Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

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

VOL. XV. No. 44 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1951 TWO ANNAS

VILLAGE ECONOMICS

Freedom from Money

[In his post-prayer speech at Rajghat, Delhi, on 20th November 1951, Vinobaji discussed Village Economics. It covered several subjects like freedom from money, employment for all, full planning, the place of the *charkha*, etc. — K. G. M.]

Expanding his thesis on the disadvantages and harmful effects of money economy, Vinoba said money was a deceptive factor. Any economic structure based on money could not be stable. Nothing much could be achieved if the economic structure in the villages was unstable. It would not matter so much if the towns and cities were not brought into the scheme. But villages must be freed from dependence on money.

Village economy should be based on labour, after money was eliminated. Some people imagined he wanted to go back to the old barter system. That was not his plan at all. He was not against currency. Actually, he preferred paper currency to coinage. But the currency he wanted was of labour. It should not be printed at Nasik at the behest of some ruler. It should be a currency adopted by the villagers themselves for their own use. In this currency there would be no question of any credit.

Decentralization

Vinoba's plan envisaged decentralization, which was a necessity. An examination of God's plan in the unfolding of the universe showed that it was based on a highly decentralized system. If He had not thought of decentralization, He would have had to store all intelligence in some central bank in Delhi and then go about distributing and rationing it out to the people through motor cars and planes. Naturally He could not have been imagined as Vishnu lying comfortably at rest in mid-ocean. But for decentralization and a self-evolving system, it could hardly be conceived that God could take rest. Decentralization would lighten the burden of Delhi.

Gram-Rajya

What he wanted was *gram-rajya* or self-government for villages. *Gram-rajya* to his mind was not very different from *Ram Rajya* or ideal government. Village self-government could be achieved if raw materials produced in agriculture were turned into manufactured or semi-manufactured goods. For one thing, this would save transport. Secondly, imports of foreign goods could be reduced.

Village-Town Co-operation

To this end, co-operation between village and town was necessary. People in towns, however, did not care for villages. They seemed to be doing everything they could to ruin village industries. In recent years they had seen so many industries ruined. A remarkable thing was that village industries were ruined in the name of the villages themselves. If they started factories, they said they were meant to help village people. If, for instance, a factory was started for the manufacture of *dal* a Minister was ready to go and open it. These Ministers had a wonderful mentality. They justified their policies and actions by arguing that things were being made cheaper for the villagers. It was money again! Villagers might get *dal* cheaper, but their employment was taken from them. They must, therefore, be freed from the influence of money.

No Blind Follower of Gandhiji

Gandhiji taught his philosophy for 30 years. He had often had talks with Gandhiji on these matters. Associates of Gandhiji did not accept what he said unless they were convinced of it. At least in his case, it was so. There were some ideas of Gandhiji which he had readily accepted. He had accepted his spiritual ideas without argument. But when Gandhiji talked of his economic theories, he studied them carefully and accepted them only when he was convinced that it was through those ideas that India could go towards progress.

Khadi, Village Industries and Planning

During his recent talks with members of the Planning Commission, he had suggested that villages should be allowed to turn their raw materials into manufactured or semi-manufactured goods. Labour could be found in the villages. They should thus be encouraged to work and should be given protection. Villagers, for instance, could produce cloth wherever cotton was grown. When *khadi* was mentioned all economists hesitated. He could not say they were in the hands of capitalists, but the idea of not letting villages produce *khadi* was a capitalist idea. In this both capitalists and Communists agreed. The two had the same ideas about production. They differed over the distribution of what was produced. In the case of *khadi*, consciously or unconsciously, the capitalist idea was being supported.

One of the postulates of national planning was full employment. It was accepted that full employment could be provided to all, but it was argued that only a few people were employed in the interest of efficiency. The result was partial planning, instead of national planning. If simple implements and small machines were used, full employment could be provided. Planners in India promised full employment, but asked why *khadi* should be brought into it. It could be done otherwise. There were others who asked why *khadi* was necessary now that independence had been achieved. Did they want to lose independence by losing *khadi*? There were still others who wanted to know why *khadi* was not being encouraged by their own Government, Gandhiji's Government.

Before the war mills in India produced 17 yards of cloth per capita. Now their production had gone down to 12 yards per capita. Did it mean that having become independent we needed less cloth? Cloth was required in the country, but the idea of *khadi* had not been properly digested by the people. It was not being realized that the *charkha* was the flag of their rebellion.

Some time ago when he took to agriculture and worked in the field every day, a friend congratulated him saying that Vinoba had given first place to agriculture instead of to spinning. He did not accept the compliment and wrote in reply that although he worked in the field all day, it did not mean that the *charkha* was being neglected. On the other hand, he had begun to spin during his morning prayer. *Charkha* had a constant and higher position.

Agriculture goes on. Nobody ever suggests that there should be no agriculture or farming. But *charkha* was being opposed for it was the symbol of the new social structure they wanted to build up. It was in the national flag too. Pandit Nehru had explained that only the wheel had been taken for convenience and because of its old association with the Asoka Chakra. But it was the *charkha* all right. Still people did not realize the value of the *charkha*. "

When asked how they would provide for the idle, those in power said that they would ask them to build roads. There was work which was perennial. There was other work which was casual. Road-building could go on for four, six or ten years. After that there would only be repair work. But spinning could provide work for ever. People would require cloth as long as mankind existed, unless they decided to go naked. Cloth, like food, was a necessity and its production could give employment to people for ever. It was no argument to suggest that they would find employment for people in occasional work.

If those in charge took a pledge to provide full employment to all and accepted the responsibility, they could not but help think of the *charkha*. The *charkha* was the only means of solving the unemployment problem. Gandhiji, with the gift of a seer had seen the importance of the *charkha* and had said that his birthday was Charkha Jayanti. The *charkha*, he knew, was a wonderful means of creating a stable economic structure and of achieving self-sufficiency.

If villages produced their primary needs and brought fewer things from outside, money would not have the same influence for instability. It would not create the problems it had created.

This was his firm conviction. In Telangana he had met Socialists. When asked if they could find a substitute for the *charkha* to give employment to the people, they had no answer. Recently he had had a long talk with Shri Jai Prakash Narain. Vinoba had told him that he wanted efficiency and improved implements and machines, but they should be suitable for use in villages. Meanwhile why should they not use the implements and machines they had, to provide work for people in the villages? Shri Jai Prakash accepted the argument, even though he was known to be a progressivist.

Everyone would similarly have to accept the importance of the *charkha* unless he was prejudiced. The *charkha* was the only occupation through which they could solve the problem of unemployment.

(Based on report in *Hindustan Times*, dated 22-11-'51)

BAPU ON LAND DISTRIBUTION

Dr. Sushila Nayyar reports the following conversation in her book *Bapuna Karavasni Kahani* (Gujarati Edition) on page 384:

" While he was taking his evening walk, Mirabehn asked Bapu, 'How will land be distributed after Swaraj?' Bapu replied, 'Land will be owned by the State. I presume the reins of the Government will be in the hands of those who have faith in this ideal. A majority of the *zamindars* will give up their lands willingly. Those who do not do so will have to do so under legislation.' Mirabehn said, 'Then the first step will have to be to educate public opinion?' Bapu replied, 'It has already been educated. It is almost ready today.'"

SHRI KUMARAPPA IN CHINA

(*By G. Ramachandran*)

Here are a few more extracts from letters from Shri Kumarappa:

1. " At Mukden and here these pre-British and Japanese high class Hotels are used as officers' rest houses and workers' dormitories. It is as though the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay or Spencer's Hotel or Connemara Hotel in Madras, were converted into dormitories for Congress volunteers. The only difference is that these buildings are maintained in a very good state. As we went up north the standard of cleanliness became lower, until at Mukden there were plenty of flies and crows and the spitting habit was also evident. There were also mosquitoes. But the people were industrious and well-fed. Even the animals are fat and rounded. The carts and carriages may be in a bad condition; but the mules, horses and bullocks are fat and strong. These people eat very good food. At a station opposite to our compartment, there were found hawkers, and in their sale-cases, covered with glass, were at least about 8 dozen chickens roasted and well prepared. They sold them at about Rs 2/- each. They also had Chinese steamed bread like *iddali* and cooked vegetables, fruits tied in strings and other sweet dishes. I have never seen outside the U. S. A. such quantities of food at such low rates. The village children are well-dressed; if anything, they have too much clothing with cotton shoes made in their own homes. It is a pleasure to see these. Their pigs are stall-fed. I asked a farmer, 'Don't you let out these pigs to eat nightsoil?' His reply was, 'How can we afford to give them such valuable stuff, which we convert into manure? In any case our pigs would not eat nightsoil as they are not accustomed to it.' I asked our guide about this. He is an officer of cultural relations with foreign countries and he is still accompanying us on our tour. He was rather surprised to hear pigs eat nightsoil anywhere. He said, 'I have never seen or heard pigs eating such stuff.' These people are great meat-eaters and they also eat a lot of vegetables...." (From *Tientsin*, 15-10-'51)

2. " China has pulled itself up not merely through the measures taken by the Government but largely because of the character of the people. They do not believe in religion but are conscientious and honest. Everywhere from a fish market to a chain store, the prices are fixed. If our country is down and out it is mainly due to lack of character from top to bottom. Their orderliness and organizing power are marvellous. We may have better memories and brain power but we cannot match their native shrewdness and instinctive practical mind.... In six months they had turned the country from inflation to stability. Even now, of course, the prices run into astronomical figures. It is nothing. It is just as though we calculated everything in terms of pies. The unit is small. This can be set right

any time. A quarter anna is equal to 100 yens. Business does not suffer from uncertainty. As I have said, food is plenty and so is cloth. Everywhere you meet smiling faces. This is the true test of good government and prosperity. I have a fear that after this transitional period, things may change if they do not look sharp. Already the indices show a very small crop and a large increase in cotton, tobacco and hemp. This is a trend we know too well as industrialization, and we also know where it will lead to. I do hope that with this genius for putting things right, they will tackle this rising symptom early enough to control it.

"At present they claim that the purchasing power of the peasants in the N. E. Province has gone up by 69 per cent and that of the general population by 53 per cent. I do not doubt it as there seems a general feeling of prosperity. So far they have not spent their money on roads. They have concentrated on agricultural production and that by improving their old methods. I have not yet seen any signs of mechanized farming. It is all done by donkeys, mules and bullocks. Small horses are also used. Their animals are well fed and looked after. Man and beast have enough to eat and to waste, but the latter is against their nature. The Chinese seem to have a peculiar genius to convert all waste into wealth.

"At Mukden, in the Steel Co's the Managers' allowance is about three times of the minimum wage, which latter is calculated to support two persons. Some good labourers get nearly double that of the Manager. Can we say this of Tata's or Birla's?

"Their old race courses are converted into permanent exhibitions to educate the masses. The hutments are of bamboo *tattis*. No admission is charged. School children are taken by the teachers. The children take notes of what the guides say and the latter answer the children's questions most attentively." (From *Nanking*, 17-10-'51)

3. "At Shanghai, we visited a People's Court, where cases are tried with quick despatch. There are no lawyers. The present being a transitory period, even the judges are only men of six months' to a year's training. All the old laws have been set aside and only common sense prevails. There is a Judge, an Assistant Judge, and one man and one woman acting as Assessors. This is the Court. The Judge examines witnesses etc. directly and the Government provides a defender to the accused in complicated cases to help the Court. Representatives of the public are allowed to be present and to express their opinions also. In a case we saw, an ill-treated wife had committed suicide. The mother-in-law got fifteen years, the brother-in-law ten years and the father-in-law two years on probation. While some representatives of the public said that the judgment and punishment were good, one woman got up and said that in her opinion the sentences were lenient; as the suicide was the direct result of the cruelty by others it was almost like murder. She thought that the mother-in-law should have been awarded capital sentence. Such is Chinese Democracy today." (From *Hongkong*, 31-10-'51)

4. "I reached here (Tokyo, Japan) after an excellent passage from Hongkong. The bowing and scraping politeness here is so artificial and superficial after all that head-erect but heart-felt cordiality of China. I feel already a little 'homesick' for China! Those people were loving and lovable. Even the toddlers on the streets, the moment they recognize you as a foreigner, get hold of their mothers' *pyjamas* and peep and greet you with a sweet smile; and little older ones clap their hands in joy. At Canton little boys had been lined up at the station to say farewell to us with flowers. As one little fellow handed me a bunch of flowers I went down to pat him on his cheeks. Immediately he put his arms round my neck and clung to me. This was a signal for all the other little ones to do the same and they all started climbing over me until Pandit Sunderlal shouted, 'Be careful. He is a blood-pressure patient; you will kill him with your affection.' Then some of the senior volunteers came to my rescue. Such was the unbounded affection of young China." (From *Tokyo*, 3-11-'51)

5. "Tokyo is very much westernized. The streets are full of sleek big cars. You see all kinds of them. The Japanese baby cars are like outsized toys on the roads. Against these you have the double buses with a front part that functions like an engine and the rear part is a huge vehicle for passengers. The roads are broad with trams running in the middle. Apart from Central Tokyo the rest is a sprawling big city. The Central Tokyo is like an American city, with buildings of 8 or 9 storeys high built in the American style. The war devastations have made it necessary for them to build up all the damaged areas and so, high building works are going on everywhere. On the first night, they took me to a hotel, where I found a notice in my bed-room, that Japanese visitors will not be allowed to see guests in public lounges but only in private bedrooms. Immediately, I wanted to leave the hotel, but as it was about 9 p.m. I was persuaded to spend the night there. I shifted early next morning to another hotel. There are taxis marked "Foreigners' Cab." No Japanese can use such taxis. There are buses running often empty, which are reserved for occupational forces and no Japanese can board them. The British, at their worst in India, had never reached these limits. They did reserve a few clubs etc. for Europeans. That could be understood because of our habits; but the Japanese are completely westernized and so there is not even that excuse. The motive seems purely one of humiliating the defeated enemy. I trust all this will soon be removed. These acts are not calculated to make for friendliness between the nations." (From *Tokyo*, 7-11-'51)

(Abridged from *Gram Udyog Patrika*, December '51)

HARIJAN

Dec. 29 1951

SOCIAL EVILS

Earnest correspondents constantly draw my attention to the immoral and anti-social nature of cinema films, radio songs, sensational literature, sex-medicines, advertisements with lewd pictures, cartoons, news items, cross-word puzzles and similar gambles, and ask me to carry on a ceaseless propaganda against them through *Harijan*. Some of these writers belong to the teaching profession, and naturally they feel very uneasy. They witness the disastrous effects which Satan produces through these ostensible means of 'culture' on the minds and behaviour of the young boys and girls under their charge.

I appreciate this demand and wish I had sufficient energy, influence and space in *Harijan* to satisfy it. But even these three cannot be effective unless there are in every locality a band of energetic and enthusiastic moral reformers who, in addition to banning these corrupters in their own homes and personal libraries, propagate against them among their neighbours and friends, and create effective public opinion against them. I notice that here and there a few papers, though very humble and not much known, do commendable work in this direction and wish there were more of this type. But they carry a precarious existence, while the number of papers which sell in thousands and thrive on profane literature and gamble is much greater than these. This shows the weak urges of the public.

Hence, these moral reformers seek Government help. But they should know that a good, democratic government is not the same thing as a morally perfect government. A democratic government reflects and follows public opinion whether such public opinion is spiritually or morally on a high or a low level. It can at best, remove an obstacle here and there in raising the spiritual and moral level of the people, but can never bring it about effectively if the public opinion is not prepared for it. Of course, government policy and good ministers and leaders can help the cause of moral reform by never patronizing such displays, and refusing to inaugurate such activities, even if they could not legislate against them. But the pressure of public opinion is necessary even for this. Hence, moral reformers must in the first place work hard to create wide-scale public opinion in the cause of moral reform, before it can become a subject of administrative action.

When my correspondents press me to speak about this constantly they flatter me with a great amount of wisdom and influence. Even if I were as good at that as they assume, there has to be appropriate time for every movement. The country is at present enveloped in the virulent epidemic of elections, and until it subsides, and the nation regains its normal life, let those who are fortunate enough to have escaped its infection, keep patience and sympathetically tend its victims.

Wardha, 12-12-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

HINDU CODE BILL

At an early stage of the Hindu Code Bill, I wrote in support of the main principles of that Bill in the columns of *Harijan*. Since then the Bill has undergone several changes, which have, I believe, diluted the originally proposed reforms to a great extent. I have not been able to follow up the latest changes.

Even with these alterations there is considerable difference of opinion on this measure not only party-wise, but even inside the Congress Party, and both the sides are led by eminent leaders of the Congress. This difference has led to the delay in the passage of the Bill and its passage in compartments.

The Hindu Law of Inheritance and Succession, Marriage, Divorce and Adoption, Joint Family and Rights of Women varies in different parts of the country. But one common feature of it is that everywhere it is intricate and provides a good field for touts and lawyers. I realized this as early as 1911-12, while I was still working as a Solicitor's articled clerk. As against the Hindu Law, the Mahomedan Law and the Indian Succession Act are simpler, create very little litigation and are more just towards women. The Khojas, the Cutchee Memons and some of the Muslim village castes of Berar, which came by custom within the pale of the Hindu Law in these matters, provided a richer field for lawyers to make money than those who came within the full domain of the Mahomedan Law. Hindus, particularly when a wealthy person dies without a male issue, and leaves a mother, a widow, a daughter or widowed daughter-in-law as nearest relatives, provide the best pasture land to lawyers. I have not the least doubt that the old law is out-of-date with the requirements of the present society.

But I had had no occasion to discuss this subject either with Gandhiji or Vinoba or other colleagues. I was, therefore, glad to read the following report in the *Hindustan Times*, of 18th November 1951 :

> "Full support for the Hindu Code Bill was given by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in his speech to a women's gathering at Rajghat this afternoon (16th Nov.).
>
> "The Bill, he declared, contained nothing which went against the Hindu religion. Women were given some rights in their father's homes by Hindu scriptures. The Bill was a measure of progressive reform seeking to give women equal rights with men. Such reform was necessary because of changed conditions.
>
> "The Bill also provided for divorce, but that need not upset women. Indian women knew the way of selfless service and sacrifice. Provision for divorce would not change their mentality. Over a score of men he knew had forsaken their leper wives, but women whose husbands were similarly stricken had stuck to them."

Wardha, 16-12-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

MORE ABOUT BONE-EXPORT

[Before publishing my articles on *Export of Bones* I submitted them for scrutiny to a few friends, whom I knew to have studied the subject. Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta was necessarily one of them. He has fortified me with his studies, and I wish to share with the public his main letter on the subject to me. — K. G. M.]

The Bonemeal Export Trade

Thinkers in India had from time to time condemned the practice of bone-export. Every time some excuse had been found by the Government to continue this drain. In the report of the Royal Commission headed by Linlithgow, it is found that the governmental excuse was the consideration for the poor untouchables. For, if bone export is prohibited, bones would not be collected at all and these poor people will lose their livelihood. (Vide *Cow in India*, page 568, "The Bonemeal Trade of India.")

At another time, there was another excuse, which was that they, the foreign importers, put the bone to better use. But then, we in India, do not get more profit thereby. For bonemeal made in India from whole bones, is not costlier than crushed sweepings of grists.

Probably it was the checkmate which the above criticism presented that later on the raw bone prices were made higher than bonemeal. It is a recent step taken by the Government of India.

The exporters of bone or grist are very very influential and it had been impossible to do any thing with bone in the interest of the land which adversely affected the ring controlling the bone business in India. As a result of this is the latest move of the bone exporters. In their interest, a certain size of bone has been specified for export and the siftings are thereby sold in India at a cheaper price. They have, this way, made it practically uneconomic to use local bone for manure. It pays more to sell out whole bones and where possible, get back a portion cheap as "meal" or dust. But it is only throwing dust in the eyes of India's economic interests.

Bone as Manure in Foreign Countries

Even now bonemeal is used as a valuable fertilizer in the countries of import. A portion of the imported bone goes to make buttons and knife handles, another portion and probably the largest portion goes for the manufacture of gelatine, which is used as an article of food as also in photography and various other arts and crafts.

Value of Bone Manure

It is suggested in the exporters' interests that bonemeal as a manure is a costly article and that mineral phosphates as supers (or superphosphates) are a cheap substitute. But it is not so. Mineral superphosphate spoils the soil but bonemeal only enriches it.

Bone Crushing

Shri Valunjkar has devised a simple mobile bone-crushing unit. It consists of a motor truck on which is mounted a disintegrator. The disintegrator on the motor truck can be carried along the road wherever bone is stacked in the interior at a road side. The engine of the truck is hitched on to the disintegrator on arrival at site and the crushing is done by power from the engine. This is a quite handy set and a demonstration given at the Delhi Ministry of Agriculture proved its utility as a very useful combination for utilizing bone *in situ* in villages.

Superphosphates and Its Commercial Utility

Superphosphate is made by treating mineral phosphate or bone (natural animal phosphate) with sulphuric acid. This acid treatment makes a portion of the phosphate soluble in water. But this is of doubtful advantage as some time after application the solubility is impaired. Besides this, the soluble phosphate is liable to be washed away. If only bonemeal is added to the soil, the soil gradually decomposes it and gets enriched and the enrichment may last several years.

Therefore, there is no case for use of mineral superphosphates in India where sulphuric acid is a considerably costly article and is not plentifully available.

Conclusion

India cannot, in her own interest, permit bone to be exported as grist or in any raw form. India can manufacture those products that are made out of it elsewhere quite easily by undertaking the enterprises but even if these industries are not created yet it would be against India's interest to allow exports of raw bone.

Sodepur, 26-10-'51

SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

MR CHURCHILL'S REPLY

28, Hyde Park Gate,
London, S. W. 7,
15th November 1951

Dear Sir,

I am desired by Mr Churchill to thank you very much for your letter dated 30th September signed by yourself, Dr. Gilder, Dr. Nayar, and Dr. Pyarelal, concerning his mention of Mahatma Gandhiji in his Memoirs, and to tender his apologies for the long delay in answering it. He feels sure you will understand that the recent General Election has caused an enormous increase in the volume of his correspondence, and he has not been able to deal with it as quickly as he would wish.

Mr Churchill is much obliged to you for the evidence you have sent him and wishes me to assure that it is being carefully considered for future editions of his Memoirs.

Yours very truly,
Sd/- Illegible
Private Secretary

Dr. B. C. Roy, M. D. (Cal), D. Sc.

SHRI VINOBA'S TELANGANA TOUR
XII

April 23, Tirgalapalli (Ninth Halt, 10 miles)

We reached Tirgalapalli in the morning at about 8-30 a.m. The way lay through a forest of palms, some groves of mango trees, followed by freshly harvested paddy fields, intercepted frequently by small hills and streamlets which presented an enchanting view. We were told that few people passed by that way as the surrounding villages were reported to be Communist centres.

The people of the village had walked up two miles in order to greet us. They escorted us with devotional and musical songs all the way. The village was swept clean. Some time ago the Communists had murdered Shri Raja Reddi, an old and very popular worker of the place. The people treasured a respectful memory of him, as could be seen in the generous tributes paid to him by all and sundry in their talks. He had built good houses for Harijans on his plot of land. Vinoba was sorely pained on hearing the tragic tale of his murder. Did the Communists hope to serve the poor by killing the good? Vinobaji remained for a time in a deep pensive and reflective mood. The problem of Telangana was disclosing itself in various aspects every day, and Vinobaji with his ever original ideas was preparing the people for a non-violent revolution to meet the problem.

Addressing the prayer meeting in the evening, Vinoba said that though their village was very small it was gratifying to see men and women from distant villages gathering there in a great number. He was glad to know that all lived in love and amity. They knew he had begun to ask for donations of land from the rich wherever he went, and they responded to his appeals. But Tirgalapalli was a very small village. Excepting one man the rest were all small farmers. Therefore he had not expected big donations from them. But he felt much pleasure in finding that their donations had belied his expectations. Smt. Lakshmibai (one of our companion) had remarked that his (Vinoba's) stomach being much too small was easily satisfied. But small though his stomach was it was very active as it represented the concentrated hunger of all the poor people put together, and so he accepted whatever he could get. But taking into consideration the extent of the village, he expressed satisfaction with the seventy or eighty acres which he had received there. "Charity prompted with love enhances its value. The donations I have received here are given with love. And I accept only what is given with love. Therefore I place a high value on your donations."

As Vinoba reflected on the reason for a generous response from that village, he discovered that the credit for the generous impulse must go to their devoted worker who had been killed by the Communists. He had served them well and generously, and his meritorious deeds had now begun to bear fruits. His sacrifice was at the root of the healthy and pure atmosphere that prevailed there, and it was this exemplary sacrifice that had sanctified their village and inspired them for acts of generosity. A large part of the gift, which Vinoba had received that day was made by the brother of the late Raja Reddi. Mutual love and amity in which they lived would bring happiness to their village.

The route by which they had come, Vinoba related, passed through a forest. There were hills all around. Very few city-dwellers, he believed, ever passed that way. He had come for the express purpose of having their *darshan*. He came across some policemen on the way. He learnt from them that they had, in the course of their raids on the surrounding villages, arrested about 40 to 45 Communists. They said that though the arrested persons were designated Communists, they looked like *goondas*, and wondered whether they should be called Communists or *goondas*. Vinoba has always maintained that when a man resorted to foul means in order to achieve even good ends, he encouraged *goonda* forces. Though the Communists professed that their aim was to promote the welfare of the poor, they had adopted dacoity, force, murder and violence as their methods. Hence it was easy for *goondas* also to enter their ranks, so that it was not possible to distinguish between a Communist and a *goonda*. Nothing good can come out of encouraging *goonda* activities. If a Communist went to them at night and threatened them and asked them to part with their belongings they often yielded to them,— some out of sympathy with them and others out of fear. But Vinoba advised them that they should neither fear nor sympathize with people, who had taken to evil ways. "It passes my comprehension how by killing a good man one can promote the welfare of the poor."

Referring to the evil effects of the British rule on India, Vinoba said that it was on account of the British rule that many such bad ideas had gained currency in India. During the British regime, several of our 'educated' people assimilated European ideas and ways. Peoples of Europe were not tired of wars. They waged war after war. During the last thirty years, they had fought two world wars and were now preparing for the third. By studying their ideas, we only spoiled our minds. They must have known that the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi had also said that he had murdered Gandhiji in the cause of Hindu Dharma. Thus he pleaded that by killing Gandhiji he saved Hinduism. Similarly the Communists said that they killed the good for the uplift of the poor. "This is a wrong path and must be abandoned. I have been persuading the Communists to realize that they will never reach their goal by following this path."

(Abridged and translated from Hindi) D. M.

SHRI VINOBA'S NORTHERN TOUR
IX

Datia

We had to enter into Wardha Pradesh again. We reached Datia (18-10-'51) after walking about 17 miles from Jhansi. On the way we received a gift of 7 acres.

At Datia 24 owners donated 78 acres. Vinoba could however see that the work was not done up to the mark. With a view to warn them he said, "Do you wish that the story of Telangana be repeated here? The Communists have reached up to Tibet. It is you, who have to decide and choose between Communism and Sarvodaya. The land problem has got to be solved; the thirst must be quenched, and it will be quenched with impure water if pure was not available."

He warned them against their inability to see beyond the nose in their domestic affairs. The present family system had grown into a selfish institution. There was a time when this institution had proved successful, but stagnation had crept in and progress had since been retarded.

Narrating his experience in Telangana as well as the present tour he asked "How long can we provide food to the needy, and for how many of them? It is the means of production that we have to provide. We regard our guests as deities. But this *Daridranarayana* is a guest, who is unable even to speak out his mind. God has made me His instrument to voice the grievances of this guest. You all must wholeheartedly employ yourselves in this great revolutionary mission."

Uparaya

We were now on the borders of Madhya Bharat. We had to cross the river Sendh. At a previous halt, i.e. at Uparaya, Vinobaji received 25 *bighas*. He appealed to the villagers to sink all the differences and live as one family. "Consider all the children as your own and see that no one shall remain hungry in your village," he said. "It was with this purpose in view that I have been touring from village to village."

Dambra

At Dambra, the first place in Madhya Bharat, he was presented with yarn garlands. The yarn was very rough. Taking one in his hand and showing it to the people, he said, "This yarn may be utilized for tying a bull. Of

what avail is such presentation? It adds to the prestige of neither the giver nor the receiver."

He reminded them of Gandhiji and said, "For years he span, and did it regularly without a break even during illness and fasts, even in political meetings and crowded interviews. So much so that on the last day when he came out for prayers he had just finished his spinning. He placed the wheel in the nation's flag. He ceaselessly wrote on *khadi*. He founded the Charkha Sangh; made several researches and employed many workers like me, in *khadi* work. He went to the length of suggesting that the word *chakra* in the *Gita* signified physical labour."

But, Vinoba complained, people had forsaken the *charkha*. Some people did wear *khadi*, but even after four years of Swarajya, production of cloth had not increased even by a yard. Black marketing had, of course, increased. The whole affair was so tragic and even then the Planning Commission did not seem to have any faith in the *charkha*. They did not believe that it would solve the cloth problem. How could they believe? They could do so, only if they had contact with the masses!

In answer to a question about the efficacy of the *charkha* in this scientific age, Vinobaji put a counter question: "Where is the necessity of lamps in the house when there are so many shining stars in the sky? Evidently the stars, however more illuminating they may be, cannot replace the lamp."

In his usual lively and appealing way, he thoroughly exposed the hollowness and delusion of large-scale mechanization by giving several illustrations. And in the end warning them against the slavery of mechanization, he wanted them to realize that they were the part and parcel of Divine Power, and that however tiny that power might be, it had the capacity to create and construct and that they could by the dint of that capacity, shape the world according to their own planning. They must not forget that they were 35 crores with a bright past and had no reason to feel helpless. Science was but their servant and had to plan according to their instructions. If they wanted small tools for agriculture, it was the duty of science to carry out the behest and not to question why. He categorically repudiated the charge that this was putting the clock back and invited them to go and see for themselves the experiment that was going on at Paramdham (Paunar). How more than 10,000 lbs. of vegetables were produced in one year in less than 3/4 of an acre of land. "The country has become sluggish," he painfully exclaimed. "If you pledge yourselves to do some productive work every day, you will see that the entire face of the country will change," and then coming to the main point he concluded, "it is however essential that the tiller should be the owner of land."

And people responded to his appeal and 80 donors gave 208 acres of land.

Many workers had gathered in the evening to meet Vinobaji. They had realized that little work had been done in connection with *Bhoodan-Yajna*. Addressing them, he said, his message should reach each and every one in this country. His mission was the mission of the propagation of an ideology. Land gift was but a token that they had understood and appreciated the message. Every one, therefore, had to make some contribution. Indeed, his bag could be filled by a few big land-holders; but the several hundred small land owners should also contribute. While in cities, it was the number of acres that should be big, in villages, it was the number of donors that counted.

But land alone was not enough for him. He wanted to meet men and establish contacts with them, because after all it was they who would keep the candle burning. Thus a great field of constant service was open for all the workers including the *Sarvodayawalas*, the *Congresswalas*, Socialists and all whosoever wanted to work. The sooner they awoke, the better; or else none could check the outburst of a violent revolution.

Jaurasi

From Dambra, we went to Jaurasi. It is inhabited chiefly by Rajputs. Addressing the people he explained how the violation of the Divine Law of universal benefaction entailed miseries on the people. The Creator had created things for the good of all. But man driven by selfish motives did not realize this; did not realize that land, like air, water and light belonged to all; and instead, claimed right of private ownership over it. The difference was between a man with and without vision. "It is, so clear to me that the danger is imminent. Those who can not see it with their own eyes, had better listen to those who can. With all this poverty and misery in the country, and with such indifference towards the down-trodden, and with the absence of village industries, which could have given at least some relief, how can a catastrophe be avoided? And even then the National Planning Commission say that it was not possible for them to provide work for all. If it was so, why this planning at all?"

In the end, referring to the efforts of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, he said, that Panditji wanted to purify the Congress. But that was not possible without presenting a programme of sacrifice to the nation. In the absence of such a programme even Gandhiji could not have effected the required purification. Today there was no programme other than the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, which could inspire the people for constant service and sacrifice, and which, if accepted by all the parties, had in it the inherent power for purification. "I claim that mine is a programme which affords an opportunity for sacrifice to all. I call it my five-year plan; and if all people engage themselves wholeheartedly in it and if during this period, five crores of acres of land are voluntarily and freely transferred from one hand to another, a great non-violent revolution will have taken place."

Next day we were to visit Lashkar (Gwalior), the capital of Madhya Bharat. All the responsible workers, including some of the office-bearers of the Congress, ex-ministers and others came to escort Vinobaji. But let me reserve the historic visit for the next week's letter. In the meantime, I give below the figures for the week end:

Camp	District	Province	Acres
Chirgaon	Jhansi	Uttar Pradesh	150.42
Badagaon	,,	,, ,,	98.86
Jhansi	,,	,, ,,	1869.92
Datia	Datia	Vindhya Pradesh	96.91
Uprayan	,,	,, ,,	47.93
Dambra	Gird	Madhya Bharat	235.00
Jourasi	,,	,, ,,	90.00
		Total ...	2509.14 (sic)

Grand total up to date since 12th September 11,438
Total mileage covered 528

D. M.

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HINDI WRITERS' APPEAL

The Sarvodaya pilgrimage recently undertaken by Acharya Vinoba Bhave is but a continuation of the non-violent revolution which was initiated by Gandhiji and which successfully brought us political freedom. But the problem of bringing into existence the new pattern of society still remains unsolved. Equality and social justice are the objects of this future pattern of society. If we resort to violent means in order to achieve these objects we shall destroy our tradition of non-violence, which Gandhiji has left us in legacy and which is the cream of the *sanatana* (ancient and permanent) culture of India. On the other hand, if we do not decide upon the course of action and act upon it without delay and with hope and enthusiasm, the very want of action and inadvertence on our part will envelope us into forces of violence. In the midst of this gloom, we view with hope and enthusiasm Shri Vinoba's present efforts, and we feel that we should lose no time in adopting his way, which will itself suggest to us from time to time solutions of various other problems which confront us.

We therefore appeal to the people to co-operate whole-heartedly and actively in Vinoba's great effort so that we may be able to cross peacefully all the milestones of the non-violent revolution, and just as by achieving our political freedom through non-violent means, we have placed a new ideal before the human civilization, so also by building our new social structure based on equality and social justice we shall be able to show to the world that equality can be established through love and non-violence, contrary to the common belief that a bloody revolution is an indispensable process for it and that the non-violent way alone is the most human and best way.

We particularly appeal to writers and journalists to help create the necessary atmosphere in the country for the success of the non-violent revolution by writing suitable literary compositions such as articles, dialogues, notes etc.

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"To a Gandhian Capitalist"

This is the title of a book containing a collection of letters passed between Gandhiji on the one hand and Jamnalal Bajaj and members of his family on the other, published by the Jamnalal Seva Trust, Wardha (Sole Distributors: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263, Hornby Road, Bombay,* Price Rs 5-8-0, Pages 191). It is edited by Shri Kaka Kalelkar and carries a Foreword by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. As the original letters were mostly written either in Gujarati or Hindi the book is really a translation. We are told that a Hindi edition is also being printed. I wish the order had been reversed.

Bapu's first letter is written in July 1917 and the last letter on 2nd February 1942. Jamnalalji died on 11-2-'42. The correspondence thus covers a period of almost 25 years. It is well known how Jamnalalji had dedicated himself to Gandhiji's service and cause. During his childhood Jamnalalji had been given in adoption by his natural parents. That was a passive act so far as Jamnalalji was concerned. In 1922, Jamnalalji gave himself in adoption to Gandhiji, as a fifth son. The first adoption meant adoption to wealth; the second one to service to Gandhiji and his mission, in which he and his wealth were to be freely dedicated. The correspondence between such a father and a son has a value of its own. Shri Kaka Kalelkar in the course of a note embodying his personal reminiscences of Jamnalalji says, "The letters that are collected here are valuable historical records and at the same time highly spiritual documents which concern two very remarkable and noble lives. Let the readers rejoice at the opportunity of sharing this spiritual intercourse between the greatest man since Buddha and Christ, and a worthy disciple who strove throughout his life to reach the ideals of his master." In the words of Jawaharlalji, "it brings out somewhat what Jamnalalji was and it gives us some insight also into one of the innumerable aspects of Gandhiji's life and activities."

The book is richly illustrated with photographs and facsimiles of Gandhiji's handwriting.

Wardha, 15-12-'51 K. G. M.

* Also available at Navajivan Publishing House, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad 9.

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Subscription Rates—Inland: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; Foreign: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 s. or $ 2.
Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 9.