The Call of the Age

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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CHARKHA — A MESSAGE FOR THE WORLD *

I am glad to learn that the fourth session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress will be held at Ahmedabad, the birth place of Gandhiji's new type of Trade Union movement. The Trade Union movement was, indeed, not new to the world, when Gandhiji laid its foundation in Ahmedabad. But he founded it on quite original and sound principles, and the experience of a quarter of a century has so proved the worth of these principles that they have been adopted by the all-India organization of Trade Unions.

The principal topic of the day is Elections, and it is possible that your Congress will devote a great part of its time to discussing that topic. In such an atmosphere, it may be futile to speak on any other subject in a message. But the election intoxication has not yet touched me, and hence, I feel some hesitation in sending a message. The thing which interests me more than the elections is Gandhiji's *Charkha*.

Charkha ! You might feel amused at hearing the mention of the *charkha* in your assembly. You will say : The *charkha* is all right in its place ; and it is true that it is a favourite of Gandhiji. But here we belong to the class of mill-owners and labourers. The *charkha* can have no place in our midst !

But I have nothing else to place except the *charkha* even before mill-owners and workers. It does not mean that I suggest at this stage that the mills should be closed forthwith or that you should give up your jobs in the textile mills. I know that that would be impracticable.

But I do wish to tell both owners and workers that while, as long as circumstances demand the working of mills, they might be worked, you should in your personal life and for your personal requirements ply the *charkha* to spin your own yarn and employ the hand-loom to weave or get woven your own *khadi*. The mill-cloth might be manufactured for those who are incapable of spinning, weaving or getting woven *khadi* for themselves, or even purchasing it. There are some countries, and there might be some people in our own country also, who are in such situation. The mills might cater for them. But you, who are artisans yourselves or the owners, who are strong enough to organize production, distribution etc. on such large scales have no reason for not spinning and weaving your own cloth on your own *charkha* and hand-loom.

The message of the *charkha* is no longer meant to provide work for the unemployed only. Nor is its message confined to India. It now stands before the world as the means of bringing about a new non-violent revolution in the world. The people that depend upon the mercy or the diplomatic policies of foreign countries or on the policy and administrative machinery of their own State for their two primary needs, namely, food and cloth, cannot enjoy Swaraj — independence. However opulent and well paid a part of its population might become, that country can never be free from the miseries of starvation, unemployment and high prices.

I appeal to you and your leaders to ponder seriously over this truth.

May your session be successful.

17-10-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from Hindi)

* A message sent to the 4th Indian National Trade Union Congress, Ahmedabad.

NOTES

Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan

I have heard with regret of the murder of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan of Pakistan. I extend my heartfelt sympathies to the people of Pakistan and the members of the late Prime Minister's family.

We have been hearing of grave political murders almost every week during the last two or three months. It shows the results of systematic preaching to the people of the message of war and hatred by political leaders and Governments that pin their faith to violence and weapons of destruction for achieving their ends.

The immediate reaction on my mind is the futility of protective measures adopted by Governments for the safety of the lives of their heads and ministers. None can escape a determined assassin. And since in most of our modern countries, rulers are drawn from demagogues, they have to face the public frequently. They must realize that they can live only as long as

God wills so. He alone can protect them, and no guards whether in plain dress or uniform may take that credit, even when they succeed in nipping a plot in the bud. The elaborate measures taken at enormous expense for their protection are to a very great extent a huge waste and a burden on the tax-payers. It must be remembered that a determined assassin will always be more resourceful, alert and dashing than all the guards taken together. And the sight of the police and the military no longer impresses the people with awe and dignity. On the contrary, the people begin to lose respect for their leaders on account of these measures, and consider them as overtimid.

India has been setting an example of a different type of politics to the world. As much free and guard-less movement as possible of her President, Governors and ministers among the masses, regardless of the dangers involved, might well be made one of its peculiarities.

The people of Pakistan are faced with another major crisis since the death of the Qaid-i-Azam. May Merciful Providence guide them by the path which leads to the gate of Divine Grace.

Wardha, 17-10-'51 K. G. M.

Prohibition — A Blessing

A report from Kanjari, in Halol Taluka of Panchmahals District, states that 20 families of potters and 15 families of Gola community have cleared up their old debts since the introduction of total Prohibition and they are now living in happiness. Shri Fulabhai Maganbhai, a potter, who gave up drink habit since the introduction of Prohibition, has been able during the last 2-3 years to save Rs 2,400.

Reports of economic improvement of the common man because of Prohibition have been receved from other districts also. Cobbler families at Takli, in Jamner Taluka of East Khandesh district, which were hard hit due to their liquor habits in pre-prohibiton days, are now engaged in their profession at Jamner and leading a happy life. One *teli* of that taluka who used to spend much on drinks before Prohibition has now been able to purchase five acres of land and is doing good business.

One Kalaskar of Nippani in Chikodi Taluka of Belgaum District, who was formerly working on daily wages at a toddy shop and wasting his whole day's earnings on drink, is now the owner of a tea-shop and a boarding house, which are well furnished and well managed.

The Administrator, Haliyal Municipality in Kanara District, reports that because of the introduction of total Prohibition, the number of cases of street brawls or quarrels has considerably gone down. The Sarpanch of the Ankola Village Panchayat states that much improvement is noticeable in the standard of living of the sweepers employed by them.

CONFUSION BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND STATE CAPITALISM

(By M. P. T. Acharya)

In the article "In Regard to Communism" and the correspondence between Com. S. A. Dange and Shri Vinoba Bhave, Shris Mashruwala and Bhave do not refer to real Communism as such but to other side-issues which have nothing to do with Communism, although referred to as such. Neither Mashruwala nor Bhave nor Bharatan Kumarappa questions whether what the party calling itself Communist tries to force upon mankind is really real Communism. Even the Capitalists have taken for granted that what prevails in Russia is real Communism. It does not occur to them that it can be anything but Communism. They give the Bolsheviks the undeserved compliment of being Communists. They do not know that it is not Communism but Russian Bolshevism which is a danger to the peace of the world. They quarrel about a word about the meaning and contents of which they have no idea at all.

Let me tell you — and any radical Marxian will confirm it — that what the Bolsheviks do in Russia and try to do elsewhere is just Capitalism of another type and the quarrel between Capitalists and Bolsheviks is not about Communism but about the type of Capitalism which should prevail. Both have a common basis of thought, which is capitalistic. What the Capitalists are against is the Bolshevik attempt at doing away with divided private owners and setting up a State by their party as the sole owner. The mode of management is the same, namely, making the entire people wage-slaves, exactly as Capitalist owners do. The issue between them is not whether or not Capitalism should be totally abolished and Communism should be ushered in, but who should manage Capitalism. Both are opposed to Communism. Neither the Capitalists nor the Bolsheviks will argue about Communism. Yet Bolshevism is supposed to be Communism and the opposite of Capitalism! It is State Capitalism, — Capitalism by the State — owned and run by the Bolshevik party pretentiously calling itself Communist. All the three brands, Marxism, Leninism or Stalinism are advocates of State ownership and State Capitalism, and they want it to be kept under the control of the Bolshevik party of Moscow throughout the world (Ask Tito, who claims also to be Marxian and Leninist, about it).

Am I to understand Shris Bhave, Mashruwala and Kumarappa have no quarrel about the Bolshevik Communism provided that the system is introduced peacefully and non-violently through the ballot-box and voluntary relinquishments — although it would be a new slavery instead of the old? Do they object only to the method of reaching the system of new slavery?

The Bolsheviks would have no objection to that method. But they think or know it cannot be brought about without force and fraud. Hence

they do not believe in the ballot-box method or voluntary sacrifices. Hence they say: If you submit to our Capitalism voluntarily you are welcome; but if you do not do so willingly, we are not going to wait, you shall surrender, or be massacred. This is also the threat to workers, peasants, middle-classes and employees, though it is addressed to them in a cunning and sugar-coated manner. As a matter of fact, they have also to submit to that slavery under their rule. If the Capitalists want to massacre these so-called Communists before they themselves are massacred, the Communists have no right to complain, for they want to do the same thing against them if possible. It is a war between two rival claimants of capital, one being the defender of private Capitalism, the other, the fighter for State Capitalism.

There can be no political Communism like the one the Bolsheviks want to establish. Communism means undivided society. But what the Bolsheviks and Marxians of all varieties want is the rulership of their parties over all. They may practise some sort of communism among themselves but they are rulers and employers living upon wage-slaves in the same way as capitalists. In real Communism, there can be neither employers nor employed. The employer-employee system is an essential feature of Capitalism. Its abandonment is acceptable neither to the Capitalists nor the Bolsheviks. Of course, the Bolsheviks say that ultimately they want to abolish the State, their rulership, and relations as employers and employed. Yes, after establishing and perpetuating the wage system! The Capitalists may also take a leaf from the Bolsheviks and say they also want to abolish employer-employee relations some time, in its own time, when the time is ripe, and when all agree to do so through the ballot-box! They may also allege that there is a transition stage between the two which must be passed through. That transition stage is our rulership. Both can say this without the least abashment, and both would be equally good Communists.

Com. Dange may be a sincere man but he is a fanatic of the Bolshevik party which stands for the hegemony of Moscow. Sincerity can do nothing against the fanaticism of a wrong idea, the wrong idea will become sincerity. One cannot argue with fanatics.

When Com. Dange and lesser Socialists say that they want to help the peasants to own land, they are telling things which they don't want and which they won't allow if they sat in government; for, they do not want peasant proprietorship but want State-ownership of land, collective and State farms where peasants will become virtually landlabourers for the State. It is the pride of Soviet Russia, their fatherland, that 99 per cent of the land is nationalized and there are no individual peasants. It is not Marxism to divide land among peasants. I have myself heard it from the mouth of Lenin. He meant "neither private ownership, nor common ownership" but State ownership. But Communism is common ownership and not private ownership or State ownership. Private ownership is what Capitalists want. The Communists encourage private ownership of land among peasants in order to use them for their fight and not for the benefit of peasants. They know very well that it is not Communism. In newly acquired territories like East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Balkans, the Bolsheviks no doubt first distributed the land among the peasants, but soon started collectivizing them under State ownership, and establishing collective and State farms where the former peasants became only wage-slaves. That is what they will do here. Peasants will be deprived of their lands by the State peacefully or violently.

Com. Dange sheds crocodile tears over the miseries of peasants. But under the rule of his party, and even under his own military governorship on behalf of Stalin, all these things will not be done even after feudalism and landlordship are abolished. By simply abolishing feudalism and landlordism the peasant will not be emancipated. In Eastern Europe, after the peasants were given land, they found they could not cultivate their properties, for want of enough means to start cultivation. So the governments asked them to collectivize lands if they wanted help from the State. As they could not live otherwise, even exist, they had to accept the proposal and work as contract labourers for the State. In Russia, the collectives are rack-rented by the State with the help of the tractors which are lent to the collectives on exorbitant conditions. It is also another, modern kind of feudalism. The tractors are not owned by any collectives but are the monopoly of the State. They want to introduce this Socialism in India, and call it Communism. The State bureaucracy, army and police cannot be run even by Communists except at the expense of the producing workers and it is Communism of parasites which they want to bring to India. One must be ashamed to call that Communism.

Communism cannot be established until the peasants take over all the land and instruments and run the lands collectively for their own benefit without any State to interfere with, or "protect" them.

Communism is all right if it were Communism, but to admire anything with a label of Communism will neither solve the problem nor make it Communism. It will be paying tribute to a false thing going under an ideal label. Communism cannot be established from the top by violence, not by cutting the Gordian knot, but only by untying it diligently. Most likely we will have chaos rather than Bolshevism. Bolshevism alone will save Capitalism. May Com. Dange be happy!

(Note: In *Gandhi and Marx*, I said that Communism as known in India is Marxism as prevailing in Russia, and it is State Capitalism. I thank Shri M. P. T. Acharya for making this very clear. —K. G. M.)

HARIJAN

Oct. 27 1951

THE CALL OF THE AGE

[This will appear during the Divali week. Though famine conditions are causing general anxiety, the Divali period is still associated with a combination of cleanliness, purification, festivity and charity. I cannot offer a better greeting to the people than the following speech of Shri Vinoba at the Sarvodaya Conference at Sagar on 2nd October, 1951, the Gandhi Jayanti day. Before commencing this address, Vinoba recited *Vedic Mantras*. —K. G. M.]

In this walking tour we usually stop only for a day at one place. But in view of the Sarvodaya Conference that has been convened here and the fact that this is our last important halting place in Mahakoshal, it was decided to stop here for two days.

The 2nd of October is a holy and auspicious day. Though every day granted by God is holy, yet the day on which a person is prompted to make a good resolve, conceive a good idea, or perform a good deed is particularly auspicious for him. Apart from such a day, there are certain days in the social life of a people when good sentiments get generally awakened in the hearts of men. Today is one of such days.

I am led to believe that this pilgrimage of mine has been inspired in me by God. Six months ago, I had not the least idea that God was going to make me an instrument to do the work for which I am walking now from village to village and door to door. But it seems it was the design of God that this work suggested itself to me spontaneously and also began to bear fruit. Gradually, it has taken such shape that the people have come to feel that this is a very powerful programme which is useful not only to our own country but also to the entire world. The people have realized that it is the call of the age. The call got reflected in my heart also. The result is that after staying at Wardha for about two and a half months after the completion of the Telangana tour, I have again commenced a walking-tour in the course of which I have come to your place.

It is Gandhiji's birthday today. We spin daily. Today also we took part in the congregational spinning. The participants were not many. Yet while spinning, I experienced the presence of an extraordinary Existence or Inspiration and even now I am speaking under its influence.

The mission I have undertaken is an act of devotion and service not only of the poor but also of the rich — of all the people. I have a strong conviction that this work is going to appeal to all. In the course of my begging if I happen to get less land at some place, I do not feel that I have received only a little. On the contrary the feeling with me is that whatever I get is only a *prasad* (a token of grace), and that ultimately God is to give me with His thousands of hands, and the two hands of mine will prove quite useless and inadequate for receiving. The present work is only the preparation of a psychological atmosphere. I do feel at every moment that God's will is working behind the present mission. On this sacred day my first humble prayer to Him is: Let me not mind whether or not people give me land in my mission. Let it be as Thou willest. But let me be Thy humble servant. Destroy my ego, annihilate my separateness and the memory of my name. Let Thy name alone prevail in the world. Free Thy child, from the dross of attachment and hatred lurking in its mind. I solemnly declare I have no other desire left in me. I am speaking this in the language of Tulsidas, but it is my soul that is speaking:

चहौं न सुगति सुमति संपति कछु, रिधि सिधि विपुल बडाओ।
हेतु-रहित अनुराग राम-पद, बढे अनुदिन अधिकाओ॥

(I do not desire Salvation, nor intelligence, wealth, prosperity, success, name or fame. I have no other ambition but that of strengthening my devotion to Thy holy feet.)

People ask me when I shall reach Delhi. My answer to them is, I do not know. It all depends upon His will. I am advanced in age and my body has been showing signs of fatigue and exhaustion. This is the only desire of my mind and I feel it constantly. Whenever I get even five minutes' rest or solitude, the only urge uppermost in my mind is that my ego should completely get destroyed. In what language am I speaking today with God? What have I been speaking with the human tongue? I say, "I am experiencing the Presence of Bapu along with that of the Supreme Spirit." Bapu continuously showered his blessings on me. By nature I have been a man of the forest and stranger to ways of civilization. I even dread to meet great people. But now-a-days I enter everybody's house unhesitatingly, as did Narad among gods, demons and men. This is all the miracle of Bapu's blessings. I have a conviction that Bapu will be feeling satisfied with my present work from whatever corner of the Universe he may be in. I sing with Mirabai: * I came across two deliveries on my way, the Saint and Rama. The first I placed on my head, the second is enshrined in my heart.

My dear friends, though I am trying to speak today, it is going to be a difficult task. It will, however, be my attempt to do it as best as I can. Sometimes I reflect about the efficacy of speaking. To what extent does it bear fruit? I shall narrate only yesterday's incident as an illustration. In a place where I spent the whole day and delivered a speech before the prayer audience, I got only four acres. I returned to my place after the conclusion of the speech, and began my study of the *Upanishads*, as I have been

*मारगमें तारण मिले, संत राम दोओ।
संत सदा सीस अुपर, राम हृदय होओ॥

doing of late. Hardly ten minutes had passed before a villager came to me. He had neither participated in the prayer nor heard my speech. He said, "I have come to donate land". He had come from a distance of six miles. He gave me one acre out of his six. Scarcely had he turned his back, when another villager from a longer distance came and donated fifty-two acres. I began to reflect, who is the inspirer of these donations? I got only 4 acres, where I spent the day and made a speech. And here are donations without that effort. What is it that influences the minds of people? Why should man need the help of speech? If man's life becomes absolutely pure, not a word will he need to utter: A thought in the heart conceived at home would do the work. But it is a stage, which is yet to come, when God will grant me that purity of mind. For the present He makes me go from place to place and inspires me to ask for land donations. I, therefore, speak and beg alms of land for the poor. But not a shadow of doubt there is in my mind that it is not my efforts that will achieve any results. It is only His inspiration that will achieve and is already achieving them.

At the outset, I have said that this is the last great halting place in Mahakoshal. But if I happen to return to Wardha from Delhi by this road, we might meet again. I have great expectations from Madhya Pradesh. I have stayed in this province for the last thirty years. I have devoted the days of my youth in the service of the people of this State. During the long period the people witnessed not a few national movements and election campaigns; but they found me buried in my work day and night undisturbed by them. All my *tapasya* (discipline) has been practised here. I had also to pass four years in the jails of your province. In jail-life people come into intimate contact and have the occasion to know one another at closer quarters. There were people of various ideologies and parties, but to me they were human beings only. They also saw my life. None of my merits or demerits could remain hidden from those with whom I passed days and nights. I loved them all alike, and I found that there was none, who did not give his love to me. So, I expect much from you.

What do I want? A friend wrote to me that a thousand rupees were collected for me and an arrangement was made for the meals of a hundred persons. But all these arrangements are for the Conference. A thousand rupees are not necessary for my reception. My stomach is very small, and is easily filled. But this Conference was called in order that the workers might meet together and think how best to carry out my work. After deliberation, they would go to their respective places and devote themselves to this work. Though my own stomach is very small, that of the *Daridranarayana* is very big. So if any one asks me what my demand is I say, "Five crore acres of land." I mean thereby cultivable land. If there are five sons in the family, I want to be considered the sixth; if four, the fifth. Thus I claim one fifth or one sixth of the total cultivable land in the country.

This is no ordinary conventional charity. Giving of land to the poor and the needy is very much more than that. We earn merit if we feed a man even for a single day. When feeding a man for a day is so meritorious, how much more so would be the gift of an acre of land which will feed him for the whole of his life! I, therefore, appeal to all of you to contribute your mite for the worship of *Daridranarayana*. This is real *yajna* — sacrifice. I, therefore, beseech every one to come forward and put his shoulder to this task. This will usher in an unprecedented and mighty revolution in our country. I can, even as I stand here, behold it taking place before my eyes. People talk of the Russian revolution. America presents an example of a revolution of another type. But looking at both these countries, I find that neither type of revolution is in accordance with the genius of India. They are not in accord with our traditions and culture. I firmly believe that India should be able to evolve, consistent with her ideals, a new type of revolution, based purely on love. If people begin to donate lands of their own free will, readily and generously, the whole atmosphere will undergo a sudden change in the twinkling of an eye, and India might well show the way to a new era of freedom, love and happiness for the whole world. This sacrifice embodies this great aspiration and, speaking for myself, I am convinced that this aspiration is going to be fulfilled. I therefore urge all of you, whether you are a member of the Congress, a Socialist, a Praja Party man, or an independent, to ponder over this problem, and realize the value of the land-gifts mission. Other things may be left to take their due course, but this one brooks no delay. It is a desideratum to which all must attend. If it is done, India will save herself and the world too, for our action will have trailed a path to freedom and peace which the world may see and tread.

The Root of All Ills

Wherever I go, people speak to me of the rampancy of black-marketing, corruption and bribery. But I do not feel depressed. I do not believe that the heart of India has begun to decay. Nor do I believe that the rich have become corrupt beyond redemption. Our land, we say, is rich with water and fruit and fragrant with the cool southern breeze. This is how we praise it. However this is not our greatest wealth. The sacred ideals and traditions, the spiritual riches which our forefathers have bequeathed to us are certainly more valuable than any material wealth. Hence though there is black-marketing and corruption, yet I do not believe that our people as a whole can be too bad. Therefore we should look for the root of this elsewhere. Lin Yutang, the well-known Chinese writer, says somewhere that India is a land of God-intoxicated

people. This description of India by him is true of our people even today. Even today our people are God-minded. All this corruption, therefore, which we see around us, is due to the evils in the present-day economy. The organization of our economic life is bad. People are swept away by the tide of these outer evils, and led to commit mistakes. Therefore if we can change the structure of the economic life, you may be sure that our people can well set a unique example in the world.

Hence, after Gandhiji's demise, some of us who believe in Sarvodaya formed a brotherhood, Sarvodaya Samaj, in which no one hates anybody. Every one loves every one else. There is no exploitation. I hold to the belief that the moment we succeed in creating a society free from exploitation, the intellectual and spiritual talent of the people of India, which lies obscured at present, will shine forth. We, the believers of Sarvodaya, therefore, have vowed that we will change the present structure of society. I have absolute belief in this mission, otherwise I could not have approached you to give away your lands so openly and unreservedly. I realize that God has rewarded my effort more than I deserve. I have no cause for complaint. All that I have to do is to explain the idea to the people.

(Translated from Hindi)

PLANNING FOR INDIA

II

The Sarvodaya Approach

Let us now see the fundamental principles of the Sarvodaya approach to the problem of India's development :

(1) Respect for life is the first principle of Sarvodaya. The development of India means, primarily, healthy and all-round development of the life and personality of India's living beings, human as well as animal, the latter to the extent they have become a part and parcel of human life. The cow is the most important and symbolic of the socialized animals.

(2) The resources of Nature being an essential means for this purpose, their development cannot be neglected. But between life and nature, the development of life should be the end, and that of nature, the means for it. The latter should not be done by sacrificing life, nor should her resources be used extravagantly and wastefully. Even mute and inanimate Nature may not be 'exploited' in that sense. Although man is often influenced by his environment and becomes even a slave to it, nevertheless, ultimately, he is the master and maker of the environment and not its manufactured product ; hence, the development of his personality cannot be subordinated to that of Nature. Nature has to be developed for him and with his aid ; he is not to be made a mere tool for the development of nature.

(3) Hence, the first concern of every society, as well as the State, should be to provide employment for every person within it, according to his capacity, with such work and means as are immediately available to it. The work and means should be improved progressively for him and with his aid to the extent necessary for the well-being of every one and only so far as such well-being is served.

(4) The standard of life should be distinguished from the standard of living ; it is the former that is fundamental and not the latter ; a rise in the standard of living might even lower the standard of life, by reducing man's physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual standards, powers and potentialities. Hence, the progressive development of Nature must be consistent with rise in the standard of life, and not of living.

(5) Planning must proceed with two objects : removal of natural or man-made impediments in the road to the development of man, and provision of means, training and guidance for it.

(6) The obstacles in the way of his development are : (i) too much centralization of government and production of wealth ; (ii) the ownership and cotnrol by a few people, or by a machine-like corporation like the Government or a Company, of land which they do not cultivate themselves, leading to absentee landlordism ; (iii) money-dominated economy, leading to working for trade, commerce, profits, revenue etc., instead of for providing for the needs of oneself and society ; this further leading to the creation of a large body of parasites ; (iv) the institution of slavery in its modern forms ; (v) the institution of interest, along with rights of proprietorship over large units of wealth to money-lenders and non-cultivators (in case of land) and to non-artisans (in case of industries) ; (vi) on the one hand, the absolute neglect of the common man's health and training, implements, seeds, raw-materials by the State as well as by the advanced sections of society ; and on the other, enforcement of rights and traditions, inculcation of customs, habits, vices, fashions, and luxuries, and provision of temptations, all bound to lead to his progressive deterioration from generation to generation ; and (vii) institution of a political, economic and social order, in which he can play practically no part, take no initiative, but finds himself thoroughly tied down on all sides.

(7) Unless there are other nations available for unrestrained exploitation, no amount of the development of natural resources without the removal of these hindrances will bring about the welfare of even a majority, not to say every one — particularly in fully populated countries. The problems of unemployment and high prices and hence of sub-human conditions of living, disease, poverty, hunger, slavery of the masses, unsafe and disgraceful conditions for women, dacoities, robberies, and corruption in administration and trade are bound to remain, and may even increase. There might be plenty of goods, even plenty of food, and yet there will be all the evils of insufficiency, unsatisfied needs, and want of scope for the play of one's abilities.

(8) Even if Government planned nothing beyond the removal of these obstacles as rapidly as possible, the people would prosper, if not rapidly, at least slowly. If the plan seeks to go further to provide positive aids to the people, the immediate objectives should be (i) to be thoroughly self-sufficient — I would say over-full, in respect of food and nutrition. On our self-sufficiency in nutrition will ultimately rest our *Purna Swaraj*, and not on our armaments. Hence, it must have priority over every other item of planning; (ii) the food should not only be abundant, but should be normally available to every one without too much need for transportation. This means that there should be as many self-sufficient units as possible, the normal unit being the village; (iii) it should also be normally available to every able-bodied person in an honourable manner, and not by way of charity, dole etc. This means that there should be no unemployment for any able-bodied person. Provision for employment of every one should be a joint item with production of food on a self-sufficiency basis; (iv) the next positive item in planning would naturally have to be the training of the nation, and there can be no other system of training for a nation, with the above objective, except on the principles of *Nai Talim*, of which Basic Education is a part; (v) provision of clean water both for irrigation and drinking, sanitation, hygiene etc. should precede doctoring and dispensing of drugs, vaccinations, injections etc.; (vi) agricultural implements should be made available without creating indebtedness; (vii) public utility services (post, telegraph, transport, loan of tractors, supply of seeds, essentials like salt etc.), whether managed by Government or public corporations or private agencies, should not be administered for profit or in a way which will yield large balances; (viii) temptations like liquor, intoxicating drugs, uselss and expensive habits like those of tea, cold-drinks, tobacco, easy ways of making money, such as gambling, cross-word puzzles etc., vulgar shows, songs etc. should not be encouraged and licensed for revenue; (ix) a Government which tells its people that it cannot establish a Welfare State unless the population is reduced, and plans for providing artificial means of birth-control, is as incompetent to govern as one that forces increase of population for imperialistic and war purposes. A training that incapacitates man from getting mastery over his passion and advises him to avoid the consequences of indulgence in it by questionable means is a failure of education as well as administration. Hence, the plan for education must be thoroughly overhauled.

These are a few of the basic objectives of Sarvodaya Planning, as I understand them. All planning, short-term or long-term, must be directed towards the achievement of these ends.

The evolution of the Draft Outline will vary according to the two tests by which it is measured. The Sarvodaya criticism will be regarded as fair to the extent its principles are understood and accepted by the nation.

This does not mean that on some specific and detailed items, there might not be common schemes and targets. Indeed, in some matters, the specific schemes might remain the same from whatever side you approach them. But the few subjects, where there is divergence, are so important that the implementation of the Commission's scheme is likely to cast the life of the nation in quite a different mould so strongly as to make a change towards Sarvodaya too difficult, without another radical revolution.

Wardha, 26-9-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

FUTURE OF PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY

A correspondent raises a problem, which might be paraphrased as follows :—

> "I belong to the tailoring class. I do not understand various intricate national problems. But I am deeply interested in the Prohibition policy of the Bombay Government, as my community was very much addicted to drink, and is not completely out of the woods. Prohibition has been a blessing to it. I feel grateful to the Bombay Government for standing firm on its Prohibition policy in spite of pressure from the Central Government itself, in addition to that of the vested interests and hard drinkers.
>
> "But now a possibility has arisen of the personnel of the Bombay Government changing radically after the elections. This has thrown me into a doubt. Shri Ashok Mehta is reported to have declared somewhere that if the Socialists came to power, they would give up Prohibition, and would advise people to practise self-control in drinking. Thus their attitude has become clear, and I, for one, would not vote for such a Government.
>
> "But what about the Congress? Who will assure me that the present policy will not be given up by the next Congress Government of Bombay? The Congress manifesto has not repledged itself to Prohibition, and the views of Shri Nehru are well known. The Congressmen of the Bombay State or its P. C. C.'s. have not issued any separate or supplementary manifesto to clarify their own attitude. Several of the leading members of the present Bombay Cabinet do not propose to stand for elections. Of those who will stand, Shri Morarji Desai and, perhaps, a few others are believed to be strong prohibitionists and some of them might return to power. But if they find themselves in a minority in their own party on the issue of Prohibition, what will they do? Will they refuse to be the members of a Government, which gives up or tones down its Prohibition policy?
>
> "Prohibition is a question of life and death to the people of the tailoring profession, and if even the Congress policy is to become weak about it, I wish to know how the people of my class, who want their community to be saved from drink, should exercise their right to vote."

The question is a very pertinent one, and can be clarified only by those who stand as candidates for the next elections. Since the Congress is generally expected to be called upon to form the next Government, the nominated Congress candidates of the Bombay State would do well to issue a joint or individual statement declaring clearly what their attitude towards Prohibition will be in the new set up of the Congress Government. Voters might also question the candidates of various parties in their respective constituencies about the matter,

and before they vote for them ask them to take a pledge not to support anti-prohibition move, but to work for the success of Prohibition. They might also be asked to pledge that they would resign from the Congress Assembly Party, if ordered to vote for lifting prohibition in the Assembly.

Such of the members of the present Bombay Government and M. L. A's. who propose to stand for elections might also do well to assure the public that they would not support any change in policy on this subject, and would not be in a Government which decided to change it.

Wardha, 13-10-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

COMMUNISM AND SARVODAYA

3, Electric Lane,
New Delhi,
26th August, 1951

The Editor, Harijan,

I was really interested to read in the *Harijan* of the 18th of August, the two-letter correspondence between Shri Vinobaji and Shri Dange, and your article captioned "In Regard to Communism" on it.

I am entirely at one with you when you say that the capitalist democracy of the West can never successfully meet the challenge of Communism; it is the idea of Sarvodaya, based on the fundamental unity of man as a socialized, spiritual and moral force, that is going to devour both Capitalism and Communism. I also agree with you when you say that on the whole the Indian mind is the most tolerant in the world. No doubt the intolerance of the West has been its bane in the past and is eating into the vitals of its spiritual life at present. If the West will not give up its intolerance its life-springs will soon be dried up and they will cease to water the plant of human life.

But having said this let me now state that our tolerance has not always been due to an active appreciation of others' faiths, but it is also the result of our indifference or even callousness to life and its social and spiritual values, maybe, because of our wrong understanding of the 'law of *karma*'.

Secondly, let us not continue the same mistake as before. For a long time our leaders appreciated the West exclusively through English eyes. I am afraid now there is a growing tendency among them to judge it by exclusively American standards. We, on our part, neither like nor approve, and rightly so, the most bigoted attitude of the American towards Communism, and his 'jehad' against it. But we must also remember at the same time the reason for the American's attitude. He loves intensely his democratic way of life based on total freedom of the individual and, rightly or wrongly, believes that Communism is threatening to destroy it. Let us be tolerant towards him also.

But have we any way of life which we call our own and do we love it as intensely as the American or the English? Gandhiji often used to call himself a Communist but h was a non-violent Communist, i.e., he believed that a just and equitable human order can be established only through non-violence. "If Communists did not resort to secret, violent and deceitful methods" — but that makes a world of difference. For as Gandhiji said, in his philosophy "means and ends are convertible terms; the means may be likened to a seed and the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."

So in our love and zeal for the ideal let us not unconsciously and imperceptibly minimize the evils of the means adopted by the Communists. And therefore Communism and Sarvodaya are poles asunder.

Yours sincerely,
SHANKARRAO DEO

Note: I hardly thought that Vinoba and I were not clear about this matter. Nevertheless, Shri Deo's warning is welcome. One more thing which needs to be understood in this connection is that when most of us speak or think of Communism, we have in mind only its Russian brand. As Shri M. P. T. Acharya rightly points out in his article, 'Confusion between Communism and State Socialism', published elsewhere in this issue, the Russian pattern is really State Capitalism and not Communism at all; and the party in India known as Communists should better be known as State Capitalists. It is as much an imperialist doctrine as any known hitherto. The struggle between U. S. and Russia is really rivalry between two types of Capitalism, namely Private and State. Since Capitalism can never subsist without war, exploitation and some form of slavery, it is no wonder that both are wedded to violence. Both are inconsistent with Sarvodaya.

Wardha, 30-8-'51 K. G. M.

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