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TWO ANNAS

INDO - U. S. AGREEMENT

[I gladly publish the following letter from Shri Gulzarilal Nanda regarding the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement, which was criticized in *Harijan* in May last.—K. G. M.]

In the *Harijan* of May 3 and May 10 there are two articles regarding the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Agreement by Suresh Ramabhai under the heading "Agreement or Slavery Bond?". Although some time has passed since these articles were published, I am writing this letter to explain to you that the criticism contained in these articles is entirely unfounded. I shall not attempt to deal separately with each point made by the writer. The correct position may be set out in the following propositions about which, having watched the working of the Agreement during the past few months, I am fully satisfied:

(1) No agreement under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Programme is being entered into by the Government of India except for an object which is essential and fits into the framework of the Five Year Plan. The priorities are those of the Five Year Plan.

(2) In certain directions the Technical Co-operation Programme strengthens the Five Year Plan to a much greater extent than could have been done otherwise. These are, for instance, (i) tubewell programme, (ii) programme for the development of marine fisheries, and (iii) supply of equipment needed urgently for irrigation and power projects.

(3) By providing for the import of commodities which can be sold and are essential for agricultural production (fertilizer and steel), we obtain counterpart rupee funds for financing our projects.

(4) There is no obligation on the part of India to buy any equipment for projects under the Technical Co-operation Programme from the United States. India is free to buy equipment through her own agencies wherever the price factor and the delivery situation are favourable.

(5) No American experts are employed in India or sent to India unless they are specifically requested for by the Government of India. No experts are asked for unless there is real need for them. It is the policy of the

Government of India to develop the talent of and to give the utmost opportunity to our own people. It is only where, in any particular field, by reason of knowledge or experience, it is felt that a foreign expert can usefully supplement an Indian expert, the services of a foreign expert are requested. Even in case of such experts only certain local expenses have to be met. Salary and equipment needed for such persons are paid for by the T.C.A.

(6) The Clause in the Agreement that the Director of the Technical Co-operation Administration and his staff should be regarded as part of the diplomatic mission of the Government of the United States of America was inserted at the suggestion of the Government of India. It was felt that there was no need for a separate T.C.A. Mission in India on the model of T.C.A. Missions in Europe. Further, under the Agreement, the Director and other members of his party of specialists, though appointed by the Government of the United States of America, have to be acceptable to the Government of India.

(7) The entire Technical Co-operation Programme is carried out under the direction of the Central Committee, that is, the Planning Commission with the Prime Minister as Chairman. The Central Committee is completely free to reach its decisions. There is consultation between the Representative of the Government of India and the Director, Technical Co-operation, as to the use of American Funds, but such consultation is limited only to this aspect.

(8) The Agreement provides for the consultation with the Director in drawing up the form in which quarterly reports under different project agreements are to be presented by the Central Committee to the Government of India. The reason for providing for this consultation is that the U.S. Administration has to report to the U.S. Congress regarding the employment of funds appropriated by the Congress. Consultation with the Director ensures that the reports obtained by the Government of India contain

information on points which may be required by the U.S. Administration in tendering their account to the Congress. I do not think there can be any objection to such a provision.

2. I need not say much about the political aspect because the policy of the Government of India has been made clear on several occasions by the Prime Minister. While holding that foreign assistance has a legitimate part to play in the economic development of India, the Government of India have always been clear that India's Plan shall not be dependent on foreign aid and shall be capable, if necessary, of being proceeded with without such aid.

3. I trust my letter will serve to dispel the doubts which have been expressed in the articles and which may possibly be shared by you.

Planning Commission,

New Delhi, 7-8-52

GULZARILAL NANDA

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH

TOUR — X

Bundelkhand

If Vinoba had to travel in the extreme cold of Pausa and Magh (January and February) months in the *tari* districts of Himalayas, he had also to bear the scorching heat of Jyestha (May) in the hilly regions of Bundelkhand. In both the paths his work went on incessantly like the ever-flowing Ganga, or the ever-revolving Sun. That in spite of these extremes of climate, his feeble body remained constantly working indicated that God wanted to accomplish His task through Vinoba; and supplied him with the necessary energy.

There are four districts in Bundelkhand, namely, Jhansi, Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda. Of these Jhansi is the gate of Uttar Pradesh. This heroic city became the starting-point of our Uttar Pradesh tour, and here, in the very beginning, we got 5,000 acres of land. Indeed, there occurred in this district as many good omens as were required for the beginning of such a great *yajna*. It was this donation of 5,000 acres that inspired the workers at the Mathura conference to take a pledge to collect 5 lakh acres. Even before leaving Jhansi, Vinobaji had a presentiment that the people of Bundelkhand would put a crown over the collections made in the districts of U.P. And so it happened. The people of Bundelkhand appeared too mindful of their past traditions, and conscious of their past glory. Here, in Kalpi on the banks of Ken, Vyas and Valmiki had performed their *tapas*. It was in this land again that Mahatma Chhatrasal, Prithviraj, Ala and Udal and Maharani Lakshmbai had proved their mettle, each for a noble cause. Before the 1857 Revolution, the British Government had sensed a rebellion here and had taken military action. And to add to this glorious history, the memory of that great and inspiring soul Goswami Tulsideas seemed to have infused life in the very atmosphere. Though the whole country is indebted to Tulsideas, Uttar Pradesh and, particularly, Bundelkhand had been recipients of his especial favour and regard. At a time when the people were in a state of despondency, the Goswami had saved the country from it. This miracle had been wrought by his great work—the Ramayana. And, we finished our journey of Bundelkhand in an atmosphere filled with the recitals of Ramayana. We came across so many people who were intense devotees of Ramayana. They did not know anything else, but had the whole of Ramayana by heart. We also met many earnest and talented devotees who have made the propagation of Ramayana a mission of their life. Their hearts simply swelled with emotions with the chanting of this great poem.

The city culture does not seem to have made much imprint on Bundelkhand. Naturally we found several

people intensely devoted to that great devotee of God—Tulsideas. The cleanliness of these parts reminded us of Telangana. Everywhere we were received by men and women with great eclat. Vinoba used to begin his journey at 4 a.m. in the morning and reach the destination of the day at 9 a.m. During all that time young as well as old came running to see him. They sang *bhajans* and even after Vinoba had passed over, they would keep in looking at him for a distance of 2 or 3 furlongs. On one occasion, I requested Vinoba to turn round and have a look at the people watching him. Vinoba did so and said, "This is the difference between civilization and culture. You will find civilization in cities; but culture you will see in the villages only." He seemed to throw out a challenge to us: What will you choose?—culture or civilization?

The Miracle of Mangroth

After crossing Vetravati we entered the Hamirpur District. In more villages than one we had a very warm reception. But Mangroth, the first village we passed by in the district, performed a miracle.

This small village has a glorious history. It took part in the 1857 revolution. Thereafter, it had become a camp of "revolutionaries". It also participated in the Satyagraha movement launched under Gandhiji's leadership. And now it also took the unique credit of practising the great ideal "All land belongs to God", (सब भूमि गोपालकी) by offering all its land in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*. All the sixty-six land-holders of this village donated all their 1,300 acres to Vinoba. And they got this inspiration only from a speech of Vinoba. He had not even personally visited that village. The villagers had come about 2 miles to see Vinoba on his way. Just as *Kivats* (an *adivasi* tribe of the Ramayana period) had come with great love to lay their offerings at the feet of Rama, similarly the villagers too offered one hundred and one acres of land in the *Bhoodan-Yajna*. Vinoba in his short speech gave the message: "All land belongs to God." This was enough for them. Vinoba proceeded further and the villagers returned to their village with this great *mantra*. They were thinking all the while as to what was their true duty. Diwan Shatrughna Singha, a sincere *sevak* of the village, was touring outside for *bhoodan*. People called for him and he arrived an hour before mid-night. The villagers opened their hearts to him. He was so pleased to hear their resolve. Gift-deeds were prepared; and a gift-deed of all the holders combined was sent to Vinoba through the Diwan Sahab.

Now there is not a single landless man in Mangroth. All beggars (*yachaks*) have turned into masters (*ayachaks*). The common cultivation of land has been agreed. To make the village ideal, work has been started under Vinoba's guidance. Since that day, Vinoba has paid tribute to Mangroth in every village and in every speech. He asks the people, "Is Mangroth inhabited by *kinnars* or gods? Or are the people there of a different kind? No, they too are like us. The only difference is that a real *sevak* serves them. He could enthrone them to do this miraculous deed. There is a dearth of such *sevaks* in other places."

All Doubts Answered

Mangroth had solved all problems and doubts, such as, fragmentation of holdings, gifts of a biswa or two, individual farming against co-operative farming, the problem of waste and culturable lands etc., by the single act of renunciation of private ownership. Vinoba had this ideal in his mind from the very inception of *bhoodan*. But had he insisted upon it from the beginning we would not have seen such a magnified form of *bhoodan*. We have seen already that this movement started with the donation of a hundred acres by one land-holder. Since then big holders began to offer lands. Vinoba requested the rich and the poor alike to offer for the *bhoodan*. And thus stepping forward we got at last, all the village land in

tune with the principle "All land belongs to God" (सब भूमि गोपालकी).

Advance of Quotas

His demand too reached its peak in Bundelkhand. In the beginning, in Telangana, he was getting about a hundred acres a day; it reached to two hundred during his return journey to Wardha. From Wardha to Delhi he obtained on an average 250 acres a day. In the western districts of U.P. it rose to 300 acres and after the Sevapuri conference it increased to 1,000 acres a day. Originally Vinobaji began by demanding only ten thousand acres from every district. He gradually raised the demand and got a quota of twenty thousand acres in Jalaun. The upward trend continued, and Hamirpur was asked to collect thirty four thousand. Ultimately Banda carried the palm by agreeing to raise one lakh. And now Vinoba is not ready to put it at less than that. He says that finally every district must contribute two lakhs, so that the two hundred and fifty districts (the total number of districts in India) may make up the five crore figure which ultimately we aim at. "I do not care how much land actually comes to me. But why should I set a low limit to my aim?" The *Upanishad* declares: Happiness is not to be had in the limited. Every child, who hears Vinoba, propagates the message of collecting lakhs of acres. "No matter, if you bring only an acre, but do not speak of less than a lakh. What we today repeat faithfully, we will achieve tomorrow", he says.

End of Wranglings

Hamirpur seemed to be torn with party rivalries. Diwan Shatrughna Singha, the idol of the masses of the district, was bending all his efforts on *bhoodan* work. He had collected eight thousand acres, but the Congress workers of the place were not co-operating with him. They came to Vinoba and explained how the political wranglings had compelled them to abstain from taking their part in the work and assured him that they would fully co-operate from then onwards. Vinoba was pained to see how the deterioration in politics had gone so far down as to hamper co-operation even in a venture as noble as this, and he expressed his distress a little vehemently. He did not understand, he said, how they could not extend their co-operation to this work even though they had political differences with the Diwan Sahab. It was national work and personal or political differences should not be allowed to come in the way. Service should always be undertaken in the spirit of selfless detachment. As to name, he alone earns it who does not hanker after it. Goswami (i.e. Poet Tulsisidas) never wanted name and yet he is known and reverentially remembered in every home. He warned them that these differences were responsible for the incoming of the British and if we persisted in fostering them, in place of the British now the Americans might get in. "I therefore want," he said, "that we must all unite and apply ourselves to this work which will strengthen this unity ever more."

The readers will be pleased to know that finally the two parties agreed to sink their differences and work together. Diwan Shatrughna Singha and Dabu Ramgopalji, the heads of the two rival parties embraced each other in the presence of Vinobaji, and the reconciliation was made perfect. Vinoba made good use of this happy occasion by enhancing the quota of contribution from Hamirpur to 34 thousand acres. Of these Shatrughna Singhaji had already collected eight thousand. The District Magistrate, who worked for the cause with admirable enthusiasm, brought in ten thousand on behalf of the estates of the Court of Wards. For the fulfilment of the remaining sixteen thousand the two parties accepted equal responsibility.

Banda also, which subsequently agreed to raise one lakh acres, did not begin well. When we entered the district, they had collected only three hundred acres and Shri Arjunbhai felt very anxious about fulfilling the promised quota. He was present at the Mathura Sammelan

and had offered to collect eleven thousand acres from the eleven hundred villages of his district. But excepting his little group of Sarvodaya-minded friends, he had no other helper. The leaders of the place were away at Delhi and Lucknow. Of course, they came, as they had to, the day Vinoba reached there. Vinoba declared straightaway, "Your district has the high honour of being the birth-place of Tulsisidas. His Ramayana is read throughout the country. Here, we will not speak in terms of thousands, we are going to insist on not less than a lakh." Continuing he said, "We aim at the change of heart, the change in the prevailing psychology. We want to create a new social order. Those whose minds are grooved in old ruts fail to appreciate this. They cannot think of anything apart from legislation or violent revolution. They ask me how and when you are going to achieve your aim. My answer to them is: The results of the method of legislation are before you. The other method of violence also has been tried. And your experience of them should convince you that they are totally useless. They should draw a lesson from the story of Sund and Upasund (two demon brothers who both wanted the same woman, and who therefore fell out between themselves and destroyed each other). For ourselves, therefore, we have chosen the path of love. We ask for land in the name of Tulsisidas. And we expect from you, who share the glory of belonging to the same district as he, not less than a lakh."

Shankar's Worship and Vishnu's Donation of the Eye

Speaking to the workers about the faith and spirit they should bring to bear on their work, Vinoba said, "God Vishnu had resolved to offer a thousand lotuses to Shankar. In the end he found that he was short by one. He at once made it up by offering his lotus-eye." Tears rolled down his eyes, he had passed into emotional trance. For a time he remained silent, while the audience sat awed under an atmosphere of high sublimity. Controlling himself with some difficulty, Vinoba spoke just one more sentence, "It was this love and devotion of Lord Vishnu which emerged later as Sudarshan Chakra; the same love and devotion is protecting the world at the present moment and will protect us."

They had a glimpse of the depth of emotion and meaning with which the utterance was charged. The workers made a silent resolve and plunged themselves into the work. They would work all day long, attend the evening prayer and announce their collections and go back to work again. Arjunbhai and friends had conveyed Vinoba's message to hundreds of villages. But the donors had so far evaded decision with the usual reply, "Let Vinoba come; then we shall think over it." Arjunbhai doubted whether he would be able to keep his word. God came to the help of his devotee. Arjunbhai was enabled to honour his promise just as Narsi Mehta was enabled to honour his. There was literally a downpour of land gifts for days on and during the period Vinobaji remained in Banda. We got twenty thousand acres. And at Rajapur the birth-place of Goswami Tulsisidas on the bank of Sarju, the workers resolved that they would collect one lakh acres.

The region is described in the Ramayana as the dwelling of the forest tribes of Kols and Kirats. The forest tribes still live there. The people are remarkably loving and hospitable. At the leave-taking, Vinoba said, "Atma is Satya-Kama and Satya-Sankalpa, i.e. the desire and the will of the Spirit are always realized. If we will truly and, what is more, collectively, we get to know our hidden powers. We should continue to make better and higher resolutions and strive after them with all our might, however strenuous the effort and sacrifice it may involve. I therefore hope that you will continue to devote yourselves unflinchingly for redeeming your collective resolve of one lakh acres. You have the assurance of Tulsisidas that 'What we love truly we are bound to achieve.'"

Meeting with Jai Prakash Narayan

After the Pachmarhi Convention of the Socialist Party,

Shri Jayaprakash came to see Vinoba at Banda. The news of the meeting of the two leaders gave rise to a great deal of speculation and much hope in the country. Pandit Nehru had expressed his sympathy with *bhoodan* work at the very beginning. Shri Kripalanji had issued a statement in its support early, before Vinobaji entered Uttar Pradesh. The R.S.S. workers had also passed a resolution in its favour and worked for it. Now Jayaprakashji himself came to Vinoba with a resolution of his party pledging his co-operation. We had had the support of Socialist friends even before and many of them had accompanied us in our tours. Some of them had also contributed lands. In Telangana, the Socialists of the Karimnagar District had not only given full co-operation, but one of them had also made over to Vinoba 25 acres which was half of his share of land. In this context Jayaprakashji's visit certainly had a significance not from the point of view of only the *bhoodan* movement but also from that of the progress of the country towards real freedom.

Their interview lasted for full three hours. Shri Jayaprakash acquainted Vinoba with the resolution passed by Panchmahli Conference and the views of his colleagues about *bhoodan*. Vinoba also related to him in brief the progress of *bhoodan* movement since its inception and the development of its various phases, and explained to him his views on such matters as legislation, compensation, Satyagraha etc.

In the public meeting, Shri Jayaprakash said, "After 30th January 1948, it was felt that the inspiration for sacrifice which we used to get formerly had come to an end. But now we have again begun to feel that we can solve all our problems through non-violence. I hope that through *bhoodan* the two currents of Socialism and Gandhism are to meet like the Yamuna and the Ganga and together work for the country's good."

I cannot reproduce here the whole report of their talks. However, I shall give here a few important opinions, which Vinoba expressed, as being useful for all.

"The power of the people is limitless. I, therefore, do not for the present even think of legislation. The people are like *kalpa-vriksha* (desire-yielding tree). They give us what we desire. If we are able to collect twenty-five lakh acres in two years, the Government will have surely to consider the question of legislation and I don't think they will not be prepared to do so. If the nation realizes that the public mind is prepared to give land and the landowners also accept the idea, the next step will be an easy one."

Regarding compensation, Vinoba said, "The Constitution stipulates payment of compensation. But what compensation will have to be paid to those who have all along owned as much as ten thousand acres of land? They have recovered enough return from land. But they too are our countrymen, and we cannot be indifferent to their means of livelihood. Hence it is a different thing that they should be given something for that purpose. But all such people will not need it. I, therefore, ask them to donate their compensation also. I have so far received donations of compensation of about a lakh and a half rupees. But I take all land as gift. You will, therefore, infer from it what I think about the question of compensation."

His views about Satyagraha for *bhoodan* have already appeared in *Harijan* (16-8-52). I need not repeat them here.

(From Hindi)

D. M.

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STUDENT LABOUR CORPS

(By A. V. Barve)

[While speaking at the last Sane Guruji anniversary, at a meeting of the students of the local High School an idea intuitively occurred to me which was much appreciated both by the young audience and the Superintendent. I want to share it with my readers.]

One very substantial objection to the system of education prevailing in India, is that it gives the student a false superiority complex, and makes him look down upon physical labour as something below the dignity of an educated person. Apart from the controversy whether the present literary bias should or should not be substituted by the vocational or 'basic' bias, there should be no two opinions about the utility of the dignity of manual labour being inculcated in the minds of the youth of India, by their teachers both by precept and by example.

Accordingly, in memory of Sane Guruji who laboured for the nation day and night, students should resolve to give half an hour's physical labour daily to the nation. That would come to three hours per week taking one day per week as a holiday. Alternatively, they should volunteer to work 1½ hours, on each of the two week-end days, namely Saturday and Sunday. That would be their *Shrama-Yajna* (श्रम-यज्ञ).

They should regard all kinds of labour as a sacrifice and as such 'sacred'. Road-repair, street-sweeping, scavenging should be regarded on par with any other kind of labour. If there is no suitable work every week, they should reserve their work at this rate (about 150 hours during an academic year) completing the remaining quota during the vacations. The labour must be offered without any expectation of any kind of return or reward. When there is a sufficient number of volunteers, say about 25, it may be expected that an enthusiastic young teacher might take the lead of this student labour corps, and local leaders would come forward to provide suitable implements and work for the young generation volunteering to work for the nation.

Ultimately, this idea would catch the imagination of the educational authorities who may turn the voluntary nature of the work into compulsory and lay down that without a minimum of planned labour, say 100 hours per academic year, no student should be promoted to the higher standard.

This labour will improve the health of the younger generation, make them more practical and less white-collarish and forge a link between them and the toilers of the nation.

[Note : I give place to the above suggestion in case no better training in physical labour than the one suggested above can be introduced. What is needed is not a training in physical labour, but training through physical labour. If the people who belong to the middle or upper class at

present want to survive and lead a life of contentment and self-respect in future, they must rapidly divest themselves of the white-collar mentality, and take to physical labour not as a pastime, but as a regular feature of life at all stages. And if those of the labouring classes are not to be made applicants of the Employment Bureau in large numbers they must be saved from the modern school. K. G. M.]

LAND-GIFT-MOVEMENT

(By H. M. Desai)

Land problem in India has assumed huge dimensions after the war and drawn attention of all because of the Chinese revolution. Communists in India want the Russian way of rehabilitation of our country. Orthodox Gandhites offer a solution by the Sarvodaya way. They are not in a hurry to solve the problem with undue haste but want to awaken the people to action by appealing to their good sense. They want voluntary action so that it may be lasting and in the process generate love. To this end Shri Vinobaji is collecting land as a free gift to be distributed among the needy. In Gujarat a strong committee of selfless and saintly men has been formed to collect land-gifts.

In this connection, some puzzling points are discussed hereunder by taking the Kheda District as an example for stating the points of doubt.

The Kheda District has 16 lakhs acres of land out of which nearly 13 lakhs are under cultivation. The district has the population of 16 lakhs with about 500 density per square mile, while some districts have density of population as high as 1,000.

Let us now look at the following table, which gives the distribution of land among holders:

Holdings	Land	Owners
Below 5 acres	30%	76%
5 to 15 acres	32%	15%
15 to 25 acres	12%	3%
25 to 100 acres	16%	5%
Over 100 acres	9%	0.18% (300 owners)
	99%	99.18%

(Decimals left out)

From this table it will be seen that over 75% of the farmers in the district are uneconomic farmers, i.e., have tiny bits of land for their cultivation. If we study the production figures, the production of this group of farmers is less than half than that of farmers who cultivate economic holdings, that is, fields of 5 to 15 acres. Bigger farmers rent their land to tenants who are also uneconomic group of farmers and their production is also low.

Those who are interested in the agricultural productive study in the rural areas know the disabilities of these uneconomic group of farmers. These farmers cannot command optimum means and methods of production i.e. good seeds,

manure, bullocks etc. The standard of their cultivation being inefficient and untimely, the land being low in fertility and weedy, the result is low production. Government have not been able to raise the standard of cultivation of this group of farmers by any of their schemes under the Grow More Food Campaign.

Coming now to the point, under the land-gift-movement in the district it may be possible to collect some land from big land-holders in response to appeals from men like Shri Ravishankar Maharaj. The land, that will be secured, will be scattered all over the village and in distributing these among the landless, whose number is great, about 15%, they would form tiny bits of holdings. This would swell the number of the uneconomic group who form about 75% of farmers, and who are at present a problem group. The Government of this State is trying to liquidate uneconomic holdings by various methods and means and this land-gift-distribution will go contrary to the Government policy of consolidation of holdings. The ultimate aim of all parties, Government and social workers, is to increase production to self-sufficiency. How the land-gift-movement will be helpful, to this end is not clear.

In the Kheda District alone there are large areas of land, to an extent of thousands of acres, lying vacant on river banks, sea shores and in bits scattered in low lying areas infested with salt. If these lands are developed they would provide large areas of cultivated land for farming on co-operative lines, if so desired. With the machinery, implements and tools we have on hand, the economic development of these areas should not be difficult in the present state of our scientific advancement. If the scope of the land-gift-movement is extended to include the development of such cultivable land now lying waste the speed of rehabilitation movement will be accelerated. The work of development can be taken up by the co-operation of Government and Public Funds like Memorial Funds. The preliminary work can be undertaken through the appropriate Government Departments. The executive work can be taken up, wherever possible, by such agency as may be created for the purpose and/or by Government Departments. If people come forward to develop such land they may be given all help and guidance they need. This will help rehabilitation of landless farmers and needy farmers in a group by giving them land for cultivation on economic basis and secondary occupation as a supporting occupation. If co-operative societies are formed the organization and execution of schemes will be facilitated.

In any case this will provide field for a huge social experiment in rehabilitation of rural surplus population under the same environment conditions not very far from their land of habitation.

Can this be included in the orbit of land-gift-movement by widening its scope?

BANNING OF TODDY

(By Gajanan Naik)

Though the natural sap obtained by tapping the palms (Date, Palmyra, Coconut and Sago) is quite harmless when it is fresh and sweet even if consumed as beverage, still the sap when fermented develops intoxicant quality. What is commonly known as 'toddy' is the fermented sap of these palms. The production, supply and consumption of toddy is under rigorous Government control, as it has been made a source of lucrative revenue. According to the Constitution, India stands committed to complete Prohibition. Now, it is only a matter of details and effective implementation of the policy, since the fundamental has been laid down.

It would be of interest to make a study of the toddy consumption. A cursory observation of the working of the toddy booth in any place will show that almost all the consumers belong to the working class, who generally live hand-to-mouth. The well-to-do people rarely take to toddy, as they patronize more costly drinks. Toddy is perhaps cheaper than even country liquor. Thus the first great disadvantage resulting from the propagation of toddy is that it drains the poor man's pocket, in addition to the other attendant sufferings like harassment etc., experienced by the family members of the toddy drunkard.

Secondly, the prevalence of toddy obstructs the growth of the important cottage industry — Palm Gur. The owners of the palm trees, who realize exorbitant rents for the trees lent for toddy production, are reluctant to lend their trees on reasonable rent for gur production. The skilled labour, viz. the tappers, are reluctant to utilize their skill for gur production, as some of them can easily make more money by even indulging in adulteration of toddy. The prevalence of toddy trade creates a prejudice in the minds of the public against gur consumption from the fresh sap of the palms, as they wrongly presume that gur is made out of toddy. But, in areas where toddy is unknown to people, they bear no such prejudice. Due to such prejudice, marketing of gur becomes problematic.

The experience gained in the States like Bombay, Madras, and Saurashtra, where complete Prohibition of intoxicants including that of toddy has been introduced, goes to prove that the discontinuance of toddy has bestowed so many benefits on the erstwhile consumers, as they have been able to effect savings and also purchase better articles of everyday utility, like clothing, utensils etc., for leading a more hygienic and smooth life. Moreover, the revenue realized by the States from toddy, is more or less, very limited excepting in case of Hyderabad (over 8 crores), Bihar and Travancore-Cochin (over one crore each). In 13 States, it is nil. So, the States can easily ban toddy immediately, with a view to

save the poorer classes from the toddy menace and also for encouraging the cottage industry in order to ensure regular supply of the raw material, increase the skilled labour and also guarantee market for the gur. The banning of toddy will also serve as a substantive indication of the faith of the State Government in the policy of Prohibition. It is quite interesting to observe that there are 13 States in the Union, which have already banned toddy in spite of the fact that there are large number of palms which can be exploited for supply of toddy. The States are, Bombay, Madras, Saurashtra, Punjab, Jammu-Kashmir, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Ajmer, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh and Kutch. Out of these 13 States, only the first three States have complete Prohibition. In the remaining 10 States, toddy stands banned though complete Prohibition has not been introduced.

The position of toddy consumption on All-India basis is in short, as follows:

Out of the total 28 States in the Union, three States (Bilaspur, Manipur and Tripura) have no palms at all. In the remaining 25 States, 13 States as shown above, have already banned toddy. Thus, the problem of banning toddy is to be tackled by only 12 States (Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin). Even in these 12 States toddy has been partially banned in some of the States (e.g., Uttar Pradesh — 11 districts; Madhya Pradesh — 6 districts; Orissa — a few tahsils, and Travancore-Cochin — almost in half the State).

From the above it will be noticed that banning of toddy need not be held up till it is financially possible to introduce Prohibition of all intoxicants. The 12 States where toddy is still existing, can very well adopt the policy immediately, as is adopted by the other 10 States, where toddy has been banned even without introducing complete Prohibition.

The piecemeal banning of toddy in a State on a district or tahsil basis does not bestow the desired benefits on the addicts or on the Palm Gur Industry. Since the addicts migrate to the neighbouring toddy area for obtaining toddy and also the skilled labour concentrates in the area where toddy is still continuing, as has happened in Mysore and Uttar Pradesh, where toddy has been banned partially. Therefore, it is very essential that toddy should be banned simultaneously all over the States.

The rehabilitation of the skilled labour employed in toddy has been very successfully achieved in the Madras State, by organizing Co-operative Societies of the ex-toddy tappers for Palm Gur production. More than 2,000 such Co-operative Societies are working in the State now, giving employment to more than one lakh tappers.

KASTURBA GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL TRUST

Summary of the Report

Training of Workers : During the year 1951, 170 trainees completed training in rural service and there were 248 undergoing training at the end of the year 1951. Besides, 43 girls successfully completed midwifery training and the number of trainees undergoing midwifery training at the end of the year was 70. The number of medical and *gram seva* centres, including a leprosy relief centre, for the year was 107, and 211 respectively. The total number of trained *gram sevikas* employed in these centres was 508.

The total number of women trained by the Trust from 1945 to 1951 in *gram sevika*, pre-basic, basic, midwifery, Khadi and other crafts was 1,184. The number of trained *sevikas* on the staff was 114.

Maternity Aid : The total number of deliveries attended to in the village homes were 3040 and in the maternity centres 1,217, thus making a total of 4,257 deliveries. The number of out-patients was 63,148 men, 1,14,958 women, 1,19,587 children and others 3,585. 22,004 antenatal and 15,312 post-natal tests were conducted.

Leprosy Service : The Trust is conducting a full 30 bedded hospital for patients suffering from leprosy at village Mazhavanthangal, District South Arcot, for which the Trust has constructed buildings worth about Rs 75,000, and has been spending Rs 20,000, per year.

Medical Work : The report regarding the medical work says: "It has to be remembered that all this was done for the benefit of rural areas lying far away from places with convenient facilities of transport and where there are no facilities of any kind of medical aid. The work of the medical centres, apart from being actively helpful in giving relief, has a much greater indirect value in so far as these centres create sanitary consciousness among the people, not only among womenfolk, but generally among the entire village population."

Expenditure : The Trust has spent during the year Rs 5,89,607 on training and village centres; Rs 1,35,172 on the administrative and organizational work; Rs 5,10,804 on building works at Kasturbagram, Leprosy Centre and other building constructions; and Rs 45,224 on non-recurring expenditure as equipment etc. Total: Rs 12,80,807.

Rehabilitation : The Trust in response to the request of Rehabilitation Ministry, the Government of India, has also taken over the management of the Home for unattached women and children for 1,200 persons situated in Rajpura, Pepsu, since September 1951. The Trustees have also accepted the offer of the Government of India to take over the management of Hathibhai Wadi Home, at Ahmedabad, for unattached women and children.

Kasturba Samadhi : Looking to the sanctity of the Kasturba Samadhi at the Aga Khan Palace, Poona, and the necessity of maintaining the Samadhi in proper environments, the Trust has decided to acquire about 7½ acres of land in and around the Samadhi.

Kasturbagram : The Trustees have further earmarked a sum of Rs 20 lakhs for the development of Kasturbagram near Indore.

Conclusion : The Trustees while concluding their Report for 1951, say :

"The report presented in facts and figures makes encouraging reading. But it has to be borne in mind that the work achieved was by no means a smooth sailing. It is difficult to conceive of the frequent disappointments and the mental worry and agony the Pratinidhi has to suffer to make a success of this noble mission which was dear to Gandhiji's heart. Times and conditions, people and their views have considerably changed since he departed from this world. Those at the top have their mind centred on huge projects of national interest and those at the bottom are so rooted in ignorance as to be blind even to their own interest. The advent of Swaraj has not yet proved an incentive for missionary spirit and zeal. The Pratinidhi's appeal, therefore, to the well-to-do for monetary help, to educated women for active aid, and to the village folk for co-operation, often goes unanswered. While ploughing her lonely furrow in this field of constructive work, though she feels a bit forlorn and forsaken at times, it is the great Trust that Bapu and Bapa laid in her that keeps her spirit alive and her faith undiminished.

"It has been admitted by one and all that in this country it is the peasant of the countryside who is the backbone of the nation. On his well-being depends the prosperity of the Welfare-State—otherwise it will be only a misnomer. But this backbone has for decades been in a diseased condition. Every effort, not only by the non-Governmental agencies, but even by the Government has to be made to drag him out of this and to wake him up in time out of the stupor into which he has fallen. Non-Governmental agencies like the Kasturba Trust, however much they may strive, can touch only a fringe of this colossal problem of poverty, disease and ignorance combined."

A NATION BUILDER AT WORK

By Pyarelal

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THE FUNCTION OF BHOODAN-YAJNA

The reader will find in another column an article by Prof. H. M. Desai of Matar (Kheda District). He is a scholar of agricultural science. But I am afraid that he has not carefully studied the utterances of Shri Vinoba reported from time to time in these columns and my occasional articles. Else, there should remain no reason to feel that the Land-Gift-Movement will in any way come in the way of consolidation of scattered bits, or co-operation in agriculture, or institution of land reforms, if the peasants are convinced of their benefits. The *Bhoodan-Yajna* carries out a programme which none of these measures are capable of doing, viz., the equitable distribution of land-wealth, without recourse to coercion, expropriation, or compensation, and without creating ill-will among the different sections of society. Indeed, it establishes amity amongst them instead of a class-war. When it becomes necessary, if at all, to complete this process with the aid of legislation for compulsory acquisition from some who do not realize their obvious duty, the large measure of success in *Bhoodan-Yajna* will have created public opinion in its favour, so that the passage of such legislation will not meet with resistance from the landed class.

Nor does the *Bhoodan-Yajna* come in the way of rehabilitating the landless on reclaimable lands. That programme does not need a movement. The State Governments have the power to draw up a planned programme for it and carry it out in the execution of their policies. It would be unwise to combine it with *Bhoodan-Yajna*. The *Bhoodan-Yajna* is a voluntary movement of the people in which appeal is made to the "haves" to share their fortunes with the "have-nots". The spiritual effect of it would be weakened if it mixed itself up with administrative projects and programmes.

The writer expects "memorial funds", I believe, he has in mind the Gandhi Memorial Fund in the main, — to take up the work of rehabilitating the landless on reclaimable lands. I do not know the mind of the trustees of that Fund or any other fund. But I doubt the capacity of such funds, however big they might appear, to undertake such a Herculean task as the one suggested by the writer. Even the carrying on of the Land-Gift-Movement and the work of distribution of land obtained as gift by the Committee appointed by Vinobaji will need some expenditure. It is likely that the Gandhi Fund may have to bear a great part of this burden. The rehabilitation of the landless on new lands is a programme which can be initiated and carried on only by the Central and Provincial Governments, and even by

them at a pace proportionate to their resources. Of course, even they would need the co-operation of the people. They would get it if they do it in a manner free from waste, corruption and nepotism. But the equitable distribution of land which is in the exclusive possession of a few is a different problem. This problem will have to be tackled by the people, and it will have to be solved by voluntary sacrifices, if an agrarian revolution is to be avoided, and if India has to show to the world how even baffling world problems can be solved in a non-violent, non-coercive and peaceful manner.

Shri Desai has reiterated the plea of uneconomic nature of small holdings. The reason he gives for this is that "these farmers cannot command optimum means and methods of production, i.e. good seeds, manure, bullocks etc." Also, they possess farms not only small in size, but also inferior in quality — "being low in fertility and weedy". It will be seen that the fault is not with the smallness of holdings, but with the inequitable distribution of the means of production. The Government administration favours the rich in the supply of seeds, manure, iron, cement etc. and in the grant of loans. And the rich farmer also selfishly prevents them from getting the necessary means and in a subtle manner drives them out of good lands. And owners of very large areas act as mere parasites caring only to collect the rents and never paying a thought to the improvement of agriculture, or of the tenants working on them. It is the callousness of man and not the smallness of holding that is responsible for low productivity. This defect must be remedied by a more straightforward and painstaking administration, and unselfish, equalitarian co-operation among farmers. *Bhoodan-Yajna* will cure the latter defects as nothing else will. It will awaken the conscience of the big farmers.

The writer says that the 'Orthodox Gandhiites' "are not in a hurry to solve the problem with undue haste". I do not know who are orthodox and who are heterodox Gandhiites. But if he wants to suggest that the workers for *bhoodan* want to go in a leisurely fashion, it is a mistake. No Government and no unofficial public institution evinces even one per cent of the earnestness and energy which Vinoba has been expending on this problem. They are all — including many a leading constructive worker — fallen under some opiating influence, and are unmindful of the new spirit which has been pervading throughout the rural population. The condition may be compared to a ripe boil which is likely to become septic and to poison the entire blood stream, if not gently opened up. For the present, it is only Vinoba who, having realized this vividly, has given up all other programmes and with his frail body made this work his "Do or Die" mission. And in a course of nine months he has obtained more than three lakh acres of land. If every party and every leading worker

gives his attention to this in a similar manner, we can solve this problem in the next five years. As Vinoba has said elsewhere, 1757 and 1857 were revolutionary years in the history of India; both of them were of a sanguinary nature and as a result India passed under foreign domination. The foreign domination is gone; but the emancipation of its masses has not been achieved. Let us achieve it by 1957 by the new non-violent method, which, under the guidance of Gandhiji, relieved us of the foreign rule and, under the guidance of Vinoba, has begun to bring about an amazing change of heart in the landowners.

Wardha, 27-7-52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Assessment of Values

"Simla, July 25.—The Finance Minister, S. Ujjal Singh, told a questioner in the Punjab Council today that the question of providing 'Khadi' uniform to the police was considered last year. It was found that the 'Khadi' cloth available could not replace the mill-made cloth for police uniforms from the point of view of economy, durability or impressiveness; so that matter had to be dropped.

"As far as peons and orderlies were concerned, Government had considered the desirability of patronizing 'Khadi' cloth and issued instructions to all concerned.—P. T. I."

In national economy as opposed to individual or proprietary economy, the cheapness or otherwise of a thing has to be judged from the sum total of its effect upon its profitability to the nation. No one will say that the various river schemes are cheap ventures. But if they succeed according to the plans of their makers and enrich the soil and people of India for centuries hereafter, no one will say that the expenditure honestly and prudently made on them was too much. On the other hand *vanaspati* is apparently cheaper than *ghee*, but every rupee invested on the hydrogenation of the oil is a continuous exploitation of the people and the ruin of its cattle-wealth. Similarly the destruction of forests can be carried out more cheaply and it provides more immediately the needs of the people than afforestation, but who will say that the cost on afforestation and preservation of forests is a luxury and a waste?

Similarly Khadi provides much needed employment to millions of our women. Like a small and negligible but perennial spring, it is a continuous source of sustenance to thousands of families—particularly in Punjab, and no wise Government of Punjab can afford to allow the industry to be smothered on the ground of apparent cheapness of the mill-cloth.

The want of durability is very much due to want of patronage and care for its development by the Industrial Department of the States. And as to "impressiveness", surely in New India, just as by all standards a Governor or a Minister clad in the people's own Khadi is regarded more respectable, and impressive and a friend, so too, will be a policeman or a soldier clad in the people's home-made cloth. Impressiveness varies with the fashions set by leaders.

Our Governments need to revise their theories of economics of industries and cost, if they want to establish a Welfare State.

Dhotis and Sarees

Shri C. Rajagopalachari has been trying with the Central Government to get the manufacture of *dhotis* and *sarees* reserved for handloom weavers. Though this reservation may not prove enough for the weavers of States other than Madras, it would be the first step in the right direction after a *tapasya* of several years. But the Central Government will need some courage to do it, and Rajaji will be entitled to hearty congratulations if he is able to inspire it in the Central Government.

Some day or other Governments of India will have to adopt the policy of reserving certain industries to villages. Rajaji's is the mildest suggestion in that direction, and should be fully accepted.

Wardha, 9-8-52

A Noteworthy Marriage

Shri G. Ramachandra Rao alias Gora is sufficiently known to the readers of *Harijan* as the author of *An Atheist With Gandhi*,* and as a prominent worker of Andhra. A Brahman by heredity, encouraged and inspired by Gandhiji, he married his eldest daughter to a Harijan youth. He is the head of a large family. They all work for their bread and lead a life of great poverty, working among Harijans with a few workers as self-sacrificing as himself. About two years back his second daughter, who had become a grown up girl, fell an unfortunate victim to the seductive approach of another worker—a married man—and conceived. When Gora and his wife came to know of her condition, they immediately took their friends into confidence. As is usual among Savarna Hindus, some of them advised him to keep the girl in some 'Home' until she had delivered, and to leave her child in some 'Orphanage' thereafter. Some advised bringing about secret abortion. But Gora took the straight course and did nothing of the kind. The girl lived under his roof and Gora made no attempt to conceal her situation. In course of time, she delivered a girl.

Gora became anxious to find a suitable husband for her. The would-be husband must consent to adopt the daughter also. One can understand how difficult it is to bring this about. Ultimately a young man, Shri Jonnalagadda Ramalingayya, offered to marry her and adopt her child as his own. He is a Brahman widower of 38, with a young son by his first wife, and a social and political worker. The marriage was solemnized on 29th June last amidst a large gathering. Shri Gora writes: "I explained the case of my daughter at length from the wedding platform and the bridegroom also made a bold

* Navajivan Publishing House, P. B. 105, Ahmedabad; Price Re 1, Postage etc. As. 4.

and dignified statement in the end on the position of women in the present social set-up. The couple and the baby (who is one year old now) were the recipients of several gifts and congratulations. I see the strength and dignity of truthfulness, that is, as I understand it in terms of actual practice, of openness in dealings or of avoidance of secrecy."

I had come to know of Shri Gora's daughter's condition through the complaint of another worker. I referred the matter to him. He immediately gave me a very candid answer. The complainant was also impressed by the transparent sincerity of Shri Gora, and Shri Gora is happy to report that he was one of those who attended the wedding.

May his adherence to truth guide him and stand by him always.

Wardha, 3-7-52

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

Dr. Coomaraswamy was a great authority on Indian philosophy, culture and art. He died in 1947, shortly after the attainment of Indian independence. Eminent men of Asia, America and Europe paid glowing tributes to his memory. These have been collected together by one of his disciples, Shri S. Durai Raja Singam of Kuantan (Malaya) in a volume entitled *Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy*. (Price Rs 15/-). They give interesting reading and information of the life and character of that great scholar. Page 219 of the volume contains the following remarkable information:

"On Indian Independence Day he saw the fulfilment of a cherished dream of his and when I asked for his message to New India he wrote to me on the 15th of August, 1947 (Independence Day) the following: 'Be yourself. Follow Mahatma Gandhi, Bharatan Kumarappa, D. V. Gundappa, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Gaffar Khan and Sri Ramana Maharshi. Co-operate with such men as the Earl of Portsmouth, George Bourne, Wilfred Wellock, Jean Giono, Fernando Nobre. Why consider the inferior philosophers? Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners.'

"When he was asked what tribute he paid to Gandhiji for having achieved freedom through Non-violence, he wrote: 'I have the highest respect for Mahatma Gandhi's work in this field. By his advocacy of Satyagraha he reminded India of her most ancient ideals and is not only a teacher for India but a Jagat-Guru. But non-violence as he knows, is not merely a matter of refraining from visibly violent actions, it is a matter of making peace with ourselves, one of learning to obey our inner man, for none but the outer man or ego is aggressive'."

Wardha, 1-7-52

K. G. M.

'Stalin's Road to Power'

The Editor has referred to recent events in Hungary to show that communism has little regard for truth. Similarly it has little regard for non-violence, as for instance, the following list of communist leaders who had worked with Lenin and who were removed by Stalin in his struggle for power published in *Paix et Liberté* and reproduced in *Socialist Commentary* of April 1952, p. 90, shows:

Members of the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party

Trotsky, assassinated by the G.P.U.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Boukharine, Rykov and Sokolnikov executed.

Tomski committed suicide (by persuasion).

People's Commissars and Members of the Party's Central Committee

Executed: Smirnov, Smilga, Serebrakov, Evdokimov, Bogoslavski, Ouglanov, Beloborodov, Roudzoutak, Jagoda, Enoukidze, Karakhan, Mdivani, Safarov, Rosengoltz, Grinko, Reingold, Tchernov, F. Khodjaiev, Ossinski, Petrovski, Soukhomline, Zatonski, Kavtaradze, Kossior, Lomov, Krylenko.

Shot: Preobrajenski, Unchlikht, Postychev, Tchoubar, Boubnov, Eikhe, Antipov, Meljaouk, Soulimov, Milloutine, Soltz, Arbouzev, Iakovlev.

Committed suicide: Lomnadze, Skrypnik, Khandjian, Gamarnik, Tcherviakov, I. Khodjaiev, Lioubtchenko.

Poisoned: Ordjonikidze, Koubychev.

Arrested, disappeared: Radek, Rakovski.

Leaders of the Communist International

Shot, liquidated, disappeared: Helen Stassova, Bela Kun, Remmele, Valetski, Brandt, Borodin, Hoeltz, Neuman, Platnitski, Eberlein, Warski, Dombal.

The following members of the Politburo have so far survived:

Andreiev, Molotov, Vorochilov, Stalin.

In assessing the value of communism let us avoid partial views and have a look also at the other side of the medal.

V. G. D.

INDIA SHOULD LEAD THE WORLD

[How liquor interests the world were trying to promote the sale and consumption of alcohol was described by the U. S. temperance leader, Prof. W. A. Scharffenberg, in a lecture in New Delhi on Tuesday, 20th May, '52.

The Professor is the executive secretary of the International Temperance Association and Director of the National Committee for Prevention of Alcoholism in the U. S. A. He quoted facts about his own and other countries to warn India against the pressure that the influential manufacturers of alcohol were sure to use to defeat the policy of prohibition. The battle was already on elsewhere. In India it was beginning, and he hoped the people here would not be taken in by subtle propaganda to change their traditional attitude to drink and drinking.]

Centuries ago people in India, who once offered alcohol to gods, had begun to frown on drink. There was now a stigma attached to the manufacture, distribution, sale, and consumption of liquor. Mahatma Gandhi had given them the ideal of total prohibition. If, as in India, the U. S. A. had 90 per cent of its people in favour of prohibition, the ban on alcohol would be very effectively enforced there. India should not be satisfied with anything less.

Profit Motive

Manufacturers of alcohol had only one motive—profit. They wanted more people to drink so that they could get large profits. They

sold alcohol, did not manufacture it to drink themselves. A big wine merchant from France was feted in New York. When offered a cocktail, he pushed it away. "This is to be sold," he declared, "not to be taken."

All means of propaganda were used by manufacturers of alcohol. In the Philippines the radio was used for this propaganda. In Japan there was another argument. Consumption of sake was claimed to be patriotic because it brought revenue to the Government. In the U. S. A. 23 Temperance organizations had sponsored a Bill to ban the use of radio for liquor advertisements. The Bill had not been passed, but it would be, since opinion was more and more in its favour.

Newspapers and magazines, of course, carried liquor advertisements, and their editorial policy was naturally influenced. But 176 newspapers in the U. S. A. had refused to accept liquor advertisements, but their revenues were not affected. A paper in Los Angeles had 40 per cent of the total advertisements in the city's five papers, in spite of the fact that it would not take liquor advertisements. Such papers were held in higher esteem. They never lost.

Social Pressure

Besides advertisements, there were billboards and electrified signs. The most attractive were those advertising some brand of liquor. Then there was social pressure. In Paris, for instance, it was difficult to get a glass of water in a restaurant.

In South Africa things were no better. While hotels in the U. S. A. earned only 11 per cent of their revenues from liquor, in South Africa the sale of liquor in hotels accounted for 70 per cent of their revenues.

Vigorously pursuing his point the Professor said, alcohol was dynamite which broke so many homes, caused so many deaths on the road and sabotaged nations.

Subtle Propaganda

India should be prepared for subtle propaganda in a large way in the next five years to divert the people's attention from alcohol. In other countries it had already started. It took several lines. One argument was that alcoholism was a disease. Scientists, physicians and educationists were quoted to support this view. But no one need be taken in by this propaganda. Alcoholism was a vice, not a disease.

Another argument was that alcoholism was not caused by alcohol. It was caused by social maladjustment. But how was it that nobody who did not drink ever become an alcoholic?

A third argument was that an alcoholic man is a sick man. He should be sent to hospital. If he was a sick man, he should be prevented from becoming sick. To fight malaria, mosquitoes were destroyed or people were protected from them. Why should the germ of this disease be openly licensed by the State?

A fourth argument was that drinking was no moral issue. This was gaining strength in India

and the people here must be on the alert. It was very much a moral issue and nobody should be able to get away by describing it as a mere public health matter. If clinics were required for alcoholics, they should be financed by the liquor interests who produced alcoholics. This position had been accepted in Washington.

A fifth point was that beer, wine and liquor are food. Food could be digested. Alcohol could not. The human system, he said, could contain up to 5 drops of alcohol in 1000 drops of blood. Nature protested after that. If there were 6 drops of alcohol to 1000 drops of blood, it meant death. Alcohol was no food. It was poison. It killed the living and preserved the dead—in a laboratory. An eminent scientist in the U. S. A. was offered \$125,000 to say that alcohol was food, but he firmly declared that no one could call it food.

It was also being said it was wrong to prohibit people from drinking. Why? Was it right to allow an air pilot, a surgeon, a car driver or even a man who walked to drink? An Australian pilot who drank had recently been deprived of his flying licence. Nobody had the right to drink except those who wanted to commit suicide and if people wanted to commit suicide they were locked up so that they could do nothing.

India should Lead

In India it was being said that prohibition should not be introduced because it had failed elsewhere. The people here with their heritage, their background and their attitude should insist on total prohibition and thus lead the world.

They should not be taken in by the argument that drinking in moderation was all right. Nor should they accept the argument about loss of revenues. Alcohol was a great liability to nations. In one of the States of the U. S. A. liquor revenue was \$13 million, but \$65 million had to be spent on caring for victims of alcohol. In another State the position was even worse.

In the U. S. A. people in increasing numbers were demanding prohibition. In the 48 States 1,500 Bills had been sponsored to restrict the use of alcohol. Temperance organizations were strong. They would like to do what was done in Switzerland where ten per cent of the revenue from liquor was used for educating the people against the use of alcohol.

But in India the position was much happier, and the Professor hoped that the country would soon achieve the ideal of total prohibition so strongly advocated by Gandhiji.

[From a report in the *Hindustan Times*, 22-5-1952]

Note : The information about the Australian pilot is interesting. I greatly suspect that some of the recent casualties of airplanes in India might have been connected with drink. I wonder if the investigating committees make any inquiries about the drink habits of the pilots involved in the accidents.

BASIC EDUCATION IN MADRAS

[On 12th June 1950, the Government of Madras appointed a Committee consisting of Shris E. W. Arayanayakam (Chairman), G. Ramachandran, K. Arunachalam and R. Vinayakam "to study how Basic Education is being imparted in the State and to suggest ways and means of improving it." The Committee finalized its report on 9th January 1952,—rather a long time. The report published by the Government consists of 25 pages in print. Though parts of the report deal with local administrative matters, some of its chapters will be read with profit by all those who take interest in Basic Education.]

The following is the summary of recommendations made by the Committee.—Ed.]

1. The Government should publish as early as possible a plan for Basic Education showing specifically how it is to be integrated with secondary and with university education.
2. The scheme should be administered by the Education Department and all education officers working in the Basic areas should be trained for the work of Basic Education.
3. Basic Education should be developed on the basis of compact areas, each training school being organically related to the schools of its own area and being responsible for training and guiding the teachers of the schools. Teachers should be trained with a view to their absorption in such specific areas.
4. Middle and High Schools in the Basic Education areas should be converted into Senior Basic and Post-Basic Schools sufficient to meet the needs of the children of the area for secondary education. In order that these schools may be adequately staffed, the recommendation of the Advisory Board for the training of graduate teachers should be implemented at once.
5. In order to demonstrate norms of achievement twenty Basic Schools in the neighbourhood of each training school should be taken over by Government and their management and control vested in the headmaster of the training school concerned.
6. Basic Schools should no longer be regarded for administrative purposes as on a par with the old primary schools. They should be recognized as on a par with secondary schools, and should be so manned.
7. Every Basic Training School must be provided with an efficient, practising school, which should be developed as soon as possible into complete Basic School of eight grades, if necessary by providing for residence of pupils.
8. The recommendations of the Committee with regard to the provision of literature, the assessment of achievement and the abolition of external written examinations, are of major importance in securing the efficiency of the training of the teachers.
9. The organization of the Basic Crafts both in training schools and in schools should be overhauled, and greater stress laid on the efficient

working of the craft chosen, as the centre of the educational programme.

10. Land, water, buildings, and equipment, in sufficient quantity and of a kind suited to the programme of Basic Education must be provided for all training schools and basic schools, and new ones should not be opened until such necessities have been made available.

11. As the programme of Basic Education represents the declared policy of the Madras Government, it should command the full support of all the officers of the Education Department whether or not they are directly concerned in its administration. The Department as a whole should take responsibility for the enlightenment of the general public on the educational principles and methods involved.

KASTURBA TRUST REPORT

The ordinary reader generally does not care to peruse reports of institutions. He takes interest when a Fund is collected and remembers roughly the amount gathered. He thereafter rarely bothers to know how it has been spent and what work has been done by it. When the work is carried on in far away villages, which he has never visited nor is likely to visit, since he does not read the reports, he carries till the end of his life the impression that the Fund is not put to any use, and goes on complaining, "What is being done of this Fund?" If a worker asks for subscription for any work, he says "What is such and such Fund good for? Why do you not get money from that?", and so on.

The critic is not to be blamed always for this. For reports, for no fault of the Trustees, often contain details, or are in forms, which do not interest the ordinary reader.

The summary of the report of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust published in this issue gives only such facts and details as the reader should know, and I request him not to neglect to read it. Kasturba work, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Trust, is mostly being done in villages far away from towns and railway lines, and townspeople cannot have an adequate idea of the difficult conditions in which the women workers have to work. A perusal of the report will give him just a glimpse of it. When a Kasturba worker sees him, let him talk sympathetically with her, learn more facts from her, and help her as much as he can.

The Trust follows generally the healthy policy of not making a centre dependent upon itself for all time. After a year or so, a part of the expenses has to be raised by the worker herself. Most of the villages are so backward and poor that they cannot be expected to raise them locally. Hence the Pratinidhis have to approach city people. They should consider it their duty to help them to the best of their ability.

Wardha, 30-7-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

COMMON MAN'S WELFARE IN RUSSIA

(By M. P. T. Acharya)

Shri J. C. Kumarappa, in explaining his appreciation of Russian economy, says: So far as State's one care is the welfare of the common man, it is far in advance of Imperialisms, and nearer to Gandhian ideology... "even if the Russian economy may be termed State Capitalism that is far away from true Communism".

Shri Kumarappa thinks from these statements: There is welfare of the common man even under State Capitalism. His objection is that it has not been achieved without State and without violence. If it were done without State and without violence, it would be Communism.

But the question is not whether "Communism in Russia is really State Capitalism or whether it is established with State and violence but whether welfare of the common man has been secured in Russia. As this appears to be a widely spread belief, I wish to dispel this illusion.

Shri Kumarappa told his audience at Wardha that it cost 1 (or 3?) rouble per cup of cocoa with a slice of bread minus butter and the wage of a sweeper or teacher is 100 roubles a month. It means the sweeper or teacher cannot buy a cup of cocoa and a slice of bread without butter. The price is too exorbitant at least so far as the sweeper or teacher is concerned.

There are many grades of wages and salaries in U. S. S. R. The higher the posts, the greater the salaries—although the higher posts contribute nothing to production. There are special shops (so-called 'free shops') where the highly paid men are allowed to buy at a higher price as much as they can afford. But ordinary workers can get only in ration shops where fixed quantities are sold. All this belongs to common man welfare.

Perhaps it will be alleged that there is medical free treatment, crèches for infants in factories and free school facilities for all. They are not really so free. The workers contribute out of their meagre wages by compulsion a part of the expenses. The management of these services take a large part of the contributions forcibly deducted from the wages.

Since the end of the Second World War, there is no more free secondary education. Hence most workers cannot give higher education to their children. The State wants only skilled workers. Higher education is reserved only for highly paid officials. As regards the abolition of illiteracy it is only good for reading official propaganda. The quality of medical care is poor.

In Russia where all people are able to live if only they sell labour to the State, it is impossible to say how many are really employed, for statistics are kept secret. However, a report seems to have betrayed when it described how much wages were distributed among so many million persons. It was about 40 million persons

who were really employed—"all workers". What of the rest of the 200 million population?

Among the 40 million employed, a vast majority are Government servants, army and police who are maintained out of Government revenues. These revenues are taken in the form of profits, rent, taxes, and interest on sums advanced by Government to various bodies. That means *this vast horde of parasites are maintained out of the wages of producing workers—who have to eat so much less to maintain them.* For most "economists" production and parasitism seem to be alike "work" equally essential. I hope no economist influenced by Gandhiji will fall into the same mistake.

Then let us remember the concentration camps (forced labour camps), where the labourers are not paid anything at all for work but a meagre ration. These camps are estimated to contain 20 million persons of all ages and sexes. Sentencing people to hard labour is a form of getting free labour for the State and hence these inmates are increasing.

All this goes as welfare of the common man. Can it be said that these are nearer to Gandhian ideology? These are the hard facts of State Capitalism, which so many people think, takes care of the common man "although violently".

We know other imperialisms; but Russian State Capitalism is just a new variety of it. It has brought so many countries of East Europe (100 million people) under its sway. *The colonies are on the periphery of the mother country.*

The Bolshevik party itself is an imperialist body within Russia making all to submit to its will with the economic monopoly of the State which it wields exclusively.

"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 resolving their problems," says Shri Kumarappa. If all this were done in the service of the common man, we could appreciate that. But it is fanaticism in a bad cause. Today the Bolsheviks are much better placed than their slaves, and there is no self-denying but shooting and imprisoning of them and keeping them in terror. There is only wage slavery or concentration camp slavery for all others. God save us from this kind of self-denial, zeal, steadfastness and earnestness of purpose with which they set about in solving their problems.

Bombay, 5-7-52

Note: I am not interested in spreading dispraise of Russia or China, and I have no love for the American way of life. But we must not labour under illusions. Shri M. P. T. Acharya has lived and worked in Russia and has kept in touch with the factual conditions there. I know he has become inveterately opposed to the Russian system, but he is in a position to

evaluate the value of statements put forth as facts. This is the reason for my publishing this. Shri Kumarappa, too, has, in spite of his liberal compliments to the two so-called Communist countries, made it clear that he has not fallen in love with any of the two, and does not put forth any as a model which may be copied. He is only anxious to bring about radical changes in our economic system without loss of time. He is impatient with the present state of affairs. I think we cannot blame him for that, and should be all as anxious as he on that count. But, if we can realize the implications of the *bhoodan* movement, and whole-heartedly bring it to completion, we shall have achieved what no other country has ever achieved. It is rather unfortunate, that even our constructive workers have not yet fully realized that this is the principal activity which we need today.

10-7-52

K. G. M.

BERLIN WARNS US

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

Berlin must have been a most beautiful city. It was among the leading five cities of the world. In the lay out and architecture probably it had to share the honours only with Paris, if at all. Now little of all that is left. The palaces have been reduced to ashes. A good deal of the debris has not yet been cleared. Yet there are crowds of people. One wonders where they all come from.

In 1914, when Germany sent her zeppelins on to London and dropped those enormous bombs, it little realized that one day the whirlwind of destruction will sweep out its own abodes. All that one sees of the once beautiful city is just burnt out walls with the major portions crumbling down. The facades that still stand only declare the past glory. The destruction of human beings, men, women and children, that must have taken place, has left no traces but it is terrific to contemplate. Material destruction can be as nothing before this human loss and suffering. Under the Kaiser and under Hitler, Germany had drawn the sword and now we bear witness as to what happens to those who lay their faith on the strength of arms.

In the first war Germany fell but rose again quickly; but after the second war her recovery has been pitiful, whatever the cause may be. Now there is a serious plan to help her on to her feet and let her arm herself to her teeth. Not only Germany but the whole world does not seem to have drawn any lessons from the past experience. The prospects are too terrible to contemplate.

The Americans with their satellite countries are rapidly drawing in battle array against the Soviets. Has the last two global wars no lessons to teach us? Let not our second state be worse than the first.

Mr Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador to India, believes that in the past armaments led to war and destruction, but he thinks God is going to deal with the U.S.A. differently. The course of history cannot be changed even to please Uncle Sam. At the moment America is arming herself to the teeth with the most deadly armaments. This looks as though her end is in sight. Let her beware.

"God's mills grind slowly
But they grind exceeding small."

HINDI IN MADRAS

Shri S. R. Shastri of the Hindi Prachar Sabha, T'Nagar, Madras, writes to the Editor, wherein he says,

"In the schools in Madras State, Hindi is taught for two periods a week as an alternative subject to craft. Pass in Hindi is not necessary for promotion and so the students are indifferent. Hindi teachers are finding it very difficult to teach Hindi to an indifferent class. This has made the study of Hindi in schools a mockery.

"After all, as an all-India language, Hindi is an alternative more to English than to craft, and this is more true in the South where popularity appears to lean towards English. But it is a known fact that the standard of English among the students today is deteriorating, though six periods a week are allotted to it. Hence two or three more periods may be given to English, which may be specially devoted to the study of classical works. This higher English may be made an alternative to Hindi. Students may choose between English and Hindi. The practice of taking additional English in lieu of second language is prevalent in some of the Universities in the North. If this is agreed to and Hindi is made an examination subject counted for class promotion on par with English, much of the difficulty of the Hindi teachers will be removed.

"Hence, may I suggest to the Madras Government to make Hindi alternative to higher or additional English and not to craft, and thus give free scope to the students to choose between Hindi or English?"

Shri Shastri's note must be read in the background that certain sections of the people in Madras State are not still reconciled to the view that Hindi should now form an integral and compulsory part of our school and college curricula. Perhaps they fear what is called "Hindi Imperialism" of the North. Right or wrong, this must be dispelled; and one of the ways to do it is for the North to keep itself away from Hindi Prachar work in non-Hindi areas, leaving the field to them and their States and proffering what help, if any, they might need from it. In the meanwhile Shri Shastri's suggestion deserves consideration so far as it goes. The true thing would be for the Madras State to see its way to beginning Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools as soon as possible.

18-8-52

M. P. DESAI

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL MEETING

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

The extra-ordinary meeting of the World Peace Council met in Berlin from the 1st to the 5th July, when about 450 delegates and observers from 59 countries met together to consider the situation that has arisen out of the development of germ warfare in Korea, and the rearmament of Germany and Japan. The representatives were drawn from all walks of life. The one common urge that united them all was the deep desire for world peace. The spirit that prevailed at the session left no doubt as to the sincerity of those who were present.

The problems that were taken up also covered stemming the tide of a world war, the question of European union, checking of the armaments race, the banning of arms of mass destruction and obtaining freedom for the peoples to lead their own way of life, securing the independence of colonial and semi-colonial peoples and finally the drafting of the Peace Pact.

The situation in the world demands immediate solution. To this end resolutions were passed — one : an Address to the Four Great Powers and to the peoples of the world to settle the German question peacefully through the calling of an immediate conference of the Four Powers ; — two : that the San Francisco Treaty and the agreements based on it should be replaced by a genuine treaty signed by all States concerned, stipulating the withdrawal of all occupational forces and foreign bases and guaranteeing sovereignty to the Japanese people ; — three : the council called for a speedy settlement of the Korean war by an armistice based on international agreements.

It was also decided to call a Plenary session of a Congress of Peoples for Peace in December in Vienna to consider the ways and means of attaining our end. It was suggested that the delegates should go back to their respective countries and engage themselves in intensive preparatory work for this Conference.

As Pietro Nenni said in his closing address "the fate of the Congress will be decided by the quality of work between now and its meeting. It will be decided in the depths of dark Africa, in the Near and Far East, India, the U.S. of America, Latin America, The Eastern Peoples' Democracies, to the exact degree that we shall find the ways and means to get in contact with that part of public opinion which has misunderstood our activities or shared in the calumnies by which it has been attempted to break the spirit of our propaganda."

A fair share of the time of the council was taken up in receiving evidence of the bacteriological warfare that is now being waged in Korea. Short films were shown of the victims of napalm bombs — the sufferers looked like those at an advanced stage of leprosy, with their fingers and toes eaten up and the nose and face flattened out. Several medical men and scientists who had visit-

ed and studied the conditions on the spot gave documentary evidence in regard to spreading of disease artificially.

The one great impression that is left on an observer is the intensity with which people — not only the delegates — but also the general population in Berlin desired peace. This desire was not promoted by any emotional appeals. It is too deep-rooted in the common population which had witnessed the devastation caused by two wars. The ruins of the once beautiful city of Berlin were in themselves a reminder of what a race for armaments will bring.

And I hope this experience of the last two global wars will not fail to bring home the lessons to the modern generation.

At the bottom of all the causes for these conflicts are the economic reasons. When we are parties to these transactions, such as travelling by American Airways, using American built cars or buses, or buying American fountain pens, cosmetics, drugs, breakfast foods etc. we become sharers in the horrible responsibilities with the Americans for these wars. If we desire to have no part or parcel in this sordid business we should non-co-operate with the trade and commerce of the U.S.A. until this Korean war is stopped. Are we prepared to undertake the sacrifice this involves ?

WHAT LED TO THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

"On the broad backs of these (Chinese) farmers Chiang-Kai-shek swept to power.

".....(However), the compensation the peasant received for putting Chiang-Kai-shek in power was...not land or even rent reductions, but threats, curses, blows and sometimes a coffin.

".....the learned economists in Chiang's Government began to justify the betrayal by finding that the land problem was a myth and did not exist.

"In adopting this attitude, they could conceivably find support, if they wished, in some very useful figures. On the morrow of Chiang-Kai-shek's *coup d'etat* in Shanghai all the arable land within China was estimated at one and one-third billion mow.* The population of the country was around four hundred and fifty million, of which about three hundred and fifty million were farmers. In effect, and under the most ideal conditions, this meant that the peasant would have to extract taxes, food, fuel, clothing — in fact, everything he would ever use in his life from an iron hoe to a wooden coffin — out of no more than four mow (two-thirds of an acre) of land. This fact by itself suggested that China would have to end feudalism or perish. But Chiang's agonomes now discovered in these figures proof of another sort. 'What is the use of dividing the land ?', they blandly asked. 'There is not enough anyway.' As for land concentration, it did not exist and hence there was no cause for revolution. No doubt, the economists wished to rationalize

* One mow equals approximately one-sixth of an acre.

their betrayal of the peasants. But their assumptions not only ignored the wishes of the farmer — as if this flesh-and-blood man were too insignificant to find a place in their figures — but also ignored the process of land concentration which was taking place before their eyes."

(From *China Shakes The World*, Jack Belden, p. 148).

RAJAJI'S DIAGNOSIS

I have read Shri C. Rajagopalachari's appeal "Support Handlooms", and your article "Handloom and Khadi", as also your leader in *Harijan* of July 19, 1952. Rajaji has truly observed that "one out of every twelve families" in his State is a weaver. This applies more or less to other States also. It means that we have in our country a sufficient number of weavers who can supply our annual cloth requirements. If they are less, the deficiency can be easily filled up.

The craftsmanship of our handloom weavers in producing cloth of rich designs still stands supreme; mills are unable to produce them. The designs of the handloom cloth carry about them the civilization and history of our country, and handlooms occupy an important place in our village-centred economy. Economically also, handlooms compare favourably with the mills and in point of durability the handloom-cloth is definitely superior to the mill-cloth, the obvious reason being that handlooms do not exhaust the strength of yarn as much as the mills.

It is painful that despite such favourable conditions for the handloom cloth Shri Rajaji has to make an appeal to the people to patronize it. Concluding his appeal, Rajaji has said, "Freedom and political rights must rest on occupational balance. Political freedom cannot but break down if we neglect the foundations of national life."

If this diagnosis and prophesy are correct — and I am sure they are — why should his appeal confine itself to the people alone, through the radio? Should not this appeal be addressed even more to the Government than the people? Why is not the Tariff Board of the Government of India vigilant about it?

Our forefathers devised a science of producing cloth from raw materials of our own country such as cotton, silk and wool, and enhanced their prestige. But those goods are now being thrown out and replaced by plentiful imports of foreign stuff like plastic cloth, artificial silk, and similar fabrics. Georgette sarees, which were once prized even by the princesses, are now sold for 10 or 12 rupees in a retail shop. Plastic has begun to be used for coating. It has ruined a number of cottage industries, such as of toys, bangles and other articles of daily use. This shows which way the wind is blowing.

A broadcast appeal will be quite inadequate to save the handloom industry. Some more con-

crete measures are indispensable. I suggest a few of them:

1. Import of foreign yarn and cloth of every material should be banned;

2. A machinery should be set up to ensure the even supply of mill yarn to handlooms to keep them working all the year after previously testing its strength and uniformity;

3. Only such cloths should be allowed to be sold in India as do not conflict with handloom cloths and to the extent they are necessary in a particular area;

4. Mills must be allowed to manufacture cloth only after the yarn necessary for handlooms is produced and if there is a demand for Indian cloth in foreign markets.

These are the indispensable measures which should be implemented if we want to save and revitalize the skeletons working on the handlooms. Otherwise, as Rajaji has prophesied the neglect of the foundations of our nation cannot but imperil our freedom.

Rajaji has rightly said that for every twelve persons in his State there is a weaver. I would add to it that if these twelve persons spin only during their leisure hours, they can surely keep one weaver employed throughout the year, without neglecting their other occupations. All this yarn can be produced in his own place. But who will see this clearly in the present befogged political atmosphere?

(From Gujarati)

LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM

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