

HARIJAN

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No. 9

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MAY 2, 1948

TWO ANNAS

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

I

[Shri Vinoba was invited to a meeting of the Congress workers at Delhi on the 4th of April last. The following is the first instalment of a translation of a few of the questions put to him and his answers thereto.]

SPECIAL HARIJAN INSTITUTIONS

Q. 1. Why should there be special Harijan institutions and conferences? Why should not all distinctions between Harijans and non-Harijans be abolished?

A. I agree that these distinctions must go, and that there should be no necessity for special institutions. But this is possible only if those who are known as Harijans are absorbed fully into the general society by those who are not so known. I suggest that instead of opening special schools or granting separate scholarships to Harijans, every worker should admit a Harijan boy into his house and bring him up along with his own children. In this way you will be able to achieve more than by holding conferences. But you will say that the members of your family were not prepared for that. So that is that. But I say that if you do what I suggest, you will not only receive God's blessings, but render more intrinsic service to the people than all your public activities put together can do.

TAINTED MONEY

Q. 2. Much of the money which we collect for public funds is earned by their donors by exploitation. Are not, therefore, our public activities carried on through tainted money? How can they remain on a high moral level when they are tainted at the very source?

A. This is a very good question. Let me make one thing clear at the outset. If one feels that all one's activities depend mainly upon funds for carrying them on, I should think that he does not know how to carry on his activities. The principal things needed in the performance of service are industriousness and resourcefulness — labour and intellect. Money does help a little. But one must not put all his reliance on money. The work must stand upon the strength of its own merits. If funds are forthcoming, well and good. But one's plans and mental make-up should be such that he does not feel helpless for want of funds.

Secondly, I have no right to judge whether my donor has earned his money rightly or wrongly. Only I would not accept a donation, if the donor makes a condition that he should get some benefit

from his charity. For instance, once a donor offered me money for constructing a well for Harijans. But he wanted to inscribe his name on the well. I asked him whether in wanting his name to be inscribed on the well, he sought to reserve to himself the right to drown himself in it. Otherwise, where was the sense in having one's name inscribed on a well? This is one criterion for discriminating between acceptability or otherwise of a donation.

I shall give another criterion also by way of an illustration. Once the proprietor of a dramatic company came to pay me a sum saying that it was the net proceeds of a performance. I told him that if he had paid me the amount without disclosing how he had collected it, I would have accepted the donation without any enquiry. But since he disclosed how he came by the money, I could not accept it. It would amount to my encouraging this manner of collecting funds or earning money. The lesson I want you to draw is that if your acceptance of a donation gives a sort of sanction to wrong methods of acquiring money or encourages wrong ways of life, it must not be accepted, unless the donation is in the nature of penance by one who gives up not only wrongly acquired money but also along with it wrong ways of acquiring it. Subject to this, since we are all liable to do good things as well as bad things, let us not judge others.

There will be both rich and poor amongst donors of the Gandhi Memorial Fund. There will be more poor people than the rich. It is well-known that Gandhiji used to collect money from the poor also, and had more respect for their pies and annas than for the thousands of the wealthy. Moreover, ultimately the money paid by the rich also comes from the poor. If they have come by it by exploiting the poor, I can divest them of it in a non-violent manner for the benefit of those poor people.

The more important thing is how we make use of the funds. If we use them in a good manner and for a good purpose, we purify the money. "Gold may be extracted even from an unclean place" — is a rule of Vedic rituals. If a sinner's money — voluntarily paid by him — is employed for a good purpose, it will clean the sin also. When I spend a mill-owner's donation for the propagation of *khadi*, I attack his industry with his own money. Our Socialist friends insist that the mill industry should be nationalized. I agree with them. But this might take time. What shall we do till then? Shall we go on assisting them by using mill-made cloth? I say that if we produce and wear *khadi* the mill-owners will themselves surrender their factories to

the nation. I need not say now what we shall do with those factories then.

INADEQUACY OF THE CHARKHA

Q. 3. The *charkha* does not attract the labourer, because it does not pay enough for maintaining oneself on it with eight hours' work. If it is made to give more returns, it might take root in the villages.

A. The answer is easy. I take walking exercise for about an hour and a half every day. Shall I get my bread out of the exercise if I took it for eight hours daily? If I walked more it would give me more fresh air, but not bread. If I plant a mango tree, I cannot get bananas from it. In the same way, if I spin I can expect to get cloth out of it, not bread. It is true that the Charkha Sangh has tacked it to bread to a certain extent, but the main function of the *charkha* is the production of yarn and not bread.

And it is necessary for you to realize the importance of this. It is usual to say that food is the first need of man, and cloth is the next. But, if you look a little deeper, you will come to know that in a civilized society cloth is the first need of man and not food. You can go about without food for a day or two, but you simply cannot go about naked at all. Cloth does not merely afford protection against cold and air, it also covers our nakedness. That has become the mark of our civilization. In fact that has become the more important function of cloth than its capacity to protect against the weather. Cloth is thus the first necessity of man and not second, and the *charkha* supplies that need. What more need you expect of the *charkha*, which claims to cover your nudity and makes good that claim?

THE YARN CONDITION

Q. 4. Why should not the yarn condition be removed, since it encourages untruthfulness?

A. Well, if it will console you, let me inform you that the yarn condition will be removed in a few days.

But let me at the same time warn you that if you think of supplying yourself with *khadi* by only making purchases from Khadi Bhandars, *khadi* will not live. Villagers will have to produce their *khaddar*, even as they do their food. City people cannot produce food by reason of city conditions. But let them at least produce their cloth at home. It will bring a healthy change in their daily occupations. It will create joy in the home and a sense of co-operation. One of the members might gin, another make slivers, a third might spin, and a fourth one might twist it double. The double twisted yarn will make weaving a play, and I would have no hesitation in suggesting that you put up a loom too in your home. You can weave all the cloth needed annually by the family within a month.

You all have water-pipes installed in your houses. The water comes out in a flush. It cannot however stand favourable comparison with rain, which comes in tiny drops. Rain, though in the form

of tiny drops, is spread out all over the country, and therefore gives more useful service than the pipe water. The *charkha* may be likened to rain-water. It distributes its gift to every home. It automatically solves the economic problem of a just distribution of wealth.

If you want to free yourself from the grip of the capitalists, you must ply the *charkha*. A mother can instil love for one's country into the minds of her children through the *charkha*. My mother insisted that before I got my breakfast, I must water the Tulsi plant. Thereby she taught me the duty of giving food even to plant life before I took mine. Similarly, if the mother told her children that for the sake of the country it was necessary to spin, she would teach them patriotism from their childhood. Everyone must take some share in bodily labour. If you take to daily spinning, you will keep yourself linked with the poor.

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT?

In the House of Lords speaking on the atomic energy the most reverend, the Archbishop of York suggested that if negotiations between Truman, Attlee and Stalin should fail, then those nations, "willing to submit to an atomic authority should do so without waiting for Russia and be in a position to confront any potential aggressor with an overwhelming deterrent force." Has His Grace so quickly forgotten the lessons of the last two global wars or does he believe in getting in the blow first? It appears to us that the nations of the world are being blind-folded to the lessons brought home to us by the last two wars that force does not solve the problems between nations. Already people in the know are talking of the third world war. Premier George Drew of Ontario speaking in Toronto early this week said, "We must realize that we are at war today—and let us not balk at that word. Hundreds of millions of people are being held in slavery and two hundred millions more are under the threat of slavery. There is much talk of the world being divided into two kinds of ideologies, but there never was such a simple division as now—not just of ideology, but an irreconcilable difference between two ways of life." Yes, it is the two ways of life that are in conflict today; the one believes in gaining the whole material world for oneself, and the other abhors violence even if it be at the cost of renouncing the world.

The people who would gain the world have forgotten that the means of violence even from the materialistic point of view is not worth the candle. Great Britain is squandering about 700 millions on military commitments. The Air Force itself accounts for about 170 millions. The Army clamours for over 300 millions and the Navy, of course, is the pet boy on whom not enough could be lavished. These figures mean nothing unless they indicate that so much of the productive power of the country is being diverted towards destruction and these figures naturally take no account of the enormous loss of human life. Unless the nations

wake up betimes, we shall again be plunged into the cauldron from which there will be no escape this time.

India itself is being dragged into this whirlpool of violence. Our military expenditure in a budget under a National Government is soaring high. As far as we can see, the powers that are interested in enriching themselves are extremely busy fomenting the type of industrialization that will plunge us headlong over the precipice.

The "Industrial Policy" outlined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently gives us no hope that the Government are aware of the dangers lurking beneath such a "Policy". The statements and actions of Government indicate that there is no considered policy in regard to the economic development of the country. The Government appears to be guided mainly by the exigencies of the case. Whichever interest happens to be vociferous at the time obtains a promise that will suit the party irrespective of the effect on the country as a whole. This programme of drifting along the current will not avail us much. What is wanted is a definite philosophy which will envisage the future of our country and indicate the means of attaining it, and all other considerations must be secondary to this main objective. Given such an objective our country can enunciate a policy which will not only bring peace and stability to our own land but will also usher hope into a world distorted with suspicion and fear.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

AT THE URUS OF BIBI NUR

[Adchina is a small village near Mehroli (East Punjab). A Muslim annual festival called Bibi Nur's *urus* is held here every year for nearly six hundred and fifty years past. This year it took place on the 10th and 11th of April last. During the disturbances Government took special care to protect the *dargah*. It also got the tombs repaired and renewed. Shri Vinoba attended the *urus* on the 11th and on Maulana Ahmed Said's invitation addressed the gathering as summarized below.]

Shri Vinoba expressed his pleasure for being amidst them, and referring to the sad events, which had happened recently, said that a poison-wave had passed over the land, infecting even good men with its virus. He hoped that by the grace of God a wave of good-will would now prevail, such as to make even bad men turn good.

India was a land of many sects. She had given welcome to every religion. As our great poet Ravindranath Tagore had said India was an ocean of humanity. Just as rivers from all directions flew to the ocean and mixed together, so all nations came to India and lived amicably together. If we took a wise lesson for the future from what had taken place recently and did not allow such things to happen again, even the tragic experiences might in the end be looked upon as having been for our good. As the Maulana Sahab (Ahmed Said) had told them, Gandhiji had tried till the end to make the Hindus, Muslims and other communities live together here with goodwill and love, and that efforts

should be continued in the same direction. Shri Vinoba exhorted all people to will and work for that purpose.

Shri Vinoba related that it dawned upon him about nine years ago that he should study the *Quran*, the religious scripture of so many of his neighbours, even as he had studied the Hindu scriptures. Islam had been in India for about a thousand years and was followed by millions of his countrymen. He had, indeed, read its English translation before. But that did not satisfy him and he made up his mind to study it in Arabic. With the help of Muslim friends he read it through and through several times in about two or three years, and also studied the Arabic language. Though he could not claim to be a scholar of that language, he could now understand it.

Shri Vinoba believed that since all of us had to live together it was necessary that one should have a correct understanding of others' religions also. It removed misunderstandings. He had benefitted considerably from the study of the *Quran*. He learnt much that he did not know before. Islam did not distinguish between man and man, but regarded all men as equal in status. It enjoined that they should live as friends with followers of other religions. Not only so, Islam proclaimed "*la nufarri ko baina ahadim mir rasulih*, we make no distinction among the prophets who have come into the world." In the opinion of the *Quran* faith in God, right conduct and fortitude (*sabrah*) are the essential principles of religious life. Wherever there was a reference to faith in God, it was always coupled with the duty to perform good acts. There were many religious sects in the world based on men's different views on various matters. But the essential *deen* (doctrine) was only one. The different sects were like different types of clothes. Men had devised so many forms of dress, but the main purpose of clothing was one, viz. protection of the body against weather. So it was with religious sects. This was the teaching of all the saints of India. In the Sikh religion also, the *Granth Sahab* included the utterances of other saints along with those of the Sikh *Gurus*. It includes even the utterances of the Muslim saint, Baba Farid.

The saints of all religions were of one mind, had one heart. Every one said, "Fear God, fear none else, nor produce fear in any one." This was the test of faith in God.

It was graceful on their part, Vinoba said, that they had thanked the Government for what it had done for the protection of the *dargah*. The Government had done only its duty; for indeed it was their own Government. This country was the home of every one of us; and every one should help in making and keeping it clean, comfortable and happy. Wherever he went his exhortation would be to have both courage and love together.

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10-9-'47 to 30-1-'48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi.

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad
Price Rupees Three Postage etc. Annas Ten
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

May 2

1948

THE NAME OF THIS PAPER

Suggestions have been made by friends that the names of these weeklies should have been changed. They fall into two groups: One group says that the *Harijan* represented the voice of Gandhiji. None can speak in Gandhiji's voice after him. It is, therefore, not proper to retain a name which stood for his voice. The other group is of opinion that the word *Harijan* is not suggestive enough. A word such as *Sarvodaya*, (Common Weal) *Lok Sevak* (Servant of the People), *Vishwabandhu* (Friend of the Universe) would be a more appropriate name.

It had not become necessary for me to give my opinion about the name of the paper when the decision to continue it was taken by the trustees. I took the continuation of the same name as a foregone conclusion. I can say, however, that my opinion was quite definite that if the papers were to be continued, they should be published under their old names. These are my reasons:

(1) True it is that the *Harijan* was Gandhiji's voice. But the voice was not just any thought or recorded sound of his. It was related to some work started, directed or inspired by him. These works are yet unfinished. The object of the *Harijan* was and is to be an organ of these activities. If we, who have survived him, do intend to continue all other activities started by him under the same name, I do not see any objection in conducting this organ of those activities under the same name even though, in the same way as his other institutions, it will necessarily cease to represent Gandhiji's ideas fully in so far as any change is made in their shape.

(2) From whatever point of view it is considered, I do not consider that the name *Harijan* is inappropriate. *Harijan* literally means God's people. In this sense it includes the whole of humanity, for there are no people who are not God's people. If we take the word in its restricted senses, it means (i) God's servants—all those in the world who walk in the path of God, and (ii) the dear ones of God, i. e. all the afflicted, depressed, suppressed, abandoned people of the world. In both these senses the word is but a synonym for *sevak* (server) as well as *seviya* (the servees) of the *Sarvodaya Samaj*. If we take the word in its further restricted sense of being the name given to so-called 'untouchable' or 'scheduled' classes of India, then, let it be remembered that it was for them that this paper was started and, though untouchability might have been legally abolished, still it cannot be said that the special social and economic grievances and injustices of this section have come to an end, and that they have ceased to be distinguishable from other sections of the society. Even if the paper remained no more than an organ for the service of

this section of Indians, this name would be fully justified.

(3) The issue of the *Harijan* dated 22nd February announced simply suspension of the papers. If thereafter the trustees had decided, to close it, this journalistic activity of Gandhiji would have come to an end. The starting of a new paper in its place would have been an independent matter, which might have taken some time to decide.

So far as I am personally concerned, the decision to stop the papers would have been a relief to me. I have no ambition to distinguish myself as a journalist—whether in English or Indian languages. So there would have been no question of my editing a new paper. But in the matter of the *Harijan*, I was oppressed by the sense that I had not fully discharged my obligations to Gandhiji, who had reposed full confidence in me and loved me beyond measure in spite of several handicaps. This sense prevented me from declining the responsibility to shoulder this burden, when I found that if I did not do so, the trustees of the Navajivan Press would have been compelled to close Gandhiji's weeklies, not because they thought it was right to do so, but because they could not make any arrangement for their editorship.

Wardha, 27-3-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from the original in Gujarati in the *Harijanbandhu* of 11-4-'48)

CONSCRIPTION IN FREE INDIA

Article 17 of the proposed Constitution runs as follows:

"(1) Traffic in human beings and *begar* and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

"(2) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes. In imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on the ground of race, religion, caste or class."

The second clause requires serious consideration. Its application would be resisted by all those who have conscientious scruples against resorting to or assisting untruth and violence, which are inevitable in war and occupations connected with war. It is one thing for the Government to require its subjects to perform services for constructive activities and activities which are calculated to spread goodwill and love amongst human beings; it is quite another to compel them to do things which ask them to kill and hate. I can quite understand that under the conditions prevailing in the country, it may not be possible for the Government of India to abjure militarism altogether. But that should be no reason why individuals who are wedded to truth and non-violence should not be allowed to keep aloof from it.

In my opinion, therefore, the second clause should be amended by adding the following words after "purposes":

"provided always that such compulsory service is consistent with truth and non-violence."

The proposed proviso would be the first step on the part of the people of India to declare their regard for, even if it does not amount to faith in truth and non-violence.

Akola, 18-4-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

METHOD OF VOTING—II

I shall discuss now how political parties would fare in a multiple-seat constituency under the method suggested by me.

It must be mentioned at the outset that this method cannot allow "cumulative voting", but distributive voting of the type in which each voter has as many votes as the number of seats allowed to the constituency, and is restricted to give not more than one vote to any candidate. I believe that cumulative voting is a very artificial method. In a multiple-seat constituency, a voter might be given either the right to select only one representative or to select as many representatives as the number of seats allocated. In the latter case, he might exercise his right fully or partially as he chose. He might also be allowed to say that he would prefer A to others, but if that was not possible he would go in for B, and so on to the extent of his votes. But to give all one's votes to a single individual is a very unnatural way of voting. Moreover, as experience shows, in a carefully organized party system, the system does not help weaker parties much in the ultimate results. The system might be helpful (though I doubt) in intra-party elections among rival groups, but not in inter-party elections. I think it should be done away with in every case. It will have been noticed that at the last elections the Ambedkar Party lost its seats in spite of cumulative voting, and the Congress won them by judiciously refraining from exercising that freedom. It advised its voters to distribute their votes equally amongst all the candidates set up by it. Wherever that advice was not fully adhered to, a precarious situation was created.

Let us see how matters would stand if the method suggested by me were adopted. I shall take an imaginary typical case.

Let it be a 3-seat constituency, one of the seats being reserved for Harijans. The following statement shows the registration of votes:

Congress non-Harijans	Congress Harijans	Ambedkar Party	Hindu Mahasabha	Independ- ents
A 6700	P 6300	X 5500	K 6500	F 1600
B 6400	Q 1200	Y 4000	L 400	G 400
C 2500	R 500	Z 3400		
D 1500				
E 200				
17300	8000	12900	6900	2000

Total Congress votes—25300

The result shows that the Congress as a party gets the highest number of votes. Its first candidate must, therefore, be declared elected. In this particular case, he also tops the list.

The next to be considered are B and K. Individually K has secured more votes than B. But the total of Hindu Mahasabha votes is 6900,

while the Congress has to its credit, after eliminating A's votes which have been already accounted for, 10,600 votes. The Congress, therefore, still heads the list, and so it should be B and not K, who must be declared elected. It would have been otherwise, if the total number of Mahasabha's votes had been more than 10,600, even if individually B had secured more votes than K.

The third being a Harijan seat, K goes out of the picture altogether and the claims of P and X have to be considered. Here we note that individually P has secured considerably more number of votes than X. But the balance of votes remaining in favour of the Congress is now 4200 (C, D, E) + 8000 (P, Q, R) = 12,200 while the total of the Ambedkar Party is 12,900. The result would be still more in favour of the Ambedkarites if we do not take into account, as perhaps we should not, the votes of the non-Harijan candidates of the Congress. It is clear, therefore, that so far as the Harijan candidate is concerned the electors have declared their choice in favour of the Ambedkar Party, and so X and not P, should get the seat.

If the object of cumulative voting is to give a fair chance to a weaker party to get some representation, it is clear that no amount of cumulative voting would enable it to get it, if the other party is not only strong, but also fully organized and disciplined. For, it will be seen that the Congress voting has been, in respect of its first three candidates almost equal. It means that about 2100 voters distributed their votes equally among A, B and P. If there had been cumulative voting, these three only would have been allowed to stand for the Congress, and most of the other voters, who voted for the Congress, would have probably followed the same course. On the Ambedkar side, on the other hand, very probably X alone would have been set up. The total number of votes secured by that party in the above imaginary contest is 12,900, i. e. the voting of about 4300 voters at the best. But he is supposed to have secured 5500 votes. This means that he must have obtained the support of several caste Hindus also. May be, some of them were those, who generally supported the Congress but preferred X to P, so far as the Harijan candidate was concerned; or, may be, they were the votes of the Mahasabhaistes, who did not put up a candidate of their own for the Harijan seat. Separate electorate could not have enabled the Ambedkar Party to get this advantage. In that case probably there need not have been a multiple-seat constituency at all, and the situation would have been that set forth in the first article. It has been already shown there that the change suggested by me is more advantageous to smaller parties or minorities than the present system, based on the fiction of non-party elections.

Let us now see the moral advantage of this method.

If this method were adopted, there would not arise such situations as, for instance, did in the provinces of Madras and Nagpur (C.P. Marathi).

In Madras, the High Command of the Congress wanted to set up Shri Rajagopalachari. No less a leader than Gandhiji himself pleaded for him. His plea was that though Shri Rajaji had lost favour with the local Parliamentary Board, he was popular among the masses. However, a tense situation arose and Shri Rajaji deemed it best to withdraw altogether from the contest. Under the system, which prevails at present, there is no way of knowing the voters' mind.

In C.P. Marathi, rightly or wrongly, the High Command preferred Shri Dharmadhikari to General Awari, the candidate proposed by the N. P. C. C. president. General Awari, the soldier that he is, could not take his rejection lying. Having no means of appealing directly to the electorate, he took the course of resorting to a fast. For a time, a tense situation was created. Though through the good offices of friends the fast was abandoned, bitterness and the evils of group politics have stayed on.

All this need not have happened if the choice of selecting a right representative of the Congress could have been left to the electors themselves. And wider tribunal than the High or Low or other Command or man of influence would have decided whether Shri Rajaji, or Shri Dharmadhikari, or General Awari should represent the Congress in the Legislative Assemblies. More than a hundred persons ran to Delhi or Bombay or Calcutta to secure the Congress ticket and not only pleaded their cause before the members of the Central Parliamentary Board, but also before every individual supposed by them to be capable of influencing those members. All this energy and money would be saved, and none need be approached for exercising one's legal right to stand up for election, if the party system was legally recognized. If any influential person wanted a particular candidate to succeed, according to the method suggested by me, he could not do so by simply using his influence with a group of less than half a dozen men of a committee. He would have to plead for his favourite with the electors themselves. The Congress would have been there, whether the people elected Dharmadhikari or Awari, Rajaji or X. And as the decision would have been given by a wider *panchayat*, the heart-burning and bitterness was likely to be less. This might perhaps also prove to be a better way of removing the evil of power politics of groups.

I earnestly request the members of the Constituent Assembly to think over this matter. As stated in the beginning, this problem of elections is independent of direct or indirect elections and universal or restricted franchise. It is also independent of joint or separate electorates.

Sevagram, 5-8-'46

K. G. MASHRUWALA

Correction

In the *Harijan* of 25-4-'48, No. 8 on page 73, in column 1 in line 5 from bottom please read *languages* for *language*.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The Government of Free India have at last made up their mind in regard to the policy for industrial development of the country. The industrial policy was announced by the Government on the 7th April and, after an important debate, it was accepted by the Indian Parliament.

Frankly speaking, the industrial policy is very moderate and matter-of-fact; there is nothing in it that would catch the imagination of the masses who are eager to feel the glow of freedom. It is difficult to share the view that it is a triumph for Gandhian socialism. Perhaps it is a victory for the advocates of a mixed economy which, in modern context, means, more or less, a capitalist economy. The industrial policy has given a long lease of full 10 years to the existing private enterprise with a promise of 'all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion'. Even at the end of this period, there is no definite mention of nationalization; it is only laid down that the whole matter would be reviewed in the light of circumstances prevailing at the time.

The lists of industries to be nationalized and industries of which only new undertakings would be State-owned, are inadequate. The recommendations of the National Planning Committee and the Economic Programme Committee appointed by the A. I. C. C., have been diluted to a very great extent.

Although the role of cottage industries has been emphasized by the Government from the standpoint of better utilization of local resources and for the achievement of local self-sufficiency in respect of certain types of essential consumer goods, the full and far-reaching implications of decentralized cottage industrialism based on the Gandhian ideals of simplicity, non-exploitation, and human values have evidently, not been properly visualized. It has not been realized, for example, that industrial decentralization on a co-operative basis is the only rational and practical solution in the modern world for the pressing problems of full employment, national defence and industrial harmony between labour and capital. No amount of cry for 'more production' would be effective without making workers the owners of instruments of production in numberless cottage co-operative factories adjacent to green fields and tiny workshops. The only feasible solution of our economic ills, therefore, is the Gandhian formula, i. e. the nationalization of key industries and public utilities, and bold decentralization of all consumer goods industries. The change should, indeed, be gradual. But a plea for gradualness should not be a device for maintaining the *status quo* as long as possible.

We are, therefore, sorry to say that the long awaited industrial policy of the National Government has failed to enthuse us despite our best efforts; it has left us cold.

Wardha, 15-4-'48

S. N. AGARWAL

[Frankly, I have not yet been able to study and apply my own mind on the Government blue

print. I refrain, therefore, from either agreeing or disagreeing with Principal Agarwal's criticism.

—K. G. M.]

LEST WE FORGET

IV

MARTYRDOM

(a)

A martyr's death is surely the last seal upon his sacrifice and a precursor of victory (letter to Mr. Arthur Moore dated 4 December 1940).

(b)

Where is the reformer who has not a price put upon his head? . . . There is nothing untoward in the assassination (of Swami Shradhdhanand) having taken place.

Swamiji . . . was a man of action, not of words. . . . He was a warrior. And a warrior loves to die not on a sick bed but on the battlefield. . .

We have not the last words of Swamiji, but if I knew him at all, I have no doubt that he prayed to his God to forgive him who knew not that he was doing anything wrong. In the language of the Gita therefore 'happy the warrior who achieves such a blessed death'.

. . . I cannot therefore mourn over his death. He and his are to be envied. For though Shradhdhanandji is dead, he is yet living. He is living in a truer sense than when he moved in our midst in his giant body. . .

Let us not ascribe the crime of an individual to a whole community. Let us not harbour the spirit of retaliation.

I wish to plead for Abdul Rashid . . . It does not matter to me what prompted the deed. The fault is ours. The newspaperman has become a walking plague. He spreads the contagion of lies and calumnies. He exhausts the foul vocabulary of his dialect and injects his virus into the unsuspecting and often receptive minds of his readers. Secret and insidious propaganda has done its dark and horrible work, unchecked and unabashed. It is therefore we, the educated and the semi-educated class that are responsible for the hot fever which possessed Abdul Rashid.

It is too much to hope, but Swamiji was great enough to warrant the hope that his blood may wash us of our guilt, cleanse our hearts and cement these two mighty divisions of the human family. (*Young India*, 30 December 1926 A. C.)

(c)

If you hold dear the memory of Swami Shradhdhanandji, you would help in purging the atmosphere of mutual hatred and calumny. You would help in boycotting papers which foment hatred and spread misrepresentation. I am sure that India would lose nothing if 90 per cent of the papers were to cease today. . . . Now you will perhaps understand why I have called Abdul Rashid a brother and I repeat it. I do not, even regard him as guilty of Swamiji's murder. Guilty indeed are all those who excited feelings of hatred against one another. For us Hindus the Gita enjoins on us the lesson of equimindedness; we are to

cherish the same feelings towards a learned Brahman as towards a *chandala*, a dog, a cow and an elephant.

This is no occasion for mourning or tears, it is an occasion that should burn on our hearts the lesson of bravery. . . . Let us not shed tears of sorrow but chasten our hearts and steel them with some of the fire and faith that were Shradhdhanandji's. (Speech at Gauhati Congress 1926 A. C.)

VINOBA AMONG VILLAGERS

[Bakhtawarpur is a village about 16 miles from Delhi. During the last disturbances some of the Muslims of that village had become converts to Hinduism. Some of them have reverted to Islam and there are others who want to do so. A meeting was arranged on the 6th April at this village for hearing Shri Vinoba. The following is a summary of his advice.]

He was glad, Shri Vinoba said, to be in the midst of villagers, where he felt more at home than among city people. He was also glad that several women had attended the meeting. Men and women were the two wheels of a carriage. Just as a carriage cannot go without both the wheels working in order, so the society could not proceed in an orderly fashion unless both men and women combined to run it. Whether it was a question of knowledge, or performance of duties or of going on a pilgrimage, or carrying on day to day village and occupational work, both of them should work together.

The first advice which he would like to give to the villagers was to beware of the city atmosphere. Much of the evil that had visited our country during recent months was a city product. Illiterate and unsophisticated villagers were imposed upon by the city people who kindled their passions, created ill-will amongst various sections of the people and sowed the seeds of mutual destruction. His advice to the villagers was that when city people came to them and spoke such things, they must tell them plainly that they were not wanted by them and that they should not bring city quarrels into their villages.

He compared different communities living in a society to the five fingers of the hand. Some fingers were small, some were big, but if anything was to be lifted by the hand all the fingers had to join together in order to do the work. Although there were only five fingers, their combination allowed men to do a thousand things. The reason was that all the five worked together in unison. If any of them ceased to work in unison with the others, the capacity of the hand to do work would considerably diminish. The Indian saying that "God resides in the *panch*" (literally, committee of five) was significant. If the *panch* gave a unanimous opinion, it was looked upon with the sanctity of a divine decision. But if the opinion was not unanimous, then it was not so regarded. If, therefore, they wished the village to be happy and prosperous, they should all work together in unity. This was the first thing which they needed to understand.

Shri Vinoba expressed satisfaction at the fact that there were some Muslims also in that village. He would have been more glad if there were also persons

of other communities such as Sikhs and Christians. (A voice—There are two Christian families also. Vinoba—That is good.)

Every people had a different way of offering worship to God and each way had some noteworthy factors. When all such people lived together and worshipped God in their own different ways, and nevertheless worked together with mutual love and goodwill, there was joy and happiness all over the village. Their different methods like the different notes of a musical instrument, produced a kind of music. No one would enjoy a musical instrument if it had only one note.

There was not a uniform way of worship even amongst the Hindus. Some worshipped Vishnu, others Shiva, the third Shakti and there were other gods and goddesses also. He was aware that some people did not like this and complained that it looked like a bazaar of gods and goddesses. He would say that since the taste of people varied, there was nothing wrong in having a bazaar where things of every variety were available. Did not people like to have a variety in their food? They did not like to eat the same dish every day from year's end to year's end. Similarly, these different modes of worship were like different dishes. All forms and all names were attributable to God, and just as a man would give different names to each of his sons, so people gave different names to their different forms and conceptions of God. Some had a preference for the name Vishnu, others for Krishna and so on. How did such preferences come in their way? Since there were no two Gods who could be worshipped, and since all names were given by men for their own gratification, it was immaterial if each worshipper gave Him a name which gave him the best satisfaction.

The conclusion was that if the Muslims wanted to worship God in a particular way, there was no reason why they should tell them to keep a tuft of hair on the head and call themselves Hindus. And, what a way that they had found out to convert a man into Hinduism! People said that if a man put a piece of pig's bone into the mouth, he became a Hindu! If it was possible to adopt Hinduism so easily, there was no need for great sages and teachers of religion. Could such a ridiculous method be a tenet of Hinduism? It was its blasphemy.

Hinduism did not desire any person to give up his religion. Every one should observe the tenets of his own religion and become a good man—a servant of God. Both Hindus and Muslims had given up that prime condition of becoming good men and servants of God. Both told lies, committed murders, exploited the poor and still believed that they were good followers of their particular religion! This was absurd. Truth, compassion and love were the true qualities of religiousness. Goodwill, friendship, development of loving relations between man and man and ending of quarrels was true religious conduct.

GRAM SEVAK VIDYALAYA, WARDHA

NEXT SESSION

The new session of our Gram Sevak Vidyalaya opens on the 1st of July, 1948.

The Regular Course, which includes training in a major industry such as Oil-pressing or Paper-making as well as short elementary courses in Bee-keeping, Soap-making from indigenous materials and Date-palm *Gur* making, is for a period of ten months.

Subjects such as Principles underlying our Village Movement, Health, Hygiene and Sanitation, Book-keeping and the Constructive Programme are included in the course.

Expenses including cost of materials come to about Rs. 40 per month.

Prospectus and admission form may be had from the Secretary, Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganvadi, Wardha. The last date for receiving applications is 31st May, 1948.

ANNUAL GATHERING

The annual gathering of our Vidyalaya was held on the 18th April, 1948.

The superintendent's report stated that in all 37 students underwent training during the year. Of these only 12 took the full 10 months' course.

The students came from various parts of the country. Of them 7 were from Orissa, 3 from Nepal, 1 from Bihar and 1 from Jaipur.

Out of these students 6 have been declared successful and are eligible for the Diploma of Gram Udyog Vinit. Out of these 2 have been awarded certificates of merit. Their names are as follows:

A. Diploma of Gram Udyog Vinit

(a) Merit certificates (in order of rank)

Name	Industry	Province
1. Hanumandas Swami	Paper	Jaipur
2. Shantinath Sharma	Paper	Nepal

(b) Pass certificates (in alphabetical order)

1. Appal Narsimhalu	Ghani	Orissa
2. Kedar Nath Shreshtha	Ghani	Nepal
3. Narain Padhi	Paper	Orissa
4. Soorya Raj Upadhyay	Ghani	Nepal

The following who failed to qualify in some of the subjects required for the Diploma course but attained proficiency in the industry chosen by them obtained a certificate in industry only.

B. Industry Certificates (in alphabetical order)

1. E. Lakshminarain	Ghani	Orissa
2. Rammohan Rao	Paper	"
3. Ratnakar	Paper	"
4. Shyam Sunder Panda	Ghani	"

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Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or. \$ 3.