

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

MAINTENANCE OF WORKERS

"In my opinion it is absolutely necessary for the regeneration of villages to have a band of honest full-time workers in every village. But experience shows that those who have worked sincerely have been extremely poor economically. It has become impossible for them to maintain their families. Circumstances have compelled many an earnest worker to seek lucrative employments. Their helplessness has contributed to the lowering of their previous standards of upright and unselfish conduct. There is a temptation to seek appointments in various committees and offices for the allowances etc. attached to those positions. The zeal for service necessarily diminishes. Several of these workers would be able to maintain a high standard and capacity to serve the masses if there was an organization which would make them free from the anxiety of livelihood. Unless such a scheme is worked out at an early date, sincere and able workers will become rarer than they are now. As a result, people will lose their confidence in the Congress. It is necessary therefore to pay immediate attention to this matter."

The above is summarized from a letter. It is representative of an opinion widely held. There is substance in it. We need millions of full-time workers. There cannot be a very large number of them of the type of Shri Ravishankar Vyas, Appa Patwardhan, Timappa Nayak and a few others, who are practically *sannyasis* in the cause of the country. A great majority need some material prop to enable them to stand firm to their post. But the question is: how and by whom should they be maintained?

There are several all-India, provincial, or local institutions of life-workers in the country. Some of them maintain great workers, others small. The Servants of India Society, the Servants of the People Society, the All India Spinners' Association, the All India Village Industries Association, the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the Go Seva Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Kasturba Trust have all maintained full-time workers. The Gandhi Seva Sangh also did it for several years. The Gandhi Memorial Fund and the Sarva Seva Sangh might also be expected to do something of that kind in future. But even if there were fifty more institutions of the kind, still they would be able to

provide only for a handful of them out of the lakhs that the country needs; and that too they will do with great difficulty.

Such life-workers' institutions have their own limitations. The chief of these is that they need large funds. The collection of funds and subscriptions for the institution often becomes the only activity of some of its best members. Thereafter, they cease to be direct workers and become what are called 'organizers', i. e. collectors of funds.

Then, large funds necessitate the search for large donors. Often the institution becomes a protegee of a couple or more of rich patrons. Rich people are not without their philanthropy and appreciation of service, and they often give not only generously but also with faith and love. Still it should not be forgotten that the existence of a very rich man in the midst of thousands of indigent people is itself indicative of an inequitable social organization. However virtuous, philanthropic and large-hearted the donor might be, his acquisitions cannot be free from taints of injustice, exploitation, dishonest practices and the like. If he himself is personally incapable of all these, perhaps he tolerates them in his partners, assistants, and staff; perhaps he has inherited wealth amassed by such means. Absolute honesty, hard work and frugality do not allow the acquisition of too much wealth in a short time. His unstinted generosity and patronage to the institution casts its influence on the character of the best of its workers. The worker may have the reputation of being a fearless critic, but he will instinctively guard that the particular patron is 'excepted'. If the patron is more calculating and shrewd than a man of faith and noble sentiments, his large donation may just be a mode of investment. And he often dominates over the institution and its members in the same way as he does over his firm and its staff. One of the causes for the decline of the moral fervour of workers' institutions and their members is their dependence upon rich men for their maintenance.

Then, on the one hand, according to the prevailing currents of thought, rich men will be subjected to greater legal restrictions year after year. The pace may be rapid or slow, but they will find their profits, rates of interest, amount of personal property etc. becoming reduced with the advance of current trends. Their mode of earning money will

be also subjected to criticism, often of a bitter type. Whether or no workers are able to achieve much in reducing the influence of the rich in a practical manner, the ideas which they put forth before the public are adverse to the interests of the wealthy. And when, at the same time, they approach a rich man with their subscription lists, the latter has a feeling that by subscribing to these institutions he nourishes his own opponents. This is one of the reasons for the decline in the enthusiasm of the rich to give liberal donations to workers' institutions.

On the other hand, the masses have become subject to false expectations and have imbibed wrong habits of thinking. People want good workers among them, but they feel that they should be maintained either by Government or, as at present, by institutions with large funds collected by the workers themselves, preferably from outside their own village. Another section, on the other hand, thinks that full-time workers maintained by institutions do not provide good models. Being assured of their daily needs, they can afford to spend their time in spinning, sweeping, scavenging, khadi-weaving etc. Men who have to labour from morning till night for earning their daily bread cannot engage in these 'pastimes'. They want workers who will serve the village while they work for their own bread, and without calling upon the people to take part in their spinning and scavenging programmes. Can there be any wonder that the worker and the service should both suffer in such environments?

So, if the people want good workers to serve them, they must take interest in the worker and co-operate with him in the services rendered by him. That is to say,

1. The ordinary people—men of modest means—should look upon the maintenance of trusted and good workers as their own concern. The workers must not be obliged to become proteges of the wealthy.

2. A good way of avoiding this is for the people to start their own funds, and to put a limit to the maximum amount to be accepted from a single donor. Some institutions put down a minimum. I suggest the contrary. The minimum might be a pice, as in the well-known Paisa Fund of Lokmanya Tilak or the collections of Gandhiji for Harijans. But the maximum must be limited, say, according to varying circumstances, to Rs. 5, or 10, or 25. No subscription in excess of the maximum should be accepted from a single individual.

3. The practice of taking money-subscriptions only should also be given up. Subscriptions in kind should be encouraged.

4. No condition requiring an institution, building, ashram etc. to be named after a donor or his personal friends or relatives, or to accept a donor or his nominee as a trustee in consideration of the donation should be accepted.

5. The wants of the worker must be considered on the same footing as of the people interested in retaining him. It should not be that the burden of being too simple and frugal and self-denying be all laid on the worker, while the people should have the liberty to crave for luxuries and ease. The people must feel that the proper maintenance of their worker is their own concern.

6. The worker must on the other hand realize that the vows of poverty and service are incompatible with the raising of a large family. *Aparigraha* (non-possession) unaccompanied with self-control is a curse to the family and society. This truth has been sorely neglected in our country, with the result that there are often workers with as many as half a dozen children to bring up. The only result that can follow from this is want, poverty, neglect, ill-health, premature death and, ultimately, surrender to temptations for positions that will bring money even at the cost of principles, or dependence upon a patron or two.

If the thoughtful section of the towns and villages as also the workers begin to work on these lines, the problem of workers of high and independent character would become easier of solution. Otherwise the temptation to take advantage of the Congress Government for cashing past services is inevitable.

Bombay, 21-12-'48

K. G. MASHRUWALA

Clarification of the 'Clarification'

A small error in the printing of quotation marks in Shri Rajendrababu's article, *A State Language for India—Clarification* (*Harijan*, 26th Dec. '48) is capable of creating a wrong impression.

There should not have been the mark for 'quotation-over' at the end of the first paragraph (p. 357), i. e. after the word *language*. The next paragraph, beginning with the word '*Subject*' should have been shown as a part of the quotation.

The result is that paras (i), (ii) and (iii) on pp. 357-8 represent *my* feeling and not Shri Rajendrababu's, as is likely to be supposed and has been evidently supposed by the office translation of the Gujarati and Hindustani editions. Shri Rajendrababu's clarification begins with the para beginning 'I think . . .' on p. 358.

Bombay, 26-12-'48

K. G. M.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SARVODAYA EXHIBITION

Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju, Chairman of the Sarvodaya Exhibition Committee, Jaipur, before requesting Shri Vinoba to declare it open gave a short history of the Exhibition from 1934 onwards. He explained how the Exhibition had come to be associated with the National Congress, and how it had its scope changed from time to time. At one time it was what was called a *Swadeshi* Exhibition, organized by the Reception Committee of the Congress itself. In 1934, the work of organizing it was formally entrusted to the All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association, and its scope was confined to Khadi and Village Industries. It was known by that name for some years. Later on the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Go Seva Sangh gave their respective contributions to it, but the name was not changed. Having regard to the fact that its sphere and object was coextensive with the items of the Constructive programme, and its aim was the same as that connoted by the word *Sarvodaya*, it was decided this year to call it the 'Sarvodaya Exhibition'.

Gandhiji had defined the field and objective of this Exhibition as follows:

"If we desire and believe that the villages should not merely exist but should wax strong and prosperous, then rural-mindedness is the only proper mentality for India. If this is conceded, there is no place for city-life articles, shows and luxuries in our exhibitions. The exhibition must not become a *tamasha* (merriment show) and a means of making money for the Congress. Nor should it become a means of advertisement for commercial houses. There should be no selling and purchasing in it. The Exhibition should be a place for acquiring knowledge and be extremely interesting as such. It should stimulate in the villagers a desire to learn some village industry after they return to their homes. The Exhibition must also show the evils that have enveloped villages, the ways of removing them, and the progress made from time to time in the Village Movement."

The exhibition movement, Shri Jaju said, had always tried to keep the above goal before it, though the organizers were fully conscious of their insufficient success. They had now the further handicap of having to work without the guidance of Gandhiji, whose originality and power to inspire was their great strength.

The organizers had given the place of honour to the good of the villagers, Shri Jaju declared. There was certainly a difference between the city and the village outlook though at times it became difficult to draw a clear line between the two. The trader also inevitably came in, with his particular interests. The question of art also gave rise to different views. The organizers had to use their own discretion in these matters and had to shut out some exhibits and shows. It was possible that they might have used their discretion erroneously about some items. Shri Jaju was happy to say that the Exhibition Committee had received full co-operation from the Reception Committee in their work.

The present Exhibition differed from the previous ones in not having any sale shops within the Exhibition area. Nor was there any admission fee. The important point in Village Industries programme was production for home-use. The people must understand that only after village needs were satisfied should they sell their surplus produce. To impress this point, they had removed the bazar to outside the Exhibition area. This arrangement would enable visitors to concentrate their attention upon the processes shown. They will not be distracted by articles displayed for sale. The Exhibition was not going to be a paying proposition to the Reception Committee.

All the branches of the A. I. S. A. as also other institutions had participated in organizing the demonstrations. The total number of workers, volunteers, demonstrators, (men, women and children), had reached one thousand at the time Shri Jaju was speaking. Having regard to this large congregation, the Committee felt that they should during the period live a joint community life in their daily routine. So they all ate and worked together, managed their conservancy and other arrangements and met together for prayers. Khadi was insisted upon in clothing, and only cow's milk and *ghee* were consumed. Village made articles had been used to as great an extent as possible in the construction of the Exhibition camp and in the articles brought into use. Village life was prominent also in the entertainments. The visitors would see only rural dramas, dances and musical performances of the various provinces.

A few new features had been introduced into the present Exhibition. The Go Seva section and the demonstration of manures were new additions. They included charts bearing upon the food problem, and also such matters as artificial *versus* dung manure, tractors *versus* bullock cultivation, hydrogenated *versus* natural oils and *ghee*, silage, compost etc. The section had been arranged with the help of the Government of India and the Go Seva Sangh. The former had also organized the Health section. Its sub-section relating to Leprosy particularly deserved notice. Then, there was a section relating to indigenous medicines and herbs, another dealt with the problem of village sanitation. The lady workers and students of the Kasturba Trust, the workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and Nature Cure Institutions had all exhibited their particular works. There was also a special section relating to Rajputana culture.

The Committee wanted to raise the model of an ideal village, but they had not been able to do much in that direction. All that they could raise was a model hut for a cultivator, and some statistical charts. The Bapu Bhavan was an interesting section. Various pictures and things used by Gandhiji had been exhibited there, and it was arranged to hold congregational spinning in that section. Various leaders were expected to take part in the spinning.

The Exhibition stood for a particular ideology. The country had become independent politically. But the Swaraj had still to be built up. It did not yet stand upon the strength of the people, in the sense that the people had not yet begun to take part in the reconstruction work. The Government too was not quite

consistent in its policy. It wanted to help Village Industries, and at the same time it was pushing forth all these industrial schemes which competed with Village Industries. e. g. textile mills, oil mills, sugar mills, *vanaspati* plants and so on. The Government was not quite clear about its duties towards villages. They should also distinguish between the production of luxury articles and of articles of absolute necessity. The old proverb राजा कालस्य कारणम्—the king creates the age, i. e. the cultural epoch, was as good to day as it was in the past. The king should be understood to mean all those who effectively controlled the State.

The Exhibition was not a mere carnival. It was an educative demonstration with a particular moral and message. They all wanted to reach the ideal of Rama Rajya which Gandhiji had placed before them. Shri Jaju hoped the visitors would take the fullest advantage of the Exhibition by studying it minutely and seeing if it attempted to work in accordance with Gandhiji's ideals in a faithful manner, and if so will feel inspired to work in the same direction.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

HARIJAN

January 2

1949

THE WRONG APPROACH

The Central Government, under the Industries and Supply Ministry, has organized a Cottage Industries Board. Amongst other things in their terms of reference, they have stated that one of their purposes will be to co-ordinate cottage industries with the large-scale industries. They had asked the All India Village Industries Association and the All India Spinners' Association to send two representatives each to this Board. These two associations considered the question and felt that as the Congress Economic Programme Committee's Report stated that the large-scale industries should be co-ordinated to the needs of village industries, the present position under the terms of reference is contrary to the policy outlined in the Economic Programme Committee's Report, and, therefore, they felt that it would not be possible for them to send their representatives to this Board unless their terms of reference were altered to be in alignment with the Congress Economic Programme Committee's recommendations.

2. In short, it means that the Cottage Industries Board as at present constituted would shape and organize the handloom industry so that it may consume the yarn spun by the mills! This is what 'co-ordinating cottage industries to large-scale industries' means. On the other hand, our position would mean that if the village blacksmith requires iron and steel for cart tyres, the Tata Iron and Steel Company should produce the necessary material. It will be seen, therefore, that the purpose of the existence of the Cottage Industries Board is to help the large-scale industries. This is definitely a

wrong approach. The village industries are to afford an outlet for the village people. It forms the backbone of their economic activity outside agriculture. That being so, it is necessary for us to give priority to village industries, and the large-scale industries should exist mainly to supply the needs of village industries. Any other approach will only lead to exploitation of the masses through large-scale industries.

3. The Cottage Industries Board met at Cuttack in the second week of December last. Amongst their decisions one was to help the growth of cottage industries both to meet internal needs and for the benefit of the export trade, and recommended that each Trade Commissioner's Office abroad should have a show-room for cottage industry products. This decision, though it fits in with their terms of reference and their policy, is contrary to our ideas. Developing an export market at this stage is antagonistic to the interests of the villagers, while the large-scale industries will welcome the dollar exchange that may accumulate as a result. Already the poor people's money which accumulated in the form of sterling securities are being utilized for the benefit of industrialists, and this programme of the Cottage Industries Board will increase this disparity.

4. Besides, the villagers are not financially educated enough to look after distant markets. The result of this will be that they will play into the hands of middlemen who have all along been exploiting their ignorance. As things are at present, under the conditions obtaining today, village industries would do well to concentrate on production for consumption rather than for export, especially to foreign markets. It does not mean that we shall not produce anything in the form of curios. But the curio trade is a very small fraction of the production of village industries. What the villagers need are metal vessels, clothes to wear and small household requisites. Even these are largely obtained from either large factories or from abroad. All these requirements could well be met by organizing village and cottage industries to supply the needs of villagers.

5. The village industries today have largely been ousted by a policy that had been followed by Imperialism and the present policy also appears to take the control out of the villagers themselves. This will be inimical to the interests of the villagers. We should discourage distant markets, but develop home markets and home consumption. In this connection, we would suggest that the Cottage Industries Board makes it a point of itself using the articles made by village industries. For instance, khadi, handmade paper and other stationery. It can well begin with this and it can also recommend to other Government offices that such things as are manufactured by villagers should be used by them. Let charity begin at home. We hope, therefore, that the Cottage Industries Board will take into consideration the limitations of the villagers and organize their programme accordingly.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

PRAY END THIS CONTROVERSY

Our National Language has been variously called Hindustani, Hindvi, Hindi, Sab-ki-boli, Rashtrabhasha, etc. In order to avoid being involved in a battle of names, some have tried to eschew all names by simply calling it the Common Language, the National Language, the State Language, and now the Federal Language. It is high time this controversy was ended. It is unnecessary to enter into the connotation and history of the different names which have been tried so far. Those of us who have been using the word Hindustani are not enamoured of any particular name as such. It is the contents of the language which ought to matter and not the name.

Mahatma Gandhi used the name Hindi from 1909 onwards but made it clear every time that Hindi included Urdu. The Congress, on the other hand, at the instance of Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, definitely accepted the word Hindustani, in its celebrated resolution of 1925. Hindustani served as a vinculum bracketing Hindi and Urdu. It was only after the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan had narrowed the definition of Hindi that Gandhiji found it necessary to accept the word Hindustani. It has to be conceded that Hindustani has a wider connotation than Hindi as matters stand today. Unfortunately Hindu nationalism and Hindu communalism have joined hands today and the word Hindi has become suggestive of that spirit. The result is that Muslims and other non-Hindu communities have a feeling that the word Hindustani gives them a place in the political and cultural life of India while the word Hindi does not. We would give up the name Hindustani for any other name on earth provided it wins the confidence of the non-Hindu communities and makes them feel that that word does not exclude contributions of India's non-Hindu culture and languages. Any name would do which gives the National Language a wider content than that which has become associated with the word Hindi. It should be a language spoken by the common people of the North, but at the same time, it must be easy enough to be understood by the people of the East, the West and the South.

To those who agree about the contents of the language—and I know several sober champions of the word Hindi who agree to the same definition being given to Hindi, as I give to Hindustani but who just have a greater liking for the word Hindi—my appeal is that they should dissociate themselves from the movement which is aimed at restricting its scope to sanskritized Hindi by boycotting all words of non-Hindu origin. The Hindi translation of the Draft Constitution for India is a standing monument of what the boycott movement can lead us to.

Let the champions of the Hindi movement make it convincingly clear that Hindi does not stand for exclusive Hindu culture, that it wholeheartedly accepts the ideal of a secular democracy in which all religious and cultural units have got their

rightful place and there will not be any discrimination against any particular community nor against any distinctive outlook on life, and they will be able, gradually, to bring all people round to their viewpoint under the banner of Hindi. In the meanwhile they would do well to accept the word Hindustani which they themselves once raised to the high pedestal of the name for the National Language.

The problem of the script need not detain us for long. It is admitted on all sides that *nagari* shall be used wherever Hindustani is written or printed for the use of all. The use of *urdu* as a secondary script, for some years at least is a physical necessity and recognition of this script will help nationalist Muslims in the country in their effort to dilute the heavily loaded *Urdu-e-mualla* into the easily understood *Urdu Gulabi*, which is very much near to the Hindustani of our conception.

It has been suggested that the responsibility of publishing Government notices, proclamations etc. in the Urdu script also should not be thrown on the Central Government, but should be made the concern of the Provincial Governments like those of U. P. and Bihar. Personally I should have no objection to it if this duty was not neglected or diluted by those Governments. But how can we forget that these Governments have definitely adopted the opposite policy? It must be somebody's concern to see that those who to-day can use only the Urdu script do not feel neglected, handicapped or ostracized. But above all let us see to it that what was meant to be a unifying and cementing factor does not divide the whole country in the two hostile camps.

We of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will of course carry on our policy of spreading the Common Language representing a common culture, under the name of Hindustani and we would earnestly request all far-seeing well wishers of the country to learn both the scripts.

KAKA KALELKAR

[Note: In response to Kakasaheb's appeal discussion on this topic is closed in the *Harijan*—K. G. M. Bombay, 24-12-'48]

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SHRI SUNDARDAS DAY

The following is a summary of Shri Vinoba's address at Narayan (Jaipur) on 9-11-'48 at a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of Bhakta Sundardas.

Shri Vinoba confessed that he was not used to attend gatherings interested in propagating the teachings of particular sects. For, he felt that narrowness invariably followed sectarian presentations. They had just heard it said that Dadu Dayal, the great founder of their sect did not desire that he should be made the founder of a sect; and yet it had so happened. But if a sect had formed, it could also be dissolved. Dissolution of the sect did not mean the discontinuance of the tradition and knowledge left by him, but of the narrow sectarian wall built around him. Sect in the best sense of that term meant dissemination of the knowledge received from the Master. In that sense a sect would continue; but it would not bear the name of that guru. Masters had always laid stress on the spirit and not the name and the form. If the followers looked upon the guru as embodied in a name and a form, instead of drawing knowledge, they extracted nescience from the guru and his teachings.

Hence, Shri Vinoba continued, they should not form a sect in the name of a guru. Now that there was a sect already in existence, he advised its followers to discontinue the public use of the guru's name and to give up the external forms. Let them remember him and keep him in their hearts, and without the use of any name spread his mission through their acts and act. Let them mingle with the masses as sugar does with milk, and sweeten the life of the entire society through their unseen sweet deeds. When the river disappeared into the ocean or when the drop merged into the sea, it became the ocean itself.

Euclid's principles, Shri Vinoba said, were universally taught and their truth was accepted not because they were propounded by Euclid. The best way of dissolving a sect, therefore, was to assimilate the teachings of the Master until they became identified with them, so that they could give them to the world as their own. They need not seek to pass them off under the label of some great name. Until they had made the teachings their own, there was no obligation on them to pass them on to others. It stifled growth and inner development.

If so, it might be asked, why then did Vinoba come to their gathering at all? His reply was that Sundardas did not belong to the followers of the Dadu sect alone. He was not attached to the body, which might live or die. His outlook was universal and free from attachment. His teachings and philosophy were as much the speaker's as theirs. He therefore attended the celebration as a sympathizer and an associate.

Continuing the speaker said, to celebrate the Master's birthday, by holding a gathering and collecting a crowd was easy. But it was inconsequential. What was of real worth was to present his

teaching to the people in a way that would uplift them from the morass, of ills both mundane and spiritual, in which they were plunged.

They all knew that Swaraj had come to their nation. But the masses did not feel either its glow, or the coolness of its shade; it had not brought them any joy. For, a nation's Swaraj (self-government) could not be superior to one's *swa* (self). If they were indifferent to the improvement of the self they could hardly improve their Government. The pity was that they cared more to master the Government than to master the self.

After practising non-violence for a long period in carrying on a great struggle, let them just think how much falsehood and corruption had pervaded their public life. Let them remember that a nation, which rested and traded on untruth was on the verge of moral death.

In his teachings, Sundardasji had laid emphasis on the need for safeguarding one's character. He had also stressed the need for contentment. One should take from society just what was enough to maintain oneself. But what they witnessed all around was that everyone tried to rob his neighbours, and thought that it was the grace of God if he succeeded in doing so. He even promised puja (offering) to God in case of success. To such a one, God was no better than a District Magistrate, capable of being pleased by bribe or flattery. Where people measured God's grace in terms of money, it showed to what extent the nation had fallen. These pious people considered that the fruit of God's worship was worldly pleasures. He would prefer a sceptic or an atheist to such a 'believer' as this. They could not blame the youth for their non-belief if the so-called believer not merely valued God but even assessed Him negatively.

The rich recognized God only as the Lord of the Lakshmi—goddess of wealth, and would have none of Him if He was to renounce her. So it was necessary to practise contentment which the great saint had practised. The *vedas* sang the glory of agriculture which demanded physical labour, for, that above all was the real source of all plenty and wealth: कृषिं विद्मः कृषिं विद्मः कृषिं विद्मः । (Plough the field, and enjoy the wealth, regarding that as plenty). Sundardasji had asked them to be content with such wealth as could be produced by such productive labour.

Lastly, Shri Vinoba referred to the practice of *Ramanama*. Essentially *Ramanama* was symbolic of a resolve. A firm resolve was strength. Through a resolve man realized God. To the resolute there was no defeat. प्राये प्राये ज़िगीवांसः स्याम । (We shall be victorious at every step). They did not know despair. Even calamity was for them but a test of their faith. Pleasure and pain like the Siamese twins were a pair of inseparables to be accepted or discarded together. People generally warned friends against danger. In Shri Vinoba's opinion it was equally necessary to warn them against happiness. There was equal possibility of one losing one's control in both the cases, even as a running train demanded

cautious driving both while it ascended or descended a slope. The level running alone was without danger. Their lives too must run along a level road. *Ramanama* supplied the strength needed against dangers and keeping steady on level ground. Hence, the efforts of the saints to popularize the practice of *Ramanama*. It was but meet for all of them to turn to saints to mend their moral and spiritual shortcomings even as they turned to a carpenter for repairing their charkha. But however delapidated the body, the inner being was always sound and pure. It never went ill. *Ramanama* had the potency to make this truth clear to the devotee. It taught him that he was unbroken and indivisible.

Summing up Shri Vinoba asked the audience to practise self-purification, contentment and *Ramanama*, to mingle with the people as sugar did in milk, and to spread their Master's spiritual message without recourse to his name or sect.

D. M.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

SUPERIOR TO MILITARY TRAINING

"It is indeed heartening to know that in the depths of India's life real brotherhood is being achieved. How far short we sophisticated Westerners, busily winding our balls of red-tape, are when it comes to human relationships! Gandhiji's life is again incarnate, not only once, but millions of times, in the hearts of those of like fiber as Jesus means to be incarnate in His followers. Bishop Fisher (formerly of India) once said that Gandhi was the only real Christian in India. I thought that was a strong statement, but I believe he was very near the truth . . . It is as if the story of Jesus is again enacted on Indian soil. There is a profound reverence for Gandhi here at home among those who are intelligent. But more are still muddle-headed afraid to disarm, afraid to limit armament. They are after universal military training for all boys of eighteen."

So writes one of the many friends of India and admirers of Gandhiji. One might give plenty of evidence of how thousands in the West are looking to India today for a lead on the path of peace and away from the throes of damnable war.

But so many of our leaders also seem to be "muddle-headed". Let us not judge of the days gone by. Let us not easily point fingers of criticism at those who have done well in their leadership. I would suggest that the Government of India was non-violent in her patience with Hyderabad. Only when public opinion and conditions had reached a very mature stage did the military enter the State boundaries. And then the job was done quickly, evidently well planned, and with a minimum of violence. I do not for one moment justify such military action. However, as one who would follow Gandhiji in his non-violence, I ask myself what I did or what lead I gave to the country! And in that position I must be humble.

Yet, one is troubled that the lead of the Congress Government seems definitely to be the lead of militarism. The arguments used are those of the Western militarists. Some educational ministers and

others seem to be unduly hurried in desiring to get military training into our schools. And in one instance I hear that the school authorities, who oppose military training on principle, feel that the Government will use pressure to get them to introduce military training in their school.

There are better ways of securing physical development and bodily discipline than by military training. We want to be a democracy. A military system by its own nature is anything but that. There is discipline when at the task—forced discipline which generally reacts into the most rank forms of indiscipline as soon as the authority is removed! Witness the actions of soldiers, at least those of the West, when they are off duty. Shri J. C. Kumarappa returned from Europe and tells us U. S. A. men are hated very largely in Britain and Europe because of their carousing in off hours. Women are not safe when they are off duty! Is that the thing we want to encourage in the comparatively self-disciplined youth of India? Several years ago the citizens of the U. S. A. were pleasantly surprised to observe the constructive aspect of the discipline found in the Conservation Civil Corps which were founded by President Roosevelt. The youths were enlisted to do nation-building service such as reforestation and anti-soil-erosion work. They found a real and substantial discipline in manual labour which had meaning. They learned in a proper atmosphere the duties of citizenship. There was the constant atmosphere of learning and growth as vocational and other classes were encouraged. India also has suggested such service squads as a part of our college training. But I have yet to hear of a place where anything has been done. Here at Gandhi Gram we plan a Work Camp during the next long vacation. College students will be encouraged to come and help us build up our proposed Co-operative Agricultural Colony. They will work side by side with villagers who have come into the Colony. They will build dams, bunds for anti-soil erosion purposes. They will water the many fruit trees which have already been planted and thus engrain into their consciousness the importance of thinking of and working for the future generation. During off hours they will study the Constructive Programme. They will discuss the implications of non-violence. They will be disciplined into a Peace Brigade and when they return to their colleges halls we hope they may organize such work in their colleges, just as the members of the last year's camp—not a real Work Camp—have returned to their colleges to organize spinning and other classes. In these camps we have the utmost of discipline and a hard life. But the discipline grows out of our common fellowship. Students elect their own working cabinet. Under experienced leadership which is always sympathetic and understanding the youth formulate their own daily programme and life. But I need not go into detail. I am but suggesting that our Governments need to give their best thinking, their main efforts to this pioneering training for students.

Although I hold myself to be one who is loyal to the way of non-violence, I would not for a moment,

I hope, criticize the actions of our Nehrus, who take with them the spirit of non-violence they have imbibed, even as they carry on acts of violence. But I am only suggesting that those of us who do truly believe in non-violence should be at the task more earnestly—both those in Constructive Work in the villages and those in Governmental positions. We do need something more constructive than military training in our schools and colleges. It must be more than the normal athletics. It must have a vital note of realism about it. It must be linked with the problem of life. It must challenge the idealism of youth. That is, it must have future significance. It must be a pioneering effort that holds within itself world significance. It must partake the nature of a crusade as the New Life Movement once did for many a youth in China, at least to a certain extent. And along with this nation- and One World-building activity in our schools and colleges—definitely linked with the problems of the needy—there should be provision for training of Peace Brigades. Interested youth should have the opportunity to know the heart and the strength of satyagraha. They should have the privilege of being trained, if they so desire, to go into conflict areas—or even to our frontiers if there is conflict—to give their lives that peace may reign. I hold that such training and discipline is much more difficult than ordinary military training. But nevertheless, it ought to be begun at once: both in private and Government institutions.

The World Pacifist Conference was to come to India next January. It has been adjourned for some months. But Pacifists all over the world sense the need of new tactics for critical days of the atomic bomb. They had looked to Gandhiji for the lead. Now they look to his followers. When they do come, let them not return disappointed. Let them see in our centres of nation-building some real work going on which is the building of foundations of world peace. Let them hear from those who govern, their plans for the building of such a nation that it may guide all the world along the road to peace. India has a most unusual opportunity in these days. Are we aware of it? Are we living up to it? May I humbly suggest that those who are keenly interested should use the columns of interested journals more than we do and carry on a public discussion in all seriousness as to what we feel lies ahead and as to what may be our own unique contribution as devoted followers of Gandhiji? Several years ago I asked Bapuji how we could help him most. He replied somewhat as follows:

"I have done very little with non-violence. I know very little about it. Much more experimentation needs to be done. We need to have hundreds of centres throughout India experimenting with this mighty 'soul-force'. You can help me most by also experimenting with non-violence."

I am convinced that no greater challenge faces the Constructive Worker today. Let us face it.

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN

TRIAL OF WAR LEADERS

[Shri Vinoba's post-prayer speech at Mahilashram, Wardha on 26-11-'48.]

The World War had ended, Shri Vinoba said, but not the passions which were generated during it. No opportunity was given to quench the hatred and ill-will which it had raised. The victorious countries regarded the vanquished countries to be the sole culprits for bringing about the war and presumed to try the defeated leaders for the offence of waging war, and causing massacres and destruction, and to hang them after staging shows of trials.

The latest instance was the trial of the Japanese war leaders. Some of them had been sentenced to death, and some to serve a life sentence. The judges who tried them were selected from one or another of the victorious nations. One of the Judges was an Indian. Though India had been really a party forced into the war, she had, by reason of victory, become "one of the victorious nations". The Indian Judge differed from his colleagues in his conclusions, and gave a dissenting judgement. He was of the opinion that all the countries on both sides were equally guilty, and if the Japanese leaders were guilty of waging the war, the victorious nations were guilty of the more serious crime of using the extremely condemnable weapon of the atomic bomb. Indeed, the farce of a trial of vanquished leaders was itself an offence against humanity. The Japanese leaders were reported to have stated in their statements of defence that they had no sense of repentance in them for their acts, though they happened to suffer defeat. It was gratifying to see, Shri Vinoba observed, that the Indian representative had boldly expressed the truth in his judgement.

D. M.

(Translated from the Original in Hindustani)

C. R.'s Salary

Readers of dailies must have seen the announcement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in one of the meetings at Jaipur that at Shri C. Rajagopalachari's request his salary was to be reduced to Rs. 5,500 free of income tax. Panditji also explained why this amount cannot be reduced.

I am told that the much criticised salary of Rs. 20,000 or more was subject to income-tax and as such realized about Rs. 6,000 only. I hope the information is correct.

Bombay, 23-12-'48

K. G. M.

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