

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

ENDING ENMITY

[First part of Shri Vinoba's speech at Lucknow on 9.5.52, on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti.]

Milk is tested by the amount of fat present in it, and the vitality of a society is measured by the number of great men successively produced by it. The continuous appearance of men of the highest merit has never ceased in India from the most ancient times till today. They have appeared during her most prosperous periods as also during the periods of her degeneration. Even during the last 150 years of foreign domination, we have had among us men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayanand, Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Lokamanya Tilak, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and scores of others, who could rank with the best men of any country in the world. This shows that Indian society has not lost its vitality, and that from time immemorial there has been in evidence in India a strong Inner Force that has maintained an unbroken line of men of genius.

The life and teachings of Buddha have begun to attract the attention of the world afresh in our days. The lesson which he taught was ignored in his own age and even till our own days. But the teaching had not died. It had lain like a seed covered by earth and awaiting the season for germination. After 2500 years, we see it sprout today.

Buddha said in clear terms: "Never does enmity end by enmity; it can end by non-enmity alone." This is as true as the saying that fire cannot be put out with *ghee*, it can be put out only with water. The world has now come to realize the truth of this teaching, and it is now freely admitted that war does not solve any problem; it only creates more problems; and mighty weapons like the Atom and Hydrogen bombs only augur the destruction of the world.

Gandhiji demonstrated the truth of Buddha's teaching during his lifetime. And now that Dr. Ambedkar and confirmed atheists too have accepted his teachings, what more do we need to show their supreme importance to humanity?

Even Buddha was not the first to impart this lesson. Scores of saints, seers and philo-

sophers had declared before him that enmity is not ended by enmity. The Rishis had prayed long before him:

मित्रस्य मा चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षन्ताम् ।
मित्रस्य अहं चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे ॥

(May all beings look upon me with a friendly eye; may I look upon all beings with a friendly eye). The first is possible only if the second is practised. It is in my hands to make the world my friend or my enemy. It is for me to take the initiative. The world is a mirror in which I see my own reflection. If there is friendliness in my eyes, the reflection cannot be different. The universe is wide and endless in every direction, and yet I am greater than the universe. I can bend it to my will and give it any shape I like; it cannot bend me: For I am Life, the Spirit; it is Matter. I remarked yesterday that I can throw the Himalayas, which is to my north, to my south; great and mighty as it is, it cannot put me to its north. A boy asked me how it could be done. I told him that if I proceed to the countries north of the Himalayas, it will lie to my south. I can go to the north of the Himalayas, because I am Life; it cannot do so, because it is Matter, however huge. So I can make the world friendly or inimical as I will. The Vedas taught this truth ages ago. For thousands of years, the truth was not tested. Buddha reiterated this truth from his own experience. He did not say anything new thereby, but perhaps put it more clearly than before. Hence the idea that enmity cannot be ended by enmity, it can end by non-enmity alone has spread during the age of Buddha.

From the time of Buddha up to the appearance of Gandhi, hundreds of saints have borne personal witness and demonstrated the truth of the teaching that anger is conquered by calmness, fear by fearlessness, and enmity by love. But they had remained till now as examples confined to individuals. They were like laboratory experiments. The wider application of these principles to society and its problems had not taken place.

In the meantime physical science developed by leaps and bounds. It enabled its votaries to overrun various countries of the world. The

British conquered India, and performed the unprecedented feat of disarming the entire nation. If arms alone could help a people to bring about its liberation, the slavery of India for all time was inevitable. Thus it became imperative to forge a weapon which could break the bonds of slavery in spite of the lack of arms. India then applied on the social scale the individual experience of saints, and brought about her liberation. It is the first grand miracle of non-violence.

I do not claim that India became independent simply by her non-violence. As is said in the *Gita*, five factors are needed for bringing about any result. All that I claim is that India's non-violent movement was a major factor in bringing about her independence. This is proved by the events that have followed Independence, events which are all attributable to non-violence and which can all be claimed as further examples of its miraculous consequences.

Thus, the second miracle of non-violence was the complete and peaceful withdrawal of British Forces from India, by a date fixed and announced earlier. This (would have been impossible but for India's non-violence.

The third great miracle was that we offered the first Governor-Generalship of Independent India to Lord Mountbatten himself. This too would have been impossible if India had acquired her independence by defeating Great Britain in a violent war. In a non-violent war, the victory of the one does not mean the humiliation of the other. The victory is moral and puts an end to hostile feelings on both the sides. Never have such friendly relations been established between two countries which went to war as exist today between Great Britain and India.

(From Hindi)

(To be continued)

D. M.

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NOTES

Adivasis of Thana District

Shri Vasantrao Nargolkar, a worker among the Adivasis of Thana addressed an appeal to the landowners some months ago to voluntarily forgo their rents this year from their tenants. Some of the landlords acceded to his request. But a great many have not, and several applications for evictions are filed in the Mamlatdar's Court.

This is heart-rending. Shri Nargolkar is unable to live among them and serve them and be a mute witness to this wretchedness. He has renewed his appeal to the owners of land not to press their claims for rent, but to remit them unconditionally, since it is obvious that it is impossible for the tenants to pay them. He has decided to reinforce his appeal with a fifteen day fast from 27th June 1952 as a token of his earnestness.

I earnestly hope that his appeal will touch the hearts of the landlords, and awaken them to their sense of duty towards their tenants.

Wardha, 25-6-'52

It Is So

In my article "Praise of China and Russia" (June 14, '52) I expressed the doubt that the present Chinese policy may be just a temporary and transitional stage in the final plan, which will be the same as in Russia. In order to show that it is so, Prof. Pushkar Chandravakar of Ahmedabad obliged me by calling my attention to an article by Mr Wu Cheuh-nung, Vice-Minister of Agriculture of China in *People's China* (Nov. 1, '51). This is how he enunciates the agrarian policy of China:

"The new development of Chinese agriculture may be divided into three stages.

"The first, now largely completed, is the land reform which has already freed 310 millions of peasants from feudal bondage and removed the fetters that held back the development of rural production for thousands of years.

"The second, the present stage, is the organization of agricultural production through co-operation and mutual help—through mutual aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives.

"This is a stepping-stone to the third stage, which still lies in the future: collectivization of agriculture on a nation-wide scale on the pattern of collective farming in the Soviet Union. (Italics ours) .

"The increasing numerous mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives in China, which are still based on private property but organize the peasants for labour in common, thus represent a development of the profoundest historic importance. They are helping to lay the groundwork for the gradual transformation of the individual economy of millions of small cultivators into the large-scale collective production of mechanized agriculture."

Wardha, 25-6-'52

Taloda Civil Court

Shri B. R. Ransing, B.A., LL.B., Dhulia, informs me that in my article "Regrettable Negligence", I was unfair in blaming outright the local Congress Committees, Bar Council and members of the Legislative Council and others for not agitating about the non-appointment of the Civil Judge for Taloda. He says that he had himself brought the fact to the notice of the authorities in a local Press Conference, and it was given out that the matter was under consideration. His complaint had been published in the local newspaper *Yugsandesh*. Shri B. H. Kazi, M.L.A., also twice raised this matter by asking questions in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, but evasive replies were given. He is glad, however, that at last this grievance has been redressed. "It is my common experience of public life", Shri Ransing proceeds to say, "that during the British rule and also during the present rule, our district has been always neglected. Ours is a backward district, a large area of which is a jungle and Bhil area. I request *Harijan* to take interest in our problems, especially Bhil problems."

I am glad to be corrected.

Wardha, 23-6-'52

Napalm on Viet Nam

A PTI — Reuter message says :

Saigon, June 22: French Air Force Pilots yesterday dropped explosive and napalm fire bombs on important Viet Minh troop concentrations in the Dong Hoi area, north-east of Hue, and on another target in Central Viet Nam, a French Army communique said today.

Of what worth is that civilization and progress in science, if it degrades man to a level lower than that of the most ferocious animal?

Wardha, 26-6-'52

K. G. M.

Vinoba's Progress

Vinoba's soul is getting larger and larger every day. One can visibly see how he feels one with all life. Land-gifts also have been coming in larger quantities. Vinoba used to ask in terms of the hundred before, then he began to speak in terms of the thousand. Now he speaks in terms of the lakh. It is not to be wondered at that he asked the Banda District to donate a lakh acres. The wonder is that the figure was accepted by the workers. At a time when even a whole province—and there are several such provinces—hesitates to accept the target of 50,000 acres, if a single district donates a lakh acres, it is an example for the whole country. From Banda, we went to Fatehpur and thence to Raibareilly. At Raibareilly also Vinoba suggested a lakh acres, and you will be surprised to learn that the target was accepted. Perhaps, it might take a little longer to reach the figure in this district than in Banda. Yesterday (14th June '52), we got 8000 acres with the co-operation of every political party; the R. S. S. also gave 2000 acres. We were pleased to find that the relations between the different parties here are not quite bitter against one another, and they seem to co-operate in many activities. The

day before yesterday, our reception had been arranged by a young man of the Jan Sangh.

Raibareilly, 15-6-'52

D. M.

(From a personal letter in Hindi)

Indian Railways as Seen by an English M.P.

[The following paragraphs are taken from Mr. Woodrow Wyatt's *Southwards from China* (Hodder and Stoughton), pp. 22-23. — V. G. D.]

"The first class carriages are comfortably arranged rooms, often air conditioned.... The second class carriages are also rooms with perhaps 4 bunks in them, although the standard of comfort is not so great as that for the first class passage.... The conditions (here) are much more tolerable than those for first class passengers in England, and if there is no air conditioning, at least there are fans...."

"The gap between the second and third class is startling. The third class compartments have wooden seats with wooden backs. There are no fans, and each compartment becomes a furnace as the train runs through barren plains burned by the sun which sends the temperature up to 115 in the shade. There are never enough third class compartments on the train to meet the demand. In a compartment which in England would hold, say 10, there may be 25 to 30 people. Some will cling to the handles outside the carriage on the broad steps beneath the doors. Some sit with their backs half out of the window. All are in misery...."

"The symbolism of the train was well understood by Gandhi. He knew that it portrayed the great and evil contrast in India's society. That was why he always insisted on travelling third class himself.... All India knew why he travelled third class and responded to the gesture. Vast crowds would wait at each station along the line to catch a glimpse of the man who tried to identify with the masses as he passed by their way."

[While on the subject of our railways, will some one tell me why the Railway authorities have purchased all-steel carriages ready-made from England for the local trains in Bombay instead of old-fashioned wooden carriages which I presume were built up in India? — V. G. D.]

Equality of Religions

[The following extracts are taken from a broadcast talk given by Mr Clifford Dymond in the B. B. C. series *Man without God* (Vox Mundi) pp. 10-11. — V. G. D.]

.... God is absolute, but He is experienced differently by each person according to his needs and capacities. In this therefore God is personal, and there are as many personal Gods as there are personalities. They are all aspects of God who has multitudinous aspects, and they are all true if they are a true experience of God. Men have described God as transcendent and immanent, as impersonal and loving; as immutable and subject to change; he has been thought of as a first cause, as pantheistic, dualistic, monistic. I think all these things are true; God is all these things and many more. Long ago a man trying to describe God said, 'God is not that,' meaning that God cannot be explained in terms of anything known to man.

The "dazzling darkness" of God shines on all the ways by which men approach God; it shines in all directions. One we call Judaism and another Christianity; one Buddhism and another Love and another perhaps Art. No man has the right to call his light the only light. He has done so in the past and still does so, persecuting and killing and hating, and reviling in the name of truth all manifestations of man's arrogance. Arrogance which theologians call the sin of pride keeps man away from the life in God. Knowledge, Knowledge of the human condition is according to the Buddhists the first step towards salvation.

HARIJAN

July 5

1952

THE DELHI PEACE PLEDGE OF 1948

Gandhi's dictum "violence is better than cowardice," seems to have become an authority with some for justifying violence. In fact the violence contemplated here has reference to an open fight. One of the essential characteristics of a warrior (*kshatriya*) is 'not to flee from battle'. It signifies bravery, fleeing would be cowardice. Albeit, a person who takes recourse to flight in order to save his life, is only a coward, he cannot be charged with wickedness. Wickedness is worse than cowardice. When wickedness seizes a person, he perpetrates violence of a far more heinous type than that inflicted by a soldier in an open battle. He does not stop to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. Blind with fury, he lets his murderous hands strike even the old and the invalid, children and women. He is after everyone whom he regards as belonging in any way to his enemies. And quite frequently he takes a sadistic delight in torturing his victim. This kind of violence cannot be better than cowardice. It is worse than cowardice, it is diabolic depravity.

A few instances of such wickedness occurred during the riot which broke out in Delhi a few days ago following an agitation which was started by a section of the people for preventing the marriage of a Hindu girl with a Muslim youth. It was an inter-communal marriage. Beyond the fact that the father of the girl did not approve of it, and that he successfully invoked the help of law for preventing it, I do not know all the facts of this particular case, and I shall not express my opinion thereon on its merits.

However, inter-communal marriages between a Hindu on the one hand, and a Muslim, Parsi or Christian on the other are not now quite a novelty in our country. The number may not be large, but a few marriages of this type do occur every year. There may be a difference of opinion among people about the desirability or otherwise of these marriages. But it is sheer wickedness for the disapprovers to excite the people to become riotous and furious, with the result that innocent people who had absolutely nothing to do with the affair, should be killed or wounded, or their property looted or burnt. It is a form of violence more condemnable than cowardice.

Referring to the incident, a friend from Delhi writes :

"On May 26, angry crowds of Hindu refugees went about the town assaulting the Muslims, and all those they found clad in Khadi, or wearing Gandhi caps. They made a bonfire of Gandhi caps, tore off

Khadi clothes, beat Congressmen and Muslims, some of whom were also wounded. Two Muslims were seriously hurt, and of them one died in the hospital."

I gather that the man who died in the hospital was a shop-keeper in the area which was the scene of the riots. He was not connected with the marriage-affair in any way, nor was he among the crowds. He was sitting in his shop, looking after his work when the rioters broke into his shop and inflicted injuries upon him. Now, he was a plain man, a human being as any one of us, a husband to his wife and a father to his children. What had these latter done to deserve this cruel deprivation of their supporter?

Granting that some Congressmen had been imprudent in encouraging the proposed marriage in face of the disapproval of the girl's parents and relations, yet nothing can justify the action of these sections of the Hindus, who were opposed to the marriage, in resorting to violence towards the innocent Muslim citizens and causing loss of life.

I beg to remind the Hindu leaders and refugees of Delhi of the sacred pledge which they had taken before Gandhi on 18-1-48 in Birla Bhavan, and which succeeded in persuading him to abandon his fast. The following are the first and the last clauses of that pledge :

"We wish to announce that it is our heart-felt desire that the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and members of other communities should once again live in Delhi like brothers and in perfect amity and we take the pledge that we shall protect the life, property and faith of Muslims and that the incidents which have taken place in Delhi will not happen again.

"We request Mahatmaji to believe us and to give up his fast and continue to lead us as he has done hitherto."

Shri Pyarelalji has related in *Harijan* of 25-1-48, what took place on the occasion :

"The feverish anxiety into which the whole city of Delhi and the country at large had been plunged was terminated when Gandhi broke his fast at Birla House, New Delhi, today at 12-45 p.m. with due solemnity. Earlier in the day, representatives of all the important groups and organizations in the city, including representatives of the refugees and from the three worst affected parts of the city, namely, Karol Bagh, Subzi Mandi and Paharganj, had assembled under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the latter's residence and put their signature to a seven-point declaration covering the conditions laid down by Gandhi for breaking his fast. The document was recorded in both the Persian and Devanagari scripts at Gandhi's special insistence. At the meeting were also present Maulana Azadsahab and Major General Shah Nawazkhan. Delhi Muslims were represented by Maulana Hifzur Rahman and Ahmed Saeed of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Maulana Habibur-Rahman. Goswami Shri Ganesh Datt, Shri Basantial and Shri Narain Das represented the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. There were too the representatives of the various Sikh organizations. They then all repaired (numbering over 100) to Birla House, where they assembled in Gandhi's room, to request him to break the fast. Maulanasahab and Pandit Jawaharlalji had arrived there already and Janab Zahid Hussainsahab, the Pakistan's High Commissioner, came in a little later."

Then followed various speeches and the leaders present assured Gandhiji that they will fully observe the pledge to which they had put their signatures, and then they appealed to Gandhiji to give up the fast. The appeal was reiterated on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha and R. S. S. by Goswami Shri Ganesh Datt. Thus the pledge was made public in an assembly of leaders, prominent citizens and associates of Gandhiji, in all more than a hundred men. The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of Delhi fraternized with one another, the murky fog of communal passions was dissipated and peace was re-established in the city.

By the recent disturbance Delhi has broken this pledge. None may advance the plea that the pledge is now four years old and hence inoperative, or that it was entered into with Gandhiji, and now that he was no more they were free to act as they liked. Gandhiji was simply an instrument in bringing an essentially good act of a permanent character to success. It was a permanent pledge of good conduct and observance of brotherly relations between the different communities. It can never be broken. I feel that the present disturbances constitute a violation of that pledge and all those who signed, supported or witnessed the function of Gandhiji breaking the memorable fast must share the responsibility for this outrage. God be thanked that only one life was lost and only one man was seriously injured, before the situation was brought under control; for it is not unusual for larger conflagrations to spread from such incidents. It should not be made the ground for ignoring the violation of the pledge. Those who took the pledge, those who were witness to it, and the refugees and the Hindus of Delhi should make suitable amends and atone for the sin of rioting. They should seek pardon of the innocent ones whom they harassed and hurt, being misled into frenzy by makers of excitable speeches. They should also make proper compensation for the losses suffered by the latter. The people should provide for the maintenance of the family of the deceased victim, not from the Government money, but from their own pockets, with humility and as an atonement for the sin committed. They should figure to their minds' eye the image of Gandhiji, with those eyes full of love and compassion, of 18th Jan. 1948, and feel penitent that these shameful events took place in Delhi.

I hope that those who had a hand in persuading Gandhiji to give up the fast will not treat this as one of those incidents which are quite a frequent feature of city-life and not worthy of being worried about, since police may be trusted to look after them and control them, without the necessity of invoking this old pledge and feeling seriously troubled over it. It may look small but it is full of the virus of communalism. It must not be overlooked and ignored.

Wardha, 22-6-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE CHARKHA JAYANTI

According to the Hindu Calendar, *Bhadrapad-vadi* 12th, the birthday of Gandhiji is observed as the Charkha Dwadashi. The *charkha* was so dear to Gandhiji that he named even his birthday after it. In the course of his message on the Charkha Jayanti Babu wrote in 1936, "I am not at all conscious of my birthday. I know it only as Rentiya Baras (Charkha Dwadashi)..." Let us work in the same spirit for the propagation of the *charkha* and try to bring out its potential powers.

In 1947 Babu wrote :

"The *charkha* is the royal road to political, economic and social freedom. If the people had adopted it as the symbol of non-violence, the tragic condition which prevails today would never have come. What shall the believer in the *charkha* do in this atmosphere? Dharma teaches us that when the surrounding atmosphere is adverse, the faith of the devotee becomes brighter... How many such may be there? My spinning continues. I do not miss my half hour daily."

Babu often repeated the above message and he never missed to spin regularly even in great pressure of work. This is enough to inspire us.

It is our weakness that we have not been able to understand fully the powers of the *charkha*, which Babu did. If we still fail to do so, we shall be swept away. Let us continue the progress of the *charkha*, which Babu has left us as his legacy, propagate it and acquit ourselves as his fit heirs.

This year the spinning term of 80 days will commence (has commenced) from 29th June, Sunday with congregational spinning at 7 a.m. to be followed by prayers at 7-30 a.m. Everyone should resolve to spin for 80 days with full zeal, fully understanding the deep implications of the *charkha*, and intimate to the undersigned the quantity of yarn which he may have resolved to spin.

As is done every year subscribers to the Charkha Dwadashi Daridranarayana Fund are requested to pay eighty coins. It is well known that the Saurashtra Khadi Mandal owes its existence to this fund and the development of Khadi work is due to it. This fund has been utilized for the last four years in the work of the Saurashtra Constructive Committee, which coordinates all the constructive institutions and activities in Saurashtra. The work under the Committee has made good progress during the above period.

The Saurashtra Constructive Committee has an annual budget of three lakhs of rupees. The understanding is that the Saurashtra Government will contribute a third of the sum, the Gandhi Memorial Trust will give a grant of another third and the remaining third will be realized through the collections during the period of the Charkha Jayanti celebrations. It is hoped

that those who are interested in and sympathize with the work of Saurashtra Constructive Committee will send their contributions in the form of coins to fill the bowl of the *Daridranarayana*.

We hope to secure as usual some prominent leader to preside over the celebration of the closing day of the programme.

Rashtriya Shala,
Rajkot, 18-6-'52

NARANDAS K. GANDHI

(Translated from Gujarati)

HUNGER AND POLITICS

The problem of world's hunger, as described by Josue de Castro, in his book, *The Geography of Hunger* is really speaking the fundamental problem of world's food, of assuring to every citizen of the world a balanced diet. It is a question of feeding the whole world equitably and well. Balanced diet is a basic human need, and unless it is squarely met by the total effort of man on our planet, it is bound to create the problem of hunger, which is a hot-bed for most of our ills to which also we are born, if we do not fulfil this our first need in a natural i.e. human and scientific way. It must be remembered that the word hunger includes not only under-nourishment but mal-nutrition also. And "perhaps — the most widespread and serious disease affecting mankind — with the possible exception of some of the less spectacular psychoses — is mal-nutrition. It predisposes to an impressive array of diseases and ill-health...." Therefore it is no wonder that De Castro says that "the history of men from the beginning has been the history of his struggle for daily bread." And he maintains that, provided this struggle is rightly carried on, it is bound to insure health and happiness to mankind. As he says,

"It is a demonstrable fact that food is the most potent of all the antibiotics, since it protects the organism in a general way against all kinds of germ attacks. If the world had a well-balanced diet, we would have little need for specific antibiotics or other drugs." (P. 250) (The reader might well be reminded here that in Sanskrit अन्नं च means food as well as medicine.)

And he asserts that, given full production and right distribution of world's food, the problem of overpopulation will vanish. Rather he makes a startling statement that it is not overpopulation that causes "starvation in various parts of the world, but that starvation is the cause of overpopulation. This idea sounds paradoxical, since hunger, an agent of deterioration and death, seems unlikely to provide an excessive increase in population. But in reality that is just what happens." And he cites the example of China, India and Japan and says that "the more these places are assailed by starvation the more the number of their inhabitants grows." And he gives evidence to show "how hunger increases the fertility of the depressed groups suffering its permanent action," and asserts

therefrom that "although it is impossible to eradicate hunger by controlling the growth of population, it is perfectly possible to reverse the process and control the growth of population by doing away with starvation." (P. 31)

And he shows that it is humanly possible to do away with hunger or starvation, i.e. to produce, with the resources given to us by nature, sufficient food for our whole requirement. Because, as he says, "hunger is not a phenomenon inherent in life itself, a natural and inevitable contingency like death; it is surely a social evil, a plague of man's own making."

And how has man committed the mistake of unwittingly invoking this wrath of nature in the form of hunger, starvation, overpopulation, war, death and disease? The causes are socio-political, and it is the investigation of these by the author of *Geography of Hunger* that makes his book the most outstanding statement on the world problem of food and human happiness and peace. To him the problem is a "universal human problem" and therefore it needs "a world policy of struggle against hunger." "When all the world's parts are indissolubly linked into one living whole, it is no longer possible to let one region rot and starve without infecting the rest and threatening the whole world with death." (P. 31)

But what do we find today? As De Castro says,

"A large part of the world is not yet entirely convinced of the necessity of doing away with hunger once for all. There are people who consider it more important to maintain high standards of living for their own regions, and certain social privileges for their own class, than to fight the phenomenon of hunger as such on a world scale."

And he charges Western civilization with a "conspiracy of silence" on this, "the most potent source of social misfortunes", viz. hunger. And the causes of this studied silence, he says, were "rooted in the shrouded world of economic interest.... Dominant and privileged minorities used their deftest sleight-of-hand to keep the question of hunger from the attention of the modern spirit. It was to the advantage of economic imperialism and international commerce, both controlled by profit-seeking minorities, that the production, distribution and consumption of food products be regarded as purely business matters rather than as phenomena of the highest importance to society as a whole.

"The world's geography expanded in the 18th century, and colonial economics followed the extending horizon, raising European civilization toward its zenith of splendour. In the seemingly fine world of imperial Europe, there was no place for ugly revelations of starvation, particularly since hunger too was a product of the colonial system. Hunger has been chiefly created by the inhuman exploitation of colonial riches by the latifundia and one-crop culture which lay waste the colony, so that the exploiting country can take too cheaply the raw materials its prosperous industrial economy requires. For economic reasons, misery was hidden from the world's eyes."

De Castro puts his finger on this plague-spot of world's body politic and says that

"The so-called 'colonial economy', under which the industrial powers get their raw materials at low cost and on this basis enjoy a marked prosperity, is one kind of economic exploitation that is incompatible with world economic balance....The world's great areas of endemic hunger are exactly the colonial areas."

Therefore he calls for a basic change in colonial policy, 'which would permit the colonial peoples to produce on a scale sufficient to satisfy their biological needs'. He knows to our cost that

"what with customs barriers, antagonistic economic blocs, policies of agricultural nationalism and economic autarchy, an international balance of food consumption will be an arduous achievement." (P. 253)

But he is firm in his belief that

"It is quite possible to make the transition from a colonial economy to a co-operative world economy based on mutual interests without the imperialist or colonizing countries going bankrupt....Two fundamental benefits will be achieved by seeing that everybody is well fed: the winning of health and the winning of security—collective victories over sickness and fear. Those ailments, one physical and the other moral, are the two most degrading characteristics of our civilisation." (P. 257-8)

And to achieve this De Castro invokes aid from science, which is his main theme. And he has no doubt

"that science and technique can play a decisive part in solving the problem of hunger. Production of foodstuffs can be increased to the point of satisfying fully the nutritional needs of all—the human race....(But) the point is that it is not enough simply to put all this technique to work producing food; the food must, in addition, be acquired and consumed by the human groups that need it....An effective food policy must look to distribution as much as to production, and it must be planned on a world scale." (252)

And he concludes,

"To wipe out hunger, then, it is necessary to raise the productive levels of marginal peoples and groups, and through economic progress to integrate them into the world economic community."

But it must be realized that

"certain kinds of economic exploitation invariably impose infra-human levels of productivity, far short of normal, minimum necessities. So long as these types of economic exploitation continue, hunger will continue to haunt our civilization, in spite of all our efforts."

Therefore, eradication of hunger which haunts the human world today requires not merely the use of science, which is surely to be there, but calling forth the best in the human heart. As he puts it,

"The road to world survival does not lie in neo-Malthusian prescriptions to eliminate surplus people, nor in birth-control, but in the effort to make everybody on the face of the earth productive. Hunger and misery are not caused by the presence of too many people in the world, but rather, by having few to produce and many to feed." (Hence) "The real road to survival is still within the sight of man. It is marked by the confidence he must feel in his own strength. 'Man's science is great but man himself is greater', writes E. P. Hanson, reaffirming for his contemporaries the faith we must hold in the stature of the human species."

RUSSIA AND CHINA

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

The references to my impressions of Russia and China by some of my trusted friends make it clear that they have not understood my attitude towards the economy of these countries.

While analysing economic groups according to the way they satisfy their needs I had stated in my books *Why the Village Movement?*, *Economy of Permanence*† etc.—that they may be classified into five main categories in order of selfishness and violence involved: (1) Parasitic, (2) Predatory, (3) Enterprising, (4) Gregarious and (5) Service, and cited Capitalism and Imperialism, supported by the Army, Navy and the Air forces, as instances of the first two, Trade, Commerce and Agriculture as instances of the third and Socialism as an example of the fourth and Gandhism as the highest order based on service. This was twenty years ago and these books carry forewords from Gandhiji. My recent visit to China and Russia has only confirmed me in these ideas. Even if the Russian economy may be termed State Capitalism, that is far away from true Communism where the State is supposed to wither away, yet in so far as the State's one care is the welfare of the common man it is far in advance of Imperialisms, and nearer to Gandhian ideology.

I have repeatedly stated that neither the Russian nor the Chinese economies will suit India and neither of them can ever develop into true Communism as long as the State is allowed to strengthen itself as it is being done today.

As long as these countries depend on centralized industries to supply their consumer goods violence will be indispensable as also the maintenance of an "Iron Curtain". It is only under decentralized economy that we can develop an universal brotherhood working on non-violence. Hence world peace can never be ushered in by armaments.

It has become necessary to reiterate these obvious faiths and tenets as even Gandhian scholars like Shri K. G. Mashruwala and Acharya Kripalani have chosen to criticize my statements without realizing that I was not approving Russian methods or their violence. All I have done is to appreciate the self-denying spirit, the zeal, devotion to the cause of the masses, the steadfastness and earnestness of purpose and the doggedness with which they set about solving their problems. These great qualities are largely lacking in our country. About violence we are in full co-operation with the users of Atom and Napalm bombs and bacterial warfare. Do we raise up our holy hands and non-co-operate with them? Are the

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Russians untouchables? Are they not also God's creations? There is no more Communism in Russia or China than there is Gandhism in India or non-violence in America. Why then this "Hollier than thou attitude?" We need humility and open-minded generosity.

(Note: I welcome this article as making ideas clearer and reassuring. I have not, however, understood to whom the criticism in the last lines of the article beginning with the reference to co-operation with the users of Atom bombs is addressed. Obviously it cannot refer to me as I personally have no predilection or prejudice in favour of any violence whatever. If it is a criticism of the Government of India, though I hold no brief for it, in fairness to it, it must be admitted that the political relations of India with Russia and China are not less friendly than with the Anglo-American bloc, and there is no attitude of non-co-operation with them, or of regarding them as untouchables; and I believe there is none in India who has not denounced the use of Atom and other bombs. But it is unnecessary to prolong this controversy. — K.G.M.)

TO THE OFFICIALS

[The following is from a directive that the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal has issued to officers of Government.]

The governance of any country in the world today is no easy matter and the governance of a great and varied country like India is perhaps as hard a task as any in the world today.

Any person who is associated with this governance must approach this great task with humility as well as with a measure of faith. Whether we are small men or big, we are engaged in great undertakings affecting the life and future of vast numbers of human beings. No man can say with certainty that success will come to him, but every man can determine to do his utmost to achieve success.

The governance of a country does not merely consist in issuing orders from some high office but rather in reaching the minds and hearts of the masses of the people to bring about satisfactory human relations. Ultimately, almost every problem can be resolved into one of human relations.

We have to deal with human beings and humanity and we can only deal with them if we always keep in view the human aspect of every problem. We are apt to forget this, living in our ivory towers of Government offices and dealing impersonally with files and papers. But behind those files and papers and the problems discussed in them, lie human beings.

(From *The Hindu*, Thursday, June 19, 1952)

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SULTANPUR SETS A MODEL

Of all the places which contributed in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, Sultanpur deserves special mention, as it has set a model for others.

1. *All Land Belongs to the Almighty*: People of West Jamua dedicated all their 656 *bighas* of land, land compensation and a pond etc. in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*. This is the second instance of a village offering all its lands in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, the first being the village of Mangroth in the Hamirpur district.

2. *Total Land-Gifts of the District*: 17,364 acres.

3. *Promises*: (a) 30,000 acres by 30-6-52; (b) 1,00,000 acres during the next year.

4. *Shrama-dan* (gift of body-labour): (a) to break 5,000 acres of land; (b) to dig 200 new ponds or to improve old ponds.

5. *Gift of Manure*: Green manure of worth Rs 9,000/-.

6. *Gita Pravachan*: 1,700 copies sold.

7. *Sarvodaya* (Hindi): 230 subscribers.

The *bhoodan* received in Sultanpur surpassed the expectation of the workers who hoped only to get a thousand or two. But Vinobaji placed before them on the first day a target of one lakh acres and cited the instance of Raibareilli. Encouraged by this, the workers engaged themselves energetically in the work of collecting land. They saw that the people's minds were already prepared; for in five days, they secured more than 17,000 acres. In our last camp at Trisundi, Vinobaji expressing his faith in the people observed:

"God resides in the hearts of the people, and He is the *kalpa-vriksha* (desire-yielding). He gives to everyone according to his desire: Ask little and you will get little; ask much, and you will get much. The condition is that we should approach the people in humility and tell them the truth without any selfishness or egotism. If it is tainted at all with either, selfishness or egotism, the Deity will not be pleased. God is pleased only when a devotee surrenders his all to Him."

The total land-gifts till 21st June comes to 2,44,424 acres.

(From Hindi)

D. M.

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