

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor : K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

SARDAR PATEL AT SEVAGRAM

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel paid a special visit to Sevagram on 3rd November. The following is the full text (in translation) of his speech before the workers of Wardha and Sevagram at Mahadev Bhavan, A. I. S. A., Sevagram, as reported by the A. P. I.:

"I have come to this sacred place after a long time. My heart is full. What shall I say? This is the first time that I have come to this place in Bapu's absence. On the last occasion, everybody came, but I was then ill—so ill that I thought that my promise to Bapu would be fulfilled. Bapu and I had settled that we would journey to the Unknown together. But I feel that Bapu stopped me from going. Sushila was with me at the time; she exerted herself a lot and I am now alive. Doctors even now forbid me from exerting much. But Mangaldas insisted on my coming to Nagpur; coming to Nagpur meant a visit to Sevagram.

"Like Ashadevi, my mind is also full of many things, but we cannot do everything according to our own will. I have not seen your work but Ashadevi says you are carrying on your work with devotion, love and conviction. When Bapu came to India, work was being done in a different way. Bapu said that real India was in the villages. Crores live in villages and their interests must command our attention. As the freedom struggle gained in tempo, we felt that if we did not manage the owns, the towns will destroy the villages.

THE FOUR WALLS—(1) UNTOUCHABILITY

"Gandhiji built his struggle on four walls; the first was removal of untouchability. That sin had to be washed out. That sin is not part of the Hindu religion; it is a foreign matter. We have attained some success in its removal, but its poison had spread so much that when we were in Yeravda jail, Gandhiji had to wield his biggest weapon against the British Government. They had resorted to such manoeuvre in granting self-government that it would have disintegrated the Hindu community. In this world, the fighting is carried on with arms; but Bapu saved the Hindu community by his weapon of fasting. But we have not yet cast out untouchability from our hearts; that wall is therefore only half-built.

(2) KHADI

"The second wall was self-sufficiency in cloth. Whatever cloth we need, we should

make ourselves. That used to be the case before the British came. There was a charkha in every home. Bapu plied his charkha daily and regularly up to his end. It is in the same manner that we should ply the charkha. You know that we used to sing that we would weave Swaraj out of cotton yarn. They remained, however, mere words; otherwise the country would not have been in the present sore straits. Thus the second wall also remained incomplete.

(3) HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

"The third wall was Hindu-Muslim unity. What shall I say about it? Bapu lost his life working for it. We are all responsible for his death.

(4) NATIONAL EDUCATION

"The fourth wall was national education.

"We did not follow Gandhiji even there and did not help him attain the Swaraj of his conception, which he called *Rama Rajya*. Bapu knew our weaknesses, but he had hopes that some day the seed would bear fruit. He knew that Swaraj could not be attained in his lifetime. In India two forces were at work. India was influenced by Western culture and civilization. In big cities and factories, the labourers were being ground down. That is a poisonous system. By mills turning out big stocks of goods only few men get rich. In India some 60 to 70 lakh labourers work in the mills. But crores of workers are lying idle. The smaller crafts in villages have been swallowed by the bigger ones of the town. We copy the "big business" of the foreign countries. When Bapu came to India, he revived the ancient indigenous Indian system. The conflict between both the systems goes on.

"Whatever type of Swaraj we have got, we have secured through Bapu's austerities. He wanted *Rama Rajya*; that dream he has left with you. Crores of our men live in villages. How can they experience the benefits of Swaraj? Even in cities, none has tasted the fruit of Swaraj. They are still in a pitiable state. After we attained Swaraj, the conditions in cities should have changed but they are actually worse.

THE PRESENT WORLD

"Today the world has become smaller. One country threatens another by means of a scientific weapon. Big countries are involved in rivalry for scientific domination. Is the world going to be destroyed in this way? Many people feel that we should follow Gandhiji's way. It is only thus that

the world can be saved. The world has become a big problem. But even then every one is absorbed in self-seeking. Each one wishes to enhance his own power. India is also involved in the same. Bapu disliked intensely the partitioning of India. But conditions assumed such a form that Bapu told us to do as we thought best. We did what we felt was right and proper but even after the partition of India, we have attained tremendous unification. But we have to consolidate that unity.

"I am delighted to know that you are working with steadfast devotion. It is a small plant today; I pray to God that, under His sheltering care, that plant may grow and we may attain the Swaraj of Bapu's dream. We have grown old and weak. We can ourselves make or mar our future. Bapu has given us sufficient equipment and it is only on his path that the world can travel in safety and peace. I also pray that God may give strength to us to follow his path."

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

V

BREAD LABOUR

The Ashram holds that every man and woman must work in order to live. This principle came home to me upon reading one of Tolstoy's essays. Referring to the Russian writer Bondaref, Tolstoy observes that his discovery of the vital importance of bread labour is one of the most remarkable discoveries of modern times. The idea is that every healthy individual must labour enough for his food and his intellectual faculties must be exercised not in order to obtain a living or amass a fortune but only in the service of mankind. If this principle is observed everywhere, all men would be equal, none would starve and the world would be saved from many a sin.

It is possible that this golden rule will never be observed by the whole world. Millions observe it in spite of themselves without understanding it. But their mind is working in a contrary direction, so that they are unhappy themselves and their labour is not as fruitful as it should be. This state of things serves as an incentive to those who understand and seek to practise the rule. By rendering a willing obedience to it they enjoy good health as well as perfect peace and develop their capacity for service.

Tolstoy made a deep impression on my mind, and even in South Africa I began to observe the rule to the best of my ability. And ever since the Ashram was founded, bread labour has been perhaps its most characteristic feature.

In my opinion the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita. I do not go so far as to say that the word *Yajna* (sacrifice), there means body-labour. But when the Gita says that 'rain comes from sacrifice' (verse 14), I think it indicates the necessity of bodily labour. The 'residue of sacrifice' (verse 13) is the bread that we have won in the sweat of our brow.

Labouring enough for one's food has been classed in the Gita as a *Yajna*. Whoever eats more than is enough for sustaining the body is a thief, for most of us hardly perform labour enough to maintain themselves. I believe that a man has no right to receive anything more than his keep, and that every one who labours is entitled to a living wage.

This does not rule out the division of labour. The manufacture of everything needed to satisfy essential human wants involves bodily labour, so that labour in all essential occupations counts as bread labour. But as many of us do not perform such labour, they have to take exercise in order to preserve their health. A cultivator working on his farm from day to day has not to take breathing exercise or work his muscles. Indeed if he observes the other laws of health, he would never be afflicted with illness.

God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment, with the result that if any one appropriates more than he really needs, he reduces his neighbour to destitution. The starvation of people in several parts of the world is due to many of us seizing very much more than they need. We may utilize the gifts of nature just as we choose, but in her books the debits are always equal to the credits. There is no balance in either column.

This law is not invalidated by the fact that men raise bigger crops by mechanizing agriculture and using artificial fertilizers, and similarly increase the industrial output. This only means a transformation of natural energy. Try as we might, the balance is always nil.

Be that as it may, the observance best kept in the Ashram is that of bread labour, and no wonder. Its fulfilment is easy with ordinary care. For certain hours in the day, there is nothing to be done but work. Work is therefore bound to be put in. A worker may be lazy, inefficient or inattentive, but he works for a number of hours all the same. Again certain kinds of labour are capable of yielding an immediate product and the worker cannot idle away a considerable amount of his time. In an institution where body-labour plays a prominent part there are few servants. Drawing water, splitting firewood, cleaning and filling lamps with oil, sanitary service, sweeping the roads and houses, washing one's clothes, cooking, — all these tasks must be performed without fail.

Besides this there are various activities carried on in the Ashram as a result of and in order to help fulfilment of the observances, such as agriculture, dairying, weaving, carpentry, tanning etc. which must be attended to by many members of the Ashram.

(Translated from Gujarati by V. G. D.)

(To be continued)

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SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT—X

Addressing the weekly prayer meeting at Rajghat on 8th October, 1948, Shri Vinoba referred to the need of concentrated work for Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, and the proper perspective for the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis.

"The restraint and discipline manifested by all the classes of people in India in connection with Hyderabad has received deserved applause from all sections. But let us not run away with the idea that that restraint alone was enough. We must advance further to foster love and unity among all communities. An unfortunate wave had seized the people. Let us now forget the past. People had enough of the sad experience and the public in general have now recovered from that insanity."

"I do not claim," continued Shri Vinoba, "that even those who were responsible for the incitement have also changed. I know some of them have repented, but there are others who are still lying low. They have however lost all influence over the public, and if there is any it is very insignificant. Let us therefore avail of the situation and take necessary steps so that the heart of the Hindus and the Muslims be united ere long."

"In this connection, I cannot but congratulate the Government for their decision regarding the resettlement of the Meos. I have been attending to this matter for the last few months and, in my opinion, our Government have approached the problem with great sympathy. They have felt the same responsibility towards the Meos as they did with regard to the unfortunate Hindus and Sikhs. As a result, the Meos will soon be settled. But the appropriate atmosphere of general goodwill and communal unity can be maintained only if the junior officers appreciate the spirit behind the decision and keep it in their mind in carrying out their duties. The junior staff have in their hands the power of sabotaging the best cause if their outlook is narrow and communal. But I hope that in the changed circumstances they will act in the proper spirit, and help the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity."

"The people of Delhi also can contribute much in this direction. The two communities have lived together in India for centuries. There is not much difference in the mode of their living. I believe there is more similarity than otherwise. Both should have as many personal friends as possible from the members of the other community. The unity of heart which can be achieved by such personal friendship cannot be obtained by political gestures. I therefore urge upon you the necessity of participating in the ceremonies, festivals and social functions of each other, learning each other's languages, and making acquaintance, as much as you can, with each other's religious literature. I have not the slightest doubt that, if in this favourable atmosphere our actions are inspired with goodwill and sympathy, there is nothing that can stop the two communities from coming together."

"After all, the main difference between the two communities is only in the mode of worship. And, if seen in the proper perspective, you will find that Islam has done us much good. The Hindus had been guarding innumerable deities and gods. Although the *Vedas* and the *Upanishadas* always declared that there is but one God who can be worshipped, much credit goes to Islam for the emphasis on the worship of one God. This idea has become quite clear to all now. On the other hand, I know many Muslims who believe in the sanctity of life. This is only an illustration. There are similar other things which can harmonize our lives and fuse our ways of thinking. If there is any diversity left somewhere, it would get diffused in the preponderating atmosphere of unity."

"The same attitude is required in regard to the Harijans. We must try to absorb them, or rather, to use a better phrase, rapidly become Harijans ourselves. I have just returned from my tour in Jaipur. The scavengers there placed many a grievance before me. Their demands are economic. They are forced to work even when they go on strike to get their demands conceded. There are still many atrocities inflicted on them. I have already referred to a similar incident from Bikaner (in a previous meeting). These should stop completely in Swaraj. There are many who have expressed their fears about Swaraj. They are not sure that we shall fulfil our pledges to them. They are afraid of power coming into our hands. We have to dispel their fears by our actions. Like the British we also must fulfil our pledges. The British said that they would quit within a year; actually they left four months earlier. The Constituent Assembly has declared untouchability to be against the principles of the Indian State. Let us therefore eradicate it at once. Much work, in this connection, could have been done in this Gandhi fortnight. I do not say that nothing has been done. But, for years, it has been our experience that people do not feel as much interested in the work of social reform as they do in politics. This might have had some justification in the past, but can have none now after the achievement of Swaraj. Politics, without the help of social reforms, loses its efficacy."

"If the above two things are achieved, the third one—the problem of different languages—will be solved without much trouble. That problem does not frighten me at all. All these provincial languages, till now, carried on a suppressed existence under the supervening influence of the English language. They had not the opportunity to flourish. Although love for one's own language has become manifested at present in the form of self-conceit, the feeling of "one-nation" is not less assertive and, indeed, it is that which supports the idea of division of provinces on a linguistic basis. There is no risk involved in the formation of linguistic provinces, if the outlook is correct. We must show the proper path. I believe that if we act correctly in the two things mentioned above, the linguistic problem will be solved without difficulty." D. M.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

HARIJAN

November 14

1948

TEMPLE ENTRY

At long last we seem to have done with communal riots though we are still suffering from their after effects. On the altar of communalism we sacrificed the greatest man of the modern age, who insisted upon the liquidation of communal hatred and passions by the power of truth and love. The other leader, who unfortunately interested himself in keeping the communal quarrel alive, has also come to the end of his life's journey. We hoped to breathe a sigh of relief. But Satan is never satiated. He would not allow a single opportunity for mischief to slip. He appears to threaten us with the same mischief over the Harijan question.

It is a pity that mischief should be afoot among the Hindus ostensibly on the ground of Harijan Temple Entry but really to further the dirty game of politics by ambitious persons. In fact, no side is above board. The hardships of the Harijans at Kalol (Baroda State) and in many Rajputana States, as also what happened to them in Kathiawad a little while ago indicate how much aversion and hostility towards the Harijans is still lingering in the hearts of the caste Hindus. Happenings at Bikaner put it in bold relief. Some Congressmen there announced a programme, for cleaning the Harijan locality, in which some caste Hindus participated. Out of these only four Congress brahmins had the courage to accept water from the hands of Harijans. These four workers were regular temple-goers. The temple leaders banned their entry. Here no question of Harijan entry was involved. No one had ever bothered as to where or from whom a caste Hindu visiting a temple ate or drank. At one time the caste panchayats used to interest themselves with such questions and ostracized or penalized those who transgressed the customary prohibitions about food and drink. But we all know that those days have passed. Even then, one hardly came across an instance of this type. But this has happened in Bikaner and, it is alleged, with the support of the Maharaja himself. It appears that Shri Rajaji was approached in the matter, and he exhorted the Maharaja to respect the spirit of the age. But even the Governor-General's advice did not have much effect. The reformer brahmins commenced a hunger-strike in front of the temple. Shri Vinoba mediated and persuaded them to terminate the fast. They consoled themselves with the feeling that God could not dwell in a temple that prohibited Harijans from entering its precincts and by resolving to hold joint prayers with Harijans instead of worshipping at the temple.

It is clear that these are all political manoeuvres. The anti-Congress groups want a handle to stand against the Congress candidates and to incite

the ignorant masses against their opponents during the Assembly elections, and they find this handy. There is no higher or religious objective behind the whole move save of catching votes by raising a scare among the voters.

At the same time, I must also say that the agitation carried on among the Harijans for temple entry is also not quite sincere. The legislation throwing open all Hindu temples to the Harijans is, of course, a correct step. But the question as to why one should go to a temple is a fundamental and pertinent one. No one is prevented from entering a mosque or attending a mass or a sermon at a church. But no one goes there without a purpose. Only people with faith or a spirit of inquiry go there. Temples belong to the same category. It is not fair or honest to seek entry into them merely for asserting one's right. The seeker should have some faith in the deity, some respect for the sect to which the temple belongs, at least some honest desire to know or see. In short, he must be a 'respector'. He must be gentle of behaviour and careful enough to refrain from doing anything on the temple precincts which would wound the susceptibilities of its devotees. Even a blue-blooded brahmin if he wants to go there to ridicule the deity, should have no access to the temple for obvious reasons. And if he is turned out for such behaviour, no one may be blamed.

The statement that a temple is meant for its followers only, is only a half truth. No doubt, temples are built for the followers, but it is also equally true that in all temples non-followers are freely admitted. Prominent and influential men are even invited and accorded fitting receptions irrespective of their religious labels or leanings. The reason is understandable. The number of followers can increase only if non-followers are given an opportunity to come and see. Therefore, it is more correct to say that temples are intended as much for 'respecters' (even Muslims, Parsis or Englishmen) as for the followers. If any one is to be named as not entitled to enter, it is the slanderer or the temple-breaker. To dress this truth in any other way is to suppress truth. It does not benefit any one. In banning 'respecters' among Harijans from temples under pressure of custom truth has been violated and outraged. And on seeing society powerless to break the custom voluntarily, law has now stepped in and rendered it easy.

But law cannot lay down any test for distinguishing between respecters and others. Respect has to be presumed, until anything is done contrary to it. But sincerity demands that the right shall be exercised only by respecters. None should seek entry merely for the purpose of asserting one's right nor encourage others to do so.

The temple-managers on their part should assume that everyone who observes the rules laid down for all comers to the temple is a respector. A counterfeit coin will soon stop circulating. So a man having no respect for the temple will stop going there after a few visits. The temple will not

lose anything thereby. Disorderly behaviour can, of course, be always prevented.

If this view is accepted whether it is a Vedic Hindu or Jain Hindu temple neither Harijans nor Hindus, non-Hindus, Jains, non-Jains may be discriminated against *inter se*. This view is consistent with truth and frankness. Anything else will involve hypocrisy and untruth. If the latter are allowed to prevail, the end will be destruction of temples and fratricide.

Bombay, 3-11-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

P. S.—Managements of certain temples of the Vallabhacharya sect have declared a lock-out of their temples and even removed the deities to their place of origin. In the ultimate reform of religion it is probable that all idolatrous sects and temples will be wound up. If the descendents of Vallabhacharya think of winding up their establishments voluntarily under the plea of Harijan temple entry it may be a blessing in disguise. May be the present day institution of temples is destined to disappear in some such way. It may not be regarded as a calamity. The only regret will be that then it will not be a consummation brought about intelligently, but on principles fundamentally opposed to the teachings of Vaishnavism.

4-11-'48

K. G. M.

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

WHAT PEOPLE EXPECT

The object of occasionally publishing letters of the following nature is just to acquaint popular leaders in office with what people expect of them.

"Revered Rajaji left Baroda this morning (25th October) after about 36 hours' stay in our city. His visit has raised several thoughts in my mind on the fundamentals of correct and simple standards of dignified life.

"He arrived here at 4-30 p. m. on the 23rd. During the whole programme arranged in his honour, not a single opportunity was given to the people of hearing him or getting a direct contact with his personality. No doubt the visit was announced as "private", and the entire programme was "official". But the Government of the people did not have the imagination to realize that the people of Baroda must be necessarily anxious to hear their first Governor-General. They could have provided it at the ceremony for unveiling the portrait of the late Prince Fatehsinharao Gaikwad. But the function was so arranged that it rather brought into prominence the wide gulf existing between the officers and the people. As a result, there was such disorder at the meeting that the people who had gathered could not at all hear Rajaji's speech.

"Apart from his Governor-Generalship, we expected that Rajaji, as our old and revered leader, would address the people at least once. But His Excellency flew away without fulfilling our expectations.

"If we examine the published programme, it is seen filled with parties, *darbars* and ceremonials

reminding one of the old princely order. There was no difference between visits of the Governor-Generals of the old British regime and the present one. Moreover, the amount of expenditure said to have been incurred during the few hours of his stay is shocking. While responsible Governments are striving to reduce public expenditure, the expenditure of gigantic amounts, in the erection and decoration of temporary arches, gateways etc., is intolerable. There is such inconsistency between the two that far from making our hospitality look civilized, the pomp brings disgrace to our culture.

"I take it that as per programme, Shri Rajaji must have attended yesterday's cricket tournament between the West Indies and the Rajasthan teams. Our revered Mahatmaji and other leaders have often criticized in strong terms the extravagant expenditure incurred on these foreign sports. Gandhiji had said that these sports were a misfit in a poor country like ours. If the head of the Indian Union patronizes these sports, its evil effect on the popular mind might better be imagined than described!

"Our revered Rajaji is personally as simple as a yogi. He can immensely benefit India and the world, if from his high position, he sets about testing the worth of every custom and ceremonies hitherto maintained in imitation of the British on the pretext of political dignity and decorum and creates new standards of our own. We have our own ideals of high and noble culture and our practices must be set after these."

I do not think that the above expectations are unreasonable.

Bombay, 2-11-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

Gujarat Potters' Petition

The Gujarat Provincial Potters' Association has submitted the following demands to the Bombay Government. I have no doubt the Bombay Government will consider their petition very sympathetically and do all in its power to raise this depressed and hard-working class to a higher level.

The demands are:

"1. Repeal of Rule 135 of Village Service Rules requiring compulsory labour from potters.

"2. Protection against the high-handedness of powerful majorities.

"3. Encouragement to the Village Pottery Industry.

"4. Protection against the tactics of the majorities and intelligentsia, who stifle the opinion of or exploit the artisan and labouring classes in the villages.

"5. Safeguarding their rights to enable them to lead a life of self-respect as free citizens of India."

The fourth demand is rather vague though suggestive, and it is difficult to know what Government should do specifically in the matter.

Bombay, 5-11-'48

K. G. M.

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

GREEN LIGHT TO VIOLENCE?

In the *Harijan* of 9th May, 1948, in answer to the question how a votary of non-violence should react to a law for compulsory military training, I said, "It is evident that a *satyagrahi* would resist such law in a civil manner and suffer the penalty of the breach." Then in a subsequent paragraph, after describing in general terms what the public mind was in this respect, I concluded, "I would not consider as unreasonable the imposition of such conditions as would as an alternative necessitate the taking of such training and the rendering of such service as could be compared with the hard life and service of persons in the military. It should not be possible to say of non-violence that its path is so easy that even a coward might go along it".

My opinion was referred to with approval by Mr. Bruce Odspur, an English pacifist, in the *Peace News*, an English weekly devoted to the cause of non-violence and abolition of war.

Commenting upon Mr. Bruce Odspur's opinion, Mr. Michael J. Clay, another English pacifist, wrote as follows in the *Peace News* of 6th August, 1948:

"While agreeing with Bruce Odspur's general interpretation of Gandhi's attitude to violence, I am sorry to see him support Shri Mashruwala in giving the green light to conscription in India and incidentally here.

"The fact that pacifism is confined to a small minority does not alter its fundamental nature and mean that it is merely a personal inhibition. Opposition to war and opposition to conscription are one. Those who refuse to register and oppose conscription may or may not find life easier than those who accept arduous alternative service but they will assert their unity with non-pacifists more deeply if less obviously. Violence may or may not be better than cowardice, but we hope that the way known as pacifism is open to all men and women."

I believe myself to be as firmly opposed to war as any pacifist and a believer in non-violence. Mr. Clay's charge, therefore, set me thinking. Had I compromised with violence in any way? I read and re-read my answer, and considered my reply to be not only consistent with truth and non-violence as I understand them, but could not see where I had departed from the spirit of non-violence. Perhaps, I thought, the difference of views lay in the fact that I was speaking only against the background of India, while Mr. Clay was doing so against the background of Europe. I, therefore, sought the opinion of a few friends, whom I know. Two of them have written to me at length. Of these, Mr. Horace Alexander has taken pains to explain Mr. Clay's point of view at length, and it will be best to reproduce the relevant portion of his letter verbatim. He says:

"I have read your comment in the *Harijan* of May 9th, 1948 and I think I can see why M. J. Clay is not satisfied.

"Although your comment seems to me unexceptionable as far as it goes, I think it omits one

consideration which, to us in the West, has become very important.

"We must all agree, I take it, that so long as the majority in a country believes in military conscription, conscription will continue. But those who believe in non-violence are concerned for two things: on the one hand, they must refuse the military conscription; on the other, they must strive to get the law repealed.

"Now in your article, you are mainly concerned to indicate that the true votary of non-violence will not ask for an easy option. He will be willing to show that he is as ready as any man to undergo hardships, that it must be hardship on behalf of the real service of humanity, not as a part of military service.

"In the West, many opponents of conscription have come to the conviction that if they merely accept some hard form of alternative service *imposed and required by the State*, they are to all intents and purposes acquiescing in a permanent measure of conscription, and making the task of the Militarized State easy; giving the 'Green Light' to conscription, as Clay puts it. Therefore, some Western pacifists have felt that they must refuse all alternative service; in other words, they refuse to recognize the conscription law in any degree. They prefer prison. They regard the whole system of conscription as immoral and cannot agree to come to terms with it. By such a radical protest against it, they hope to hasten its repeal.

"By all means the pacifists or votaries of non-violence organize their own strictly disciplined training, as Pierre Ceresole did in his International Voluntary Service for Peace. But note the word *voluntary* in the title (and the word *international* too!). Pierre Ceresole and his friends said in effect: 'We reject and refuse military conscription; perhaps we might even refuse alternative civilian service imposed by the State, but our determination to serve humanity is such that we resolve to organize *our own voluntary* corps of strictly disciplined service, not for the nation only but for humanity which is our true fatherland.'

"Personally, I note that in India too there may be some who will say, 'We cannot compromise with a conscription law even to the extent of accepting a legal civilian alternative. Military conscription itself seems to us to be such an evil thing that we must choose prison rather than accept any service, however seemingly harmless or good in itself, that is imposed on us by a military conscription law.'

"I am not saying that that would be my own position, if I had to face the conscription law, but I think it is important that all votaries of non-violence should show respect and appreciation of those who feel obliged to take that stand."

I cannot have anything to say against the stand of pacifists mentioned by Mr. Horace Alexander. Indeed I had only India in mind at the time, and I referred to compulsory military training and not conscription for military service in war. In India the need for the latter hardly arises. Military

service is a regular profession with certain sections, and there is no dearth of men prepared to enroll if the terms of service are suitable. The demand for universal military training arose partly because the non-martial sections have had nothing in place of military training to make them healthy, sturdy, self-reliant and physically well developed men; and partly as a reaction to the British policy of disarming the people not from any pacific motives, but for its own safety. The policy also made invidious distinctions between various martial communities by preferring some and rejecting others. When I said that I would not consider the imposition of alternative hard service as unreasonable, I did not mean that such alternative service need necessarily be officially organized. Rather, situate as we are at present, governments, with their unshakable faith in the inevitable necessity of being always prepared for war, were not likely to take the trouble of themselves devising and organizing any alternative form of service. If they were at all willing to accept an alternative to military training, they would content themselves with recognizing an efficient unofficial organization for the purpose. If, however, they went a step further and officially organized an alternative non-violent service, I do not see why as a pacifist I should regret that step. It seems to me that governments and people of the world will not advance towards pacifism without some such intermediate steps. Voluntary (unofficial) organizations prepare the way. But they have their limitations of numbers and resources; official organizations have their limitations of compromised principles and inability to get out of set ruts. While, therefore, there will always be room for unofficial organizations, both for protesting or rebelling against compromises with principles and for creating new values and standards, the success of their mission will involve in the official recognition of their principles in howsoever mitigated a form.

Mr. Clay's note, small as it is, raises some very important issues for pacifists to consider; but I hope that what I have said on the specific question before me will not be regarded as compromising with non-violence. Rather, in India for those large masses of people, who have led non-martial life for centuries and are attracted now to military training simply for want of an equally efficient non-violent substitute, as also for those who would use non-violence as just a shield for preserving their lazy and indolent habits, I see no other practical way.

Bombay, 1-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

Correction

A correspondent has drawn my attention to a grave error in Shri J. C. Kumarappa's Note *Paying through the Nose* published in the *Harijan* of the 3rd October. The value of the difference to be paid for 28 million bushels at 1 sh. 6 d. per bushel would be less than 2.75 crores roughly and not 27.5 crores as stated in the note. It is a big mistake and I very much regret that it should have escaped my notice.

Bombay, 3-11-'48

K. G. M.

NOTES

Land Revenue in Kind

Shri S. Sreeramulu Naidu, a Thana Officer, in Orissa writes:

"Land revenue in kind is highly beneficial to the Government for easy procurement and for effective control of food stocks and prices. It is also, to the tenants, a more convenient mode of payment of rent and will help him in obtaining his requirements and essential services without the intervention of the monetary medium.

"The system of paying wages of agricultural labour in kind still exists in many parts of India. The system deserves to be encouraged by the Government by granting grain loans to the agriculturists. The Government should see that granaries are opened at different centres in rural areas for this purpose. This method will improve the economic condition of the agriculturists in a far more certain manner, and lead to better production of food grains than the one prevailing. In the absence of Government granaries, the tenants are thrown on the mercy of the local *savkars* for grain loans at exorbitant rates of interest. Public granaries could advance loans of grains repayable in the form of grains at low rates of interest. The granaries will also provide safeguards against famine and subnormal years. They will also help in combating the menace of inflation."

If Governments cannot be persuaded to look upon the suggestion of recovering revenue in kind with favour, some way should be found to put the principle into practice in an unofficial manner, and demonstrate its benefits to the people and the public. While we may advocate radical changes, we should also not forget that it is very difficult for Governments of large provinces like ours to change from one system to another, and we must not be impatient with them. Then we cannot also expect Governments to accept our views as correct, particularly when there are experts of long established systems, holding a different view. We must establish our credit by actually working out ideas on even a small scale.

Bombay, 31-10-'48

Skins of Unborn Calves

The Honorary Secretary of the All India Cattle Welfare Society, Karol Bagh, New Delhi, sends the following information which is extremely shocking if true:

"From the report of an inquiry conducted by the Board of Economic Inquiry under the supervision of the Director of Industries, Punjab, I have been shocked to know that a trade in *gosallas*, i. e. 'skins of unborn calves' got by killing pregnant cows, is steadily growing. About 800 such skins are reported to have been recovered from a godown of one single *aratia* in Delhi alone. The trade, it is further alleged, is so lucrative that butchers find it a very profitable bargain to kill the best of the cows in pregnancy and sell *gosalla* beef and hide etc. separately. Attention of the Government and the public is drawn to the inhumanities involved

in this trade and the destruction it is causing to the general cattle wealth and the milk supply of the nation. The issue is really grave and deserves immediate attention of us all. Will the authorities see that this trade is *declared unlawful forthwith?*"

Bombay, 5-11-'48

K. G. M.

A Fortune Spent to Promote a Bad Habit

For promotion of the tea-drinking habit there has been a cess in existence providing for a levy on all tea exported. The present rate is Rs. 1-6-0 per 100 lbs and the entire sum is handed over to the Indian Tea Marketing Expansion Board.

India exports about 4,000 lakhs of lbs of tea every year, hence the cess amounts to about 55 lakhs of rupees. From this amount 3/7th is spent in London, and the balance of Rs. 30 lakhs is being used to make us tea-drinkers. The figures given below show with what success this has been done:

Year	Quantity consumed in India
1930	... 44 million lbs
1942-43	... 136 " "
1946-47	... 165 " "

Thus we see that in the last sixteen years the tea consumption in India has increased fourfold.

D. K. G.

That Is Not All

The above is not the only evil part of this system. The way in which the tea habit is spread is also a very reprehensible one.

I understand that in order to inculcate the tea habit among people unused to it, the tea agents spread themselves into villages, and open tea stalls, where free tea cups are served for as many as three months, and gramophones and other attractive means are employed to attract people to visit the tea stalls. The agents even serve tea from house to house.

How we would change the face of the world, if the money and energy that is so liberally spent in inculcating evil and health-destroying habits were turned to healthier and better purposes! But we have money and men enough to spread disease and evil, not enough to spread knowledge, health and things which will bless life!

But it is also necessary that we, who disapprove and regret these things, should not spend too much of our time and energy in cursing or heaving sighs of despondency. It is not going to help anyone. Let us assume that there is a hard-set system from which it is difficult for government departments and the business world to extricate themselves. Let us—the people themselves and their self-appointed *sevaks*—silently, steadily and energetically work in a positive manner against what we regard as evils.

Bombay, 31-10-'48

K. G. M.

The Haves Have It

The Food Minister, addressing a meeting of the Indian Central Sugar-cane Committee stated that it has been calculated that the people have paid about Rs. 70 crores, in the form of Protective Duty, to establish the sugar industry. Apart from

these protective duties, crores have been spent to develop cane varieties which will yield higher per cent of sugar and which will ripen at different periods of the year to keep the mills working all the year round. Sugar is inferior nutritionally to *gur*. Sugar-cane requires intensive cultivation on the best irrigated lands which can produce rice and other food crops. Bihar, which was a surplus province in rice, is now dependent on imports to feed its people owing to the shifting of crops from rice to sugar-cane. All this has been done in the interests of mill-owners at terrific loss to the people—financially and nutritionally.

Vested interests are never tired of pointing out that village industries cannot stand on their legs and cannot compete with the mills. Under such odds and handicaps it is a surprise that the village industries even exist to tell the tale. How much has the Government spent to further the *gur* industry—especially the palm *gur* variety?

The development of palm *gur* makes no inroads on cultivable land as the palms, especially date, palmyra etc., grow in waste lands. It is an industry which forms a good complement to the prohibition programme in utilizing to good productive purpose the skill of the displaced tappers.

We are told that the Government of Bombay, intend to levy a cess of six annas per Bengal maund of sugar-cane going into sugar factories in the province. This is calculated to yield about a crore, which will be earmarked for the further development of this industry. Is there no end to this spoonfeeding of these hefty mills at the cost of the public? Now that they have been placed on their feet at public cost, they should be made to bear the expense of further expansion and may even be taxed heavily for the benefit of the public.

As a measure of combating inflation the Government of India are contemplating reducing the price of sugar but lest it should tell on the fat profits of mills they are considering whether this reduction should not be made on the price of sugar-cane so that the burden may fall on the back of the farmer! The Government policy seems to be "from him who hath not, even the little he hath shall be taken away and given to him who hath."

J. C. K.

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