. I see nothing wrong in what I have said. If a person may change his practice in imitation, it is equally possible for him to revert to the original practice in imitation. The gist of what I said was that nothing should be done without being well weighed and thought out and without deep conviction. Thoughtless imitation is the sport of little minds and may lead a man into a ditch with disastrous results.

New Delhi, 21-6-'46

Harijan Collections

Q. You collect funds for Harijans wherever you go. According to press reports, you sometimes receive large sums for that purpose. What is the total amount that you have collected? How is it spent? Are the accounts inspected or audited by anyone? I do not mean to suggest that the funds are being misused, but it ill-becomes you to keep the people in the dark about these things.

A. The question hardly calls for a reply. But there must be many uninformed people like the correspondent. By itself the question is legitimate. The answer is simple. All Harijan collections made by me are handed over to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Shri Thakkar Bapa is the guardian of the fund. It is spent according to the direction and with the sanction of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Some of it is spent according to my instructions, but it has to be for the service of the Harijans only. Similarly for other funds, donations are sent to be spent at my discretion. Strict account is kept of every pie and the income and expenditure accounts are duly audited and certified from time to time.

Why This Antipathy?

Q. Simple-minded Jains take you for a Jain, and you are not ashamed to be regarded as such. And yet, you seem studiously to shun the very mention of Mahavira in the columns of 'Harijan'. Is this becoming for a Mahatma like you?

A. The above is the gist, in my own words, of a correspondent's question. The reader can infer from it, what the original must be like. I plead guilty to the charge of not being a Jain. But possibly I am a better informed devotee of Mahavira than many who claim to be Jains. If, however, I am not a devotee of Mahavira Swami, he or his devotees stand to lose nothing thereby. I alone will be the loser. I suggest that we merely betray our weakness when we resent the indifference of our neighbours about those whom we revere and idolize.

New Delhi, 25-6-'46

Yarn Exchange

Shrimati Annapurna Devi sends me the following account of work carried on by her in Madhi, near Bardoli:

"I had been trying to work in this small village for the girls and thus come in contact with

their families but I was a little perplexed when Shri Jugatram pressed me to work in a larger area. On hearing from you, however, I was encouraged and gained confidence.

"I have made some good contacts and feel that people have begun to listen to me and appreciate with affection my endeavours to help them. I should like to tell you about the hank shop which we started over a year ago with a view to popularizing the idea of yarn currency. It came into being after a play about a hank shop which was part of a daily entertainment which we used to get up for the villagers after the evening prayer. Since May last year, we have been selling articles of daily use such as soap, oil, salt, *gur*, chillies, ground-nut etc. in exchange for yarn. The stock of hanks increased from 43 in May to 233 in September. Last month there was a big fall, but that was because of the people being occupied in the harvesting season.

"Children of 10 years of age who attend my school run this shop. Two such who used to spend their days in dust and dirt are now the chief actors in this little drama."

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

M. K. G.

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

WEEKLY LETTER

Thanks to the irrepressible and, may I add, very often irresponsible activity of the gentlemen of the Press, the Imperial City during the week has been a seething cauldron of speculations, rumours and false alarms. Gandhiji had more than once to appeal to newspapermen not to injure themselves and the cause by indulging in this kind of journalism. "If I were appointed dictator for a day in the place of the Viceroy, I would stop all newspapers," he said on one occasion. "With the exception of *Harijan* of course," he added with a smile and a wink. Incidentally he remarked that if he had to rename his weekly he would call it not *Harijan* but *Bhangi*, i. e. Sweeper, that being more in tune with his present temper and the need of the hour as he understood it. As an illustration of the infinite harm that might result from such irresponsible journalism, he remarked that, if the people were to believe what had been appearing in the Press about his part in the deliberations of the Working Committee, Hindus would be right to execrate him as the enemy of their interests. It was further being made to appear, he observed that his was the only intransigent voice in the Working Committee. He wanted them to dismiss all that as pure imagination. He appealed to newspapermen to put a curb on their pen. Failing that it was up to the public to shed their craving for 'potted' news and to cease to patronize papers that purveyed it or at least cease to be misled by what might appear in them.

"There are two kinds of curiosity," he remarked on another occasion — "healthy and unhealthy." "One should always be curious to know one's duty at every step. But itch for news is a variety of dissipation debilitating to the mind and spirit, unless it is properly curbed."

CAMPAIGN OF VILIFICATION

In spite of its diligence to come to a speedy decision on the Cabinet Mission's proposals, the Congress has not been able to escape a malicious campaign of vilification in a certain section of the Press. It has been accused of procrastination and delaying tactics. And when that theme was played out, it was given out that the delay was due to dissensions in the Working Committee. Giving the lie to these innuendoes in one of his prayer discourses Gandhiji remarked that it was wholly untrue that the delay in arriving at a final decision was due to divisions in the Working Committee. Differences of opinion were inevitable in a living organization. He himself did not know what the final decision of the Working Committee was going to be. It was but natural that there should be more Hindus on the Congress register than Muslims, as the Hindu population preponderated in India. But the Congress could not by any stretch of imagination be called a Hindu organization. Its President Maulana Azad had occupied the Presidential chair for a longer period than any other in the Congress history. He was held in equal respect by all those who claim to be of the Congress. The Congress had constituted itself into a trustee, not of any particular community, but of India as a whole. In an organization like that, it always became the duty of the majority to make sacrifices for the minorities and backward sections, not in a spirit of patronizing favour, but in a dignified manner and as a duty. "In the eyes of the Congress, Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians and Sikhs are all Indians and therefore equally entitled to its care. The Congress has no sanction except that of non-violence. Unlike the Viceroy, who has the entire armed force of the British Empire at his back, the Congress President can rely only on the united and whole-hearted co-operation of all the communities and classes to give effect to India's will to independence. The Working Committee is, therefore, anxious that we should accept responsibility at the Centre only with the unanimous goodwill of all the communities. That is why they were giving such anxious thought to all the various interests. And that is a ticklish job. They do not want to make the Interim Government the arena of unseemly quarrels among ourselves."

SOUTH AFRICA

The heroic struggle going on in South Africa has become a theme of his after-prayer talks. "We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit meekly any longer to a policy of segregation that is causing disaster to our country and our people," runs the Passive Resistance resolution passed at a meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress held at Johannesburg on April 21, 1946. "They must remember," continues the resolution, "that non-violence is the basis of this movement and that this struggle is directed against the policy of segregation and not against the White population of this country."

The struggle has the full sympathy of the European Democrats and the Negro section of South Africa.

Said the President General of the South African National Congress at the Transvaal Indian Congress mass meeting:

"I declare from this platform that we Africans do not only sympathize, but will support and assist in all possible manner the Indians in their struggle against this inhuman legislation."

"Yesterday," he continued, "it was the turn of Africans, to day it is the turn of the Indians, tomorrow it will be the turn of the coloured and there is no knowing where this policy of racialism will end."

Referring to the events of the struggle, as reported in the daily press, Gandhiji in his prayer address on 21-6-'46 described how some White people there had taken the law into their own hands and were harassing the passive resisters. "The Union Government seem to be just watching. It is wrong. It is bad enough to pass an unjust law, but it is worse to let White people take it into their own hands. They ought to realize that Indians are in no way inferior to them. The latter cannot and will not submit to segregation."

Some White men, said Gandhiji, were daily raiding their tents, and terrorizing them. Some women were also among the resisters. But the women had bravely told the men that they would stand by them and share their vicissitudes. "The passive resisters are not criminals but respectable citizens. As self-respecting people they will prefer imprisonment to segregation in ghettos. They will resist injustice and oppression with their last breath. It is open to the South African Government to visit them with the penalty of the law for breach or to abrogate the Segregation Act which is contrary to the dictates of humanity. But it will be a dark blot on the history of the White civilization if lynch law is allowed to have its course in South Africa." He hoped that the South African Government and the civilized conscience of mankind would not allow that.

"What is taking place in South Africa today is worse than martial law," remarked Gandhiji in the course of another prayer address. He did not say these things, he added, to incite them to anger against the Whites of South Africa. If they did that, they would be unworthy to sit in the prayers. He wanted them to go home and pray that God may give strength to their brethren and sisters in South Africa, who were fighting for the honour of India, to face all hardships bravely; secondly that He should show light to the White men so that they might cease to behave like less than men and that the eyes of the Government there may be opened so that they may treat Indians as fellow human beings. The Whites of South Africa too were their brethren, being children of the same God.

When they had the control of India's affairs in their own hands, Gandhiji concluded, such things would become impossible. A Free India wedded to truth and non-violence would teach the lesson of peace to the inhabitants of South Africa. But it would be for them and the Congress to decide whether a Free India would follow the way of

peace or the sword. It was bad enough that the small nations of the earth should denude humanity of its precious heritage, it would be awful if a sub-continent of some four hundred millions were to take to gunpowder and live dangerously.

New Delhi, 24-6-'46

PYARELAL

[P.S. For once fear has proved to be a liar. At yesterday's prayer, Gandhiji drew attention to the demi-official statement that had appeared in the Press that the instructions issued for the election of candidates for the Constituent Assembly did not bind them to anything in clause 19 of the Statement. This was clear in the declaration quoted in the papers. He was sorry, said Gandhiji, that he had not seen it before he made his Sunday's speech. He was glad to say that his fears on that score had proved groundless. He felt he owed it to the Delegation to own his mistake, however *bona fide* it was.

At the same prayer gathering he referred to the report of the deliberations of the Working Committee that had appeared in the newspapers. It was true that the Working Committee had decided to reject the proposals, put before them for the formation of a provisional government for the interim period. But they had decided to go into the proposed Constituent Assembly. There were several flaws in the proposal for the Constituent Assembly, he said, but the Working Committee had reasoned that after all, it would consist of the elected representatives of the people. So, after considering every aspect of the question, they had decided that it should not be rejected.

The papers had also reported, proceeded Gandhiji, that the Working Committee's decision had been taken in the teeth of his opposition. That was a misleading statement to make. The fact was that for the last four or five days his mind had been filled with a vague misgiving. He saw darkness where he had seen light before. He knew that darkness indicated lack of faith in God. One whose whole being is filled with God, should never experience darkness.

Be that as it may, said Gandhiji, the fact remained that he did not see the light just then. What was more, he could not explain or give reasons for his fear. He had, therefore, simply placed his misgivings before the Working Committee and told them that they should come to a decision independently of him. Those whose function was to give a lead to the country could not afford to be guided by another's unreasoned instinct. They could not guide the destiny of the country unless they had the capacity to think for themselves and convince others by reason. The members of the Working Committee, he concluded, were the servants of the nation. They had no other sanction except the willing consent of the people whom they tried to serve. The latter would remove them whenever they liked. His advice to the people, therefore, was to follow the lead given by the Working Committee. He would tell them when he saw the light. But so long as darkness surrounded him in anything, nobody should follow him in it. P.]

THE UTILITY OF THE GROUND-NUT

The following is the essence of Dr. A. T. W. Simeons' long article on the ground-nut.

He opines that the low stamina of our people is primarily due to lack of protein, vitamins and salts in our diet. During the Bengal famine it was proved that the life of the victim of starvation depended more on administering protein than on starch. He maintains that if more protein could be provided, the net result on the national nutritional value would be infinitely better than of more cereals. Ground-nut flour contains over 50% protein and is richer in it than any other known vegetable substance and very edible. An acre of ground-nuts can produce many times the quantity of protein than an acre of wheat, millet or rice. And yet we are not making full use of it, 45% of the ground-nut crop is taken for the production of oil. "What happens to the remaining 55%? If we can eat whole nuts, why cannot we eat them minus the oil? The economist answers, 'because we need the oil cake for feeding our cattle and for manuring our sugarcane and rice fields.'" Dr. Simeons argues that to use an edible protein for this purpose is criminal waste when we have inedible substances like dung, night-soil or guano to enrich our fields. "If we fertilize a sugarcane field with ground-nut cake, every grain of protein we plough into the earth is lost; because sugar contains no protein at all—not to mention the loss of 10% of residual oil in the cake, the vitamins and salts . . . We feed oil cake to our milking cattle. The milk output increases and milk is an excellent food, but if we feed a cow 10 lbs. of nut protein, it is doubtful if this will produce even $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of milk protein. Is it worth it when we can achieve about the same result with cotton-seed and other inedible products?"

Dr. Simeons quotes Prof. B. G. S. Acharya who, after controlled rat feeding experiments, has shown that ground-nut protein was found to have a high biological value. Experiments, he says, have also established the high digestibility coefficient of ground-nut protein. "It ranks with the microbial protein of yeast and closely approximates animal protein as found in milk, eggs and mutton."

"Clean ground-nut oilcake contains over 50% of high grade protein, 13% more than mutton, so that with every ton of oilcake that is ploughed into the field, we are using the nutritional value of a flock of 50 sheep or 50,000 eggs or 15,000 seers of milk in protein alone."

Besides protein the ground-nut contains fat, starch and minerals so that with the addition of a little extra starch and vitamin C, it is a complete food in itself. The most important vitamin deficiency in India is of the B complex which has a profound effect on the health and longevity of the people. The ground-nut is very rich in vitamin B complex, particularly in vitamin B₁, Nicotinic acid and riboflavin, which are the most important factors. Mr. Kincaid, a missionary worker in a remote village of Kolhapur, testified that the children of his school have thrived on a cake made of clean hand-picked ground-nut. The villagers have overcome their

prejudices and use it as a daily addition of 1/2 - 1/5 portion to their usual cereals. Diabetics particularly have been thankful for the increased bread ration it enables them to enjoy. Children enjoy bread made from flour mixed with ground-nut flour, many adults prefer it with a little salt. Ground-nut flour can also be used for pastry and sweetmeats.

The controlled price of commercial ground-nut is Rs. 75 per ton. Edible ground-nut will be more costly. But Dr. Simeons opines that even if the price is higher than the commercial product, it will still be well below the cost of the common cereals.

From the manufacturer's point of view too, the switchover to edible cake will not dislocate either the oil or the ground-nut market.

"India is estimated to produce about 1 1/2 million tons of ground-nut. Thus 7 lakhs of tons of the finest food can be made available from this crop." The protein value would be equivalent to 3500 crores of eggs or 1000 crores of seers of milk or 350 lakhs of sheep. The annual loss of starch, fat, minerals and vitamins is in addition and all due to the wrong use of this valuable nut."

New Delhi, 24-6-'46

A. K.

DR. LOHIA'S CHALLENGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It would appear from newspaper reports that Dr. Lohia went to Goa at the invitation of Goans and was served with an order to refrain from making speeches. According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 188 years now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and form organizations. Naturally he defied the order. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

A glaring instance of hide-bound prejudice and the use of law to uphold "man's inhumanity to man" has recently been reported in the Press. The following from the *Hindu* of the 10th June, will speak for itself.

"Citing a recent criminal case in which two Madura Harijans were sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment for an act which was likely 'to wound the feelings of others', Mr. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, M. L. A. in a communication to the Press, draws the attention of the public to 'the cruel suffering which the Harijans have to bear by reason of untouchability'.

"Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer says: 'A Madura Harijan who lost his eldest child cremated the body in the Madura Municipal burning ghat in a shed which is said to be set apart for caste Hindus instead of in the one reserved for Harijans. The Harijan's plea was that he did not know of any such reservation, that it was drizzling, and that he thought the former place was better. No caste Hindu raised any objection nor was there any proof that anyone's feelings were wounded. The incident came to the notice of the Madura Police who prosecuted the father of the child and another near relation on the ground that such an act was likely to wound the feelings of others because the Harijans were untouchables. The Second Class Magistrate convicted the accused and sentenced them to four months' rigorous imprisonment. On appeal the City Magistrate confirmed the conviction and sentence, though it was argued that the Madras Civil Disabilities Removal Act of 1938 had laid down that Harijans or Untouchables should not be prevented from having access to any regular institution maintained by a local authority and that Courts should not recognize any custom or usage which sought to impose civil disabilities on Harijans.

"Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer adds that he has brought this case to the notice of the Madras ministry."

The first thing for the Madras ministry, in this case of inhumanity, is to remit the sentences under its powers of clemency and then, if further legal proceedings are permissible, to have the convictions set aside by the High Court at the instance of the Crown.

New Delhi, 23-6-'46

PYARELAL

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