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TWO ANNAS

## "LORD OF HUMILITY"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little  
pariah hut,  
help us to search for Thee throughout  
that fair land  
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and  
Jamuna.

Give us receptiveness, give us open-  
heartedness,  
give us Thy humility, give us the  
ability and willingness  
to identify ourselves with the masses  
of India.

O God, who does help only when man feels  
utterly humble,  
grant that we may not be isolated from  
the people  
we would serve as servants and friends.

Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifices,  
embodiments of godliness,  
humility personified, that we may know  
the land better  
and love it more.

Wardha, 12-9-'34

## IF

IF you can keep your head when all about you  
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you ;  
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,  
But make allowance for their doubting too ;  
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,  
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,  
Or being hated don't give way to hating,  
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise.

IF you can dream — and not make dreams your  
master ;

If you can think — and not make thoughts your  
aim,

If you can meet with triumph and disaster  
And treat those two impostors just the same ;  
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken  
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,  
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,  
And stoop and build' em up with worn out tools.

IF you can make one heap of all your winnings  
And risk it on one turn of pitch and toss,  
And lose, and start again at your beginnings  
And never breathe a word about your loss ;  
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew  
To serve your turn long after they are gone,  
And so hold on when there is nothing in you  
Except the will which says to them :

"HOLD ON"

IF you can talk with crowds and keep your  
virtue ;

Or walk with kings nor lose the common touch,  
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,  
If all men count with you but none too much,  
If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
Yours is the earth and everything that's in it,  
And — which is more — you'll be a MAN,  
my son !

— RUDYARD KIPLING

(Received from Shri M. Thirunavukkarasu).

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### A PILGRIM IN QUEST OF TRUTH

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

[The following extracts are taken from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's Foreword to the first volume of *Mahatma*, an exhaustive biography of Gandhiji in eight volumes, by Shriyut D. G. Tendulkar. The first volume covers the period upto 1920. The present publication is a *de luxe* edition, each volume costing Rs 25. Shri Tendulkar was working on the biography while Gandhiji was still alive and with his consent. It is obvious that the biographer has laboured for many years over the work, and spared no pains in making it artistic and beautiful. I hope the publishers will bring out a cheap edition for the common reader and also its translations in Indian languages. Distributors: Times of India, Bombay 1.

— K. G. M.J

..... We are too near him to judge him correctly. Some of us came into intimate contact with him and were influenced by that dominating and very lovable personality. We miss him terribly now for he had become a part of our own lives. With us the personal factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited

idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most



significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of Truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quest and pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Pahalgam, Kashmir,  
June 30, 1951

#### GANDHISM AS I UNDERSTAND IT

(By Lin Yutang)

When one reflects upon the life of Gandhi and tries to place him in some category among the great, the great of the present century, one is completely puzzled and is compelled to reject one category after another. Shall one say he is a religious leader? But he is more than that. Shall one say he is one of the great spiritual thinkers whose names are likely to outlast this generation? Surely, that would be inadequate. And so one goes on and on. Was there one like him in the history of mankind in the last century, or perhaps in the last five centuries? And if incomparable Gandhi cannot be compared with any one in the last five centuries, or millennium, then what is he?

Once in a long while the human race produced one of those great spirits who belong to all mankind and whose influence upon men shines across the centuries in politics and the politically great were not good. In our days, President Wilson was good, but he failed, and President Roosevelt was merely great. I find that I must put Gandhi in the same class with Tolstoi, for Gandhi, like Tolstoi, was both great and good. Surely Gandhi belongs to the ages, and is among the very few great human spirits that ever walked the earth.

But in a sense, Gandhi is an exclusively Indian phenomenon. I mean it is a phenomenon that can be produced in India and nowhere else; not in China, not in the western world. The fact is, Gandhi is a modern saint, and because it is generally impossible for the modern world to produce a saint, we are not yet aware of it, or refuse to believe it. I remember that Lord Halifax once said that if he, as Viceroy of India, went up to the roof of the Viceroy's palace and prayed for light to solve a political problem, his home government would think him insane and have him recalled. That is what I mean. A saint today in any country except India would be shut up in an asylum. For the appearance of a saint, and for him to reach the position of public leadership, the public, the masses must believe in the power of good over evil. Only when the saint and his people live in an era in which it is still possible for the public to believe in the efficacy of moral power, can he reach that immediate stature of greatness in the public eye. In a country where people believe in the power of good over evil on Sundays, and the power of evil over good between Monday and Saturday, that is obviously impossible.

The phenomenon of Gandhi, however, has a universal meaning. Gandhiji's success in joining politics to religion was a stupendous accomplishment (-ment?). People responsible for the conduct of nations are daily faced with the problem of choice between the good and the expedient. I know that President Wilson, as a good Episcopalian, read his Bible every day. Nevertheless, President Wilson compromised with his principles when he was faced with actual politics. To Gandhi, compromise with human evil would be unthinkable. Roosevelt's conception of statesmanship of course never went beyond the principles of horse-trading. A little cynic sells horses and a great cynic sells nations. Because no world leader can come out with a clean bill of moral health, we must come to the conclusion that the joining of politics and religion is an almost superhuman task, which Gandhi has consistently followed and accomplished in his lifetime. If England had offered Gandhi a choice of freedom for India, with compromise on his principles on the one hand and slavery and going on with his high and mighty moral principles on the other, I am sure Gandhi would have rejected freedom for India and chosen slavery. That is why he is great, and that is what marked him off from all the Chamberlains and Roosevelts. But why would Gandhi have preferred temporary slavery if the choice had to be made? Because he believed in the eventual victory of the good, because from the tradition of Hindu thought he had the courage to bet on the morally right against the politically expedient.

Gandhi therefore stands for the idea of the reality and efficacy of moral power. This is a Hindu and totally alien concept in the modern world today. From my study of Indian philosophy, it seems to me that Indians believe in the conservation of effects of human action and the indestructibility of the spirit, as westerners talk about the conservation of energy and indestructibility of matter. Of this absolute faith in the efficacy of moral power, Gandhi's whole life has become a living example and a symbol.

If I were asked to say in a word what Gandhi is, I would not know how to describe him. All I would say would be that he is the "best of India".

A collection of Gandhi's teachings on love and selflessness and non-violence will not produce more than a tiny ripple in the ocean of modern thought, because it is destined that teachings about non-violence and reality of moral power shall not sell like hot cakes in this modern world. But Gandhiji's life and example which gave meaning and force to the doctrine of moral power shine with such a pristine clarity that men for ages to come shall reflect upon this example and its meaning.

(From *Asia*, March '51)



**SACRIFICIAL OFFERING OF LAND—II**

(Shri Vinoba's speech at Warangal: Continued from the last issue)

**Success of the Mission**

I was not confident of the result. How can a few drops of nectar sweeten a sea? But God put strength into my words. Somehow people understood the spirit. They realized that the events that were happening would bring a revolution in their life, which was beyond the capacity of Governments. They began to give free gifts of land, at times beyond my expectation. For instance, at one place 80 acres of land were needed for Harijans, and a single land-owner gave one hundred. A land-owner of Nalgunda, who had donated 50 acres already, later on gave 500 following a settlement of his family dispute. It was a fourth of his total share.

But this is a mere beginning and a gesture. The spirit must spread and catch all possessors of property. A gift of a few acres out of a thousand cannot solve the whole problem. Moreover, it is not a problem of one or two districts; it is not even the problem of India alone. It is a world problem,—a revolutionary programme. And when a revolution in the way of life is contemplated, it must take place in the mind. The mere material gift of a hundred acres out of ten thousand cannot be sufficient. As a friend and well-wisher of both the rich and the poor, I could feel happy only if I could make the rich look upon the poor as members of their own family. I desired them to consider how they would take the birth of one more son to them. Suppose an owner of 10,000 acres has four sons, and a fifth is born later. Would he not have to make five shares of his property instead of four? I asked the landholders to regard me as an additional heir born to them, and give me my share for the benefit of the poor.

**A Psychological Revolution**

A psychological change like this cannot be brought about by war and violent revolution. It can be brought about only by the methods of Buddha, Christ, Ramanuja and other great teachers.

Ultimately it has to be the dedication of one's all for the well-being of all. Those who have must look upon those who have not as a mother looks upon her hungry child. She feeds it before she feeds herself; she starves before she allows it to starve. Let those who possess the strength, skill and knowledge of producing wealth, or the power of holding it, dedicate them to the service of the poor. I desire that the love necessary for doing this is generated in the heart of every one.

I had an interview with some of the Communists in the jail at Warangal. One of the questions which they put to me was to the following effect: "Do you want to resettle the rich in their old homes? Do you think that their hearts have changed? They simply deceive you." I did not discuss these questions there because I

had gone there only to study their minds. But here is my faith. If God dwells in the hearts of all beings, and controls every movement of theirs, even their breathing, and if He is the source of all inspiration, a change of heart is always possible. The Lord of the Ages is eternally present, and if He desires a change, that change has to be. When a man falls into a stream, it is not only his own capacity of swimming, but also the force of the current that helps him, and it does so whether he likes it or not. Similarly, when the current of the age goes this way, it will help him in changing his heart. In our present world, burning with discord and quarrels, if God desires to sprinkle a few drops of love through me I shall gladly be His instrument. I took lands even from the poor. At one place a person owning only one acre of land donated a *guntha* (1/40th of an acre). I was asked what I would do with such small pieces of land. I said, I would ask the owner to till that *guntha* as a trustee, and utilize the produce for the benefit of the poor. That a man who owns only one acre is prompted to part with a *guntha* out of it is certainly a revolution. It is an ideological revolution, and where there is an ideological revolution, life marches towards progress. Our country has produced men who have renounced large kingdoms as if they were worthless straw.

Thought-force has no limitations. The light of a new idea often brings about a radical change in a man's life. We have seen great men, the power of whose thoughts has transformed the lives of others. It was with this idea of igniting the spark of thought in others that I accepted even small donations. And when Vaman-like I accepted land from the rich, God blessed and assured them that they need no longer run away to the cities to save their lives. It meant that by accepting lands from them, I generated a healthy thought in their minds. There are good and evil thoughts in the minds of every one. And when a good thought enters the mind, it starts a struggle with evil thoughts. Ultimately, the good thought wins. It might take time, but there is no reason to think that the donors are hypocrites. I grant that these donors must have committed many acts of injustice, in coming by the thousands of acres of land. How is it possible for an individual to acquire so much land justly? But in the hearts of even these people, there will now start a struggle and they will begin to think of the injustices they have committed. God will grant them wisdom and they will give up doing wrong. This is how a change of heart takes place in man.

The time has come when we should enlarge our hearts and part with our belongings to others. Giving is a divine weapon—*daivi sampatti*. Base weapons, i.e. *asuri sampatti*, cannot stand before it. They melt away before it, because they are made of selfishness, and not of universality or equality, like a divine weapon.



When a gift is given, we may hope that it will generate purity of mind, motherly love, feelings of brotherhood and friendliness and love for the poor. When a person begins to feel concerned for another, a feeling of equality manifests itself, and feelings of hatred and enmity are unable to survive. Enmity has no absolute existence. Like light, virtue is power, a positive substance. Sin is like darkness, without any power of its own. It is negative — absence of substance. Carry light to age-long darkness and the latter will disappear in no time. Similarly when virtue makes its appearance, hatred and enmity cannot exist in its presence. This *Bhu-dana-yajna* (land-gifts mission) is an application of non-violence, an experiment in transformation of life itself. I am only an instrument in the hands of Him, who is the Lord of all Ages, like even those who give and those who will receive the gifts. It is a phenomenon inspired by God. For how otherwise can people, who fight even for a foot of land, be inspired to give away hundreds of acres of land freely? My appeal to all and everywhere is to take this as a thing which God desires them to do, and bequeath their lands to the landless liberally and lovingly.

#### Non-violence and Science

Let me repeat in this connection what I said once before. Non-violence is not opposed to science; it wants fully to avail itself of it. It can transform this earth into heaven. It can do so only in combination with non-violence. If science and violence are joined together, the world will be shattered to pieces.

There was a time when issues were decided by war in the form of duels. Jarasandha and Bhima had a duel. Jarasandha was killed and the Pandavas got his kingdom. The people were saved from destruction. There was violence in that but the destruction was small. If duels could settle issues today, I would reconcile myself to that procedure. If a Stalin and a Hitler wrestled and decided for Communism and Capitalism, I would accept the proposal and would not condemn the world, which wants to witness the duel, because the world has nothing to lose in it. But the age of duels is gone. War began with duels; but the system did not work; so thousands began to fight against thousands; and when even that did not prove enough, *lakhs* gathered on either side, and each party vied with the other in increasing its number of combatants. And we have reached the time when not *lakhs* but *crores* participate in war. The choice now is either to prepare for total war, or abandon violence altogether, and accept non-violence. That alone is the problem, man is faced with today. To my Communist friends, I would say, you are committing a murder here and a murder there, with some arson and looting; you come out at night and hide yourselves in the hills during the day; of what avail is all this? If at all you want to fight, you must prepare for a

world war. Await it. But so long as you do not make preparations of a big war, wherein *crores* of lives will have to be destroyed, give up these tactics of petty strifes, and avail yourselves of the right of voting, which you have got. Prepare the people for your ideology. A total world war or pure universal love is the choice, with which science has confronted us today.

To the land-holders I say, if you will accept the path of love and non-violence, you will have to abandon the attachment to land. Otherwise the age of violence which is approaching will destroy not only the land but also those who are occupying it. Let us therefore realize that the problem has been presented to us by God Himself, and let us therefore give and give incessantly.

This is the basic conception underlying the Land-Gifts Mission.

#### PLANNED IMMORALITY

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND CONTRACEPTIVES

(By Satishchandra Dasgupta)

The Planning Commission has taken it axiomatically that the growth of population must be controlled in India. The method recommended is for the State to provide facilities for sterilization and advise on contraception on medical, social and economic grounds. The Central Government is reported to have sanctioned 25 *lakhs* of rupees for the purpose. For a State, faced with food shortage, it is very natural to strive to limit population to the capacity of the soil. The question is whether the method suggested is right and effective.

Saints and spiritually-minded people have spoken very strongly against the use of contraceptives. This provision of sexual intercourse with the avoidance of its natural consequence, makes room for immorality which destroys society and democracy. Gandhiji felt and expressed himself very strongly against the use of contraceptives by private individuals, not to speak of the State providing facilities for the same. And today the State itself has commenced the infliction of this injury on India.

What Aldous Huxley states about artificial birth control should at least carry weight with the Government, in shaping the fate of India. Aldous Huxley is very strongly in favour of limiting the present planetary population of human beings. He considers the case for the use of contraceptives and rejects it considering the appalling harm done by it and its futility as an immediate mass programme.

In his *Themes & Variations* (1950) at p. 231, Aldous Huxley says:

"Within any nation whose birth-rate is declining, there is a tendency for the decline to be most rapid among the most accomplished and gifted members of the population, least rapid among those whose hereditary and educational endowment is the lowest. The higher the Intelligent Quotient and the level of education, the smaller the family; and vice versa. The future population of Western Europe and North



America will be constituted, in the main, by the descendants of the least intelligent persons now living in those areas. Among the lower animals, biological degeneration, involving the heritable qualities of whole populations, is a slow and gradual process. But human beings differ from other animals in possessing self-consciousness and a measure of free will and in being the inhabitants of a man-made universe within the greater natural order.

"Reacting to what goes on in this man-made universe, they use their free will to modify their basic patterns of animal behaviour. And when the nature of the human universe is such as to discourage the more sensitive, intelligent and prudent individuals from reproducing their kind, the deterioration of entire societies comes about with an almost explosive rapidity. Thus an eminent English authority, Sir Cyril Burt, foresees that by the end of the present century, there will be, in Great Britain, half as many children of scholarship ability as there are at present, and twice as many defectives; while the average intelligence of the population as a whole will have declined by five IQ points. And the case of Britain is not unique. Throughout Western Europe, and, a little later, in North America, the decline in numbers is destined to be accomplished by a rapid deterioration in the quality of the population."

"Differential birth-rates within any national community lead, as we have seen, to a qualitative deterioration of the population as a whole. The effects of such a deterioration have not yet made themselves felt, and it is hard to foresee in detail what they will be. We must be content merely to pose a question. Is it possible for democratic institutions to flourish in a community in which the incidence of outstanding ability is falling, while that of mental defect is rising?"

However, in the end, of the two evils, destruction of the human race and deterioration of the race by the use of contraceptives, he prefers the lesser evil of race deterioration and advocates contraceptive methods despite their futility. To Aldous Huxley there is no other conceivable method of controlling birth except by the use of mechanical appliances. Indian culture has been based on the conception of restraint of the animal instinct by the mental process. When population is to be restricted such restraint might be advocated and used by the masses which will serve to check over-population and at the same time serve to uplift humanity.

It is wrong to snatch at a theory and run after it, a course which is fraught with the possibility of destroying those very qualities that make men better than beasts. The present rush for the use of contraceptives can hardly cover a fraction of the educated middle class of India without affecting by and large the general birth-rate amongst the millions of common married people. But while it will hardly affect the population problem, it is bound to bring down all those standards of purity and morality for which India has stood so long.

It was the particular privilege of India to have discovered some of these eternal moral laws, on which society should be founded. In the case of other countries the same eternal moral laws are being gradually discovered by the hit and miss process, through experiments

and failures. Sages in all countries have given their verdict in favour of those moral laws, but few countries incorporated these as an integral part of the social structure. In India, this was done to a very large extent, even if it did cover the entire society. Modern thinkers in other countries are realizing these through a process of scientific analysis. They are forcefully voicing their opinions now. Mr Gerald Heard is one of them. In his recent book *Morals Since 1900* (first published in 1950) in the Twentieth Century History Series, he has dwelt on the history of Five Moral Laws, one of which relates to sex. His historical analysis is revealing.

Writing about contraceptives and sexual intercourse, he says:

".....Nature has laid down the pattern, follows her own plan, carries out her complete process with the simplest co-operation from us, and pays a handsome enough fee to those who will do her bidding. But the fee is not a fee simple, nor, if we try to trick the Life Force, and take the pleasure but side-step the process, do we find that sex, considered as mere repetitive thrill, will last under such urgent usage. Even Homer's Greeks knew that. For when Aphrodite outbid Pallas and Hera for the Golden Apple which Paris held, she offered (and he took as her outbidding gift) not 'the fairest wife in Greece' but 'inexhaustible lust'."

The Central Government of India are attempting to provide for "inexhaustible lust". But the "fee" will have to be paid. Where will be the present planners, and the present chief men of the Central Government then?

Mr Gerald Heard does not put his conclusions dogmatically but arrives at them through review and analysis of the past fifty years' history. His reasonings are penetrating and clear.

"The first part of the twentieth century was then revealing to us the unsuspected richness of the reproduction problem—the issue of two sexes each reciprocatingly necessary to each other, and, because so, not equal but complementary, complementary as much in their minds as in their bodies. And, further, as the reciprocity of their bodies produces the next physical generation, so the reciprocity of their minds produces the next, complementary step, the advance in social heredity, the further building up of a co-ordinated traditional knowledge." (p. 102).

"The sudden availability of contraceptives certainly precipitated this crisis as this century entered its adolescence. Of course no physical invention could have produced such consequences had not sexes already been inclined to experiment with their traditional relationships." (p. 102).

"In the first place it is important to realize—and it is seldom noticed—that contraceptives, which have often been defended as a protection for woman, have in fact told in favour of the male and against the female. The Freudian concept of coitus as de-tensioning may be a fairly accurate description of the male experience.....With woman, however, this is not so, for two reasons: In the first place the reproductive cycle, in which it may be said that the man only takes a tangential part, is, save for that moment of insemination, carried out exclusively in her. To hope to give her relief from its total demands by this momentary titillation is worse than useless." (p. 103).

"The woman, having to carry a far larger part of the reproductive cycle than has the man, such interference with it as contraceptives permit could do



little harm to him and yet might be highly frustrating for her. Further, because man's sexual emotional life is, as we have said, 'tangential' to reproduction (whilst woman's is central) man can consider sex as mainly a physical pleasure, a by-play soothing or exciting. For woman, constant coitus with motherhood indefinitely postponed, may build up unsuspected resentments. We are still almost wholly ignorant of the psyche's toleration toward interference with its profound racial satisfactions. A certain deferment seems possible, but, like rubato in music so with the life rhythm, what is avoided now (or taken liberties with) must be faced and paid back later." (p. 108).

"If, however, man is so to live (and so only, it would not appear, may he now live and not destroy himself) he, having found an end to live for, must no longer attempt to make means into ends. Elevating appetite into an end has, we see, reached its limit, its ceiling. Neither sex nor drugs nor their frequent combination will yield a sensation adequate to stun back the mind into a soporific stabilized satisfaction, into content with a meaningless universe." (p. 115).

But growth of population has to be checked. For this he prescribes:

"Rational self-denial or family rationing must take over the control that till now through the modern age and especially through the last half century has been exercised by private prudence and personal dread of pain. This will only be possible if women develop their specific intelligence—integral thought—and through the basically religious outlook such insight can give—they acquire a sense of responsibility not merely to their family and their country but to mankind as a whole."

With the above passages the reader may compare what Gandhiji felt and expressed about the use of contraceptives.

The Government of India, after having found itself installed in power after a short and bloodless struggle, led by a saint, is now aping post-modern civilization that started with the idea that it was the duty of the West to get the East "Industrialized, Protestantized, Hygienized, and Democratized" and has ended in leading the West to disillusionment and the verge of destruction. India still wants to carry on herself, by herself, the process that was forced on her by Imperialism. She wants to industrialize, protestantize, in the sense of substituting Shintoism or worship of Nationalism for religion,—and hygienize and democratize herself after the Western pattern. India wants to learn "materialism" from America, a word now shunned by America in favour of the word "this-worldliness". India wants to be "this-worldly". In the attempt she is being driven towards perdition. It is, I believe, a passing phase of madness or inebriety after having won Independence. It is bound to be shaken off in course of time. The soul of India would not permit it. The sooner India digests her freedom, the better for her and for the world. In the meantime let the Government of India be warned in its rush for a 'modernism' which is being abandoned by Europe and followed slowly by America.

Sodepur, 19-7-'51

## PROHIBITION—A REAL BLESSING

(By C. Ponnann)

I wholeheartedly agree with the article of Shri P. L. Majumdar on the above topic.

He rightly says that the patrons of the bottle come from the so-called 'educated' class. With my life-long experience among the poor classes, and as an humble social and political worker, I can testify that though they fall victims to it, they never regard it as good.

I had an occasion to stay in the Nilgiris for some months and found that because of the greater European influences there than on the plains, the people, especially the educated and the official circles, spoke in favour of drinking to a greater extent than elsewhere.

But inspite of it, a majority of the general population of the Hills do not even smoke and think still less of liquor.

I personally can prove with concrete evidence that hundreds of thousands of the poor are free from innumerable calamities owing to prohibition. They are able to get their rations regularly; they are able to save some money if they don't use coffee or tea. They use metal vessels. Above all they have a neat look and improved clean habits!

Oh! Friends of drinks! Come, come to Pudukottai and see our scavengers! How they are blessed by our great 'Father', the pioneer of prohibition. See for yourself and then say whether you will not bless prohibition.

Is it just on the part of the Government to rob the innocent, poor, pitiable drinker for one rupee through the liquor agent, who makes a transaction of six rupees in the process?

If the loss of revenue is the only ground for withdrawing prohibition, it will be far better and cheaper to levy a poll-tax directly for increasing the revenue, than withdrawing prohibition. For, thereby people lose not a rupee, but six rupees in addition to contracting other evil habits. If prohibition had not been introduced in the Madras State, it would have starved like Bengal last year. Our thanks go to Shri T. Prakasam and Shri O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar for saving it from ruin.

It is said that the Government of Madras contemplates institution of an enquiry about Prohibition. I humbly suggest that it should be done, if necessary, through the constructive workers. The Government should give the necessary help to carry on this task efficiently and effectively.

## COW IN INDIA

(Vols. I & II)

By Satishchandra Dasgupta

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## HARIJAN

Sept. 29

1951

### THE CHARKHA WEEK

We are in the midst of the *Charkha Week* (27th September to 2nd October, both days inclusive). It is a week for a dispassionate and careful inquiry into the place of the *charkha* in India's political, economic and social order for all of us. Those who work themselves to exhaustion for spreading it, also those political parties who have or aspire to have political power and have almost unanimously discarded it as impractical, and last, but not the least, the people, who have not yet received the message of the *charkha* in an adequate manner, and yet, on account of the adult franchise, will now be debarred from saying that the returned candidates do not represent the majority opinion of the people must consider seriously their attitude towards the hero and the symbol of this week.

Under the Constitution as it stands, the choice which the people make will be binding on them normally for five years. The Constitution does not give any power to the people to recall a candidate, even if they discover later on that they had made a mistake, or that the representative has betrayed their cause, or is dishonest, or that the party was not fulfilling its promises.

Hence, for all practical purposes, all those who look to Government for the furtherance of *khadi* must clearly understand that it is not going to be the programme of any party now on the stage. And if they think that *khadi* has no future unless Government come to its aid in an active manner, they cannot escape frustration. Some of the constructive workers feel depressed at the prospect that for at least five years to come *khadi* may be not only neglected but probably such conditions might be created as might make its revival almost impossible later even by a Government swearing by *khadi*. Is the *charkha*, i.e. spinning, they ask, going to be merely the formal ceremony of a small Gandhi sect? Small religious sects and castes with all sorts of peculiar observances and customs flourish in all parts of the world, and there might be scores of them in India. Nobody objects to their existence, and none but the curious spectators take notice of them on rare occasions. Are *khadi* and congregational spinning going to be the symbols of a peculiar Gandhi sect?

I urge them not to lose hope. If they themselves are doubtful of the intrinsic utility of the *charkha* in the midst of highly developed machinery, let them abandon it, and join the ranks of politicians and economists.

Let them remember that Gandhiji had throughout his life the reputation of being an impractical idealist among politicians and economists. They followed him, even surrendered to him, only when they found that their practical wisdom had made matters worse or brought them into a blind alley. A weak brown-skinned Hindu challenging a wise and shrewd statesman and warrior such as General Smuts! What an idea, and with what weapons? Of suffering blows, and filling jails! Wise Indian statesmen evinced interest in his movement and made a countrywide propaganda for him only when the struggle came to its final stage, and even the Viceroy supported it.

And when he returned to India with laurels, the politicians warned him that what he could do in the limited field of South Africa could not be done in this vast country against a mighty Empire. He must not attempt to launch any such impractical activity. But Gandhiji, as one of our great politicians had always regretted till the end of his life, was never to be a practical and wise politician in his life! When all politicians, economists and educated people were of opinion that the British Empire with all its faults had given to India the blessings of parliamentary government, law courts, modern education, and industrialization, Gandhiji preached non-co-operation with all these! It was suicidal, wise men thought. Then, many wise and practical politicians thought that the ways and ideas of Hindus and Muslims were so very opposed to each other, that the one could not thrive without suppressing the other. Shrewder Hindus therefore advocated subordination of the Muslims, and astute Muslims demanded total separation. But Gandhi pleaded unity and worked for it in various ways. But wiser statesmen, though they all combined to blame the British for their 'divide and rule' policy, could not accept Gandhi's 'unite and rule' formula and called it 'appeasement'. The result was that the combined wisdom of the astute politicians of Great Britain and the Hindu and Muslim leaders of India rejected Gandhiji's advice that the Congress should once again go into wilderness, allowing the power to go into the hands of the Muslim League, but produced instead the partition of India, and of Bengal and Punjab, followed by a barbarous fratricide, abductions of hundreds of women, indescribable cruelties, an unprecedented exodus, displacement of millions of men, and ultimately the assassination of Gandhiji himself; also the war of Kashmir, and a state of suspended hostility between the twin States as a running sore.

History has repeatedly shown that more often than not, the only results achieved by the practical wisdom of shrewd politicians and diplomats have been war, national indebtedness and bondage and that of sound business — and technical experts, bankruptcy, parasitism, exploitation, immoral traffic, famine in the midst



of plenty, unemployment, and slavery or something like it, of the masses.

It is the impractical wisdom of men like Gandhiji, Buddha and Jesus that shakes empires and brings about tremendous changes in the lives of nations, and creates conditions, at least for the time being, suitable for *Sarvodaya*.

Let not constructive workers feel disheartened because the *charkha* has fallen from the grace of political leaders. The *charkha* is a symbol of the Gandhian *sankalpa* (will) to resist imperialistic and exploitative organizations however big and formidable they might appear in size. And a *sankalpa* is a power of the spirit; great organizations are merely combinations of matter; however big they might be they have to break before the strong will of the *atma*. It is the strong and true idea behind Gandhiji's *sankalpa* which will ultimately be found to be the only practical way to raise India out of the present bog. Let the constructive workers build their hopes on their strong will, and not rely on parliamentary institutions for the achievement of their ideas. These institutions will help the workers only when they find that they must. Ultimately, it is the people who are the source of power, and who have to work the *charkha*; and let them spread their ideas and work their programmes among the people, despite unfavourable environments. If the people are awakened and made determined to be self-reliant, they can bring about their deliverance by Gandhiji's methods.

Wardha, 17-9-'51

K. G. MASHRUWALA

#### EXERCISE OF SOUL-FORCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

[The reader will doubtless like to read some ennobling utterances of Gandhiji himself from old records. The following is an authentic report of Gandhiji's speech at Germiston, South Africa, on 7th June 1909, published in *Indian Opinion* dated 12th idem, under the caption "The Ethics of Passive Resistance". Incidentally the subject has become one of topical interest also, as news has just been received that Shri Manilal Gandhi has announced his decision to offer Satyagraha against the *Apartheid* policy of South Africa. So far, to the extent I am aware, he has only one companion with him, but a mighty one, namely God. — K. G. M.]

Mr Gandhi, who was well received, on rising, said that, although he had chosen passive resistance as his subject that evening, he did not wish to deal with the Indian question, except in so far as it might be necessary to illustrate any proposition. Passive resistance, the speaker proceeded, was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term *soul-force*. As such, it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term *body-force*. Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or *soul-force*. All these teachers counted their bodies as

nothing in comparison to their souls. Tolstoy was the best and brightest exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that *soul-force* was infinitely superior to *body-force*. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs resorted to *soul-force*, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that, whenever it was misused, it only injured the users and not those against whom it was used. Like virtue, it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil but by good; in other words, physical force was to be opposed not by its like but by *soul-force*. The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression "freedom from injury to every living thing". The exercise of this doctrine involved physical suffering on the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the sum of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world. That being so, all that was necessary for those who recognized the immeasurable power of *soul-force* was to consciously and deliberately accept physical suffering as their lot, and when this was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force and that it required greater courage than the latter. No transition was, therefore, possible from passive resistance to active or physical resistance. The Colonists would, therefore, see that no exception could be taken to Indians making use of this force in order to obtain a redress of their grievances. Nor could such a weapon, if used by the natives, do the slightest harm. On the contrary, if the natives could rise so high as to understand and utilize this force, there would probably be no native question left to be solved. The one condition of a successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith and not a mere intellectual grasp. The speaker illustrated his lecture with several modern illustrations.

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## SHRI VINOBA'S TELANGANA TOUR II

April 15, Hyderabad (First Halt, 10 miles).

### Interview with Communists

From Gopuri, our last halt, we started for Hyderabad in the morning at 5 a.m. On the way the people poured their affection on Vinoba at several places. After passing by a number of ponds we reached once more the bank of the Musa at 8 a.m. and halted at Chaman Bag, the place at which we had stayed a week ago on our way to Shivarampalli. At 9 a.m. Vinoba started for the jail for an interview with the Communists under detention. Vinoba was escorted to the room where about fifteen Communist leaders were awaiting him. (In all there were about two hundred Communist prisoners in the Hyderabad jail. They had selected these fifteen to meet Vinobaji). Some of them met each other that day for the first time since their incarceration. Some had met on the previous day. They were glad to have Vinobaji in their midst. Nobody had cared to see them in that way. Vinoba spent with them more than a couple of hours, listened to their grievances and assured them that he would use his influence and try to remove those grievances. Vinobaji also advised them to demand some work from the jail authorities as that would keep them healthy both in body and mind. He narrated to them his experiences in the Dhulia jail, where work was not prescribed to the politicals but given after being demanded. He also pointed out to them how jail life could be utilized for study and mental development. His suggestions were well received. To come to the point, however, Vinobaji questioned them directly, whether even in the present changed circumstances they justified their violent programme and whether the time had not come when they should revise their policy. Maybe, during the Nizam's regime, when the Razakars' might prevailed, they might have felt it necessary to take to violence as they could see no alternative. But now that every one had the right to vote and had a way opened to them to change the Government according to the combined will of the people, there was no necessity to resort to violent methods. They should approach and educate the masses with a view to form a majority for themselves. He did not say this because of the creed of non-violence. But Vinoba put it to them that there was no other way but non-violence even as a policy.

I have already said above that the friends interviewed were influential men of their party, and excepting a few here or there hardly any one wanted to oppose Vinobaji for the sake of mere controversy. But I could see that even though they might have been convinced of the futility of violence, they could not express their candid opinion due to considerations of party policy and discipline.

Vinobaji had prolonged discussions with them, but it is neither necessary nor proper to narrate the whole interview here. They talked to him freely and with an open mind. If the Communist friends could perceive the practical side of Vinoba's views, and decide to give up their violent methods, Vinoba's hands would be strengthened both with the masses and in the interest of the Communists themselves. *Goondalism* could be checked. Loot and arson could be stopped. Anti-social elements would lose the support of the masses. But the Communist leaders did not find themselves in a position to give any such assurance. Vinobaji therefore had to ask them: "Should I go with the impression that you do not want to give up the violent methods which you have been resorting to all these days?" The friends did not want that Vinobaji should carry with him such an impression about them. Therefore their reply was that they would think it over. They had neither decided to give up the old policy nor to continue it. They would consider all the issues. They could not say anything more immediately. They also pointed out that they could not take any decision unless all the members of the party met and discussed together. But that was not possible, and for that they alone were responsible. The Communist Party was law-

fully functioning in other States like Bombay, Madras, U.P., etc. It was illegal in Hyderabad because it had resorted to violence. Even if individual leaders could assure Vinobaji that they would abandon violence, Vinobaji could try to do all that he could in the interest of the Communist Party. Under similar circumstance in Bengal, the terrorists in the Calcutta jail had given such an assurance to Mahatmaji individually, and had offered to co-operate with him in changing the atmosphere of the country. But the question of party discipline hung on the heads of these friends so much that they did not feel themselves competent to take any decision, although it was so necessary. From their talks it was also clear that there were two currents amongst them, one in favour of giving up the violent methods, the other in favour of carrying on the same policy. I suggested that we could prevail upon Vinobaji to postpone the tour for a couple of days if the friends wanted time for further deliberations. But they did not think it proper to detain Vinobaji any more. The authorities were, however, requested to afford facilities to these friends when and if they desired to contact with Vinobaji. They bade him good-bye with all affection and reverence. Vinobaji also went to see the lady prisoners who were about fifteen in number.

For an observer like me, there was another side also to this picture. Vinobaji was entering the area where the Communists were supposed to have played havoc. The problem was discussed all over India and had become a matter of anxiety for all. Vinoba himself did not know what he would say or do in the area. That depended on the circumstances. He had only to take one step, which was enough for a devotee; but it was clear that during his tour Vinobaji was surely not at all going to support the Communist methods. He was going to an area which was terror-stricken, where humanity had suffered a lot. So, his mission was a mission of peace. He would certainly try to console people if he could. He was, therefore, anxious to carry with him the sympathies of the Communists also. But that was not to be. Did not Krishna go to the Kauravas to convince them if he could? This was a similar effort to convince those who had missed the right path. But the Communist friends unfortunately thought otherwise and did not avail themselves of the services of a real friend of theirs like Vinobaji, and missed the one opportunity of creating a new chapter in the history of Hyderabad and humanity. When Vinobaji came out of the jail a large crowd was awaiting him. By the time he reached Chaman it took the form of a big procession. After bath and food it was time for spinning, and so rest had to be sacrificed. There were visitors waiting for him and interviews began as soon as the spinning was over. Workers, officers and some Communist friends also, who were recently released from jail, had come to see him. The Chief Minister, Shri Vellodi, and the Education Minister, Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao, had prolonged talks with him about the Communist problem. Vinobaji acquainted them with the complaints of the Communist friends about the routine and treatment in the jail. Both assured him to do all they could to remove the grievances. They also acquainted Vinobaji with the situation in the area he was going to visit.

Vinobaji also had a talk with Shrimati Vellodi about the problem of the refugee women.

The members of the Andhra Yuwati Sangh had also come to pay their respects. It was *Ramanavami* day and they recited some portions from the *Potana Bhagavat*. The selection was from the story of Prahlad, the Satyagrahi. The programme was so impressive that it touched the hearts of the audience and moved Vinobaji to tears. Who would not receive inspiration from the life of Prahlad? I remembered the occasion when the sisters of the Talimi Sangh sang the hymn of Surdas at the time of Vinobaji's departure from Sevagram. The song said, "the Lord is the strength of the meek." The sisters today also contributed to that strength in the words of Potana.

In the evening, the post-prayer speech marked by the occasion of the *Ramanavami*, was not only very inspiring



but was significant of the method of Vinobaji's approach to the mission he had undertaken. There were indications of the future response that was in store for the mission. Nay, the sentiments expressed in the speech heralded the very success of the mission. The speech will be reported next week.

D. M.

### SUCCESS TO ANDHRA'S WILL

The will to make Andhra a separate province was the earliest formed, I believe, in the history of the Congress. The late Shri Konda Venkappayya and his life-long companion Swami Sitaram (Sastry) were among those who sowed and watered the *sankalpa* in the mind of young Andhra, and ever since it became the object of their life.

When India became independent on the 15th August 1947, they felt that it should not take long thereafter to form that State. But it did; and with the passage of every day they became impatient. Shri Konda Venkappayya died on the 15th August 1949, the second anniversary of Independence, without seeing it materialized. His disappointment made Sitaram, who is also now over 70 years of age, impatient, and, ever since, he made this the main object of his life. To this end he presented an ultimatum and then went on fast from the 15th August 1951, making the formation of that State by October 2 as the condition for breaking it. Other co-workers joined him in the fast.

After more than five weeks' fast, on Vinobaji's intercession and assurance that he was satisfied from his communications with the Union Government that the Andhra State would be set up as early as possible, Swamiji was persuaded to break the fast in the forenoon of the 20th September, it being the 37th day of his fast.

I congratulate Swamiji, his companions and the people of Andhra for realizing their ambition. Swamiji has been a life-long constructive worker and a believer in the *Sarvodaya* ideology. He has now become the chief instrument in the formation of a new political State. Hence, the responsibility of developing Andhra in accordance with *Sarvodaya* ideas now rests heavily upon him and his colleagues.

*Atma is satyasankalpa* (one whose will is invariably achieved), says the *Upanishad*. Whether the achieved will will bring happiness or misery will depend on other factors and efforts. It is for the leaders of Andhra now to make this achievement a blessing to the people of Andhra.

May God grant Swami Sitaramji and other members of the new State strength and light to this end.

Wardha, 21-9-'51

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### BAPU'S LETTERS TO MIRA

(Written to Mirabehn during 1924-'48)

Pages 387 Price Rs. 4/- Postage etc. 12 as.

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### CORRUPTION TO ESCAPE PENALTY

A correspondent from Bombay writes:

"I was persuading a friend to become a member of the Shuddha Vyavahara Mandal. He narrated to me the following two incidents and sought my guidance:

(i) Once he had to cross the railway line at Boribunder to catch the train. He was caught hold of by the police. There had undoubtedly been a breach of the railway rules. On such occasions if the arrested man puts a rupee into the hands of the policeman he is let off. Otherwise he is detained in the Police station till the afternoon, then presented before a magistrate, who fines him from 5 to 10 rupees. So the people find it convenient to bribe the policeman with a rupee or two, and have done with it.

(ii) There are very few public urinals in the city. Hence people resort to some by-lane to ease themselves. This happened once with my friend and he was accosted by the police. He secured his release by paying two rupees. If he had not paid anything, he would have been marched to the police station, required to give security and later fined substantially in the court. I quite agree that one must practise honesty, but I think if in such an embarrassing situation one does not deviate a little from the straight path, one is put to too much inconvenience."

It goes without saying that the argument put forward in this letter is quite wrong. If one disobeys laws devised for the good of the people, one should also be prepared to take the consequences of one's actions. Avoidance of consequences and of inconvenience is the source of all corruption.

The prohibition against crossing the railway line is in the interest of the public. That at times the line can be crossed without danger cannot justify the resort to that practice.

This reminds me of Gandhiji's admonition to us. One of the *pats* (low wooden seats used in Indian homes in the dining room) in the Ashrama kitchen had a broken peg. Unless the person was conscious of it and carefully stepped out of it when leaving the seat, he was liable to lose his balance and get a serious fall. Gandhiji drew the attention of the kitchen manager to the condition of the seat and asked him to remove it. As no accident had taken place till then, the kitchen manager did not take the instruction seriously. When Gandhiji again visited the kitchen, he saw that the *pat* was still in use. He asked the manager why it had not been removed. The latter pleaded some excuse. Gandhiji said, "Accidents don't happen every day. If they did, we would hardly have been alive. But that is no reason for not promptly removing the causes of accidents, for when they happen, they do in a very unexpected and tragic manner."

For adequate reasons a line may be crossed with the permission of a railway officer. Otherwise it is better to lose a train than cross the line.

Regarding public urinals, if they are not enough, the authorities should be approached and asked to provide them. Most of our Municipal Fathers have long ceased to be pedestrians, and they hardly know the hardships of the common folk. Unless voters insist upon sending a



good number of representatives from the common people, who rarely travel even by tram-cars, the hardships of the ordinary men are not likely to be visualized by the corporators.

I have often had such experiences. There are other ways of meeting the situation referred to by the correspondent. There is generally a drain lane between two buildings. Also, all buildings generally have a bathroom or a lavatory on the ground floor and with the permission of a resident, it may be made use of. It is a call of nature, and there need be no shame in speaking about it to another in order to seek his permission.

However, in both the cases, if a mistake has been committed, the right thing is to make amends by accepting its punishment. Once we accept a punishment dutifully, the act will not be repeated wilfully. That is how a man often learns the duties of citizenship.

Wardha, 13-9-'51

K. G. MASHRUWALA

#### BUT WHERE ARE THE KISANS AND MAZDOORS ?

So we have Congress, Praja, Socialist, Marxist and other Parties, all vying with one another to voice the masses ; but where are the *kisans* and *mazdoors* amongst their leaders ? These leaders have chosen symbols such as the plough, the hut, the tree, and the cow ; but is there one amongst them who knows how to plough the field or who lives in a hut, or who can fell a tree, or who can milk a cow ? Not one, I guess.

What a farce our so-called democracy is ! (as indeed most democracies are).

In the Electioneering Manifestoes of these parties is there anything to compare with Bapu's revolutionary programme ? Have we all forgotten what Bapu said in his prayer speeches during his last days in Delhi, and repeated with emphasis in his very last public utterance, on the evening of the 29th January, 1948 ? I quote from report of Bapu's speeches as given in the *Delhi Diary* (Navajivan) :

"Their (India's) Prime Minister was a learned man, a great historian and a great writer, but he knew nothing about agriculture and farming. The other Ministers were all well-to-do men, who had never worked on the land. Yet more than 80 per cent of India's population consisted of *kisans*. Only a *kisan* knew how to increase production and the fertility of the land. Only he could understand the whys and wherefores of profiteering by the *kisans* and overcome the evil. In democracy, the *kisan* should be the ruler. Gandhiji would certainly like to push forward an honest and capable *kisan*. Such a *kisan* would not know English. He (Gandhiji) would ask Jawaharlalji to be his (the *kisan's*) secretary and see the foreign ambassadors on his chief's behalf and take pride in such service. Such a *kisan* Prime

Minister would not ask for a palace to live in. He would live in a mud hut, sleep under the sky and work on the land during the day whenever he was free. The whole picture would change immediately. In *Panchayat Raj*, the man who should count most in India was naturally the *kisan*." (26-11-'47).

"If he (Gandhiji) had his say, our Governor-General and Premier would be drawn from the *kisans*. In his childhood he had learnt in the school-books that the *kisans* were heirs to the kingdom of the earth. This applied to those who laboured on the land and ate from what they produced. Such *kisans* to be worthy of high offices might be illiterate provided they had robust common sense, great personal bravery, unimpeachable integrity and patriotism above suspicion. As real producers of wealth, they were verily the masters while we had enslaved them." (29-1-'48).

If there is a party with the courage to put worthy *kisans* into their Ministry including the Premiership, let them say so now in their Manifesto. It would be a magnificent first step in the right direction. No more dwelling in palaces after that — no more highly paid ministers and Government officials — no more huge and wasteful Government Departments. In fact, as Bapu says, "the whole picture would change immediately."

Oh, for a brave revolutionary who could implement the programme of Bapu's conception ! Nothing else can put fresh life and honour into this once glorious but now degraded and unhappy land.

Gopal Ashram, Tehri-Garhwal,  
22-8-'51

MIRA

#### Celebration of Holidays

The Prime Minister is reported to have said in the Parliament that "the best way to celebrate a festival was to work harder in the service of the nation." Nowhere in the world are there as many holidays as in India ; and our country is proverbially known to be a rich land inhabited by the poorest people in the world. It is only hard work and hard work alone which can raise our country from despicable poverty to prosperity. It is high time that we should realize that recreations and idle pastimes are a luxury to a poor nation as ours. The college and school students and teachers, Government servants and workers in private firms should either request for the curtailment of holidays or work on fields and do some production work on holidays as the Prime Minister suggested.

The advice deserves to be commended on psychological grounds also. The attitude towards work and its alignment should be such that the needed rest and pleasure should come from the work itself ; and there should be no mental partition between working for income and working for recreation and joy.

H. M. V.



**"WORKING TO LEARN"**

(Basic Education Principles and Methods Confirmed  
by Studies in Education)

(By E. W. Aryanayakam)

Dr. Milton J. Gold of Teachers' College, Columbia University, wrote to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh for permission to use extracts from our publications in his book *Working to Learn: general education through occupational experiences*. We were glad to grant him the permission. The book has now been published in the "Studies in Education" series of the Teachers' College, and we have received an advance copy.

The scope of the book is described by the author in the following words :

"The thesis of this volume, based on the theory of experience built by James and Dewey, is that occupational education, properly administered in the secondary school, is the logical extension of the 'experience' curriculum of the elementary school—that participation in representative occupations and study of their influences on our arts and social institutions should be both the content of the school general education programme and also the method for achieving goals in citizenship, health, vocational adjustment, and leisure-time education. A full chapter is devoted to a comprehensive statement of this concept. Other chapters deal historically and analytically with the activity movement in the elementary school, the role and objectives of the high school, approaches to the problem of attaining these goals more directly, foreign occupational education programmes, and American programmes. Experience considered basic to a present-day occupational curriculum in America, and a sample curriculum based on these experiences, are included."

The "Wardha Plan of Education" is dealt with in the chapter on occupational educational programmes in other countries.

A most striking experiment from the point of view of Basic Education was carried out more than a hundred years ago by Phillip Emmanuel von Fellenberg in his Institute at Hofwyl in Switzerland. The following description of it is quoted from Dr. Gold's chapter on "Occupational Patterns Abroad".

"Hofwyl: One of the early efforts in modern times to centre education around work was Phillip Emmanuel von Fellenberg's establishment of the Institute at Hofwyl in Switzerland. Temperamentally a reformer, Fellenberg felt the need of improving agriculture and the character of the lower classes in Switzerland in the Napoleonic era. An admirer of the contemporary Pestalozzi, he believed that regeneration of his native land was to be accomplished not through political reform but through thorough-going education of the populace. Fellenberg acquired a farm at Hofwyl in 1799 and proposed to operate it both as a model farm and as a school. His method was to make use of possibilities that lay in group-living and working to achieve his goals. Thus communal tasks were undertaken, such as the building of a companion school and the development of a farm on submarginal land.....

"To connect exercise as much as possible with habits of industry, he wrote, "each pupil who is capable of such a task is provided with a small portion of ground to be cultivated as a garden, whose fruits offer him a reward, and at the same time an

encouragement for foresight, labour and perseverance."

A nineteenth-century apostle of liberation, Fellenberg based his philosophy on an insistence that there be "harmonious development of the whole child", that the development of physical, moral and intellectual powers and their application in an occupation "march harmoniously together" in keeping with the "necessities of the individual". A harbinger of the activity movement of a later century, Fellenberg is quoted as saying :

"That only which a man produces by combining the materials presented to him, or which he to a certain degree reproduces in his imagination until it becomes a part of his own train of thought can be considered as a real acquisition, or can contribute satisfactorily to the development of his mind."

Fellenberg approached his task as a philanthropist. He realized that the class he sought to uplift would need first a new self-esteem, and he knew that an enhanced self-respect would only come if his educational procedures laid stress on the dignity of labour. Fellenberg proposed to do this "by inspiring attachment to the ground they cultivate, by leading them to find happiness in this employment of their faculties and in the result of their labours". It is asked how this shall be effected. Fellenberg replies, by improving agriculture, by rendering it honourable, by elevating its importance in the eyes of those who are called to exercise it.

To this work is added education both through orientation to the agricultural background and through cultivation of intellectual and moral faculties, so that the learners "may understand the processes they perform, and appreciate the importance, the advantages and the duty of industry, instead of engaging in it as an irksome mechanical task."

These ideas on the integration of the individual and of active occupations as a means to learning found expression in the farm school which was open to students from six to twenty-one. *Because the older students, from fifteen upward, produced more value than they consumed, the school was self-sustaining.* (Italics ours). The farm work was the central activity and the core of school work. Fellenberg started with derelict children, eventually opened a separate department for middle-class children, and in the several decades of his work educated even some members of the Russian royal family in his school. Through Woodbridge and Neef the Institute had some effect upon American academies in the first half of the last century.

"Industry," Fellenberg maintained, "is the constant moralizer of man."

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## NEERA

(By Shri Radhakrishna Rao, Nutrition Expert,  
Government of Bombay)

[Note: Doubts were raised that the painting of Neera pots with lime might be injurious to health. I request the Bombay Government to inquire into the matter, and the following note has been sent in response to my request.

— K. G. M.]

The sweet juice obtained by tapping any sugar-yielding palm tree is called *neera*. This silver 'blood' of the palm trees has a pleasant, delicious taste, and an agreeable flavour. When freshly drawn from the tree, it is slightly alkaline to litmus, but in course of time, becomes more and more acid. In India, it is usually obtained from the palmyra (*tad*), coconut (*narial*), sago palm or wild date-palm (*khajur*) trees.

*Neera* is sweet in taste and contains over ten per cent of sugars. It is a health-giving drink and can be consumed in any quantity without harm to the system. Apart from the various nutrients (including vitamins) present in the juice, *neera* also contains variable quantities of mucilage which is of doubtful nutritive value. This mucilage along with most of the yeast, however, separates and settles down when *neera* is treated with lime.

The chemical composition of *neera* (fresh date *neera*) is given below:

Specific gravity	1.07	
pH	6.7 — 6.9	
Nitrogen	0.056 gm.	per 100 ccs.
Protein	0.35 gm.	"
Total sugars	10.93 gms.	"
Reducing sugars	0.96 gm.	"
Ash (minerals)	0.54 gm.	"
Calcium	Traces	"
Phosphorous	0.14 gm.	per 100 ccs.
Iron	0.04 mgm.	"
Titrate acidity	8.75 ccs.	of N/10 alkali
Vitamin C	13.25 mgms.	per 100 ccs.

In addition to these, *neera* also contains 3 to 9 International Units of vitamin B per 100 cc. and probably other members of the vitamin B complex, but they are usually present in negligibly small quantities. The three noteworthy features of the juice are (1) its high sugar content, (2) the presence of minerals and (3) the presence of vitamin C. The nutritive value of *neera* is increased due to the presence of vitamin C and minerals, along with the readily assimilable forms of sugar.

Tapping of the juice from the palm trees is a delicate operation and requires much care and skill. The earthen pots in which the juice is collected are usually lined with slaked lime. The amount of lime added depends on the amount of juice from the tree, and only experienced tappers will be able to say as to how much juice will be produced, depending on the weather, locality and the tree. Probably limed *neera* is

bright and transparent, the lime settling at the bottom of the pot. If less lime is used, the *neera* becomes hazy and sour, due to the growth of yeast, and if the quantity of lime added is more than the required amount, the *neera* has a milky and bitter taste.

In very cold climates, addition of lime is not absolutely necessary, since no perceptible change takes place within 12-14 hours, between sunset and dawn, when the pot is suspended for collection of the sap.

The addition of lime in the pots for *neera* collection, is not an innovation, but has been practised since ages. In fact, with all the advancements in science and improvements in methods, we have not been able to find out any other equally harmless or efficient preservative. It is true that due to the addition of lime, vitamin C of *neera* is destroyed; but *neera* is mainly used for its other nutrients, viz. sugar, protein, nitrogen minerals, etc. The advantages of lime as a preservative are (1) the amount added to the juice is harmless to the system; (2) it does not allow the pH of the *neera* to decrease below 7, and thus retards alcoholic fermentation.

Recently doubts have been expressed in certain quarters that the addition of lime to *neera* is detrimental to habitual drinkers of *neera*, that calcium taken frequently causes premature thickening of the arteries and causes kidney trouble. In this connection it may be stated that for every 10 lb. (approx. 20 glasses) of *neera* the portion of lime used is only 6 ccs. of a 20 per cent solution, and even part of this lime so used precipitates and settles at the bottom along with the yeast, and is not consumed along with the *neera*. In fact, a person chewing betel leaves consumes much more lime than that present in nearly 5 lb. of *neera*. In order to enhance the nutritive value of bread, wheat flour is fortified with calcium carbonate. It is a well-known fact that the calcium intake of the people of this country is far below the minimum requirements, and for this fact alone, apart from other, the intake of additional calcium along with the sugars is to be recommended.

Another objection raised against the use of lime to prevent fermentation is that it makes the *neera* alkaline and makes it a favourable medium for the growth of pathogenic organisms. Unless necessary precautions are taken and strict cleanliness maintained in collection and distribution any food article (e.g. milk, and milk products) is liable to be contaminated, and the danger of food-born diseases is always there. As proper precautions, e.g. washing of pots and hands of tappers, etc. with potassium permanganate before contact with *neera* are being taken, there is practically no likelihood of this *neera* being contaminated. The obvious method of averting such risk lies in the increase of greater vigilance on the part of those handling the food, and the risk in no way arises from the addition of lime to such a nourishing drink as *neera*.



### GENERAL MACARTHUR ON THE ABOLITION OF WAR

[The *Guardian* of Madras (30-8-'51) in "American Letter" by J. F. Edwards has reproduced some of the important extracts of the speech, delivered by General MacArthur, in the course of which he condemned war as an arbiter of international problems and called for moral and spiritual leadership for the abolition of war. As they are not reported in other Indian papers, I give them below for the benefit of the reader. — K. G. M.]

"Now that the fighting in Korea has temporarily abated, the outstanding impression which emerges from the scene is the utter uselessness of the enormous sacrifice in life and limb which has resulted. Taking both sides together, unquestionably a million soldiers and at least an equal number of civilians are maimed or dead. A nation has been gutted and we stand today just where we stood before it all started. The threat of aggression upon the weak by those callously inclined has not diminished. Indeed nothing has been settled and no issue has been decided. This experience again emphasizes the utter futility of modern war and its complete failure as an arbiter of international dissensions. Its threat must be abolished if the world is to go on; and if the world does not go on it will go under. We must finally come to realize that war is outmoded as an instrument of political policy, that it provides no solution for international suicide. We must understand that in the final analysis the mounting cost of preparation for war is in many ways as materially destructive as war itself. We must find the means to avoid this great sapping of human energy and resource."

#### Call for Spiritual Leadership

General MacArthur then followed a line of thought to which, many readers will recall, he gave a passing glance on that historic occasion on the battleship *Missouri*, when he was declaring the complete defeat of the Japanese in August 1945. His words in that great hour were that war and peace constitute, at rock bottom, a theological and religious question. Now six years later General MacArthur calls for leadership of the highest order, a spiritual and moral leadership for the abolition of war from the face of the earth. While we must be prepared to meet the trial of war, if war comes, we should gear our foreign and domestic policies toward the ultimate goal. The abolition of war is what practically all mankind, all the great masses that populate the world, long and pray for. Therein lies the road, the only road, to universal peace and prosperity. We must lead the world down that road, however long and tortuous and illusory it may now appear. Such is the role, as I see it, for which this great nation of ours is now cast. In this we follow the Cross. If we meet the challenge, we cannot fail. But no end can be achieved without first making a start, for there is no success without a trial.

#### Abolish, Not Control, War

On this problem of universal concern, continued General MacArthur, unless we address ourselves to the fundamentals we shall get no farther than did the preceding generations which have tried and failed. Convention after convention has been entered into, designed to humanize war and to bring it under the control of rules dictated by the highest human ideals. Yet each war becomes increasingly savage, as the means of mass killing are further developed. You cannot control war; you can only abolish it. Those who shrug this off as idealistic are the real enemies of peace, the real war-mongers. Those who lack the enterprise, vision and courage to try a new approach, fall completely in the most simple test of leadership.

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### FROM VINOBA'S WALKING TOUR

It is a week now, to reckon from 11th September. Vinoba has received hitherto over 1,500 (now 1,900) acres of land. He feels he will get the same response from Madhya Pradesh as in Telangana. If it proves true, it would dispel the doubt that the Land-Gifts Mission had only a limited scope in the Communist-infested Telangana. Bhikulaji Chandak gifted 41 acres. In Kelod Taluka Vinoba obtained some 200 acres. But Gumgaon presented a spectacle, which would assure any doubter that the mission will succeed. Here Vinoba received about 250 acres from 41 persons, including a single gift of one hundred acres. One gave all his ten acres. Landowners rose up one after another to announce their donations. The Pathan brothers have done very good work here. The whole experience showed that the ideal of *Sarvodaya* can be materialized before total destruction (*Sarvanash*) overtakes us. The idea of this mission first occurred to Vinoba in Telangana. Its success throughout the country would mean the victory of *Ahimsa*, and not of Communism (that is, the gifts were not made in apprehension of the spread of Communism).

At Nagpur, had the workers worked a little beforehand, a zero might have been added on to the total number of gifts obtained. It pained Vinoba deeply. His speech reflected that sorrow, though only a few could sense it. Dada Dharmadhikari perceived it. Whatever was achieved, was on account of his efforts. But if he had made the attempt a little earlier, the response would have been greater.

On our way, we could see Shriyuts Kumarappa and Bhansali in their respective fields of activity. Vinoba praised their work very highly. Pushpabehn (Bhansali's co-worker) commands a good influence in the village.

Kelod, 16-9-'51

D. M.

(Translated from Hindi)

*Note:* The latest report of Vinoba's tour received from Chhindwara says that on Vinobaji's explaining at Harrai the reason of his appeal to people to voluntarily donate their lands for distribution among the poor, Thakur Udayabhanushah, ex-Jagirdar of Harrai, donated 963.33 acres; twenty-one villagers, seventy acres, including a widow giving all her twenty-five acres, the donations totalling 2,015 acres nearly.

24-9-'51

K. G. M.

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## SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND COMMERCIAL KHADI

[The following is a brief report of the present activities of the Charkha Sangh, which was presented by the President of the Sangh to President Rajendraprasad on the occasion of his recent visit (4th Sept.) to Sevagram. — Ed.]

Gandhiji had proposed to the Charkha Sangh to go over from *khadi* as a relief programme to *khadi* as a programme of self-sufficiency in cloth as an instrument of all-round village-service (समग्र-ग्राम-सेवा) with the ultimate object of creating a society free from exploitation. He suggested to this end that the Sangh should prepare to spread itself over the seven *lakh* villages. The Sangh began to interest itself in this problem ever since, and considered how best it could modify and adapt itself to this new task. For the first more than 2 years, however, not much progress could be made in this direction.

2. After the passing away of Gandhiji, the Sangh decided to take definite steps towards this aim. It decided to leave the production of commercial *khadi* to the certified institutions and dedicate all its energy thenceforward to this new task. In view of the *khadi* resolution of the Congress and the immediate problem of cloth shortage in the country, it also deemed it necessary to continue its efforts to increase the production of commercial *khadi* as a relief programme, and to organize, for that purpose, more and more certified institutions.

3. The work of organizing certified institutions has been progressing ever since and today 124 certified institutions with a capital of 113 *lakh* (11.3 million) rupees are engaged in the production and sale of pure *khadi*. Last year the production stood at 125 *lakh* rupees and the sale amounted to 150 *lakh*s. Besides, the Charkha Sangh also sold 40 *lakh* rupees worth of *khadi*.

4. First, the Sangh took to opening and organizing the *katai mandals* (spinning clubs) throughout the country. The *katai mandal* aims at achieving all-round self-sufficiency through self-sufficiency in cloth under local initiative and management. The part of the work pertaining to self-sufficiency in cloth could be undertaken by the Sangh under its own management by sending its workers to train the village-people in the manufacture of cloth and by providing other facilities. This is being done at the centres run by the Sangh. But it is felt that so long as the people do not resolve to abandon dependence in the matter of initiative and management, neither the self-sufficiency promoted under the aegis of the Sangh would last, nor would an order of society free from exploitation and based on complete self-sufficiency be established. Therefore, though the Sangh continues to change its old production centres into self-sufficiency centres under its own management, still its emphasis is on the organization of the *katai mandals*.

5. During the last two years, our efforts have been mainly directed to creating an atmosphere favourable to the ideology and programme of *khadi*, and we have now reached a stage when it can be said with some confidence that we have succeeded in enthusing the country over the *katai mandal* programme. The reports which have been reaching us from time to time go to show that the people, especially in the villages, are welcoming the programme and beginning to see its future potentiality for their good a little more definitely.

6. Besides the building up of a favourable atmosphere there are now 1,239 *katai mandals* functioning in the various provinces. The achievement has strengthened our faith in the success of our work and given us a reassuring glimpse of its great future. The Sangh has now consolidated its position to such an extent that in the last conference, we passed a resolution providing for the production of 25 *lakh* sq. yards of self-sufficiency *khadi* during the next year. It is proposed to achieve this production through the joint agency of the self-sufficiency centres

and the *katai mandals*. Besides, next year we hope to raise the number of *katai mandals* to 3,000.

7. Some friends complain that the Charkha Sangh has, by undertaking to work out the self-sufficiency programme, hampered the progress of *khadi*. But our experience of the last three years' work confirms us in the belief that only by following the self-sufficiency goal shall we be able to popularize *khadi* and make it stay. While the present scarcity of cloth is undoubtedly favourable for promoting the production of commercial *khadi*, it also affords the most favourable opportunity for implementing the self-sufficiency programme. In fact, the shortage of cloth is more acutely felt by the villagers than by the townspeople. Spinning too is practised more in the villages than in the cities. Therefore we have come to believe that under these circumstances the best way to speed up and expand *khadi*-work is to provide facilities to the villagers to help them manufacture their cloth themselves. Any one with some knowledge of the psychology of city populations can readily see that they have taken to *khadi* only under the force of circumstances and will reject it the moment mill-cloth becomes easily available. But not so with the villagers. Though they may learn to manufacture *khadi* and leave mill-cloth under the compulsion of circumstances, they will be reluctant to purchase mill-cloth and spend money over it even when it becomes easily and cheaply available.

8. Therefore what is most necessary, at present, is to devote our utmost energy to make the village-people self-sufficient in cloth, so that a lasting solution to this problem may be achieved.

Sevagram, 4-9-51

DHIRENDRA MAJUMDAR  
President, A. I. S. A.

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