

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

## OUR GRATITUDE

We have been receiving letters and telegrams from relations, friends, workers and institutions from all over the country expressing their sympathy and condolence in our bereavement. It is almost impossible to acknowledge individually each letter or message. We are therefore constrained to express our gratitude to them all through the newspaper columns. The feeling that our grief is widely shared by so many will lighten our sorrow and give us courage and strength to bear it. We realize it is difficult to be consoled but we must bow to God's will. May God give us all strength to bear the sorrow with fortitude and inspire us to work with greater zeal for Babu's ideals, to which the late Shri Mashruwala had dedicated himself.

GOMTIBEHN MASHRUWALA

(Mrs K. G. M.)

NILKANTH MASHRUWALA

(K. G. M.'s Nephew)

KANTILAL MASHRUWALA

(K. G. M.'s Nephew)

## A GOOD CAUSE NEVER DIES

A good cause never dies. If we have faith in the worthiness of our cause, we must refuse to feel downhearted because God has chosen to put our faith to the test by gathering Kishorlal-bhai into His bosom. It speaks volumes for the courage and devotion to the cause of Shri Magan-bhai Desai that in spite of his preoccupation with other duties he has agreed to step into the breach and take up the editorial responsibility of the *Harijan* weeklies. We can only wish and pray for all strength to his elbow and strive to do our bit by helping him our wholehearted and unreserved co-operation. It was a great dream — the dream of realizing the pattern of non-violent society in India and thereby point the way to the world, which Gandhiji dreamt and has left with us to realize. It is too great a dream for any individual's unintegrated will or effort. It calls for collective sacrifice on the part of all who share that dream. Let the puny self therefore perish, so that the dream might live.

Valmiki Mandir,

New Delhi, 15-9-52

PYARELAL

## CLOTH-MILL, vs. HANDLOOM

[The following report of a Press Conference addressed by Shri Rajaji on September 8 at Madras is taken from the *Hindu*, Madras, of 9-9-52.]

"The question of reservation of the manufacture of *dhotis* and *sarees* to the handloom industry is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore, of the Central Government", stated Mr C. Rajagopalachari at his Press Conference today, reiterating the justice of the stand taken by the Madras Government in this matter.

"My demand on behalf of the handloom weavers, that *dhotis* and *sarees* should be entirely reserved for this cottage industry" the Chief Minister said, "has been opposed publicly by the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Government of India, during his short stay in Madras. This opposition is welcomed by the mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad and the piecegoods merchants here. Some persons have been much concerned over the personal aspect of the matter. It is not necessary for anyone to come to our assistance in maintaining our mutual goodwill and friendship. Mr Krishnamachari has said enough about it.

## Only Sound Solution

"We are entitled each to defend our policies. I am convinced that this reservation, as I have proposed, is the only proper, just and economically sound solution for the conflict that has risen between the unprotected handloom industry and the long-protected mill industry. We are concerned not with private feelings, but with the merits of the handloom cottage industry and its present position arising out of its dependence for yarn on the mill industry and the competition of the mills in a field which was entirely the monopoly of the Indian handloom all through the ages up till recently. The mills have plenty of scope to produce cloth that could be tailored and could be used otherwise. *Dhotis* and *sarees* are peculiarly Indian and could give adequate employment to the five million people engaged in the handloom industry. The total number of people engaged in the weaving section of all the mills in India would be much less than one lakh of workers. Actually, it has been calculated that they would be only 60,000. The number of men, women, and children depending on the handloom in Madras State alone

is, I think, five millions. The question is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government also.

#### A Practicable Compromise

"I am afraid the Union Minister made some error in his statistics; but nothing much hangs on that argument. You may take it that the mill production is round about 4,000 million yards per annum. The handloom production may be taken to be round about 2,000 million yards per year, most of which are *dhotis* and *sarees*, whereas mill production of *dhotis* and *sarees* has not been even upto 50 per cent of total output. *Dhotis* and *sarees* have been a good field for exploitation for mills only in recent times. I would call it pilfering of pattern from the handloom, to which the mills are not entitled. Considering the under-employment prevailing among millions of handloom weaving families, who cannot switch over to any other employment such as a handful of people in England or Scotland could manage to do, it is really ridiculous to talk of the handloom weavers of India going over to other occupations. It really amounts to a policy of allowing one million families in Madras or three times that number all over India to be wiped out of existence. This will not happen. Human beings do not allow themselves to be wiped out. Problems will be created in the meanwhile which Governments will not be able to solve peacefully. I wish to avoid this and have suggested a fair and practicable compromise which could be smoothly worked.

#### Industry Cannot Be Allowed to Die

"We cannot allow the handloom industry to languish and die. That is the equivalent of the policy underlying certain statements made on this subject. It is absurd to go abroad for marketing the handloom cloth instead of providing for handloom weavers what is due in their own country within whose social conditions and tastes and manners, their avocation has grown. It has been stated that there will be a cloth famine if *dhotis* and *sarees* are reserved for handloom cottage weavers. This is a groundless apprehension. A few months ago, the Handloom Weavers Society in Madras had Rs 4 crores worth of *dhotis* and *sarees* on hand which they could not dispose of and which they wanted the Government to buy. Does this indicate a cloth famine?

"If any one says that people took to handloom on account of a boom, it would be quite wrong. Nobody takes to handloom weaving unless he is to that avocation born. No one can learn to weave crores worth of cloth simply by way of speculation. It is because he is a weaver by birth, and is trained to do it from his early infancy that he weaves cloth. The mills with their machinery and paid labour and their extraordinarily strong organization can produce 4,000 million yards of cloth other than *dhotis* and *sarees*, which can be used up for all requirements against nudity and which can also be exported and easily marketed abroad.

#### A Deepavali Gift to Weavers

"The whole of the argument against my proposal arises out of want of imagination. I do hope that the Minister at the Centre will make up his mind and induce mill-owners of India to make a Deepavali gift to the handloom weavers this year. It will be a memorable step towards peace, stability and prosperity, and God will bless it and make it fruitful."

The Chief Minister was asked whether the public could afford to bear the high cost of handloom cloth. He replied: "The public and the weavers have a way of adjusting themselves. The public cannot bear the starvation of the weavers either."

When he was asked whether it was not a fact that mills reserved a certain percentage of their output to *dhotis* and *sarees* at the request of the Government, the Chief Minister said that when the Government asked for that, they could also demand the stopping of production of *dhotis* and *sarees*.

Replying to further questions, the Chief Minister said that the Madras Government and the Union Minister had discussed this subject and were entitled to discuss and consider further all its pros and cons. Probably, the Union Minister allowed himself a little loud thinking when he was put the question by businessmen. "There is no question of my replying to Mr Krishnamachari. I was presenting my case again because the public have been disturbed over a trifle. Whatever the Government may do or may not do, the Government here or at Delhi, let us buy only handloom *dhotis* and *sarees* for the next Deepavali and not any *dhotis* or *sarees* made in mills."

#### NOTES

##### "Mahatma"

Four handsome volumes of this biography of Gandhiji by Shriyuts D. G. Tendulkar and V. K. Jhaveri have already come out. They give an year-to-year account of Gandhiji's public activities, with copious extracts from his writings, speeches etc. They also abound in photographs, interesting cartoons, and facsimiles of some of Gandhiji's important writings. The writers seem to have for the present restricted themselves to giving a factual narrative without their own comments thereon. Possibly they propose to do so after completing the whole factual life-story.

The volumes will be important for students, and producers of smaller biographies of Gandhiji, and as a reference book to trace particular subjects. Being in the form of a *de luxe* edition only, they are too costly (being Rs 25 per volume) for ordinary workers and small libraries. But they should certainly be found in the collections of the rich and in large public libraries. I hope they are finding their patronage wherever the English language is spoken and Gandhiji is studied through English. The fourth volume brings Gandhiji's narrative to the end of 1938.

Wardha, 1-9-52

K. G. M.

#### Uttar Pradesh Land-Gifts

Till the 13th of this month the figure of land-gift in Uttar Pradesh is 3,10,068 acres. The number of donors is 11,842. Of the land received 7,590 acres were distributed among the landless.



## ATHEISM AND COMMUNAL UNITY

[In his book *An Atheist with Gandhiji*,\* Shri Gora says:

"Pandit Sundarlal, speaking at the marriage function, revealed to the guests a particular remark that Bapuji made to him when they both had met at Delhi at the time of the recent communal riots. Bapuji wished the communities turned atheists, if that served to stop communal hatred and riots. This remark illustrated again that Bapuji evaluated principles not so much by their intellectual or sentimental content as by their practical results. He was not averse to atheism if it tended to civilize humanity."

A friend felt some doubt about the accuracy of the remark attributed to Gandhiji, and desired me to obtain its verification from Pandit Sundarlalji, as it was likely, the friend said, that Shri Gora, who does not know Hindi, in which the speech must have been made, might have failed to get the correct import of Gandhiji's remark.

I wrote to Pandit Sundarlalji, and this is his reply: — K. G. M.]

I have just received your post-card of 25-8-'52. I do not know what Shri Gora has written in his book. It is not possible to remember what I said in my speech in 1948. But so far as I remember I had a talk with Bapu on this subject only once, and it was in Delhi. I have related it to others also on several occasions. I believe in my speech at Sevagram in 1948 I must have repeated the same talk. I produce it below:

It happened in 1924. Bapu was staying at Maulana Muhammadali's. The well-known Delhi Hindu-Muslim riots were just over. And Bapu had gone to Delhi in connection with them. While Bapu was there, distressing news of communal riots at Multan and Kohat also reached him. Bapu was deeply grieved over the news. The conversation I am reproducing below related to the day previous to the one on which he announced his intention to go on a 21 day fast. I am writing the words—mine and Bapu's from memory, but to the best of my recollection.

It was afternoon. A young friend of mine from Aligarh had come to meet me. He expressed a wish for Bapu's *darshan*. Bapu was at the moment sitting alone in a long room adjacent to the central hall. The door happened to be closed, though not bolted. Accompanied by my friend I opened the door. Bapu turned and looked at me. I saw that he looked very much excited, distress and sorrow was writ large on his face. I felt that it was not proper to go in and disturb him, and so shut the door and tried to return. But he called out my name twice or thrice from inside. And though I tried to excuse myself he insisted and called me in. I went with my friend, and we two silently sat down before him. After one or two minutes' silence, I again motioned to go out with my friend. Bapu asked: "What brought you? Anything you wanted to ask me?" I said: "This friend of mine from Aligarh desired to pay his respects to you. Now that we have had *darshan*, we may go. I have nothing to say in particular."

\* Navajivan, Ahmedabad. Price Re 1-0-0, Postage etc. as 0-4-0.

And we moved, but Bapu again asked us to sit down. His face still wore the same perturbed and overwrought look. It appeared as though a furnace was smouldering inside his mind. I could see that he was profoundly disturbed over the news from Kohat and Multan. There was another pause of silence, and then the following conversation.

I: Do you think you could bring Hindus and Muslims together in this way?

Bapu: I have not followed what you mean.

I: Do you think you could bring Hindus and Muslims together in this way?

Bapu: What are you driving at? I have not understood it.

I: (for the third time). Do you think you could bring Hindus and Muslims together in this way?

Bapu: Oh, now I see what you mean. You are referring to our talk in Juhu—is it not?

I: Yes, that is it.

Bapu: Why ask me? I am prepared to say that it were far better, if they all turned atheists. God will not be effaced, merely because of their disbelief. But let them first become men. But none listens to me. You are by no means insignificant creature, but, yet, do you think people will listen to you? Kabir and Nanak did their best to wean them from their ways. But the world goes its own way.

His face showed that his sorrow and excitement were growing. He stopped. Then for two minutes, there was again silence. I did not make a reply. Then I touched his feet and left along with my friend. I remember that when I came out I told both Maulana Muhammadali and Hakimji (i.e. Hakim Ajmal Khan), "It seems the old man is going to drop a bomb-shell, though I cannot say in what exact manner." I had been stunned, and Maulana Sahib and Hakimji, too, were equally stunned with what I told them. Within 24 hours after this, Bapu had announced his 21 day fast.

The talk at Juhu to which Bapu refers in one of his replies above, concerned a controversy between me and him. While I held fast to Kabir's teaching, that in place of the different sectarian religions there should be one universal religion founded on man's unity, Bapu said that the religions could go on, only they should come together on the basis of mutual respect for one another, that is, *sarva-dharma-samabhav* (i.e. equal regard for all religions). You know the difference between his views and mine on this subject.

I do not infer from this that Bapu would have welcomed 'Atheism'. But here is what he said. His words and the excited state of his face remain imprinted on my mind to this day. I have narrated the incident on several occasions.

# HARIJAN

Sept. 20

1952

## A PLEA FOR ROBUST SELF-RELIANCE

It may fairly be said that we are now fast entering into an era of our national reconstruction on almost all fronts. It is a very welcome sign of the times. We may well congratulate ourselves for entering on that phase without any appreciable loss of time. It shows the vitality of the inner urge for progress, which Gandhiji strove to infuse in us as a people. We are on the brink of a second revolution in our country—a social and economic revolution which we badly need and which, thanks to Gandhiji, we are so silently but surely led to.

With the free Constitution of our land beginning to function, this great movement is now on, and we have to see that it goes aright and on proper lines. In this connection there are portents evil enough to warn us. One of this is what may be said the 'Westward Ho' now followed by the Eastward Ho! I refer to the alarming number of our people—students, publicists, and others from various ranks and sections of our people—almost hankering to go to England and America and now to China—to lands outside India, presumably for light and guidance. I do not for a moment suggest, nor do I believe, that going to foreign countries is bad or not necessary. As an old adage says, for knowledge one may go to Land's End even. What I mean to draw attention to is the pathetic faith with which we run westward and eastward.

The first revolution that we went through was a self-reliant movement under the over-all guidance of Gandhiji. Not that we were so arrogant or self-satisfied as not to look to other lands for help or guidance. It was always welcome. But we knew that ultimately what counted most was what we thought and did ourselves and on our own. Going a-begging was altogether out of question. We were so occupied with the great task before us—and it was tremendous—that there was no time to spare. It was a 'do or die' movement not only for Gandhiji, but thanks to that great moral dynamo, it became so for our whole people as well. It was in those days that Gandhiji refused to be drawn away to Europe and later to America even though invited by its people. The memorable words with which he replied the pressing invitation may be well quoted here—

"I frankly confess that when I first tempted myself seriously to entertain a European invitation, apart from my keen desire to see M. Romain Rolland face to face, I had no idea of seeking help for India in her fight for free-

dom, but I had a desire to deliver the message of non-violence. Not that I do not need all the help I can get from outside for my country, but I do not believe in a begging expedition for that purpose. That aid will come when we deserve it and then it will come without the asking. I therefore flattered myself with the belief that if I went to the West I should be able to interpret true non-violence to her by word of mouth. But the more I ponder over the thing, the more unworthy I appear to myself to be. I need greater preparation and greater self-purification to make me a worthy vehicle for the transmission of the unbroken message of what appears to me to be the only way of reaching Truth which is God. For the time being therefore the friends in the West would pardon me for my inability to visit them personally. The wish is there, capacity is wanting." (*Young India*—January 31, 1929).

It was such heroic self-reliance and faith in our strength that moved the great mass of our people and brought us near Swaraj. The second revolution which we enter now and which is more serious needs such robust self-reliance even more. We must have faith in ourselves—in our great destiny. It is educative, almost ennobling. It alone can draw out the very best from us. Hence the question of questions today is, have we got it? Do we see that what of it we had under Gandhiji's leadership is preserved and consciously fostered? I fear the cry of 'Outward Ho' seems to be gathering pitch and volume, creating a sense of vacuum and idle expectancy in us. This is dangerous. Therefore, the following warning that Shri Louis Fischer uttered to us the other day in Bombay should be taken to heart both by the Government and the people sooner than later:

"Where a country needs a social revolution and undergoes one, it will have no interest in a remote revolution in Russia, China, or anywhere else. India needs such a social revolution—an Indian type of revolution. If you do not have such a revolution you will find an interest in a remote revolution, which will have no relation to the mentality, psychology and history of India and which will destroy the very essence of India." (*Times of India*—5-9-52).

May this spirit of self-reliance be with us in our march to real—cent per cent Swaraj, which we are now out to achieve. May the spirit of the Father of the Nation be our light unto the path.

9-9-52

MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

### The Next Issue

We propose to publish the next issue of the *Harijan* as a special issue in memory of Shri Kishorlalbhai. I hereby invite all friends and admirers of late Shri K. G. M. to hasten to send their tributes to him in time for the issue of 27th September.

18-9-52

JIVANJI DESAI  
Manager



## SATYAGRAHA IN DEMOCRACY

A P.T.I. message of 26th July reported that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Chief Minister of U.P., said that "Satyagraha had no place in a democracy"; and that "democracy could function only if there was scope for intellectual conversions through arguments and discussion. Satyagraha went against this process and encouraged disrespect for law, which would undermine the very foundations of a Democratic State."

I received correspondence asking me how I felt about this. I felt that it was an unhappy utterance and prepared a note thereon. One of my assistants suggested that before publishing it I should verify if the report was fair to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. I acted upon it and sent to Pantji a copy of the note I had prepared. In the meanwhile, Shri Vinoba also took notice of the report in one of his evening speeches. D. M.'s report of the speech is published in another column.

I have now received also Pantji's reply. It, too, is reproduced at another place. Both the letter and Vinoba's comments should dispel any doubt on the subject, so far as fundamental principles are concerned. The P.T.I. report is rather unhappy, as on account of its being torn from the context, it creates the impression that, according to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Satyagraha has lost its function in a democracy.

Let me now give the note which I had prepared. Though originally it looked like a criticism of Shri Pant's observation, happily it has become a summing up of the principles attaching to the method of resistance called 'Satyagraha', irrespective of the form of Government.

Satyagraha — insistence on truth — does not depend upon the form of Government. It is a moral duty, and not a right and, hence, can never become out of place. Even if it needs to take the form of individual or organized non-violent civil resistance of an unjust law or order, or of non-co-operation with a general or particular evil, or of a resort to fast, a *satyagrahi* cannot avoid it even in a democracy. If under the high-pressure of power, or numerical majority, or riches, the intellect of those who are in a position to redress the grievance has been dulled or their hearts hardened, some form of Satyagraha is the only non-violent remedy for awakening and sharpening such intellect and for softening the heart. Satyagraha, in this sense, is a form of direct action. As such it has to be taken after attempts of bringing about "conversion through arguments and discussion" and other legal remedies have failed. It has not to be taken with a light heart and in haste, whatever be the form of Government, and in a well-governed democracy, there should be few occasions for resorting to it. But it cannot be entirely ruled out in a proper case.

## SATYAGRAHA AND DEMOCRACY

In his post-prayer meeting at Banaras on 5-8-'52 Shri Vinoba commented as follows upon a recent statement of Shri G. B. Pant, the Chief Minister U.P., that Satyagraha had no place in democracy :

"When I read the statement, I did not think it necessary to comment on it. For it did not give me an impression that Pantji was discussing there the fundamental principles of the Satyagraha philosophy, or laying down its limitations. I took it only as a reaction to the misuse of that weapon.

"For some years last, particularly after the demise of Gandhiji, the term, 'Satyagraha' has been indiscriminately employed for all sorts of protests. They were Satyagraha only in name. Some of these were prompted by ulterior motives; some to get demands, not always justifiable, granted under pressure. I know cases in which for slight reasons and without exhausting other channels of redress, people had hastily resorted to "fast unto death". I remember at least one, after Gandhiji's death, in which I had to intervene and dissuade a friend from it. Thus when a word is misused or abused, the adversary takes the term in its wrong sense, and expresses himself against it. Hence, it is those who have misused this weapon, that have given a wrong connotation to the term 'Satyagraha', with the result that, those who wanted to denounce that misuse, have denounced it in general terms, so as to make even genuine Satyagraha repudiated. Therefore I did not and should not take such denouncements seriously.

"Satyagraha is a force of love and if some one said that there was no room for the force of love in democracy, it would mean that there was room for hatred in democracy. But none would accept this and none would also desire so.

"But I must confess that nowadays Satyagraha has degenerated into a threat and it has produced its due reaction. A true Satyagraha would quickly touch the hearts of all; nay, it would hit its target as assuredly as the arrow of Rama.\* But it requires the purity of Rama to wield this precious weapon. If an impartial and devoted servant of man finds an injustice being perpetrated and, after trying all ways of peaceful persuasion with goodwill and love to open the heart of an evil-doer, is unable to do so, he is entitled to offer, and it becomes even his duty to offer, Satyagraha, with feelings of anguish and compassion in his heart. No social order can deprive him of this right. Rather the more enlightened a social and political order is, the more favourable would be the conditions for exercising it.

\*The arrow of Rama is a simile meaning that it never misses its aim. 'Rama never hit the same target twice and never gave an assurance twice' — is the legend behind this use.

"But it must be conceded that in a democracy which is responsible to public opinion and is based on elections there cannot be frequent occasions for resorting to Satyagraha, in the sense of an intensive and final weapon. It would have to be only rarely employed.

"For example, though I cannot rule out Satyagraha altogether for the vindication of the right of the poor on the soil, yet, with the best of motives, it would be a wrong step on my part if I were to say today that I would observe fast until all the landless get land. The reason is that I should first create a necessary atmosphere, win the sympathy of the people for the cause, secure as much land and from as many people as possible and work for it with the faith that I will get it. I should not allow, and do not allow, myself even to think of the steps which should be taken if I did not get it. But if anybody asks me in a discussion whether I ruled out the possibility of Satyagraha on this issue, I reply in the negative. But if even I were to do it now, it will be a wrong step. But if a person whose intentions are not above suspicion, whose sincerity is doubted, who has not rendered any remarkable service to the people, resorts to Satyagraha, it will not be Satyagraha but *duragraha* (unreasonable obstinacy). And since the term Satyagraha is employed, the adversary can say that there is no place for the so-called Satyagraha in democracy. But if he puts forth this assertion on the fundamental principles of Satyagraha, he should say that one who indulges in such Satyagraha is not a Satyagrahi.

"Once a woman came to me and declared her intention to go on fast as a protest against the payment of compensation to landlords, which, she regarded as wrong. I told her, that her fast would be unjustifiable. I cannot say whether I could convince her or not, but I know that she gave up the idea.

"Some people hold—and I agree with them—that payment of compensation is wrong. Of course, Zamindars would have to be provided with means of livelihood, if they have nothing left. But it is wrong to pay compensation to those who already have sufficient means of livelihood. Gandhiji had asked all to be trustees of their property; which means none should be entitled to compensation. But your Constitution provides for payment of compensation. Therefore it is necessary to create public opinion,—i.e. not of the landless but of the landlords. And this is what I am at present working for. I ask them to donate their compensations, and I accept them. But if anyone were to go on fast against payment of compensation, it will be a coercive act. Thus fast is not a weapon which can or may be used so easily. Every force requires a right person and a right occasion to use it, and if a weapon of high power is used in a wrong manner and by a wrong person, it will prove ineffective. It will also be wrong to diminish the efficiency of a great weapon by its wrong use.

"I have explained this at such length, be-

cause though a person going on fast apparently does not harm others and uses no violence on any one, is still guilty of violence. Indeed, at times he causes more violence than the violence of physical weapons. All this is misuse of Satyagraha. And Pantji's remarks are just a reaction to it.

"But if it is put forth as a fundamental principle, I would say that the opinion is incorrect. For, the whole life of a man wedded to truth is a Satyagraha. He has to practise it at every step in his life. And occasions may arise for him to resort to Satyagraha of the intense form. But it is desirable that they should be quite rare. Society should not give men of pure character an occasion to practise severe austerities—and Satyagraha is one such severe form of austerity. The words of the saints should be sufficient to awaken the people to their sense of duty. Society should not trouble them and invite punishment on itself.

"But if a democratic government does a grave injustice, the hearts of the persons at the helm do not melt, and righteous men feel that a great injustice is done, Satyagraha may surely become necessary; and I say that no one can rule out such Satyagraha. And I do not think Pantji holds otherwise."

(From Hindi)

D. M.

#### SATYAGRAHA AND DEMOCRACY

(By Govind Ballabh Pant)

I had referred to the question of Satyagraha and Democracy on one or two occasions during the course of discussions in our Legislative Assembly here. In connection with Satyagraha I had then made it clear, and had left no room for doubt on the point, that in matters of conscience—on spiritual issues—one is always entitled to offer Satyagraha. But, for a democratic set up, I had also stressed the importance of settling political differences by argument and persuasion. As far as insisting on truth and combating falsehood is concerned, there can be no two opinions about it, nor can it be suggested that one should not stick to truth. Indeed, every one must be truthful. But considering everything, it seems undesirable that law should be defied over public issues which involve questions of truth, untruth or conscience. The country has adult franchise now, and the administration is in the hands of the representatives of the people. If Satyagraha is to be resorted to or threatened every time there is a difference of opinion, then public opinion does not receive the respect that is due to it. It has become almost a fashion these days to talk of Satyagraha on every conceivable occasion. There is talk of Satyagraha when a proposal is put forward to raise prices to cut down losses on the sale of foodgrains. There is talk of it also when taxes are proposed instead for making up in part the losses caused by selling foodgrains below cost price. There is repetition of similar talk whenever any tax is sought to be levied for financing schemes of national uplift. Some people express-



ed their intention only recently to offer Satyagraha even for getting cow-slaughter banned. For other matters too, whether minor or major, the threat of Satyagraha has become a commonplace affair these days. It would, no doubt, be a matter of conscience if one were forced to offer Satyagraha in a case where the issues are clear, and the Government's stand is patently untenable, and where before any recourse to Satyagraha the pros and cons have been examined in an impersonal, detached and dispassionate manner, and all other remedies have been exhausted. He who decides on Satyagraha should have a clear conscience and open mind: his judgment should be detached, and his decision should be unbiased. But in the midst of political partisanship, how many are there who can, or will, act in this manner? Democracy would lose much of its significance if, in the name of Satyagraha, every one were to take it as his unfettered right to incite the masses, as much as possible, against the system of Government established by the people's elected representatives in a democratic State, in order to belittle and resist the law of the land in a concerted manner. This is not how wholesome activity can be carried on the political plane. Judged in this manner, I daresay, that, according to your standard even if Satyagraha, in the existing circumstances, were justified on any one particular occasion, it will be found improper in ninety nine cases out of a hundred. I do think that but small can be the number of people who would employ the weapon of Satyagraha without attachment or personal interest only after a dispassionate analysis of things and after all other measures have proved fruitless. There would, however, be far too many who, from ulterior motives, would create confusion and difficulties in public life by abusing Satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi had also laid emphasis on the exacting conditions one would have to fulfil before resorting to Satyagraha and, if I am not mistaken, he had, on more than one occasion, thought that it would have been best if it were confined to him alone. He had, perhaps, also indicated that one could qualify for Satyagraha only after rigid self-discipline. What he said on October 3, 1947, at his prayer meeting, is no less applicable today. According to the *Delhi Diary*,\* published by the Navajivan Karyalaya, he had observed:

"Today, he was getting news of Satyagraha being started in many places. Often he wondered whether the so-called Satyagraha was not really *duragraha* (obstinacy). Whether it was strike in mills or railways or post-offices, or movements in some of the States, it seemed as if it were a question of seizing power. A virulent poison was leavening society today and every opportunity for attaining their object was seized by those who did not stop to consider that means and ends were convertible terms."

Please correct me if I am wrong.

(Translated from Hindi from a personal letter to the Editor).

\* Price Rs 3, Postage etc. as 12.

## FOREIGN AID

[The following warning is noteworthy by reason of the peculiar position of the writer. Mrs Kathleen Greene is Chinese by birth, is educated, nationalized and married in America, and she and her husband came down to India with a view to identify themselves with Indians. She has lived in India for many months now and has closely observed the psychological effect which the colour of the skin produces on the minds of our people in general. I think her observation and analysis is accurate. It is possible that it is a feature which we share in common with other Asians,—that being the reason of her having been able to detect it.—K. G. M.]

Dear Sir :

I would like to say a few words concerning the Indo-U.S. Agreement. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda's letter has shown that there is no economic or political strings attached to the U.S. aid. Personally, I am convinced that the Government is just anxious to guard our independence as the people are. There is, however, one important point which is much neglected in this kind of consideration.

There still exists in India today the attitude of the "superiority of the white face". This is particularly apparent among our intellectuals, our Government officials and city people. Unfortunately it has also penetrated the minds of our villagers. This attitude may take the form of absolute admiration or fear or even hatred. The counterpart of this attitude is lack of confidence in ourselves. We have achieved our political independence, we may even be able to achieve our economic independence in the next few years. But without mental independence, without self-confidence, political and economic independence have no foundation. Being invisible and abstract, this factor is always neglected in our thinking.

Foreign aid may be helpful and necessary some day but at this moment mentally we are not ready. Only after we have self-confidence can we receive the U.S. Aid as help from a friend, not a saviour. Without this self-confidence we regard people as superior to us not as equal to us. In order to achieve this self-confidence we must in the beginning rely on ourselves to solve our problems. The energy of the people has to be mobilized, the spirit of sacrifice, self-denial and enthusiasm has to be created. (Ordinary people are capable of having this spirit as we know from our own experiences and the experiences of other countries). Having created this spirit, in the midst of our work, we can readily accept foreign aid when it is necessary. Only by demonstrating to ourselves that we can build a new society with our own hands, first, are we in a position to receive foreign aid. Lacking this experience, this atmosphere, the unhealthy admiration for America will be accentuated by this Agreement. Because our people can't help being impressed by the "beauty" and efficiency of American equipment, the knowledge of American experts and their American way of doing things etc. There may not be economic and political slavery

involved in the Agreement, but what about mental slavery? And worst of all, if we can't judge America objectively are we not likely to end up copying the American economic and political pattern blindly?

Commerce College, KATHLEEN GREENE  
Wardha, 28-8-'52

### QUESTION-BOX

#### Gandhiji and the Bicycle

Q. Was Gandhiji used to ride on a bicycle? If so, when?

A. Yes; in his younger days he was. In Durban, he used it regularly, I understand. In Sabarmati Ashram, to the best of my knowledge, he used it only once, namely, to reach a labour meeting in time. He never used it in Wardha, so far as my knowledge goes. The reference to Wardha in a newspaper, of which I have received a cutting without the name of the paper, is obviously a mistake for the above-mentioned meeting. There was no question of "a frantic search for a taxi, or a private car, or a gharry", at Sabarmati. The fact was that a friend's car from Ahmedabad was expected to arrive and take him to the meeting, but somehow did not turn up in time, and Gandhiji did not wish his programme to be held up for want of a car. A photograph of his cycle-ride may be seen in Vol. II of Tendulkar and Jhaveri's *Mahatma*, p. 408.

Wardha, 9-9-'52

#### Soya-bean Emulsion

Q. Is there not the same danger in the use and propagation of soya or groundnut emulsion or *payas* (so-called soya or groundnut milk) as in the case of hydrogenated oils which we are objecting to? Or say, will it not be used to adulterate milk and curds (i.e. of cows, buffaloes and other animals)? If so, should we not insist on its colouring? Will it not, like the hydrogenated oil, be harmful to cattle-breeding and dairy industry?

People of China and Japan mostly use these emulsions. May we then assume that it is a perfect substitute for milk?

It is said that vegetable and fruit diet is an ideal diet to help *brahmacharya* and *ahimsa*. If soya-bean becomes easily available, will you advise observers of *brahmacharya* and *ahimsa* to abjure milk and ghee?

A. If the preparation of vegetable emulsions becomes an industry, that is, if they are manufactured and canned in factories and sold in markets, it will surely be as harmful as *vanaspati*. I understand that Mysore experts are actually engaged in exploring this possibility. Hence the risk is certainly there. But if people prepare and consume the *payas* and its *jamavat* (curds) at home, it stands on a different level. In that case, there is a great difference between *vanaspati* and *payas*. Just as there is no competition between

groundnut oil and ghee, similarly there need not be any between *payas* and milk.

The question of colourization can arise only if *payas* is sought to be made on an industrial scale. For in that case milk-men in cities and towns may adulterate genuine milk with this product. The home-made *payas* has a bit different colour, odour and taste. As for odour and taste, they manifest themselves even in the cow or buffalo milk when fed with the oil-cakes of these substances. If a small quantity of *payas* is mixed with larger quantities of milk, the colour of the former may become indistinguishable. Hence the question of colourization may arise. It will not harm the cattle or dairy industry only if *payas* is not made an object of commerce.

We cannot liken our conditions with those of China and Japan. Being non-vegetarians, they get all the milk nutrients from meat, fish and animal proteins.

It is difficult to determine the precise effect of milk on sex-impulse. All that we can say is that milk and ghee are animal products; also that those engaged in the cattle-breeding and dairy industry frequently come under the disturbing influence of sex acts of animals at an impressionable age. This cannot be helped. Even otherwise, they are not immune from such impressions, because these are frequently going around in nature. Efforts have to be made to maintain purity of mind in spite of such influences.

One cannot definitely say that those who take vegetable diet exclusively, even abjuring milk and its products, are immune from passion. Sex is a very subtle impulse and to a certain extent associated with age, and what we consume through our eyes, ears and skin touches also. Diet regulations and discipline in self-control are helpful in overcoming it. But a proper diet alone will not eradicate passion. As a Hindi poet has said, "A *sadhu* living in a forest-cave, wearing bark of trees, living on fallen fruits and leaves, and sleeping on bare ground may be harassed by sex passion." But diet is a helpful factor and may not be ignored.

Wardha, 1-8-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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