

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XVI. No. 5

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1952

TWO ANNAS

GANDHIJI EXPLAINS HIS CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

(By Mannabehn Gandhi)

[A Part of Mannabehn Gandhi's diary of 7-4-1947 was published on 8-3-1952. Here is another part under the same date.]

(After the prayer) two Communist youths sought an interview with Bapu. They asked him to explain to them his Constructive Programme in brief. They also enquired about his views about the qualifications of workers, and the results of this programme on the life and happiness of the people. They were well-read and had come from Santiniketan.

Bapuji explained his items one after another.

Communal Unity

Bapuji said, "Let us take communal unity first, because it is the most pressing work of the day. It is a long time since I first announced the eighteen-point Constructive Programme. If the country had adopted it from the beginning and worked it out faithfully, we would not have come to this sorry pass, and would have been spared these tragic scenes. I am convinced that so long as we do not achieve communal unity, we are like a diseased body in which one of the vital organs has ceased to function properly. How can such a country achieve independence, or assimilate it and turn it to good account even if it somehow achieves it? India is a land peopled by various religious communities—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs and others. So long as there is no communal unity, the country will remain weak and sick (i.e. not free), and even if independence is achieved somehow, it will not bring happiness and might even prove to be more troublesome than bondage. At least this is how I view things today.

Khadi

"I am getting more and more confirmed every day that if every one in every home would ply the *charkha* for a mere half hour, no one would need buy even an inch of cloth. It is also the key to the preservation of Swaraj. And if crores of people apply themselves to it for this amount of time, the results will be so tremendous as to amaze the whole world. There is no solution to the problem of hungry millions apart from *khadi*. *Khadi* gives rise to several other industries, and each one provides work to countless artisans. I have called the *charkha*, the sun

of the system of village-industries. If this sun goes round, its light will illumine the whole country and lift up the villagers out of their present squalor and poverty. In the uplift of our villages is the uplift of India. India is made up of seven lakh villages and not merely of the big cities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Karachi.

Removal of Untouchability

"So long as untouchability persists our hearts too will remain untouched in respect of one another. How can such *untouchables* get non-violent Swaraj? The unbearable callousness that is shown to those unfortunate persons who perform the service of scavenging is a black spot on the country. If we believe in non-violence and truth, we cannot make distinction between man and man as high and low nor can we harbour a sense of false vanity. The whole world is our family and we should live like members of one family.

Prohibition

"Intoxicating drinks have ruined our people physically and economically. Our country is not so cold as to need liquor. A drinker becomes oblivious of morals. Persistence in drinking will mean the end of spiritual values in our country. The *Gita* says that loss of memory leads to loss of knowledge (discrimination), and those who have lost their reason are as good as dead.

Uplift of Women

"In our scriptures woman has been designated *ardhangana* (the other half). But in our country man has made her his toy and she is treated as a slave. The birth of a daughter is looked upon sorrowfully, while that of a son is celebrated as a festival. So long as this disease is not eradicated from the root, the nation can not advance. True equality of man and woman will be realized only when the birth of a daughter will be celebrated with the same joy as that of a son. Therefore every worker should treat every woman with the same respect and love that he bears towards his mother, sister or daughter. Women are given a very unbecoming treatment in our country. Every day, I receive information of the assault on her honour. This is the height of man's disgraceful conduct, moral turpitude and beastliness. I believe it is difficult for us to advance so long as we are struck with this sin.

Cleanliness

"As long as village cleanliness is not attended to, the hearts of the villagers will remain unclean. Their minds will continue to reflect the uncleanness of the heaps of rubbish that mark our country-side. Therefore, the item of village cleanliness occupies an equally important place in the village uplift work.

Education

"I realized that if education was to be given from the very root, Basic Education was absolutely necessary, and that could be done only through Nai Talim. Unless it is adopted it is impossible to educate the millions of children in our country. It will automatically solve the problem of adult education also. Similarly, we shall have to take to the national language. We are too much enamoured of the English language. I referred to it at length yesterday. On account of this we have shown unpardonable indifference towards our own language. The national language worker will not enter into controversy and preferences regarding Urdu and highly Sanskritized forms of Hindi. He will speak the Hindi that is intelligible to the local people. He will also learn the local language and will try to inculcate in the people love and respect for their mother tongue. He has nothing to lose in knowing the local language, but everything to gain. He will simply add to his own knowledge.

"Lastly, I maintain that utmost endeavour should be made to ensure that everyone under Swaraj gets at least—sufficient *dal* and bread, enough clothes to cover his body and an ordinary house to live in. Under the present economic order, while some have gold and silver utensils, and silk and velvet clothes, others have not even earthen pots and enough cloth to cover their nudity. This inequality can be obliterated only by working out the programme of constructive work suggested by me.

"But we are drifting towards Russian Communism in order to achieve it at the point of the bayonet. It is the way of violence, and has not fully succeeded even there. The result will be that even the handful of capitalists that we have will also be penniless with the rest of the poor. If, however, we shall propagate economic equality according to my method, capitalists will themselves feel that they cannot put on rich dresses, and eat sweet dishes while their fellow-brothers have no clothes to put on, and no bread to eat. This will create a spirit of brotherhood, and through it love for the country, and the spirit of service will then become more universal."

(Translated and abridged from *Bhavnagar Samachar*, 22-12-'51)

DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages, xi+175 Price Rs. 2-8 Postage etc. As.10
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

THE PROBLEM OF VIEWS-PAPERS

[*Freedom* is a London Weekly of the Anarchist School, and to a certain extent akin to *Harijan*. In a recent issue (5th January, 1952), it presents its own problem of publication. The following is an extract from it.—K. G. M.]

Every week one can read somewhere or other of book publishers and newspaper and periodical publishers complaining of the growing difficulties they have to face in their businesses. And from the consumers' point of view this concern is reflected in increased prices.

Generally speaking, the objective of the commercial publisher is to give the public the kind of paper the public wants. As soon as sales fall off, "experts" are put on the job to find out why sales are dropping and the proprietors then tell the Editor what he has to dish up. And in the case of one of the largest periodical publishers in this country it has meant sacking all his Editors, and the transformation of the journals in question, with the consequent loss of many readers but also with the faith in the "experts" view that the change will show a net gain in new readers, and thereby increased revenue from sales, advertising and therefore higher profits.

* * *

That is how commercial publishing works. After all, its objective is to make a profit by entertaining. The purpose in publishing *Freedom* is neither for profit nor entertainment. Without wishing to appear pompous, we would define our purpose in publishing *Freedom* as: our contribution to laying the foundations of a happier and more equitable society based on a sense of mutual respect and tolerance among men, and in which no man will have the power to exploit another man's labour or to coerce him physically or mentally. Such a society would be free from wars, man-made famines and political crises... and the wage system!

We offer this potted definition of our purpose simply to develop what we have to say in connection with the problems of publishing and not in order to lay down a hard and fast definition of anarchism. Because we have such a purpose as defined above, it is quite clear that the problems we have to face in publishing *Freedom* are dissimilar in every respect from those of a commercial publisher. He finds that his sales are dropping. His answer is to change his "line", or "it may be to engage an advertising expert to "put his paper across"; or it may even be solved by engaging a popular short story writer to join his contributors. None of these channels is open to *Freedom*. How then do we suggest that *Freedom* is to survive and *Freedom* Press publications to be published in a world in which the chances of survival become increasingly difficult particularly for the small publishers?

As publishers of *Freedom* we have at all times aimed at making our journal self-supporting, this being, to our minds, a more certain method for survival than dependence on financial

support which can be as precarious as the economic fortunes and sympathies of those who offer it. We do not intend this unkindly, but it is a reflection which many years of experience in publishing *Freedom* and its predecessors have more than confirmed. And, in fact, the income derived from the sales of *Freedom* at present only falls short of the cost of production by £10 (\$28) each issue, and an increase of 1,500 copies in our weekly circulation would therefore make *Freedom* financially self-supporting. This is an objective which we, as incorrigible optimists, have always thought a not impossible one. Yet during 1951 our postal subscribers' lists have shown a net gain of only 300 new readers, and through the news agents and the few enthusiasts who sell *Freedom* at meetings and outdoors, increases in sales have fluctuated between nil (wet and cold weeks) and as many as a thousand copies (during election week).

THOUGHTS FOR SEVAPURI

(By Shankarrao Deo)

The fourth Sammelan of the Sarvodaya Samaj will be held at Sevapuri near Banaras, on the 13th and subsequent dates of April. By now it is well known that the Sarvodaya Samaj is not an organization in the ordinarily accepted sense. It registers members but has no constitution or rules to govern their conduct accruing from their membership. Hence naturally no question of enforcing discipline also arises. Yet the Samaj has an aim or an objective, namely, to strive towards a society based on truth and non-violence in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no exploitation and full scope for the development of both individuals and groups. The Samaj has also a programme generally known as the constructive programme for the achievement of this aim. In the absence of a central executive whose function is to formulate policies and frame immediate programmes from time to time for the guidance of the *sevak*s, the Samaj as a whole does this work once a year in its Sammelan by allowing the *sevak*s themselves to discuss important issues or problems and difficulties which they have experienced during their field work. Thus each *sevak* is enabled to know what is the consensus of opinion of his fellow spiritual travellers on various important subjects which face him in the service of his fellowmen. The Samaj then leaves the *sevak* to his own initiative and ability to follow up the principles in which he has faith and carry out the programme for their furtherance in his private and public life. Of course the *sevak*s are free to organize themselves locally for the working of any specific item or items of the programme and the Sarva Seva Sangh is there to guide and help them.

But I am afraid this year merely discussing certain important problems and recording whatever general agreements are reached on them will not suffice. The conditions in the world and espe-

cially in our country are so developing as to throw a challenge to the philosophy and programme of Sarvodaya. If violent social and economic upheavals are to be avoided and people's faith in the efficacy of peaceful methods for solving social and economic problems is to be revived, the *sevak*s must become a peaceful but revolutionary force. For this, without interfering with the original concept of the Samaj as a spiritual brotherhood, the *sevak*s should select certain aims and targets and concentrate their united efforts on achieving them.

No doubt for the attainment of real independence successful working of the whole constructive programme is necessary. Yet economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. This means the abolition of the distinction of the rich and the poor in society and the establishment of an economic order in which each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural wants and no more. To achieve this, as the directive principle of the Indian Constitution says, the ownership and control of the natural resources and means of production should be so distributed as best to serve the common good. In India today land is the most important means of producing wealth and therefore its just distribution alone can lay the true foundation of economic equality or just social order. Shri Vinobaji has started his *Bhoodan Yajna* with this end in view and has shown the non-violent way of bringing about a just and equal distribution of land and has thus inspired constructive workers to build a movement.

But having regard to the urgency of bringing about such a social order, the pace of this movement has got to be accelerated. At Sevapuri the *sevak*s will have to consider ways and means of doing so. Shri Vinobaji himself has often said during his walking tour that his attempt is to create an atmosphere in which the limitations in the Constitution can be got rid of and enable the Government to enact a law to bring about a peaceful solution of the land problem. But he rightly emphasizes the fact that a change in social structure through law can be effective and permanent, only if it is preceded by a change in public opinion. Nothing will guarantee more than the moral support of those who are adversely affected by it, to the smooth passage and speedy execution of the law enacted for the purpose. Shri Vinobaji's appeal to the landlords to surrender a portion of their land voluntarily should be strengthened and this moral movement should be extended all over the country. In order that the movement may rouse the enthusiasm of the people and canalize the creative energy of the workers in a definite direction a target should be fixed.

Yet as time is of the essence, it must be recognized that the land question in both of its aspects, namely, distribution and development, can be solved only by the authority of the State.

Therefore the Sammelan should request the Government to take up an early legislation to this effect. But this is one part of the question. The second part is that whether this agrarian programme is brought about by the State, or by the voluntary efforts of the people in a peaceful manner, it would be necessary to consider some of the important socio-economic implications of land distribution schemes, e.g. (1) the fixing of the minimum as well as optimum size or the ceiling of an agricultural holding; (2) the methods of acquiring the surplus above the ceiling; (3) the machinery and mode of acquiring as well as the financial implications of the undertaking; (4) the order of priority in the matter of allotment of the surplus land to the landless. In respect of acquisition, if not in principle at least by experience, it must now be accepted by all the parties concerned that it is impossible to acquire land by giving compensation on the basis of the present Constitution. In this matter also the adage "according to one's need" must be applied.

We must remember that social justice is indivisible and if we put that forward in the biggest sector of our economy, namely land, it will have to be extended into the sector which is non-agricultural. The law of equality applicable to land will be *mutatis mutandis* applicable to industry, private and public services also.

A definite programme for ushering in a just social order in agricultural, industrial and other sectors of life is given in the Agrarian Reforms Committee Report and the Sarvodaya Plan.

Shri Vinobaji has said that his mission is not to stave off a revolution. He wants to prevent a violent revolution and create a non-violent revolution. If the *sevaks* or the constructive workers are to be the leaven of this non-violent revolution, they must prepare themselves for this task by first bringing about the necessary changes in their personal lives. They must know that the need for self-purification and building up sufficient hold over the people through service and suffering is much greater today, because the struggle for political independence was against the foreigner; but it is probable that that of economic independence might give rise to internal social conflicts.

Without affecting the free, unorthodox, liberal and secular though spiritual character of the Sarvodaya Samaj which the *sevaks* have been helpful in building in the annual sessions during the last four years, they will have to see how they will be able to contribute collectively to the non-violent atmosphere in the country in as short a time as possible, and how they will bring into effect the economic equality in the country, which on all hands will be admitted to be the crying need of the hour.

GANDHIJI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(Abridged)

Pages xi, 294 Price Rs 2 Postage etc. As 11
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HIS TECHNIQUE AND ACHIEVEMENT *

(By Pyarelal)

I — The Sabarmati Ashram —

Inmates and Training

A. THE FIRST PERIOD, 1914 TO 1919

Yesterday I spoke to you about the basic disciplines which made Gandhiji, some of the leading traits of his personality and his extraordinary power to mould human material. Let us now see what use he made of that power, what was the technique that he evolved for its application to the tasks that confronted him, and the phenomenal results he obtained from it.

Gandhiji's career in India may be divided into four periods. The first period extends from 1914 to 1919. It was devoted to a close survey, observation and study of the Indian scene. The period was marked by a series of local Satyagraha struggles like that of Champaran and Kheda and the Ahmedabad mill-hands' strike of 1919. It was during this period that he discovered his devoted, talented secretary, who became his alter ego — Mahadev Desai, and some of his best lieutenants. Three of them later formed the nucleus of the Congress High Command viz. Rajendra Babu, Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani. Besides them there were the Maulana Mazharul Huq and Abbas Teyebji, and Braj Kishor Babu of Champaran fame — to mention only a few; and the bulk of the constructive workers of Gujarat, typified by the late Mohanlal Pandya, who during the Kheda Satyagraha struggle earned the affectionate title of "onion thief", when he removed overnight onions attached by the Government distress-warrant officers for non-payment of revenue by the Kheda cultivators.

It was during this period, again, that Gandhiji established the Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram — his first Power House of non-violence and his Satyagraha laboratory. And a strange conglomeration of humanity it was. In fact my sister Dr. Sushila Nayar told me, the first English sentence she learnt was the following from Gandhiji's pen in one of his English weeklies: "Cranks, faddists and madmen often find their way to the Ashram." He himself would proudly add in conversation, "And I am the maddest of them all!"

His modesty would not let him say that Ashram included also some geniuses and at any rate one saint in the making. There was, for instance, Maganlal Gandhi, whom the Master lived to mourn as his 'best companion', and whose death brought spontaneous tributes from such diverse personalities as Lord Irwin and Pandit Motilal Nehru. A versatile genius, he was equally at home with scavenging or secretarial work, gardening or setting the type, account keeping or designing and constructing improved types of spinning, ginning and carding

* This is the second of the three Gandhi Memorial Lectures delivered by Shri Pyarelal at Kanpur under the auspices of the Agra University, on 3rd, 4th and 5th December 1951 and published with its kind consent.

instruments, building a house or expounding Satyagraha. There was the young Vinoba Bhave with his long flowing locks and flaming, unrivalled Sanskrit scholarship, dividing his time between teaching *Raghuvansha* to Ashram children and cleaning the latrines, which hardly left any time for his three unusual 'recreations'—grammar, mathematics and metaphysics! One met there the redoubtable Chhotelal, the ex-revolutionary, a close understudy of Maganlal, sharing with him his versatility—which made him by turns an expert in spinning and weaving, apiculture, *tad-gur* and bread-making. To his genius for learning languages—he was equally at home, with Tamil, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and Hindustani—he joined a soldierly discipline and a meticulous sense of tidiness and punctuality. As in the case of Philosopher Kant, people set their watches whenever he emerged from his cell for his morning walk or for his daily visit to the river-ghat for bathing. He was a soldier, who unquestioningly took orders and failed not—lived only to 'do or die'. There was the "His Holiness, Shri 108, Swami Anandanand"—as he loved to call himself—the incurable celibate who worked like a horse and slept like a horse and dubbed himself "a eunuch in the matter of eating and drinking"! None of them was a graduate, and Swami, Chhotelal and Maganlal were not even matriculates, (?) but they were Gandhiji's 'hands and feet'.

There were besides, Kakasaheb Kalelkar—the born school-master, with his capacity for lucid exposition, spilling his dilettante versatility right and left from the sheer exuberance of it, the staid and solid Narhari Parikh—educationist and author, and dialectical K. G. Mashruwala, the present editor of *Harijan* weeklies. There were women of the Ashram, seasoned Satyagrahi soldiers, who, armed with nothing more than the basic Ashram disciplines, had made history in South Africa, and a troupe of children whom Gandhiji had put through their initiation by making them run the gauntlet of martial law in South Africa as couriers, messengers and errand boys when they were just at the threshold of their teens. Lastly, there was Gandhiji himself, with his iron constitution as yet unimpaired and will of steel, abjuring all milk and milk-products and subsisting on a fare of un-roasted ground-nuts, red tomatoes and bananas, grinding corn by the hour without changing his hand, when almost every other fellow-grinder was forced to do so, sternly sitting in the hot sun to make a lazy-bones inmate of the Ashram do digging in the field in the summer's hot sun as penance for his remissness in duty.

The Ashram was the means Gandhiji used to introduce among the people the leaven of his basic spiritual disciplines, which provided the energy and drive during all subsequent Satyagraha campaigns. Indeed, it may safely be said that without this Ashram machinery, none of those campaigns could have been organized or

sustained. Wherever there was an Ashram, people learnt the secret of Satyagraha; wherever there was a Satyagraha, there sprang up Ashrams in its wake. They set not only the pattern of the type of the worker that was needed for organizing non-violent mass movements in a country like ours, but of the non-violent type of organization too.

Let me illustrate. A young man comes to visit Gandhiji in his Ashram. He is a member of a secret, under-ground revolutionary organization. He looks furtively to right and left, before and behind—to see if he is watched, as he enters Gandhiji's room. He breathes fire against the British officials, asks in an undertone if there are any C. I. D. about. He tells Gandhiji that the youth are burning with indignation. Gandhiji points out to him how his own cult of violence has made a coward of him, how it makes him feel afraid of the C. I. D.

Gandhiji calls: "Chhotelal, Chhotelal"!

Chhotelal appears and is instantly recognized by the newcomer as a fellow ex-revolutionary, who had suffered in one of the earlier conspiracy cases. Gandhiji tells Chhotelal to explain to the newcomer how in the Ashram they deal with members of the C. I. D., who are detailed to watch them.

Chhotelal tells the young man how he (Chhotelal) came to Gandhiji and abjured the cult of violence, having found in Gandhiji's non-violence a more effective weapon. "The person you saw me talking to outside is a member of the C. I. D. We have no secrets here; he knows it. We provide him daily with detailed information about the movements of various members of the Ashram and visitors. He performs odd jobs for us, has become like a member of our family. In fact, we ask him to meet the arriving guests at the railway station and escort them to us here."

Chhotelal introduces the newcomer to another inmate. "He was charged with political murder," explains Chhotelal. "He came to Babu seeking asylum. Babu made him write out a clean confession and sent it to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, with a covering note, saying how he was trying to wean the misguided young man from the cult of violence. The charge still hangs over his head, but the Viceroy has ordered its suspension."

The newcomer is very impressed. He tells Gandhiji, he wants to become a member of his Ashram. Gandhiji tells him if he comes under his discipline, he will learn the art of making a real revolution.

As a beginning, Gandhiji asks him to go and mix with the untouchables, clean latrines, sweep the floors and scrub the community kitchen utensils. As Gandhiji goes out a couple of hours later, he finds the newcomer—now an ex-revolutionary—chatting and shaking hands with the member of the C. I. D. at whose shadow he had trembled only a little while ago.

(To be continued)

THE PAWAYA CONFERENCE

After the Mathura Conference where the Sarvodaya workers of Uttar Pradesh first made the resolve to devote themselves to *Bhoodan-Yajna* work, they again met together on 14th February, 1952 at Pawaya, our last halt in Shahjahanpur District. The Conference was well-attended and included, besides the workers, other distinguished visitors such as Shris Shankarrao Deo and Dharendra Majumdar.

Ownership in Land

In the after-prayer speech Vinoba explained that 'All land belongs to the Lord of the Universe' was no new message. The Vedas had announced this at the dawn of history. The problem of land had now reached a stage where it would brook no delay. If we did not solve it, it would seek its own solution. It therefore behoved us to solve it in the best possible manner. And what solution could be more fruitful than that of *Bhoodan-Yajna*?

Progress of the Bhoodan Movement

Workers met Vinoba twice, once in the morning and then in the evening. The discussions which followed were quite fruitful and Vinoba elucidated several points of vital interest to the workers. He gave the background of the movement, beginning with its origin in Telangana. In Telangana, he had toured only two districts. His tour of Uttar Pradesh, therefore, was rather a new experience for him. It was the first time when he set out to tour a whole province. He was happy that the response from the people to his appeal was growing. In Telangana the average of land received from day to day was only 200 acres. In course of the Northern India tour it was 250 acres, while now it had risen to 300 acres. The idea had percolated to the minds of the people, and mentally they had been converted to it.

Application of Gandhiji's Teachings

Gandhiji had demonstrated the efficacy of the moral means to achieve our ends. "After his departure from our midst," Vinoba said, "it was our duty to apply his teaching ever increasingly to the solution of our economic and social problems. I hold to the belief that moral means rightly employed never fail to evoke sympathetic response from the people. And so I set out for Delhi explaining my idea to the people all along the way. Then, you gathered together to meet me at Mathura and invited me to tour Uttar Pradesh. You resolved to do your might for this cause and worked for it with great zeal and devotion. To me, it all betokens the will of God."

Institutional Organization and Moral Organization

It was often said rather complainingly that the Sarvodaya Samaj had no institutional organization. Vinoba was however sure that their method was superior to the institutional method. Though they set up organizations to foster spirit of brotherhood, oftener than not they created only bonds and bothers. He was sure that the cause

of Sarvodaya would be best served without any institutional organization. He had been carrying on the *bhoodan*-mission for more than ten months without any organization as such. Perhaps another leader would have created an institution very early. Our method, he said, might not make an impressive showing in the beginning, but its future possibilities were vaster by far. It was like the Ganga which is a thin streamlet at its source but grows into a mighty river as it proceeds on its way.

The work had progressed so far without the workers being able to give it their full energy. They were busy with the elections which occupied the centre of the stage. Even so the success achieved was by no means small. It showed that the work they were doing was possible. The fact however remained that the way they had chosen to do it was not easy. The work rested on their ability to awaken the sense of moral justice potentially existing in every human heart. That was the foundation of their work : To help bring out the goodness and control the selfishness of man.

A Word to the Congress

"I find that the people sympathize and co-operate with our work. This is as it should be, for therein lies the good of the country. The elections are a very minor thing and happily they are now over. Our people are trustful and once more they have returned the Congress to power. Our people may be illiterate but they are rich in experience and they will not be deluded by false promises for long. I hope that the Congressmen who have been so elected will respect and fulfil the trust people have so generously shown in the Congress. As to those who fought, but lost, let them take to the work we are doing. It will be to them like the sacred name of the Lord—a saviour and a life-giver.

"I cannot however emphasize overmuch the fact that only those who subscribe to the central faith underlying this work can help it. Otherwise they will only damage it. It is by invoking the moral sense of the people that we shall carry our work forward. And workers will do well to bear it in mind lest in their enthusiasm they should be led to do things which they might have to repent subsequently.

Real Democracy

"There are democratic governments working in most countries of the world. But the democracy they practise is merely formal. They have to maintain large armies. In my opinion, democracy and armies go ill together. Real democracy must rest itself not on force of arms but on the power of *ahimsa* and the organized goodwill of the people. That is the democracy we are striving for. I do not denounce the formal democracy imported into our country from outside. But, in that case, as Shri Shyama Prasad Mukerjee observed in the Parliament the other day, an opposition too has a place of utility. But I feel we need a non-party organization. We are carrying out humanitarian work based on social

justice. We want to create a just order of society. For that we need an organization which will regard politics as an inalienable part of our national life, but which will so conduct itself that the present hiatus between politics and morality may be wiped out. An organization defeats its purpose when it oversteps itself and sets out to delimit even the virtues. We cannot approve of the politics which seeks to put a restraint on man's kindness. But that is exactly what our present-day politics comes to. When those who are wedded to truth and non-violence enter politics, they will create a higher and nobler type of politics. I am sure that such an organization will not but exercise great influence over both the Government and the people. At present the various parties which were working in the political field were very much alike in their narrow loyalties. We want to create a body of workers which will be above parties. Politically its workers might belong to any of the various parties, such as, Congress, K.M.P.P., or Jan Sangh, but they will join together for constructive work and they will work as the *sewaks* of the Sarvodaya and not as members of their different parties."

Speaking of the different ways in which people could contribute to the cause of the movement, Vinobaji said, if they habilitated one landless family in every village as they had programmed to do, the message would spread far and wide. This was one aspect of the work. Another was that of acquiring land from the big land-holders. For that, we required workers who knew them personally and had moral influence over them. While this would help the movement quantitatively, the donations from the poor who were moved to offer them out of faith and devotion, helped us qualitatively. They had the effect of elevating the movement to a high moral level. He cited the example of the old blind man who came in a cart at 1 a.m. and of the old woman who came late at night and finding him asleep waited till morning to make their land-gifts.

In the end, Vinoba appealed to the workers and the people of Uttar Pradesh to expedite the work. He hoped that the districts which he had toured would complete their respective quotas before April, while the districts which he was going to tour would finish their part of the work before he left them.

D. M.

(To be concluded)

Hindi-Hindustani Examinations — April, 1952

The candidates may please take note that the Hindi *Tisri* oral examination will be held on April 6, 1952 and Hindi *Doosri* and Hindi *Vinit* on April 13, 1952. In some centres where the number is very small the oral examination has been fixed either on April 6 or 13, 1952. The detailed instructions have been sent to the centres in this connection. The candidates are requested to get the necessary information from the centre.

Gujarat Vidyapith,
Ahmedabad-9, 20-3-52

GIRIRAJ KISHORE,
Pariksha Mantri

"PEACE NEWS"

"*Peace News* is a weekly published by a group of Pacifists in England on behalf of the War Resisters' International. The paper is undergoing a crisis similar to that experienced by *Harijan* recently. It is devoted to the cause of Peace. We in India have no adequate idea of the difficulties and persecutions which the Pacifists of Europe are put to because of their conscientious objection to take any part in war or any activity connected with war. There are some young men and women, who have been imprisoned over and over again for refusing to enlist, and cruelly treated in concentration camps. But for a few institutions like the War Resisters' International, Fellowship of Reconciliation etc., the world would know nothing of the sufferings of these brave men and women.

"There might be many in India who take interest in the Pacifist Movement of Europe and might be desirous of keeping in touch with it. The *Peace News* seeks their help. There is some difficulty in remitting money to England. The undermentioned desires to inform the readers that if any one wishing to subscribe for *Peace News* remits to her a postal or a money order with full name and address, she will undertake to remit the amount to England in British currency, at her own expense. The rates of subscription etc. are as follows:

Twelve Weeks	Rs 3-5-0
Twenty-four Weeks	Rs 6-10-0
One Year (52 weeks)	Rs 13-12-0 (4d. per copy)

Address of	(Miss) F. Mary Barr,
"Peace News"	'Amerimma'
3, Blackstock Road,	Grand Duff Road,
London No. 4	Lovedale, Nilgiri Hills"

I do not think that it is necessary for me to add anything by way of endorsement to Miss Mary Barr's note. Her offer to serve as indicated above at her own expense may be availed of with confidence.

Wardha, 17-3-52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Its Meaning and Place

By Mahatma Gandhi

Second Revised Enlarged Edition

Pages 31 Price As. 6 Postage etc. As. 2

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Some Suggestions

By Rajendraprasad

Second Impression

Pages 32 Price As. 8 Postage etc. As. 2.

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

March 29

1952

THE PARABLE AND ITS MORAL

"For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard.

"And when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard.

"And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the market place,

"And said unto them; Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right, I will give you. And they went their way.

"Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did, likewise.

"And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle?

"They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive.

"So when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first.

"And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny.

"But when the first came, they supposed that they should have received more; and they likewise received every man a penny.

"And when they had received it, they murmured against the good man of the house,

"Saying, These last have wrought but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day.

"But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: Didst not thou agree with me for a penny?

"Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last even as unto thee.

"Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good?

"So the last shall be first, and the first last: for many are called, but few chosen."

(St. Mathew, Ch. 20)

This parable is the basis of the economic doctrine enunciated by John Ruskin in his *Unto This Last* and sought to be practised by Gandhiji and his workers under the name of *Sarvodaya*. It will be useful to examine this parable a little closely in order to derive a proper moral from it.

In order to give utmost justice to the parable, I believe we must interpret it on the assumption that if at all Jesus sought to place before us through it an economic doctrine, it was meant to be ethically a perfect one. Hence we must assume that a penny wage given to the labourer who was the first to be engaged as also the amount of work taken from him was just and equitable, neither more nor less. In modern parlance, it was in no manner sweated labour and he was paid a proper living wage. On this assumption, the first labourer is reproached for feeling jealous of the payment made to the last worker. To pay less to the last comer would have meant depriving

him of some reasonable need, and to pay more to the first would have been either to encourage acquisitiveness in him or to make him adopt a higher standard of living than his neighbours. It must also be assumed that the last worker did not come late for any fault of his own.

This is the ideal of *Unto This Last*. But we are in the midst of a society in which on the one hand, there are many who come to work first but receive a farthing only, though they need a penny to live adequately; and there are a few who manage to get not a penny, but a pound, without working for even a few minutes. Add to this the difficulty arising from the fact that if all the present assets and incomes are distributed equally to every individual, none would get sufficient to live upon, i.e. a penny a head. It might be, say, only a half-pence.

How shall we proceed to apply the principle of *Unto This Last* under these circumstances in a non-violent manner? By non-violence we should not merely understand absence of beating, killing, looting etc., or legalized appropriation, but a manner which will maintain and foster love and goodwill among all the people, and bring contentment, and enthusiasm to every one and general prosperity everywhere.

This requires a graduated process. The process must not be a make-believe, and yet it cannot be just a mechanical equality.

For this the first thing to be done must be the elimination of paying or providing less than the average. If we calculate that the per capita share in India's cultivable land comes to, say, one acre per adult, we must give one acre to every adult, *who wants land and wants to work upon it*. If he does not want land or to work upon it, he need not get anything in the scheme of redistribution. Those who receive their proper share should not say, "why should that other fellow have a hundred or a thousand acres?" To them the reply would have to be "friend, I do thee no wrong. Have I not given thee thy proper share?" If others possess more land just now, let them do so for the time being. For when new workers come and in a growing population they will, surely those who have more will have to give out a share to those who have none and want it. In the meanwhile it is to the advantage of the nation that these lands are cultivated by those who have better means to do so, on conditions generally accepted as fair by the society and a democratic State. Whether or no they regard themselves as trustees of their additional possessions, when more claimants come they will realize that they really are no more than trustees of the estate in their possession and management.

In the same way, with regard to income. If we calculate that the average income of an Indian is, say Rs 25 per month, let us see that no actual worker gets less than that, and that no one who is willing to work is told that there is no work for him. If he is willing to work but the

society is unable to show him any, he must still get his rateable wage. If he is able but unwilling to work, he cannot demand it. Nor can anyone say, I must get more than the average because someone else does so. He is free to accept other better paid work if he can get it. Of course, the democratic State will fix its own limits of maximum income etc. from time to time for each kind of employment or vocation. By and by other workers will arise and those who receive more than the average will either find their levels lowered or the general average will shoot up, entitling the last to receive more.

This, I think, has to be the process of Sarvodaya equality. It is not forthright decapitation of capitalism, land-lordism etc. to bring about economic equality, but it is the process of making in the first instance, provision for the poorest in the land in accordance with the economic condition of the country, and asking the rich to part with their possessions enough to make that provision. They are in no way wronged in being asked to do so.

Again, under Sarvodaya, the spiritual and moral sense of the rich and the poor must also be awakened, and progressively raised. The rich must realize the futility and inequality of having standards of living far higher than the general condition of the masses, and all must realize that there can be no prosperity without hard work and performance of duty towards the society. Voluntary renunciation, poverty and simplicity must always be stressed and practised.

If this view of the Sarvodaya programme is accepted some of the problems which Shri Shankarrao Deo has put forth in his article published elsewhere in this issue, need not disturb the *sevaks* as such. Of course, as legislators or members of particular political parties, they may have their own methods and programmes of removing inequalities from the top and creating prosperity. As *sevaks* we have to build up the bottom.

I have often smelt the Marxian hatred towards landholders and capitalists as a class even among constructive workers pledged to truth and non-violence. There is more jealousy for the rich than actual loving service of the poor. We must guard against slipping into or encouraging methods of violence involuntarily and unconsciously. We would do so if we have not a clear conception of the working of the principle of *Unto This Last*.

There is no room for hatred or jealousy here for those who possess or earn more as such. We must scrupulously avoid the current Marxian vocabulary of class-war.

Wardha, 19-3-'52

K G. MASHRUWALA

UNTO THIS LAST

A Paraphrase

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages vi+64 Price As. 6 Postage etc. Anna 1

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

MAN vs. MACHINE

[The following is from a speech by Shri B. G. Kher, Chief Minister of Bombay, on the occasion of the Convocation of the V.J.T.I., Bombay, on 29-3-'52.]

I agree that we must have food, etc., for all and I am not against the use of machines. Machines are with us. They have come to stay. It has been urged that mechanization will lead to unemployment on a large scale, further that it always leads to militarization. The chief characteristics of the modern machine civilization are the regularization of time, the increase in mechanical power, the multiplication of goods, the contraction of time and space, the standardization of performance and product, the transfer of skill to automata, and the increase of collective interdependence. It is said, and with some truth, that mechanical routine leads to purposeless materialism. Mechanization in the West has, as we know, under the influence of capitalism, led to very great evils. So I would here make a plea for becoming wise by the experience of other nations, for learning the lesson which history has to teach us before we blindly begin the cult of machine worship.

As a matter of fact, the machine itself is neither good nor bad. It makes no demands. It can be put to good uses as well as bad. It is true that the factory system of the West as adopted by us destroyed personal skill and reduced the workers themselves to the condition of mere automata. But we must consider whether or not it is possible to make the machine our slave instead of our master. It is usually believed that Mahatma Gandhi objected to all machinery. It is true that he said:

"Ideally, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to salvation and seek absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view, I would reject all machinery, but machines would remain because, like the body, they are inevitable".

Says Louis Fisher in his *Life of Mahatma Gandhi*:

"Gandhi was not anti-machine. He merely realized earlier than many others the dangers and horrors of a civilization in which the individual is somewhat in the position of a savage who makes an idol and then makes sacrifices to appease it. The faster machines move the faster man lives and the greater his nervous tensions and his cultural and social tributes to speed. Gandhi would have had less objection to machinery if it merely served the body; he did not want it to invade the mind and maim the spirit. He believed that India's mission was to 'elevate the moral being'."

Let us not forget this warning of the Father of the Nation, of the Architect of India's freedom. How can we then produce and use all the machines and mechanical advances known to modern technology and yet save our souls, elevate our moral being and avoid the danger referred to by Gandhi?

What I believe is that we must work for an equilibrium, a reconciliation of the conflict between man and nature — reconciliation of the claims of industry and agriculture and equilibrium

in population. In his great work, *Technics and Civilization*, Lewis Mumford brings out this problem, this necessity of balance and equilibrium—regional, industrial, agricultural, communal—very lucidly. He says:

"The problem of tempo; the problem of equilibrium; the problem of organic balance; in the back of them all the problem of human satisfaction and cultural achievement—these have now become the critical and all-important problems of modern civilization. To face these problems, to evolve appropriate social goals and to invent appropriate social and political instruments for an active attack upon them, and finally to carry them into action: here are new outlets for social intelligence, social energy, social goodwill."

While, therefore, welcoming the beneficent results brought about by modern technological advance, we must not shut our eyes to the evils which are inherent in excessive mechanization.*

I will only place before you a few suggestions by way of inviting you to think about them: Our first care should be to destroy the mentality which is usually associated with all forms of capitalism. Capitalism increases production and efficiency not in order to satisfy human needs, but to gratify personal greed—it wants to create needs and exploit the needy:

"To perfect and extend the range of machines without perfecting and giving humane direction to the organs of social action and social control is to create dangerous tensions in the structure of society..... What is the use of conquering nature if we fall a prey to nature in the form of unbridled men? What is the use of equipping mankind with mighty powers to move and build and communicate if the final result of this secure food supply and this excellent organization is to enthrone the morbid impulses of a thwarted humanity?"

I have referred above to the necessity of satisfying our minimum wants. But this does not mean merely "food enough to forestall starvation and clothing and shelter enough to satisfy convention and to ward off death by exposure". It means a great deal more. It includes songs, story, music, painting, carving, idle play, drama and many more things of value. It is true these things lie outside the province of animal necessities. But then man is not a mere animal and it is rightly said that—

"Every vital standard has its own necessary luxuries and the wage that does not include them is not a living wage nor is the life made possible by a bare subsistence a humane life."

* It will pay the reader to be reminded here of a very wise statement that Mr Norris E. Dodd, Director-General of FAO made during his broadcast speech from the A.I.R., New Delhi, the other day:

"My observations in travelling through most of the member-countries of the FAO, talking not only to ministers and administrators, but also to farmers in their own fields, convince me that we cannot and could not expect to leap from the sickle to the combined harvester. Rather, we must build up step by step, moving from the sickle to the scythe and then to animal-drawn implements and finally, if it is advantageous, (italics mine), to mechanical power."

He said further that along with technological improvements there must be reform in the conditions in which rural people lived, held their land and were served by their Governments in order to make the application of improvements possible. — M. P.

At the same time we must realize that vital wants are all necessarily limited. The fault of the capitalist, industrialist system is that it thrives by stimulating wants rather than by limiting them and satisfying them. The hope that there will ever be an ideal society in which every one can take without restraint from the common social process "according to his need" completely disregards the limitations of human nature. "Man will always be imaginative enough to enlarge his needs beyond minimum requirements and selfish enough to feel the pressure of his needs more than the needs of others." This was so well known to our ancestors that they said:

न जेतु कामः कामानां उद्योगेन शान्तिरिति । इदं हि ब्रह्मकर्म मृत्युं ध्वान्तिष्यते ॥

and they taught the remedy which was to control and not to multiply the desire for goods. The Hoover Committee's Report upon recent economic changes in the U.S. contains the following significant confession:

"The survey has proved conclusively what has long been felt theoretically to be true that wants are almost insatiable, that one want makes way for another. The conclusion is that economically we have a boundless field before us; that there are no wants which will not make way endlessly for newer wants as fast as they are satisfied."

(Quoted from Mumford's *Technics and Civilization*.)

We must, therefore, normalize consumption. When we have normalized consumption, when a proper standard is reached, our success in life will be judged not by the rubbish heaps we have produced. It will be judged by the immaterial and non-consumable goods we have learnt to enjoy and by our biological fulfilment as lovers, mates, parents and by our personal fulfilment as thinking, feeling men and women.

"Distinction and individuality will reside in the personality where it belongs, not in the size of the house we live in, in the expense of our trappings or in the amount of labour we can arbitrarily command. Handsome bodies, fine minds, plain living, high thinking, keen perceptions, sensitive, emotional responses and a group life keyed to make these things possible and to enhance them—these are some of the objectives of a normalized standard."

We must realize that happiness and expanding production are not one and the same thing, that the good life does not depend on the quantity of goods consumed or the quantity of power exercised, that in fact "life may be most intense and significant in its moments of pain and anguish and that it may be most savourless in its moments of repletion."

We must realize that it is possible to make more use of machines without having factories which enslave men. The ultimate goal of our civilization should be not only material prosperity but the development of human personality and so in industrial matters our aim should be to decentralize heavy industries, to abolish the proletariat—the wage-slave—and all young men in the country should work in factories for a short period just as they do for military service of the country.

"BLITZ" EDITOR'S ARREST

Shri Homi Mistry, Assistant Editor of *Blitz*, a Bombay newspaper, is alleged to have published in his paper something, which was regarded by the Speaker and members of the U.P. Legislative Assembly as offending against the privileges of that House. The Speaker, therefore, issued a warrant of arrest against him. The Police authorities of the U.P. State with the assistance of those of the Bombay State arrested Shri Mistry in Bombay, took him to U.P. and kept him in custody for several days. They even neglected to observe the elementary obligation of producing him before a magistrate within 24 hours and allowing his release on bail, or asking for an order of remand into proper custody until the date fixed for his production before the House. As this failure was a sufficient ground for ordering his release, the Supreme Court did not find it necessary to go into further merits of the arrest :

Not as a journalist, but as a simple citizen, I feel that if the law gives to the Speaker or the House of a Legislative Assembly the right to arrest a person not residing within the jurisdiction of its own State for an alleged breach of its privileges, it is a preposterous law. Even if, as is alleged, such right is enjoyed by the British Parliament, it should not be allowed in India. It must be remembered that India is a Union of several autonomous States. If a Press reporter or a visitor is found to have abused his permission to attend the House during its sittings, he may be arrested and dealt with as may be necessary, if still on the premises. If he has left the premises after committing an offence, the Speaker or his accredited agent might lodge a complaint against him before a competent magistrate or a Police officer. He should be dealt with according to law in the same way as if he had committed an offence against some other institution. The House may make the law as severe as it pleases for offences against itself, since it has the authority to do so. But the execution of the law must be left to the ordinary magistracy and Police. The House must not sit as a Criminal Court against any non-member—except when the offender is caught hold of on the premises itself, or when it wants to take proceedings of impeachment against a citizen of its own State for a grave offence. To take such process against a non-resident of the State would be dangerous extension of authority.

With regard to an offence such as has been alleged against the Assistant Editor of *Blitz*, the Speaker can cancel the permission to its Press reporter. If the Press reporter cannot be identified the House, if it feels very acutely, might put a ban against the entry of that paper in its State. If it is thick-skinned and weathered enough, it will not attach much importance to such slander. For, slander thrives on the importance attached to it. By its hasty action the U.P. Assembly has

given to *Blitz* perhaps a reward instead of a frown. *Blitz* might have a high circulation. But the people who did not know what *Blitz* had written against the U.P. Speaker were greater in number than its readers. The U.P. House has obliged it by broadcasting the slander to perhaps a ten times larger audience!

Wardha, 21-3-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

SARVODAYA FLAG!

A Friend writes :

"The followers of Sarvodaya come from different parties; and therefore have no flag of their own. But the need for one is felt in the programmes organized by Sarvodayists. Since they do not belong to a particular party the question arises about the flag which they might hoist. The need is also felt in their tours through villages. The workers hesitate to carry the Congress flag. It is objected to by workers of other political persuasions. We had such an experience in the last Sarvodaya *mela* at Dataun, where several workers objected to the hoisting of the Congress flag. Hence the hoisting of the flag was altogether dropped. If no flag is hoisted we miss something in the programme. Will you please express your views on the subject?"

Sarvodaya aspires to embrace the whole of humanity. It is an ideal which is not confined to a particular religion, sect, nation, race, political, social or other party, or to a community, caste or institution. Therefore, naturally it cannot have a separate flag of its own. Symbols and labels are designed to emphasize distinctiveness. Sarvodaya seeks to bring everyone together and to unite even those who remained separate and aloof. How then can it devise or adopt a separate flag? When the Sarvodaya Samaj adopts a separate flag for itself, it will have become a separate sect or party and will have deviated from its ideals.

I am definitely of opinion that there should be only one flag in a country—the national flag. There will exist separate political parties and religions in every country. But it is wrong to have a separate flag for each of them. It is an evil, and it would not be wrong even if Government banned this practice by law. We have begun a new and inferior kind of idolatry in the form of flag-worship. Even those who do not believe in religion, idols, or God have not escaped from it. Indeed, they could not have escaped. For, the flag owes its origin to war and hatred, and not to the sentiment of unity and brotherhood.

When the people of a whole village or town come out of their homes on an occasion of common festivity, mourning, or catastrophe, no one thinks of unfurling a flag. The flag is unfurled on the happy or sorrowful faces of the people, and in the implements which they carry in their hands to execute the purpose of their gathering together.

Wardha, 5-3-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from Hindi)

SARVA SEVA SANGH

Some Important Instructions

(1) Yarn Offering :

Organizers of Sarvodaya Mela have been already instructed to sell to the branches of A.I.S.A. or the certified Khadi Bhandars the yarn hanks received as offering and remit the sale proceeds to the Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha). But those to whom such facility is not available are advised to send their yarn hanks to their respective District Mela Organizer: Their names and addresses are given below :

(The names given in brackets may be also addressed to.)

Pradesh	Name and Address
1. Assam	Shri Bhuvanchandra Das, Mouman, Harijan Sevashram, P.O. Bako, Dist. Kamrup.
2. Andhra	Shri Kodandramswami, Charkha Sangh Muslipattam (Shri Sitaram Shastri, Vinayashram, Dr. Suryanarayan, Tenali).
3. Uttar Pradesh	Shri Karan Bhat, Sevapuri, Dist. Banaras, (Shri Baba Raghavdas, Vichitra Bhai).
4. Utkal	Shrimati Ramadevi, Utkal Khadi Mandal, Bari—Cuttack.
5. Karnatak	Shri Timmappa Nalk, Gramseva Samiti, Ankola, Dist. Uttara Kanara.
6. Kerala	Shri R. Shrinivasan, Kerala Charkha Sangh, Palghat, (Kerala).
7. Gujarat	Shri Uttamchand Shah, Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli, Dist. Surat.
8. Tamilnad	Shri Vedratnam, Vedaranyam.
9. Delhi	Manager, Gandhi Ashram, Delhi, (Shri Achintranji, Hariramji Chopda).
10. Nagpur	Shri Babaji Moghe, Gopuri, Nalwadi, (Wardha).
11. Panjab, Pepsu, Kashmir	Shri Harijanji Chopda, Panjab Charkha Sangh, Adampur, Dist. Jalandhar (Shri Achintranji).
12. Bihar	Shri Lakshmi Babu, Bihar Khadi Samiti, Muzaffarpur.
13. Bengal	Shri Panchanan Babu, Khadi Board, 7, Council House Street, Calcutta-1.
14. Bombay City	Shri Vitthaladas Jerajani, Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar, 386, Kalbadevi, Bombay-2.
15. Mahakoshal	Shri Ramanandji Dube, Charkha Sangh Chhatigarh Vibhag, Patharra, P.O. Ranka Bemetra, Via Raipur, (Shri Nandkumar Dani).
16. Maharashtra	Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe, Maharashtra Seva Sangh, 45, Budhwar Peth, Poona-2, (Shri Sitaram Birla, Shri Shridharrao Panse).
17. Madhya Bharat	Shri Baijnath Mahodaya, 179, Rambag, Indore.
18. Mysore	Shri S. V. Manujnathan, Chamraj Road, Mysore, (Shri S. V. Rajaram Ayyangar, Shri S. P. Venkatraman Ayyar).
19. Rajasthan	Shri Jawaharlalji, Jain, 'Lokwani', Jaipur (Shri Sidharajji Dhadha).
20. Vidarbha	Dr. Amar Singh More, Yeotmal.
21. Vindhya Pradesh	Chaturbhuj Pathak, Tikamgadh.
22. Saurashtra	Chhaganlal Joshi, Rajkot, (Shri Narayandas Gandhi).

23. Kutch Shri Manilal Sanghvi, Gadhisa, (Kutch), (Shri Valji Pragji Tanna).

24. Himachal Pradesh Dharma Deva Shastri, Ashokashram, Kalsi, Dist. Dehradun.

25. Hyderabad (Dn.) Shri Gyankumari Heda, Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad (Dn.), (Shri Ramkisanji Dhoot, Shri K. Vaidyanathan).

(2) Sevapuri — Sarvodaya Conference :

Invitations and certificates for railway concession have been dispatched to all the workers by 15-3-52. Those who have not received them may kindly write to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Samaj, Sevapuri (Dist. Banaras).

(3) Help to subscribers of *Harijan* and *Harijan Sevak* :

The Sarva Seva Sangh has passed a resolution to grant half the amount of annual subscription to new subscribers of *Harijan* and *Harijan Sevak*. Students of any educational institution and employees and workers of Constructive Institutions will be eligible for this help.

Those desiring the help should send an application stating that he is a student of a particular institution, or an employee or a worker in a Constructive Institution with a money order of Rs 3/- to the Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram.

Sevagram, 16-3-52

VALLABHSWAMI,
Joint Secretary,
Sarva Seva Sangh

(From Hindi)

'CHEMICALS AND FOOD SUPPLIES'

[The following is taken from the summary of a speech made by Lord Douglas of Barloch in the British House of Lords on 4th July 1951 in which he called attention to the dangers to health arising from the increasing use of chemicals in the growing and preparation of foodstuffs and to the need for strict control over all processes which may affect the natural quality of foods. — V. G. D.]

Lord Douglas referred to the work of the Federal Food and Drug Administration in the U. S. A. which has listed no fewer than 842 chemicals used or proposed to be used in food. Some are no longer used because they were definitely found to be poisonous. The majority are still in use, some very extensively, and in many cases it is not clearly established whether they are poisonous or not.

'The absolute determination of the toxicity of a chemical added to food requires long and very complex investigation. The chemical may not be toxic in itself but may combine with substances naturally present in the food to form toxic compounds. It may be very slow-acting but cumulative in its effects. It may be one of those which are stored in the body, and the ill-effects of which become evident only after certain concentration has been passed. It may be a racial poison which interferes with reproduction and injures the next generation.'

After mentioning artificial fertilizers which easily produce a luxurious but unbalanced plant growth and might render the plants themselves more liable to fungus disease and attacks by insects and other pests, Lord Douglas passed on to the most famous of newer insecticides D. D. T. He told how rats fed with only one part of D. D. T. per million perished. Other points he made were: it is fat soluble and consequently may accumulate in the body fats until toxic concentration is reached; there

is no antidote; hence all fruits and vegetables which have been exposed to it are carriers of it to the consumers; animals fed on hay or other food exposed to it are affected; milk is affected by it, merely spraying of cowsheds having been found to affect the milk; butter sold on the New York market has been found with as much as 13 parts per million of this dangerous drug; the danger for infants and young children who drink large quantities of milk; even mothers' milk has been found contaminated with appreciable quantities of D. D. T., and even in cigarettes up to four per million parts have been found, presumably owing to the spraying of the leaf.

Other insecticides now being used—HETP, TEPC and parathion—are extremely toxic, in fact so dangerous that those who use them must be covered from head to foot with protective clothing. Already a number of fatal accidents had occurred to workers spraying with insecticides.... Little is known of their effect on food but there are two cases on record of illness which appeared to be due to flour containing one part per million of parathion.

He pointed out that when fruit trees are sprayed, 95 per cent of the spray falls on the ground and affects crops grown in it.

He mentioned the use of antibiotics and hormones.

'As a result of treating an inflammation of the udder of one cow with penicillin, it was found that the milk was affected to such an extent that it destroyed the organisms essential for cheese-making. The effect was so powerful that it persisted even when the milk was mixed with that of 200 other cows.'

A similar case was reported recently from France.

He referred to the proposal that in order to prevent the spread of swollen shap disease among the cocoa trees of the Gold Coast, the sap of the tree should be induced to imbibe a poison that will kill the mealy bug by which the disease is transmitted from tree to tree. He asked what effect this poison would have on the cocoa bean....

Lord Douglas then turned to the use of chemicals in the processing of foodstuffs. He referred to the bleaching of flour, the 'maturing' of flour in the space of a few hours, the chemicals used to induce flour to rise more.

He reminded them of Sir Edward Mellanby's discovery that agene is toxic for dogs. His results were taken notice of immediately in the U. S. A. who discontinued the use of agene. He doubted whether a preparation that was toxic for dogs and other animals was harmless for human beings....

The toxic factor in agenised food is a compound formed between the agene and the protein of wheat; which showed that if the chemical itself is relatively harmless, it may combine with some of the numerous substances of which food is composed to form a new and extremely toxic product.

A Committee on the Treatment of Flour with Chemical Substances reported in 1927 on the use of chlorine as a bleaching agent. They said no harm was likely as a result of the chlorine itself, but the compounds it formed with various constituents of the flour might 'act injuriously'. They also pointed out that it might 'irremediably impair the nutritive qualities of the flour' by affecting the vitamins which are susceptible to mere traces of chemical reagents.

It is the intention of the flour millers with the assent of the Ministry of Food to substitute other so-called 'improvers' in place of agene.

It would if millers in India are still using agene and if our Government is going to do anything about it.

—V. G. D.]

Then again there is a large class of emulsifiers, softeners and fat-extenders used in baking bread and

'The British Medical Journal reports eight deaths during the past 4 or 5 years among those engaged in spraying D. N. O. C. (dinitro-ortho-cresol) to fruit trees in winter and for the destruction of weeds in cereal crops in spring'—*The Vegetarian Messenger*, Sept. 1951, p. 196. V. G. D.

cakes or in the preparation of patent flours and cake mixtures. He took one example, polyoxyethylene stearates sold as bread softeners on the plea that they produce a larger loaf and displace part of the lard used for shortening. One man in the U. S. A. during about three years sold more than seven million lbs. of these products. But experiments on rats etc. showed that these substances are highly toxic, affecting the kidneys and causing testicular and gastric troubles. Their use had been banned in the mental hospitals of New York State.

He turned then to the sweetening agents used as substitutes for sugar, the flavouring agents and colouring matter or dyes. The sweeteners P. 4000 and dulcin had been found to be definitely toxic.... Also dyes used for colouring matter had been found to be the cause of liver disease in test animals. Butter-yellow was found to be cancer-producing. Mineral oils not only had no nutritive value but because of their capacity for absorbing and immobilizing certain vitamins, they actually deprive the body of essential elements in the diet.

Cola drinks are composed of phosphoric acid, sugar, caffeine, colouring and flavouring matter. Although the amount of phosphoric acid may appear to the uninitiated to be small, this acid is so powerful that it rapidly affects the teeth and dissolves the enamel, as shown by tests at the U. S. Naval Medical Research Institute.

One article of food might at different stages have chemicals injected into it for various purposes. Wheat or flour may be affected by D. D. T. used as an insecticide, treated with agene or other bleaching agents or improvers, have fat extenders, emulsifiers or anti-staling agents added to it, and cake might have in addition flavouring or colouring matter added to it.

Having a relatively much longer life than test animals, man might in the end suffer serious injury by the continued ingestion of relatively small quantities of these alien substances, and such effects would be very difficult to detect.

He pointed out the significance of the increase in recent years of diseases having a neurological component such as duodenal ulcers, schizophrenia, and disseminated sclerosis, and reminded them that agene has a neurological effect on test animals.... Cancer now causes three times as many deaths as it did 50 years ago.

The use of nearly all chemicals in the preparation of food-stuffs should be prohibited. The Committee in 1927 observed:

'Our view is that flour should be the product of milling wheat without the addition of any foreign substances.'

Wise words applicable to all foodstuffs.

It should be made an offence to use any kind of chemical as a substitute for a natural foodstuff and all food should be labelled with a precise and clear statement of what it contains, and stating the quantity or proportion of each constituent.

The matter should be under the supervision of one strong, well-staffed and well-equipped central department, free from association with any trade influence.

No private organization or local health department could keep pace with the ingenuity of the chemist and the food manufacturer. Many associations of food producers have research organizations often assisted by Government grants, constantly engaged upon devising new methods of treating foodstuffs for the purpose of increasing the sales and the profits therefrom.

He suggested that the Government should take energetic and immediate steps to set up such an organization and to pass legislation such as he had outlined at the close of his speech.

SELF-RESTRAINT v. SELF-INDULGENCE

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages viii + 232 Price Rs. 2 Postage etc. As. 10

NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

COLLEGE EDUCATION

(By S. R. Sastri, M.A., B.O.L.)

The local dailies recently reported about a student seeking the interference by the Courts of Law in a dispute regarding promotion to a higher class in his college. Matters relating to admission of students in a college, disciplinary actions taken by a Principal against students, and the like have been of late very often taken to the Courts, and the sacred freedom of educational institutions has been seriously challenged. Even the domain of Alma Mater does not seem to be free from the dominating influence of Law.

The system of education evolved by the University of Madras combines both the Western type of University education and the Gurukula system of our land. Here all students, excepting those who live with their parents, are expected to reside in a hostel where they lead a community life. In many colleges, especially in Missionary colleges, the teachers and the students live together and by the exemplary personal life they lead, the teachers help the students not only in their studies, but also in building up good character. The progress of the students is keenly watched by the teachers, and they are promoted after their performances in the quarterly, half yearly and yearly examinations have been carefully judged. Even to the public examinations, students are sent up only when their day to day progress and the performances in the class examinations are found to be satisfactory. The Principal, with the assistance of the members of his staff, judges the progress of the pupil, and he has unquestionable authority to finally decide the matter regarding promotion. No outside body, including the University, interferes in the decision of the Principal. It is quite probable that all students are not sent up always. If all the students are to be sent up for the examination, irrespective of their attainments in the subjects of study, logic demands that all students appearing for the examinations should also be similarly declared to have passed without any valuation of their answer papers. To question this power of the Principal in a court of Law, or to challenge the validity of such a decision by him, is undoubtedly trying to exercise outside pressure in the affairs of an educational institution where complete freedom is desired.

It is hoped, all educationists and public men, interested in the real progress of students, will uphold the freedom and liberty of the educational institutions in disposing of such an internal affair as promotion of students without the outside pressure of Courts or political platforms. Otherwise, the very system of our education will have to face grave danger.

(Note: While this is good so far as it goes, it is necessary to consider also the causes of this decline in the prestige of educational institutions. Unfortunately a good many of them have become

just a profitable business. Even as bribe is charged in Government departments for doing or expediting work, so too, I am told, it has become not unusual to receive it for promoting a student or giving him a form. No such teacher or institution or examiner can win, or be regarded as worthy of, respect where such methods prevail. Unless an institution maintains the high ideals of a Gurukul it cannot enjoy the respect and privilege due to it. No student would dare challenge the authority and discretion of such institutions. — K. G. M.)

HEALTHY ACTIVITIES IN THE STUDENT WORLD

(By R. R. Keithahn)

[It is a hopeful sign that students all over India have begun to take an active interest in Peace movements and constructive activities involving hard physical labour. Rev. R. R. Keithahn, who sends the following note, is in charge of the student world on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh. — K. G. M.]

Thirty students met recently in a quiet village spot near Mysore city in an Echo Meeting of the 1951 International Peace Seminar, Kodaikanal. This was entirely the work of one member of the Peace Séminar who was able to inspire fellow-students to give such co-operation that the thirty delegates are determined to continue their fellowship monthly. With the co-operation of older friends they plan to build up a library which will be of help to students interested in village work. Plans were also made for a Vacation Work Camp in a Mysore village.

Word has just come of the Anniversary Meeting of the Rural Welfare League of the Madras Christian College. Three years ago they revived the Tambaram village school. They helped to put the old building into shape and when I visited the school last October, I found students and village youths digging a well in the school compound to be used in watering newly-planted trees and a garden. The League is also carrying on a weaving centre within the College premises where village youths may learn how to weave and also make a living.

Various Social Work Associations in the different Madras colleges have very recently completed a Social Training Institute for interested students. There were six weekly meetings and discussions. At the end of this training, which included excursions to noteworthy centres of social activity, faithful student participants received a diploma.

At Madhurai a group of students live in a hostel next to a Labourers' Ashram and have their own daily discipline. Several students carry on adult education regularly and do boys' work. Many colleges can report of similar efforts of bridging the gap between the intellectual and labouring classes. That we may give further guidance to interested students, Vacation Work Camps are being organized in several places in

India. A World Peace Camp will be held in Kodaikanal in April. A training camp for interested student leaders who would like to do a work of this kind in their own colleges during the coming school year will be held at Wardha in June. Any one interested may write to the writer at Gandhi Gram, Ambathurai, S.I.R. or to Shri Ravindra Varma, Bajajwadi, Wardha, M.P.

BOYCOTT OF MILL ARTICLES

(By Dhirendra Mazumdar)

We have received the following from Bihar :

"For the last few months the Bihar Khadi Committee in pursuance of a resolution passed with the consent of its leading members, started a boycott movement against mill-made articles of food and cloth. It is clearly pointed out in the resolution that *khadi* should be used in place of mill cloth, and hand-pounded rice, hand-pounded *dal*, hand-mill flour, village sugar or *gud*, and *ghani* oil or pure *ghee* for milled rice, *dal*, flour, sugar, oil and hydrogenated oil respectively.

"The information about the above boycott movement was sent to all government and semi-government institutions of the country and the people were requested to make the movement a success by taking an active part in this work which is beneficial to the country i.e. to the society in every way.

"That the workers of the Committee and many other persons took a pledge immediately on hearing the news of the boycott movement as also their adherence to it indicate that this movement will be very successful in gaining the support of the people in the country.

"Recently the Bhagalpur District Board, in the course of a letter on this subject has expressed its readiness to give its co-operation to the movement. The letter says that the Board in one of its meetings has passed a resolution asking its members to co-operate in the boycott movement started by the Bihar Khadi Committee and make it a success in the interests of the country.

"It is hoped that other bodies, such as District Boards of the Bihar State, will emulate the example of the Bhagalpur District Board and co-operate in the movement and help to promote the general interest of the country and the society."

It is gratifying to learn that the Bhagalpur District Board desires to make a propaganda of the movement for boycotting the use of mechanized articles and of favouring village or home-made articles. Indeed District Boards are created for the welfare of the village people. It is but proper that District Boards should prepare a dynamic and practical plan for their protection, when the village people are exploited at present by centralized industrialism. So long as the village people do not realize the importance of village industries along with agriculture for their daily requirements, and do not boycott mechanized industries, their exploitation will go on, and they will find themselves in a destitute condition. The example of the Bhagalpur District Board is commendable and worthy to be emulated by District Boards all over the country. I hope they will give serious thought to it.

Sevagram, 17-1-52
(From Hindi)

NATURE OF MODERN WARFARE

[The following is taken from an article by Mr Reginald Thompson, the Korean War correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* published in the *New Statesman and Nation* of February 2, 1952, p. 119.

— V. G. D.]

If the armies [fighting in Korea] have failed to destroy each other, they have not failed to destroy the country over which they have fought. This result has been brought about by the mechanized force [U.N.] and its chosen method of 'total interdiction'. All the major towns of Korea with the exceptions of Taegu and Pusan have suffered the most terrible destruction; the slow and painful efforts at industrialization have disappeared; roads and railways have been gravely damaged; hundreds of villages have been erased from the face of the earth, and countless people, caught in this dreadful exercise, have been reduced to ashes with their homes, or condemned to roam the barren wilderness. Few of them know why.....

I wrote of....[U.N.] troops as the street cleaners of the new war. In this way Seoul, with its suburb of Yongdung-po, the capital city of South Korea; was shockingly destroyed and half of its million inhabitants were killed or rendered homeless.....

Little was achieved beyond the destruction of civilian lives and property.....

The U.S., policy of 'total interdiction' means the blotting out of whole groups of civilians and their means of support.

It [the atom bomb] has moved warfare entirely into the civilian sphere and can achieve the virtual extinction of a country such as Great Britain. War.....has ceased to be effective; two world wars have proved this; Korea has added a postscript and underlined the truth....

THE MEANING OF GANDHI FOR TODAY

(By Martie Radley)

Gandhi set himself standards in all departments of life and maintained them. "Gandhi was basically a very ordinary man who had set himself impossible standards" writes Reginald Reynolds. But "this was his greatness. He made you feel that you were or could be every bit as great". We are called then, to demonstrate that the standards of absolute truth are possible to achieve, even without the stimulus which Gandhi gave to his friends. In speaking of the problems of mountaineering one of the members of the recent expedition to Mount Everest spoke of the greatly increased difficulty of the latter part of the climb. When the altitude is so great, to the natural obstacles of mountain and weather conditions is added the rarefaction of the atmosphere, reducing the physical powers and even affecting the working of the mind. The overcoming of these latter obstacles depended, he said, upon the decision and determination made by the climber before the ascent. He must determine to accept nothing less than the attainment of his

goal. No one could conquer Everest by the decision "I will go as far as I can." Surely one of the secrets of Gandhi's success was that he had none of this "as far as I can" mentality. His goal was nothing less than an absolute loyalty to Truth and the "impossible" standard of perfection. His power over others also lay in these absolute standards and in the very extravagance of his actions. Absolute non-violence—love—honesty, were standards he looked upon not only as right but as attainable.

Could anything be more needed in our modern society whether it be in such situations as building the Republics of India and Pakistan or in the development of the Welfare State in Great Britain?

As there was no principle too high so there was no practical detail too small to claim, in Gandhi's view, the same loyalty to absolute Truth. A leaking tap in the Ashram which was a cause of insanitary conditions was as necessary to deal with as the lack of health in the political state of the country.

Nor would he allow concern for the application of the principles of Truth in one important field to excuse a disregard of it in others. His condemnation of physical violence in political and international struggle was not less fierce than his condemnation of social and economic violence. This led him to self-identification with the average man in his own country. Home-spun clothing and poverty may be the outward sign of a real devotion to the standards of Gandhi himself—it might be the mechanical copying of the visible without the inner standard and at least in the West we have to seek sincerely to see what is the way to remove social and economic violence and how this will show itself in our way of life.

In his way of setting his standards we reach the fundamental secret of Gandhi's life. He was certain that Truth was revealed through the "inner voice" and he depended utterly on such guidance. Daily, and more often in times of stress, he sought inner retirement of spirit. With this continual spiritual refreshment as the centre of his life he seemed certain of the response of man's spirit to the Will of God and therefore trusted his own divinely illuminated intuition in all problems, great or small, which presented themselves to him. Whatever opinion we may have about any of his opinions or acts there is no question that there was a great consistency of purpose and method which could also be ours, were we only able to train ourselves to the same spiritual discipline.

(Extracts from *The Friendly Way*, Feb. '52).

TO THE STUDENTS

By *Mahatma Gandhi*

Pages xix + 324 Price Rs. 3-8-0 Postage etc. As. 13

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

BEFORE AND AFTER PROHIBITION

The story of a mechanic's family of two—husband and wife—which could change over from a life of misery and indebtedness to one of happiness and prosperity within a short space of time, comes from Nippani, in Belgium District. This transformation was evidently due to the enforcement of the policy of Prohibition.

Before Prohibition

Though illiterate, this mechanic is reported to be an expert in fitting and repairing oil engines, water pumps and flour mill machines and has a good demand from all over the countryside places round about Nippani up to Kolhapur. But when there was no Prohibition, he used to spend almost all his daily earnings on drinking. At times, he and his wife had to starve for want of money to purchase food. The poor woman was required to work in fields on daily wages for the maintenance of the household and even then the husband used to deprive her of her earnings for purposes of drinks. He was also ill-treating his wife due to intoxication and financial difficulties. Brass or copper vessels were conspicuous in their house by absence and the couple were wearing dirty and torn clothes.

In Prohibition Days

But today, the scene in the house has undergone a radical change. Due to Prohibition, the husband does not get liquor and his earnings, therefore, go to purchase food and other necessities of life for the now happy couple. The wife is no more required to labour in fields on daily wages and one can notice on her person gold ornaments—a *tikka* weighing about 1½ tolas and 15 *pūṭatis* weighing about three tolas. The mechanic is now possessing a bicycle and has some cash savings.

CONTENTS	PAGE
GANDHIJI EXPLAINS HIS CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME..	Manubehn Gandhi 33
THE PROBLEM OF VIEWS-PAPERS ..	34
THOUGHTS FOR SEVAPURI ..	Shankarrao Deo 35
HIS TECHNIQUE AND ACHIEVEMENT ..	Pvarelal 36
THE PAWAYA CONFERENCE ..	D. M. 38
"PEACE NEWS" ..	K. G. Mashruwala 39
THE PARABLE AND ITS MORAL ..	K. G. Mashruwala 40
MAN vs. MACHINE ..	B. G. Kher 41
"BLITZ" EDITOR'S ARREST ..	K. G. Mashruwala 43
SARVODAYA FLAG! ..	K. G. Mashruwala 43
SARVA SEVA SANGH ..	Vallabhsawami 44
'CHEMICALS & FOOD SUPPLIES' ..	V. G. D. 44
COLLEGE EDUCATION ..	S. R. Sastry 46
HEALTHY ACTIVITIES IN THE STUDENT WORLD ..	R. R. Keithahn 46
BOYCOTT OF MILL ARTICLES..	Dhirendra Majumdar 47
NATURE OF MODERN WARFARE ..	V. G. D. 47
THE MEANING OF GANDHI FOR TODAY ..	Martie Radley 47
BEFORE AND AFTER PROHIBITION ..	48
NOTE:	
HINDI-HINDUSTANI EXAMINATIONS —APRIL, 1952 ..	Giriraj Kishore 39