

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

## PROHIBITION PROGRAMME NOT TO BE ONE OF MERE REPRESSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I venture to submit that prosecutions are the smallest and the destructive part of prohibition. I suggest that there is a larger and constructive side to prohibition. People drink because of the conditions to which they are reduced. It is the factory labourers and others that drink. They are forlorn, uncared for, and they take to drink. They are no more vicious by nature than teetotallers are saints by nature. The majority of people are controlled by their environment. Any Minister who is sincerely anxious to make prohibition a success will have to develop the zeal and qualities of a reformer. He will then require... pickets and men and women who would 'preach about the evils of drink' and do 'other kindred work'. It is just in these very things that he will want an army of volunteers who will be associated with him in reforming the life of the drunkard. He will have to convert every drink shop into a refreshment shop and concert room combined. Poor labourers will want some place where they can congregate and get wholesome, cheap, refreshing, non-intoxicating drinks, and if they can have some good music at the same time, it would prove as a tonic to them and draw them. These can, by judicious management and association of the people, become paying concerns for the State.

*Young India, 8-9-27*

There is no doubt that any State that seriously wants its people to give up the evil habit cannot be satisfied merely with making it legally impossible to indulge in the evil habit, but to find out the cause of the habit and to educate the people to give it up. In the end, no State need suffer by depriving itself of the drink revenue. The inevitable outcome of any policy of prohibition carried out side by side with constructive work of the nature suggested by me must result in an ever increasing prosperity of the people and therefore of the State.

*Young India, 16-6-27*

## DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## NOTES

### Khan Saheb

Khan Saheb's illness continues to cause anxiety. Perhaps many of the readers may not be aware that Khan Wali, one of Khan Saheb's sons is also lodged in another jail, and so far as I know, not brought to attend and give company to his own father. This outdoes even Lord Linlithgow's attitude towards Gandhiji.

Pakistan is anxious to unite all Islamic powers. Can it be done by coercing all her neighbours, — Afghans, Pathans and Kashmiris? Can she expect to attain greatness by neglecting to obtain the blessings of her best man alive?

The persecution of the Khan family no doubt is very painful to us because of our personal relations with them. But the family is too brave to appreciate feelings of pity towards them. They expect our prayers and not pity. The brave ask for and take pity only from God. Moreover, it is not they who are to be pitied, but the Pakistan Government which is going a downward path. We all pray for the health and life of Badshah Khan and his comrades.

Wardha, 30-4-'52

### Land-Gifts to Political Sufferers

Shri C. R. has done well in stopping the land-gifts to the political sufferers. I hope such of the other State Governments also as were guilty of taking similar liberties with public lands to enrich their political comrades will do likewise.

Wardha, 29-4-'52

### The Indian Ceyloneses

In spite of the explanations given by the Ceylon Government, the impression is not removed that the virtual disenfranchisement of a majority of the Indian Sri Lankaitees is a deliberate step. I am glad to learn that the leaders of the aggrieved community have decided to launch a movement against it in strict accordance with the principles of non-violent resistance. The statement issued by the leaders defining their attitude and the scope of the movement is wise and restrained. I hope nothing will tempt the people to transgress this restriction. Neither impatience nor passivity will do.

Wardha, 29-4-'52

### Minorities in Pakistan

I hope the minorities of Pakistan will not feel frustrated or downhearted by the infliction of separate electorates on them against their own wishes. It is a challenge to them to rise up to the occasion. If there is the will for it, the challenge can be taken up and met through a non-violent social constructive movement. There was always the need for it. But the necessary awareness and will to act are not generated until there is a pressing need for it. It has come to them now.

The minorities must realize that the root of this evil lies in our inability to break all social barriers *inter se*. A strong movement for the absolute fusion of all castes and other separatist groups will alone save them. Religion must not stand in the way of social fusion. All Hindus, Christians, Jews, Anglo-Indians and as many Muslims as will join (and there will be many) must become a single social group. They must inter-dine, inter-marry, live as neighbours in the same street or parts of buildings, and create joint community life. There is no need to renounce their particular religions. Religion must not be confused with social usages, howsoever old and sanctioned by sect rules. If the wise and religious-minded people among them will sit together, they would also be able to devise common religious prayers in which all can take part and thus make, the social fusion stronger. The secular-minded leaders can devise steps for the economic and educational uplift of the poor among the minorities, without distinction of caste or creed.

This reform is needed in Indian India also. But, for obvious reasons, it is more difficult to achieve it here in spite of Government support. The population is very large. With minorities reduced to the point of extinction in Pakistan, if this movement is taken up, in right earnest, it might succeed there better, and possibly spread in India also to the advantage of all. Will leaders of Pakistan minorities take up this suggestion?

Wardha, 29-4-52

K. G. M.

### AT THE CROSS ROADS

(By Pyarelal)

#### III — The Slogan of Standard of Living

Here you will ask : What about the standard of living? Will not adoption of Gandhiji's system of economy result in a 'lowering' of the standard of living? Here, let me once more warn you, as I did in the beginning, against being swept off your feet by words and phrases. Everybody today talks about raising the standard of living of the masses. If by this is meant that those who have not enough to eat should have plenty, those who are naked should have clothing, those who live in ill-lighted, ill-ventilated hovels, should have sunny, airy, decent houses to live in, I am wholly for it. Judged by this criterion, I make bold to say that the economic system recommended by

Gandhiji is the most efficient, the most inexpensive and the surest way of insuring a decent standard of living to the people at large in the immediate present. But perhaps this is not what is generally meant, when people talk of raising the 'standard of living'. The false standards of values in which we have been educated make us think that if a man consumes home-grown, garden-fresh vegetables and fruit, it means a lower, primitive standard of living. On the other hand, tinned fruit and vegetables are equated with a high standard of living. If we give our people training in music and they grow up in healthy, natural surroundings, so that they sing out of sheer exuberance and joy of living, it is rural simplicity; but if they glumly sit round the radio and listen to 'canned' music, in the selection of which they have no choice, it is considered the hall-mark of a high standard of living. If the worker or the craftsman can stay and ply his craft in his village home, where he will have fresh air and sunshine, free all the year round, it is rustic style of living. But if he is provided a fortnight's escape from the dull, monotonous and soul-killing toil of the factory, by being allowed a free holiday in the countryside once in an year, it is acclaimed as a realization of the worker's Utopia! I recently read a very enthusiastic, futuristic description of air-conditioning. The ideal envisaged is a densely packed city—densely packed so as to reduce the air-conditioning expense. It is enclosed in a giant steel or glass capsule from which all sunlight and natural air have been excluded. Sunshine is provided by synthesized day-light or piped through solid quartz tubes. Temperature and humidity are controlled by the air-conditioning plant. The air is filtered and purified by chemistry, rain will be provided wherever desired by hydraulic gadgets. There will even be imitation breezes, synthetic warbling of birds and rustling of leaves and even the musk of flowers. Only the musk will be of coal-tar parentage and flowers and leaves a monument to the triumph of the chemistry of plastics and aniline dyes. And mind you, this was not a skit, but a serious contribution in a leading United States magazine.

I do not want you to despise material goods. I do not despise them myself, nor did Gandhiji. Nobody did more than he, in his own way, to provide a little more of the material means of life to the masses. He went even so far as to say that God cannot appear to the starving poor except in the form of bread and clothing. As I have already said, democracy and freedom lose their meaning to people who lack elementary means of subsistence. But beyond a certain limit hankering after more and more material goods becomes a hindrance to freedom. It can only be satisfied at the expense of democracy.

#### Socialization of Industries

It has been suggested that socialization of industry will rid mechanized mass production of most of its capitalistic evils and insure for us the

twin boon of freedom with abundance. The assumption betrays a misapprehension of the basic issue. As a talented young writer, in one of the most brilliant monographs on the subject that I have seen, has pointed out, so long as the common man has no comprehension or control of the factors which affect his life, self-government, in the true sense of the word, will remain at best only an illusion. He will be at the mercy of experts and bureaucratic managers—oligarchies of ambitious individuals and adventurers, who, as the experience of all history shows, once they come to stay remain to rule. Only when the factors which affect the elementary well-being of the common man are compressed within the ken of his mental horizon, will he be able to govern himself and realize true democracy. In the baffling vastness created by the present day method of production, he gets lost. He is surrounded by a world whose working he does not understand, much less control. Far flung markets are created for goods which are produced at one end of the earth to be consumed at the other. Price mechanism becomes mysterious and incomprehensible to any but the specialist. The worker produces only what others have planned. I have slightly compressed and adapted the argument of the writer.

#### Economic Set-up of Gandhiji

In the economic set-up envisaged by Gandhiji, the common man may have a little less of the "gaudy" goods of life but the bounds of his freedom are enlarged. It will be a world which he can understand and therefore control. He will plan as well as produce. Freed from the domination of intellectual aristocracy, he will learn to take his destiny in his own hands.

Would this mean a return to the pre-scientific era or a rejection of our recent gains in technology and science? No, Gandhiji's world too will have its technicians and scientists. But their energies will be harnessed to solve the everyday problems of the common man in the villages. Science and technology will no longer be the monopoly of the privileged few, the big producer or the sophisticated city-dweller as they are largely and primarily today, but belong equally to all. Not only shall we not ban machines which supplement human labour or increase its efficiency. Instead of displacing them, we shall have many more of them besides what we have today. The level of machinery or organization that we may from time to time or ultimately adopt cannot be arbitrarily fixed. It will probably vary from time to time and from place to place, the guiding principle always being that it must be within the mental reach and comprehension of common people and their financial capacity to own them individually or collectively. The same principle must apply to the motive power used.

#### Dispersal vs. Decentralization of Industries

Before I close this topic, I should like to examine one or two current fallacies. Too much reliance seems to be placed on the "inevitable

dispersion" of industry owing to the menace of atomic warfare. This is sometimes confused with decentralization. The threat of atomic warfare might lead to dispersal of industry, not its decentralization. Industry dispersed in this way, will still be centrally controlled and powered. Dispersion of industry under the threat of war and decentralization of industry with a view to putting the destinies of the people in their own hands are two different things. As an economic and social policy decentralization can be effective only on the basis of individual production and individual production is no more mass production on a reduced scale than a wrist-watch is a tower-clock in miniature. The two are built on different principles. Individual handicrafts-production and dispersed mass-production respectively rest on two incompatible, mutually exclusive and rival systems of economics with different norms, *raison d'être* and spheres of utility.

#### A Discussion with Gandhiji

In the early stages of the labours of the Planning Committee, appointed by the Congress, a discussion once took place in Gandhiji's hut between Gandhiji and some of the 'experts' on the Committee on the question of encouraging village industries. Pandit Nehru was present as the Chairman of the Committee. It was suggested that if an excise duty of 2½ per cent or something like that were put on mill cloth and an equivalent subsidy given to *khadi* to begin with, it would equalize the prices of *khadi* and mill cloth. The reply he received was that it would be wrong in principle to prop up "inherently uneconomical industries" and make them compete with machine products to the detriment of the latter as it would curtail the "productive capacity" of the country. Gandhiji answered that it was the factory product that had over long periods been, and was even now being subsidized at the cost of the common man in a number of ways, as for instance, by cheap railway transport, special municipal facilities and agricultural and food policies especially designed to cheapen raw materials and food for the industrial population at the expense of the non-urban and so on and so forth. Now, all this does cost the country something—does it not? But we do not mind it because of the concomitants of city life which result from it i.e. quick travelling, motor cars, radio, cinema, electric light and a thousand and one thrills which Stuart Chase has called the "toys of civilization" and which the city-bred intellectual, who today guides our social destinies, cannot do without. The so-called economical character of factory production is not an 'inherent quality', but only a 'conferred attribute', depending upon the standard of values which we have adopted for ourselves. Gandhiji's plea was turned down and we decided to continue to support the unpatriotic sugar and textile industries to the detriment of their village counterparts with the result that

both our sugar and cloth problems remain unsolved to this day and we have had a crop of scandals in regard to both which should make us prick up our ears. We have today made the pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp called 'national prosperity' our objective, as if 'national prosperity' could exist independently of or at the expense of the immediate basic well-being of large numbers of our people. This deviation from the ideal of 'unto this last', in our national policies, on which Gandhiji laid so much emphasis makes a person like me feel extremely uneasy. It might well prove to be our bane.

(To be continued)

## HARIJAN

May 10

1952

### THE WORKING OF THE SPIRIT IN LAND-GIFT-SACRIFICE \*

(By Vinoba)

*Bhoodan-Yajna* (Land-Gift-Sacrifice) is a work of basic importance. It is true that, as a friend suggests, it has its limits. Even then let me place before you my ideas in the matter. The powers of the indwelling Spirit are immeasurable and unlimited. If I set a limit to them, I must regard myself as incapable of attaining self-realization. We have seen that without the pressure of law people have parted with their lands. When I explain to them that like air, water, light etc., land is also a gift of God and all sons of the soil have equal right over it, they willingly respond to my appeal and donate lands. The people have thus accepted this revolutionary programme and given us a glimpse of the unlimited power hidden in the Spirit.

If we believe that the State has to "wither away" one day, why cannot it happen in 1952? We should have an unflinching faith that others can do what I can. If I approve of this idea, manifest my faith in this method, and first gift away all my lands, why will it not inspire others to do the same? One zamindar donated 500 out of his 1900 acres, saying that they were three brothers, and now I was the fourth. Similarly another accepted me as his third brother and gifted two acres from his six. Hardly any day passes when such incidents do not take place. I ask you that if God inspires me to ask for land and if one man believes that he can do a particular thing, why cannot all people do it? Surely the nature of the Spirit in one is not different from that in another and there is no limit to its powers. Hence, I proceed with my work with the faith that the Spirit is present in all men, and there is no limit to his powers, and what sacrifice one can do, all can do.

\* Being the concluding part of Shri Vinoba's speech on the first day, 13th April, of the Sarvodaya Conference at Sevapuri.

It has been often suggested to me that we should agitate for legislation. My reply to them is: Let it be left to the legislators. We must follow our own method of doing it. Maybe, all land might get distributed among the landless through the Land-Gifts Movement and there might not at all remain any occasion for legislation. But if human will fails to become strong and successful enough to solve the land problem, and it becomes necessary to resort to legislation, our achievements would have paved the way for legislation. That is to say, our achievement will make legislation either unnecessary or create an atmosphere for its easy passage.

Moreover, there is a method — a particular attitude of mind in my asking. I ask with great humility. I do not want to resort to threats and intimidations. If I were to tell them that if they did not part with their lands in *Bhoodan-Yajna*, I would deprive them of their lands in the course of the next three or four years with the aid of law, I do not know the proper way of asking. I must not give up my faith. Faith is like a firm wall. It is not like a curtain suspended with strings. Faith either stands firm or lies flat. It is either complete or not at all. Just as a person is either wholly alive or quite dead, and cannot be 40, 50, or 60 per cent alive, and 60, 50, or 40 per cent dead, so too faith cannot be halfway. No important work is ever accomplished without faith. Act (*kruti*) follows faith (*shraddha*) and conviction (*nishtha*) follows act. Before conviction grows in a man, he works with faith. Conviction is faith affirmed by experience. Faith precedes conviction and has to be there before a man commences any work. Hence I say that since we want to solve this problem by the moral force of man, we should have unflinching faith in our method.

I have been often asked if I expected to solve the entire land problem in this manner. My reply to them is neither Rama nor Krishna could solve all the problems of the world. World problems can be solved by the world alone. I can make no egoistic claim that I can solve anybody's problems. That is why no worries disturb me at night and I go into deep sleep as soon as I lie down on my bed. I do my work throughout the day. Whether a day brings me four thousand, or four hundred, or only four acres I am neither elated nor depressed. I sleep and work as king Janaka, and that is the reason for my being able to work day after day.

Now about Satyagraha: You should know that if I have any reputation in the country, it is only as a Satyagrahi. It means that if I ever find that Satyagraha was imperative, nothing will prevent me to offer it. But Gandhiji gave us a maxim the famous line "One step enough for me". That does not mean that we know nothing about the next step. But as soon as a person gives room in his mind to the next step, he begins to harbour a doubt about the success of the first step. If I have to nurse a sick person, it would

not be right for me to simultaneously plan to arrange for his cremation, in case the patient died. I should serve him with the hope that he will be cured by my treatment and nursing. If, however, he dies in spite of my care, I should take the fact peacefully and proceed to make arrangements of his funeral as the next step. Does not our contemplation of the next step indicate a fear that people might not in response to our appeal donate lands? This way of thinking betrays our lack of faith in the donors. This is not the way of a man of faith, but of the politician. If there were some alternative ready-made method, it might also perhaps fetch land. But it would not have been the right way of accomplishing the task. It would have spoiled the work and weakened our will. And weakened will cannot bear fruit. Let me assert as a truth of personal experience that whatever *sankalpas* (wills) that have arisen in my mind have been invariably fulfilled. I therefore approach the people for land-gifts with the faith that the Lord who dwells in me, dwells equally in the hearts of others. So I must reason with them to make them understand my mission. I must do so not once, twice, but again and again. Even Shankaracharya had no other weapon except that of reason. Ultimately we must rely only on our power of persuasion. The Lord says that we should forgive offenders and there is no limit to forgiveness.

Hence, what you call 'Satyagraha' will remain a real Satyagraha only to the extent it retains its persuasive character. As soon as it takes the form of coercion, it ceases to be a Satyagraha. As the mother always hopes that her wayward child will improve some day so also a Satyagrahi must have an unshakable faith in the people's capacity to heed to reason and call to duty. There is, of course, a place for Satyagraha in this. But if we have not properly grasped the spirit of Satyagraha, it will not remain a Satyagraha but become violence.

A question was put to me today: "Should a donation of a few acres by a landlord owning a thousand to ten thousand acres of land be accepted? How can such giving of alms be good?" As a matter of fact this question comes before me almost every day, and I refer to it in my speeches and put my answer into operation also. I explain to the people that I desire to humiliate neither the poor nor the rich. So if a great landlord donates a few acres, I decline to accept his gift. But my experience has been that if people are properly persuaded, they give a sufficient donation. To cite an incident: A landlord owning 300 acres came and offered me one acre. I declined to accept his gift. On my explaining to him my point of view, he unreservedly raised his donation to 30 acres. It took hardly two minutes to persuade him. Man likes to please the Lord with a small sacrifice if it is possible. If the Lord would be pleased by the offering of a flower, he would not offer Him a fruit. He wishes both to

worship the Lord and save his money. If I had been asking for donations for the erection of a temple or a *math* I would have been satisfied with an acre. But I ask for land as a right of the poor. About ten thousand people have so far donated lands in this way. Some of these donations are indeed examples of such nobleness of mind, that I shall carry their sacred memory throughout my life.

Another question put to me is "If a landlord gives donations it might add to his name, but is it not a humiliation, for the donee who has to accept it as a favour?" My reply, is, 'No.' Because I do not beg alms. I ask for the land as a right of the poor. If I gave him cooked food instead of land it would certainly be his humiliation. As a thirsty man is not humiliated if he asks for and accepts water, so is the landless not humiliated by accepting land. Rather, he must be thanked for accepting the donation. For a mere acceptance of land will not give him crops. It is only when he puts in hard labour that he will reap the harvest. So the donee has no reason to harbour any inferiority complex.

There are two more charges made against me. First, that I give a fresh lease of life to the landlords. I accept this charge. I certainly desire to give a fresh lease of life to the landlords; but remember that I do not give a new life to zamindari. It is a disease of which I want to cure the landlord and give a new life to him. My remedy partakes of a special feature by which the poor do not remain poor and the rich do not continue to be rich.

The second charge against me is that I am generating a spirit of revolt in the people by making them land-hungry. I accept this charge also. For I desire to stave off a violent revolution and bring about a non-violent one.

Let me say a few words about the question of the legal hurdles which we may have to face in effecting the transfer of the gifted lands. A friend asks what would our position be if the Government does not offer the necessary legal facilities? I must say that I do not share his doubt. The Government will certainly come to our help and provide all facilities. It is in its own interests, apart from the fact that it is its duty. However, supposing it does not, we have hardly any cause for fear or worry. I shall thank the donors and go forward on my way. A *falcir* has nothing to lose. It is for the Government to think, and weigh up the problem and arrive at the right decision.

Finally, a word about the goal we aim at and the work for which indeed we have gathered here. It is obvious that we aim at creating an ideal social order. The purification of the mind for our individual salvation cannot be the sole concern and purpose of our convening such a large gathering. Kripalaniji has explained it quite lucidly. He gave us a masterly analysis of the problem. Analysis is useful in elucidating

the varying importance which is to be accorded to the various elements composing a thing. But analysis has its limitations. Ultimately it is in the synthetic product that we find the real satisfaction of a thing! Mere analysis might even rob the thing of its life. As normal human beings, we like *modak* (sweet-balls). Analytically it is just flour, *ghee*, and sugar. But none would care to eat them separately or even as a simple mixture. We relish them in their peculiar preparation. In the same way we say that we have accepted this work because we want to change and revolutionize the society; and also because it will alleviate the miseries of the poor; and further again because we want to cleanse and purify our minds and hearts. Really it is like a piece of confectionery which we have prepared of all these purposes and accepted it in the hope that it will give us all that it may have to give.

I hope that the followers of Sarvodaya who have gathered here will realize that *bhoo*dan comprehends all that they want to do, and success in this work will make for success in every other field of constructive effort.

(Translated from Hindi)

### BEAUTY CONTEST

The public must have known about the All-India Beauty Contest held in Bombay on 3rd April, 1952. One need not speculate about the various motives of all those who organized or lent their support to this exhibition. It will however be admitted by all thoughtful people that the competition can do no good to women. It may be conceded that such competitions are not approved of by the women of India in general; but the mere fact that even a few women did participate and lent their support to this function is sufficient to bring dishonour on women in general. A timely note of warning must be sounded on activities of this nature as otherwise this idea will take root in the youth of the country with disastrous effects on the present and future generations of the nation.

India is passing through hard and difficult times. A large section of our people has not enough to eat or sufficient to wear. Millions are homeless. It is a matter of misfortune that even under such a plight of the country a few men and women could conceive of an idea of organizing a function of this nature and feel gratified at its successful (?) termination.

Have those women who either participated or lent their support to this exhibition ever pondered seriously on the meaning of human existence and the relative duty of the individual therein? Have they made any attempt to find the causes of the present plight of the country or played their part in improving it? No country can ever prosper without the willing sacrifice of its people.

A correct concept of Art and Culture is indispensable for the evolution and perfection of human existence. This can only be realized by a sympathetic understanding of human miseries and one's humble attempt in removing them. Those who have not gone through this purifying process are liable to have an erroneous or distorted idea of Art and Culture. It is regretted that some women should engage themselves in such activities in the name of Art and Culture—activities which are a mockery of and revolt against our traditional concept of womanhood.

It is difficult to imagine how women in general are benefited by such activities. The chance of getting a little publicity has attracted a few women to these contests: They have almost been tempted into it. Their capacity to

judge rightly will depend upon the ability to resist this temptation. Otherwise they will not be in a frame of mind to discriminate between notoriety and fame. There may, however, come some time when they will regain their balance and realize the distinction between moral strength and weakness, fame and notoriety, evolution and degradation. But, may be, they will not then have the necessary strength to shake off their weakness.

Man at one stage exploited woman by pandering to her vain fancies with rich garments and jewellery. This technique now seems to be outdated and man is at his old game again by offering her new allurements such as quick riches, publicity and doubtful fame. Alas, that women fall willing preys into his snares!

A word to menfolk may not be out of place here. To what purpose do you encourage and pander to the weakness of women? Have you seriously considered the consequences of such activities not only on the present but also on the future generations? May I request you to examine your decisions in the light of human good? I am sure you will not be swayed by false notions of your previous pronouncements or prestige in the reconsideration of an issue of such immense magnitude.

It has become the fashion these days for our public workers to reiterate their faith in the Father of the Nation and claim support to their activities in his name. Let us consider. Would he ever have supported this type of activity?

No religion would give its approval to such contests. None who has the welfare of humanity at heart will lend his or her support to it. Not one of our modern leaders—Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade, Badruddin Tyabji, Surendranath Banerji, Agarkar, Lokmanya Tilak, Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta, Barrister Baptista and last but not the least, Mahatma Gandhi would have ever approved of this show.

Women of India, whatever your Faith it is your foremost duty to raise your voice of protest against this dangerous activity. Your culture and progress will depend upon the intensity with which this protest is voiced. The well-being of the present and the future generations is at stake. You can make or mar the future. The issues involved are too large and serious for an attitude of complacency or indifference. You must act and act in time. You must not tolerate this outrage on womanhood. In this, you can count upon the support of all right thinking men.

I appeal to every citizen to express his disapproval of the Beauty Contest recently held in Bombay. This must necessarily be done in a dignified manner—without imputing any motives to anybody. Protest meetings should be organized in every place. Those taking interest in this matter will please correspond with the undersigned.

On behalf of the Vyavahar Shuddhi Mandal, I appeal to every organization—of men and women—working for social, religious or national cause to take an active part in this work.

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## ANGELS WEEP

(By V. G. D.)

In August 1921 a meeting was held at Gauhati in Assam (Krishnadas: *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*, — I, Ganesan, first edition, p. 64-6). Gandhiji addressed the meeting and towards the end of his speech said, 'If you longed for Swaraj,....surrender the foreign clothes you have on and cast them into the fire I will be presently lighting.' So saying he set fire to the huge collection of foreign clothes lying in front of the platform. All at once a sort of frenzy seized the whole assembly and from all sides foreign clothes rained in heaps upon the burning pile. There were some in the crowd who were seen to cover their nakedness with their towels or *chudders*, consigning their *dhotis* to the flames. In such large quantities were clothes offered to the sacrificial fire that it kept on burning till the next morning.

A similar meeting was held at Allahabad on August 10, when also Gandhiji set fire to a heap of foreign textiles. Pandit Motilal Nehru's 'contribution to that pile deserved special mention,' writes Shri Krishnadas (*Ibid*, p. 26). His foreign neckties hanging on a rope in his own house had already attracted the author's attention. In addition Nehru senior had sent for the bonfire other foreign clothes including fine garments of foreign make.

On October 19 the same year a meeting was held in Bombay near the Elphinstone mills. Gandhiji addressed the meeting, and while he was saying that the people were not as keen on *khadi* as he would wish and they had not succeeded in putting a stop to the imports of foreign cloth, his eyes filled with tears (*Ibid*, p. 315), and with moist eyes he continued, 'I have just returned from a visit to districts in Andhra where a famine is raging. Some of their women, it has been reported to me, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, have ended their lives and the lives of their children by drowning. Such is the heart-rending condition of our people....I am about to set fire to the yonder pile of foreign cloth; but there is also a fire raging within my breast, and the fire I am lighting is but an outer expression of the fire that is consuming me within.' (*Ibid*, p. 317). At the end of the speech Gandhiji said, 'Swaraj is attainable only through the spinning-wheel.'

We have now attained Swaraj. And what has this National Government done? And what do the people do? Instead of organizing rural production, it has flooded the nations' markets in a facile but suicidal attempt to combat infla-

\* At Barisal Gandhiji said, 'To import foreign cloth is as absurd as to import from abroad oxygen for our body.' (*Ibid*, p. 135). Calcutta traders argued that foreign cloth was no poison that it should not be supplied to a customer. To this Gandhiji replied (*Ibid*, p. 146), 'ordinary poisons acted only on the body and at the worst would kill it, a contingency which could be contemplated with equanimity. But the degradation of the soul of a whole people, which the use of foreign cloth by Indians involved, was too horrible to contemplate.'

tion, with foreign cloth of all kinds and unwholesome taste. It is a painful sight enough to make angels weep tears of blood.

## AGREEMENT OR SLAVERY BOND?

## II

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

As promised let us now examine the economic and political implications of the Pact.

## Economic Implications

1. Such a vast network of American experts and knowhow's is going to be established in India as has never been known in her long and chequered history.

2. No official or non-official body or authority in India can interfere with the activities and the programmes the Americans choose to enact.

3. Not a cent out of the American 50 million dollar fund can be spent against the wishes and tastes of the U. S. Government. It is a strange kind of generosity or *dan* in which the *dan* (donor) exercises such control over the use of his *dan* (gift) as a mortgagee in possession of a shop or factory might exercise over the mortgagor—debtor's business.

4. For the duration of the Agreement, India shall have no independent control over her own Fund B.

5. The U.S. Government is free to impose any condition or conditions it may like in connection with the repayment of the loan portion of the Fund. What repercussions they may have one cannot say.

6. The U.S. Government hereafter acquires the undisputed right to start and develop such enterprise or concerns in India as may help it to secure for itself a permanent market for its finished goods or build up a *pucca bandobast* (a solid base) to obtain the requisite raw materials for home consumption. It thus obtains a free hand to build the American economy on firm foundations and for all time. In other words, under the Agreement the agriculture of India, our handicrafts and industries, our trade and commerce, our markets and homes may be recklessly thrown at the mercy of the U.S. Government and capitalism.

7. No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny. Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director or his company. They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8. The American aid is in the nature of an investment on behalf of the U.S. Government to secure a firm foothold in the Indian sub-continent. It is an initial investment by which U.S.A. can make India bleed white for the American's pleasure and his way of life. It is in fact an essential advertisement in order to earn multifold profits in the not very distant future when American goods will stalk the country.

History affords several instances of investments of this type. A conspicuous one is that of free distribution of opium by the British in China. It is virtually a common practice of every intelligent businessman.

## Political Implications

Next we turn to the political implications of the Pact.

1. The second objective given above makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government of India has agreed and begun to view the world political scene through the U.S. glasses. What is peace to America is peace to India and so also tension. Ostensibly neither America nor India may adopt a line of action which the other does not approve. But since India will have been placed under an obligation which may not be lightly disowned or discontinued after operations have advanced to a certain extent, it is obvious that in an extreme situation, India will have to approve what America directs her to approve.

2. The U.S. Government hopes to kill two birds with a single stone. Who does not know that on account

of the continued researches in science, new models of machinery are springing up day after day rendering the old models useless and cumbersome? But, where should the hoary stock of old models go to? Machine is like that monster which demands incessant work otherwise it would eat up the very master. America has developed the art of solving this riddle by doling out aids or loans (as Marshal Aid, Point-Four Aid etc.) to one country after another. She is, therefore, able to dispose of her unusable stuff with a clean conscience and put the aided country in eternal obligation! Besides it gives her a unique opportunity to seize the same by the neck.

### Agreement or Slavery Bond?

Hardly anybody is unaware of America's intentions in Asia or Europe. That she has a passion for meeting the so-called 'menace' of communism is common knowledge. It is why she is doing her best to help General Franco in Spain, the British in the Middle East, Emperor Bao-Dal and the French in Indo-China, and General Chiang Kai-Shek in the Far East. There is no reason why she should not contribute her mite for the same in India.

In the light of the above conclusions one cannot but feel suspicious about the motives of the U.S. Government in offering this Aid. May not the so-called 'Agreement' become a slavery bond to India? Will it not enable America to overwhelm India completely?

These misgivings are confirmed on going through the reports of the speeches delivered to the American Congress at Washington on March 13 last by some of the leading officials of the U.S.A. The Secretary of State for America, Mr Acheson is reported to have said that the '1953 Mutual Security Programme' called for the expenditure of \$227,000,000 in technical assistance to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the figure for India being not yet made public. He stressed the need for Aid to India in very strong terms. But why? To quote his own words:

"The advice of all our observers on the ground is that unless the newly independent Government under Prime Minister Nehru can show substantial progress in economic development over the next five years there is the likelihood that in the next elections democratic forces will be endangered either by extremists or by communists."

Further Mr Acheson went on to compliment us on the "tremendous effort" India was putting up in "its fight against communism". Really, are we putting up this fight?

Again, Mr W. Averell Harriman, supporting the Mutual Security Programme, warned the American Congress that any resolve to cut this programme would mean a reduction in the 'strength being built in the free world for our common defence against the threat of the Kremlin.' By this programme Mr Harriman wants to secure 'well-equipped allies' in India and elsewhere for the youngmen of United States 'fighting for freedom'.

Any doubts in this regard are thoroughly cleared by the speech of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr Robert Lovett. Without mincing words he is reported to have said that the 'first criterion' in granting United States military assistance will be 'performance of the nations in raising effective forces'. He assured the American Congress that 'performance would be the test'.

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the American Aid (and the Aids to follow) is but a means to achieve the end of drawing India into the 'cold war', a war that has already enveloped Europe and America in its painful grip. How far will our Government succeed in its remaining 'neutral' despite the Aid-only the future can say. But it is high time that the authorities in New Delhi and the Parliament ponder over where they are leading the country to.

(Concluded)

### "HARIJAN" CIRCULATION

The following is the latest position of *Harijan* circulation:

	<i>Harijan</i>	<i>Harijan Bandhu</i>	<i>Harijan Sevak</i>	Total
5-5-'52	4,114	6,799	5,291	16,204
15-4-'52	3,878	6,370	3,239	13,487
Net Increase	236	429	2,052	2,717

It will be observed that the *Harijan Sevak* has made a steep increase during the last twenty days under report, and has kept *Harijan* behind. The main credit for this goes to the Bihar Government and the Muzaffarnagar District Branch of Panchayat Raj Vibhag, U.P. who have placed orders of 1,000 and 515 copies respectively. Among those who have made great efforts to enrol private subscribers for *Harijan Sevak*, Shri Ramakrishna Jaju of Sholapur may be particularly mentioned. He has sent a list of some 200 subscribers along with their subscriptions. We are thankful to all of them.

Shri Ramakrishna Jaju says that he heard complaints to the effect that we are not very anxious to see *Harijan Sevak* prosper. This opinion is surprisingly erroneous. *Harijan Sevak* is an all-India publication, and we expect to see the day when its circulation will be greater than all the Indian language editions put together. It is no pleasure to us that the English language still predominates Hindi in our country.

5-5-'52

JIVANJI D. DESAI

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CONTENTS	PAGE
PROHIBITION PROGRAMME NOT	
TO BE ONE OF MERE REPRESSION .. Gandhiji	89
AT THE CROSS ROADS .. Pyarelal	90
THE WORKING OF THE SPIRIT	
IN THE LAND-GIFT-SACRIFICE .. Vinoba	92
BEAUTY CONTEST .. Kedarnath	94
ANGELS WEEP .. V. G. D.	95
AGREEMENT OR SLAVERY	
BOND ? - II .. Suresh Ramabhai	95
"HARIJAN" CIRCULATION .. Jivanji D. Desai	96
NOTES:	
KHAN SAHEB .. K. G. M.	89
LAND-GIFTS TO POLITICAL	
SUFFERERS .. K. G. M.	89
THE INDIAN CEYLONESE .. K. G. M.	89
MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN .. K. G. M.	90

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