

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

## IDEAL REPRESENTATIVES

Shri Hridaynarayan Chaudhari of Bihar writes :

"The Congressmen of Gandhian ideology have their own ways. Some would not go to legislatures; others might go but are not keen enough to put in the requisite amount of effort. The result is that they lag behind.

"I feel that elders like you should actively encourage selfless Gandhian workers who are devoted to Gandhian ideology and who continually strive to follow Gandhian principles in their personal lives, so that they shed their hesitation and raise the political morale in the country. You must not expect Congress leaders or office-bearers to invite them of their own accord. That is not the way of politics which invariably involves some struggle and clash of interests.

"I am convinced that if confirmed and progressive Gandhian workers are not put up or do not come forward to contest the forthcoming elections the Congress will be done for and saboteurs alone would take its place. We here have not a shadow of a doubt on that score.

"I implore you to ponder over the gravity of this situation and express your opinion."

Shri Chaudhari does not seem to realize the evident contradiction in his arguments. He wants confirmed and selfless Gandhian workers to contest elections and feels at the same time that no Congress leader or office-bearer will invite them, because these qualifications (i. e. selflessness, integrity and devotion to ideals) do not fit in well with politics.

If this view is correct — and to some extent it is — it means first, that the ideal workers of Shri Chaudhari's pattern will have to dilute their ideals for going to the legislatures and become diplomats; and secondly, since the Congress leadership will not have them, they will have to form a separate party. But he further apprehends the end of the Congress if good people do not man the organization. That is to say he would be pained to see the end of the Congress. In a way this is also a good sentiment, but then, how can he have it both ways?

All that apart, let him think of the economic aspect alone of these elections. One is staggered at the amounts spent after electioneering. An ideal contestant will not spend as much as fifty rupees after these election campaigns. He would plainly tell his constituency that he cannot afford to spend money after electioneering and

that if he must be returned, his voters should swarm the polling booths of their own accord and at their own expense. It would not be possible for him to go or send his agents from house to house to canvass votes. But this is hardly possible under the present conditions. So whoever will contest elections or form a party, can do so only at the expense of the ideal. Again, he may not command the necessary financial resources for the contest. He must thus needs look out for rich persons who will not only bear the expense of their own electioneering but will also finance poorer candidates. The net result would be that all notions of selfless work and living up to ideals will evaporate like dew-drops in the sun.

No question of principle is involved in good and selfless people not contesting elections to the legislatures. Rather an ideal legislature should consist of such persons alone. But this seems to be impossible in the near future. I have come therefore to the conclusion that such good persons should, rather than waste their energy and talents after legislatures, work outside these bodies in an effective manner and exert moral pressure both on the Government as well as the people and try to raise the moral level of the whole society. A constructive worker may neither be a partisan nor an opponent of any political party in the country as such, but keep himself clear of all of them. Whichever be the party in power, he may commend its good measures, co-operate with it with discrimination, but feel free to criticize its bad acts and even offer non-co-operation and civil resistance if need be against such.

Let the constructive worker re-read Gandhiji's *Hind Swaraj*. What Gandhiji has said therein with reference to the British Parliament is equally applicable to our legislatures also.

Bombay, 12-1-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(From Hindi)

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### ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

There is a field of Government expenditure which is hidden from public eyes. It is expenditure charged under the head, 'Travelling Allowances'.

There are no readily available statistics to show the correct annual figures of this expenditure of all Departments in each province, but I can safely put it down without any fear of contradiction to a modest figure of about two crores for the State of Bombay. The Finance Department would do well to publish correct information about it. The expenditure under this item can be easily cut down by 50 per cent if the few suggestions made in this article are accepted.

During recent years, this expenditure is steadily mounting up enormously. This is mainly due to constant transfers of Government servants, both high and low. They have become a regular phenomenon these days. The District heads of Departments are transferred from one end of the province to the other within very short intervals. To cite the instance of my own district, the office of the Collector has changed hands four times during the last two years; of the Deputy Collectors an equal number of times, if not more; and of the Mamalatdars and Head Karkuns over half a dozen times. The changes in the personnel of the subordinate service are more frequent than the changes of the seasons in the year. The example of my district will hold good for other districts also. These rapid changes of officers are not only an unnecessary waste of public money but are also responsible for a good deal of administrative inconvenience, delay and inefficiency. I concede that the partition of the country and the transfer of power from British to Indian hands made several transfers unavoidable in the initial stages. There may be also reasons, personal or administrative, for some early transfers, but often they are made merely to suit the personal whims of the authority. This is an abuse of power. The stupendous cost to Government owing to constant shifting of officers and subordinates should be always before the mind of the authority ordering such transfers. He fails in the proper discharge of his duties if he simply signs transfer orders placed before him by his deputies and assistants without proper scrutiny. There should be a good reason for every transfer.

The Political and Services Department of Bombay issued a circular some time ago directing that transfers of public servants should be done as seldom as possible and at least not earlier than three years in every case. But I wonder whether the officers of Government remember even the existence of this order. It would be a sound rule to lay down that where a transfer is made in less than three years, the sanctioning authority should ascertain and record the reasons for departing from the ordinary rule. It will be very useful if the Finance Department calls for periodical returns of transfers

made by each Department and where it comes to light that the transfers are too frequent, the persons responsible for them are called upon to explain.

Travelling allowances on tour given to Government servants and non-officials, like members of R. D. Boards, Legislature, and other special committees are only next in importance. Tours of Ministers all over the province have become almost seasonal. It may be necessary for them to tour round the Province in order to know things first-hand and study matters in consultation with the local persons directly; but with all deference to the Honourable Ministers, I feel that they are rather too frequent and do not make an adequate return for the heavy bills of their T. A. It is high time to stop all superfluous visits. Besides expenses, constant visits of Ministers cause a serious interruption of work in the offices of the various Departments. District officers and other local officers are required unnecessarily to spend a couple of days for paying respects to the Honourable Ministers which means again expenditure to State by way of travelling allowances of these officers. It is desirable that people also become more business-like and stop inviting persons in authority for all sorts of public functions and even if invited the men in authority should refuse to accept them. This suggestion, if accepted, will reduce a considerable waste of Government expenditure.

Similarly, the cost incurred in payment of bills on account of T. A. to R. D. Board members, members of the Legislature and other Advisory Committees. The latter have grown up like mushrooms in recent years. It is sufficient if R. D. Board meetings are held only twice a year. So also the sessions of our Legislative Assembly and Council. As regards the Advisory Committees constituted in every district on matters of Food, the less said the better. They are as at present constituted redundant bodies and can safely be done away with as economy measures. Most of the members of these bodies are men who simply assemble at regular intervals to give assent to what the officials prepare and put before them and return home enjoying trips to District and Provincial headquarters at State expense.

It is clearly laid down in the Bombay Civil Service Rules that Travelling Allowance paid to Government servants should not be a source of profit, but only a means of recouping the expenditure incurred by them for Government. In spite of this very clear provision in the Rules, in several Departments the Controlling authorities allow the Government servants to draw mileage allowances in addition to daily allowance. It is reasonable if they are paid actual expenses of the journey and admissible daily allowances. When public conveyances are available in these days in all parts of the country, there is no justification whatever for allowing Government servants two seats when they travel



alone. The Controlling Authorities should allow only one seat in such cases. In the case of officers, they are drawing maximum mileage admissible under the rules as they travel in their cars. Running cost of the car will not come even to half the mileage claimed and the mileage admissible should be reduced to half in the case of officers. Some sacrifice of what is in fact a profit to them should not be grudged by officers when the country is in need of help from one and all in the present critical hour.

While writing this article a certain member of the R. D. Board in Kanara has voluntarily come forward to forego his T. A. for attending meetings and has sent in a resolution requesting all members of the Board to forego their T. A. likewise as a measure of helping the nation to overcome financial embarrassment. This is indeed a very laudable example and may be copied by all District Rural Development Boards in the province.

My suggestions in brief are :

- (1) Except for strong reasons, Government servants should not be transferred before the expiry of three years' period from their last transfer.
- (2) Ministers, Presidency Officers and other Officers who do not draw permanent travelling allowances should curtail their tours.
- (3) The number of R. D. Board meetings, conferences of District Officers, sessions of Legislative Assembly and Council should be considerably reduced.
- (4) Only actual expenses of the journey performed on duty should be paid.
- (5) The Finance Department should collect the actual average annual expenditure of all Departments for the last three years under "Travelling Allowances" and restrict the grant of funds to each Department under this head to half the annual average. Each Department should be directed to manage the expenditure for the next year within the amount so granted and this is a sure and successful way of effecting a saving of about one crore of rupees in the annual expenditure of Government without difficulty.

"ANUBHAVI"

### CANE-GROWERS' SATYAGRAHA

From South India comes the disturbing news of a threatened *Satyagraha* by the sugar-cane growers of Nilakottai (District Madurai). Shri R. R. Keithahn of Gandhi Gram, Chinnalpatti, reports as follows :

"Yesterday (12th January), at the gathering in Vadiapatti, of representatives of the Nilakottai Cane-Growers' Association it was decided that the losses involved in giving cane to the newly built, local sugar factory, could not be sustained and that the ryots could not permit their long-standing village industry of jaggery-making to be endangered. They voted that a *Satyagraha* should be started on January 16th in protest to the recently promulgated Government order.

"About 1500 acres of cane are involved. Already some 500 acres have been harvested. It was in the midst of harvesting operations and the making of jaggery that the Government order came requisitioning all cane for the new sugar factory. Later this was changed to 42 per cent of the cane grown, thus allowing for some part of the jaggery-making in the villages to go on.

"Thus hundreds of men and bullocks are thrown out of work in a season when other work is hard to get. It is estimated that the area will lose some 12 lakhs of rupees this season alone, for the price of cane quoted in the order is to be Rs. 46-10-0 per ton. However, the ryots claim that they have been securing an average of Rs. 80 per ton of cane in the jaggery that has been made by their own efforts.

"This is a most serious situation, for it seems that over 4 lakhs of rupees have already been taken on loan from various sources to raise this crop, especially in the buying of manures which are very necessary if the best cane is to be grown. Whatever may take place in the future, the ryots are convinced that they cannot afford such losses this year and that without proper notice; that they cannot permit a very legitimate village industry, supplying the food needs of the people of the area to be endangered."

I do not know what is the form of the proposed *Satyagraha*, and have asked for details. But this is sufficient to show how severe is the popular discontent against the policy which the Government is pursuing in respect of sugar and *gur* industries on account of its disastrous effect on village economy. As the policy seems to be uniformly followed in all provinces it must be assumed that it is dictated from New Delhi. For, in U. P. and Bihar also village manufacture of *gur* and *khandasari* has been prohibited, and sugar-cane prices lowered in the interest of large industrialists. To add to this, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram is reported to have said something at Nagpur about impending changes in the present sugar policy with the result that the very next day prices of *gur* shot up everywhere and, like sugar, *gur* too is disappearing from the market. And even before this announcement some sugar magnates appear to have known the Government mind and availed themselves of it by purchasing large quantities of *gur* within a few days.

The sugar industry is reported to have been asked to manufacture 12 lakh tons of sugar. It is doubtful if the hope is going to be fulfilled. The reason, I am told, is that sugar manufacturers find it more profitable to sell jaggery itself than sugar and will sell their own jaggery in the black market. The net result apprehended is that the expected quantity of sugar is not going to be manufactured, the manufacture of village *gur* and sugar will be stopped or curtailed, cane-growers will be put to heavy losses, village industry will be throttled and people will continue to feel the sugar and *gur* scarcity as now.

If all these apprehensions and assumptions are imaginary, it is up to the Government to explain to the people in such manner as people can understand what their policy is, and how it is in the interests of the masses. The Government must understand that their policies have become an enigma to the people, and the people are unable to put that faith in the integrity and efficiency of their officers, experts and industrialists, which the Government gives them credit for. In spite of personal respect for leaders, the people have lost faith in the capacity also of



several ministers. The discontent which is growing cannot be assuaged by simply challenging them to find better administrators. When a breaking point is reached, there is a feeling of exasperation which leads people to destroy the present order, even if no better order is visible.

The right way is to restore the confidence of the people by telling them how their measures are in their interest and the best that could be adopted, in a manner which people feel to be correct. As matters stand the affairs appear scandalously bad.

Bombay, 17-1-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## HARIJAN

February 5

1950

### THE TWO HEADS

President Rajendraprasad

The choice of Dr. Rajendraprasad as the first President of our Republic is not a matter of surprise. The term "Rashtrapati" is not new to him. We have been accustomed to see him as the head of national institutions and gatherings. He has been President of the Congress so often. He was the President of the Constituent Assembly. In fact whenever the nation sought a person whose name could be acceptable to all, the choice has almost always fallen upon him. It shows the amount of trust which every one has in him. I need not embarrass him or burden the reader by praising his high qualities. It is a good omen to the Republic to begin with Shri Rajendrababu as the First President.

Shri C. Rajagopalachari

With the end of the office of the Governor-General Shri Rajaji necessarily leaves that office. That does not of course mean the loss of his services to the nation. Someone suggested that after having held high office of the Governor-General, it would not be proper for him to serve the country in a junior capacity. I do not know why. Besides, till now he was a representative of King George VI. He was, so to say, in the British territory. He now returns to India, his own country. He should be considered free to serve the country in any capacity whatever. Of course he will continue to render his services, but I believe, no conventions should create a difficulty in the way.

May both live long to serve the people.

Bombay, 27-1-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

By Babu Rajendraprasad

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### THE SALT OF THE EARTH

In all societies, backward or advanced, most people are endowed with an average measure of health, intelligence and affection. Ill-health, deformity or perversity is exceptional and rare as genius itself or the sixth finger. Kropotkin in the early nineties challenged the much-boomed Darwinian theory of natural selection and maintained that the so-called Law of the 'survival of the fittest' was a shibboleth, being only partially true. Life not only of human species but of animals, birds and even insects endured and continued because the instinctive urge for mutual aid and fellow-feeling, in other words of love and affection, was more powerful in beings and triumphed over that of self-preservation. If this instinct of love was not equally natural and predominant or was absent, most of the species would soon be extinct.

The root cause of so much human misery in the civilized world of our times has to be traced not to any lack of nature's endowment in health or virtue to average individual, but to lack of opportunity which is denied to vast majorities of human beings under the social structures obtaining all over the world.

All economic, social and political upheavals and distempers of the present age could be traced to the mal-adjustment in human relationship, as a result of which a microscopic minority gifted with outstanding strength or talent holds sway over a whole community or society. It so builds up and evolves the social structure as to subject its normal average member to every curtailment of personal freedom and to compel him or her without escape to function as its bondsman. In the name of State, law, order, commonwealth and other plausible slogans, the individual is denied opportunity and freedom for self-development and self-expression in every sphere. Man's greed for power and pelf generally lies at the back of these specious slogans and is really responsible for most of the mal-adjustments from which the human family has suffered throughout the ages and is still suffering.

These reflections are prompted on the passing away of an esteemed lady friend who, though in no way a genius or a gifted individual, was still a normal person of average intelligence and abilities. Her younger brothers who were perhaps of the same average intellect and calibre, and who shared the same economic strain under the parental roof, rose and attained distinction because of the opportunities for self-development and self-expression they could secure, while the same were denied to the sister under the prevailing social conditions. This man-made disability crippled and stunted her as it does her sex everywhere.

She was one of the innumerable acute victims of social mal-adjustment we encounter daily in our society. Riddled with physical ailments in later years, she died a premature death at 42,



a widow. She spent away every ounce of her energy in her efforts to rear her children and well-place her grown-up sons who had failed to avail themselves of opportunities for higher education.

Intensely affectionate within the family circle, she was devoted to it all her life. She dared to cross the seas and slaved in far off lands for years, meeting privations and physical ill-health with a fortitude which, though not uncommon, is the virtue only of the brave.

She had a keen practical sense and disliked emotional, sentimental or purely idealistic attitude. Ordinarily she had little interest in public affairs, social or political. Her interests generally did not go beyond the family circle; yet she could rise to the occasion without effort. She was frankly sceptical about the social and other public activities of 'educated' ladies. These in her eyes were hardly more than mere pastime. Yet she readily appreciated the earnestness of women who participated in the Struggle of 1942 and courted jail. She admired and even helped them and herself took bold risks.

Orthodox in religious and social outlook, she encountered people of all beliefs and persuasions with unfailing courtesy and forbearance. She impressed friends and strangers alike with her values on many subjects of social and common interest. Though almost unlettered, she commanded a vocabulary of words and idioms which amazed men of letters. She was keenly observant and full of wholesome wit and humour. Amidst sickening situations she could dispel all gloom with her eloquent sallies till every anxious face brightened up and the hall rang with bursting laughter.

\* \* \*

As I said at the start, the vast bulk in every society is composed of normal individuals of average virtue and capacity. Its maimed and deficient as well as its highly gifted members both combined are only a handful. And how tragic it is that the energy, talent and resourcefulness of 80 per cent of the population of the nation should lie locked up and chained for life, and rot, waste or wither away, having no opportunity to contribute its mite to the commonweal. The enormity of this neglect (shall we say outrage?) though patent, does not stagger us simply because of its being too familiar, having almost become part of our daily life and experience. And yet what a difference it would make if we had the courage to remedy it even to an extent? It would bring the millennium almost to the doorstep.

The twentieth-century conception of raising memorials to the unknown soldier is democratic and appropriate. It indicates the inevitable recognition and homage which posterity shall offer to its average unknowns, along with its departed great. For it is the former who form, and shall always form, the great bulwark. And if the soldier who killed and burned is worthy of our gratitude and devotion how much more indeed are those who made a mute offering of their lives

so that the bulwark may be upheld and remain impregnable? It is not a question merely of personal equation. For while the soldier killed and got himself killed in the supposed interest of his country or religion, these social martyrs burned their candle at both ends in rearing and serving their loved ones to the last grain of their energy in order to sustain the social structure.

Humanity survives on the sum total of the devoted labours and sacrifices made in love and faith by its unknown millions, whatever the sphere. They are the salt of the earth. And it is the recognition and exaltation of these that shall, in the final analysis, constitute the yardstick to measure its stature.

SWAMI ANAND

### MORE ABOUT WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

[I have already given a brief account of the World Pacifist Meeting at Santiniketan and Sevagram. The following will be welcome as supplementing mine.]

—K. G. M.]

In between Santiniketan and Sevagram sessions the delegates travelled in different parts of India and Pakistan, and saw something of the country and specially of the constructive work going on in some of the provinces.

At Santiniketan preliminary discussions were held to clear the ground and to look at the problem of World Peace from every angle of view. This was not easy. Every one had some special analysis and some special remedy. But there was discipline and keen understanding all round. Therefore there was no waste of time or of words. There was nowhere to be seen any inhibition, prepossession or prejudice, obstructing clear thinking and precise expression. Nor was there anything superficial or pious about the discussions. That injustice and peace could not co-exist in the World was the position accepted as fundamental. Political, economic, social and racial justice alone could make the foundation for real peace. Therefore peace-making was largely justice-making.

Then came the question if justice could be established violently. That brought in the study of the meaning and technique of *Satyagraha*. The Conference thus fearlessly went deeper and deeper into the causes of wars and conflicts and in suggesting remedies. That peace-making inevitably meant a revolutionary recasting of social values and patterns became clear. Before the Santiniketan session ended all discussions became canalized under three major headings. These were, (1) what were the immediate tasks for peace-makers to prevent another World War; (2) what was the Constructive Programme for the building up of a new Social Order which will be one of justice and peace at the same time and (3) what were the fundamental values and basic principles upon which a World Peace Movement can be built up? At Santiniketan itself the Conference broke up into three Commissions, A, B, and C, under the chairmanships of Shri G. Ramachandran, Mr. Wilfred Wellock and Mr. Richard Gregg respectively. All the



three Commissions held at least three sittings before the Santiniketan session ended. The work of the Commissions consisted of careful and intimate discussions without any reservation in the mind of any one. No time was wasted and no one indulged in long speeches. What took place in the Commissions was simply loud thinking.

At Sevagram the three Commissions held prolonged sittings and even broke up into sub-committees. Commission A broke up into as many as 9 sub-committees. The sub-committees reported to the Commissions and the Commissions reported to the Conference. It was laborious work. I have never before sat in a Conference which spent the time so economically and covered the ground so fully.

The Pacifists' Conference finally considered the various reports of the three Commissions. The Conference decided merely to "receive" some reports while it agreed to "adopt" others. When the Conference simply received a report it meant that the Conference considered it good enough to be circulated to peace workers throughout the world for their study and elucidation. When it adopted a report it meant that the Conference approved it and recommended it to peace workers for adoption by them as giving the right lead in the matter dealt with in the report.

Commission A presented 12 reports on the following subjects: (1) Pacifist political prisoners, (2) War prisoners, (3) World Citizenship, (4) A World Federal State, (5) Peace Armies, (6) South Africa, racialism and Colonialism, (7) American-Russian Relations, (8) India-Pakistan Relations, (9) Arab-Jew Relations, (10) Pacifists and Communists, (11) Refugees and displaced persons and (12) Disarmament. The Commission adopted four of these reports and received the rest.

The report of the Commission B was in two parts. The first dealt with the broad principles for a Constructive Programme for World Peace and dealt specially with the need for decentralization and self-sufficiency consistent with World Unity. The second part gave the outline programme of such constructive work. By a solid majority the Conference agreed to adopt both the parts of the report of Commission B.

The report of Commission C was a very careful document enunciating the fundamental values and basic principles for a World Peace Movement and one prominent Indian delegate said to me, "Gandhiji would have been very pleased with it." The Conference decided to receive it. Dealing as it did with abstract and first principles, the Conference thought it should be circulated in all countries for further elucidation and understanding.

Thus the Conference had produced a wealth of material in clear and precise language for the consideration of or adoption by peace workers throughout the world. It is excellent material,

revolutionary in character, and constitutes a moral challenge to those who wish to take up peace work in the world.

Is that all? What is to follow? It was agreed that there should be no attempt to build up any centralized or hard and tight organizational continuation work. Every one was to take back the inspiration derived from the Conference and to try to work out the ideas which the conference developed. Even so two steps have been taken which cast a great responsibility on concerned groups. One is in relation to the building up in different countries of small Peace Armies, which the conference decided to call "Satyagraha Units" While these Units would naturally come out of the local background in each country, a small international group has agreed to keep in close touch with each other and to evolve common plans for training and for work. The other is in relation to the training of Peace Workers in general emphasizing international outlook and co-operation and the mobilization of youth for such training and day to day work for Peace.

Let me now give my own clear impressions of the Conference. The European and American delegates had a sense of discipline and restraint, and even tolerance which would serve as a model to us. They also did very hard team work. There were three or four people in the Conference who came from outside India, whose clear thinking about non-violence was surprising and much sounder than some of the best thinkers in India. Many of the visitors had greater faith in prayer than many an Indian delegate. Their attitude to prayer was one of un-ashamed acceptance of its value in solving every problem of life. They were profoundly religious and yet quite normal. I found that on more than one occasion, the lack of unity and even understanding among the Indian delegates puzzled the visitors. The visitors had more mental and physical stamina to pursue a problem to the very bottom while many of the Indian delegates were fatigued earlier and could not keep up the pace.

I have a clear feeling that, as more than once before in history, Westerners might take up more earnestly the message of a Prophet from Asia than the Easterners. Ultimately truth will belong to those who are more active and have the vitality to be more persistent. While we in India are hesitating to be venturesome owing to the risk of being considered queer or strange, the Westerners might pluck the message of Gandhi and make it their own even at the risk of being considered insane; and then perhaps after half a century or so Gandhi will come back to India enriched by all the experience poured into his message in this process of cross-fertilization. The West may thus some day present Gandhi to India in a more effective way than we are able to present him to the West today.

G. RAMACHANDRAN



## PEACE ON EARTH BY VEGETARIANISM AND FREE ECONOMY

I

Life is a totality. To live as vegetarians can be the expression of a definite outlook on life. There are laws of nature, of eternal wisdom. To recognize and to follow them means health, success, happiness, peace. This is true for individuals, for nations, for mankind.

Often we find that vegetarians try to better conditions of this world in every field. Most of the great spiritual leaders and benefactors of all times have been vegetarians. This is quite natural. If you have found truth in one part of your doings and if you live up to it, it will grow and by and by conquer all your feelings, thinking and acting.

I met a vegetarian family for the first time when I was about twenty-two years old. As a young school teacher I was interested only in my boys and girls, in education, psychology, music, sport, nature, art. I did not know that diet could be an interesting and important problem. Therefore, this vegetarian family was a great revelation to me. In fact, I first got interested in the youngest daughter, Tutti, a nice healthy, natural girl of about eighteen. But soon many new problems took hold of me. I studied books and became a vegetarian at once thirty-four years ago. Since then my life has not stopped changing, for to live means to grow, to expand towards the light.

The father of the family referred to was Silvio Gesell, a German economist living in Switzerland. Through him and his books I began to recognize my social responsibility as a human being. We have to think of our brother too, of all the men, women and children of all nations and races, of animals, of plants, of nature, of our earth. We have to create a better social order of wisdom, of justice, of peace not only for ourselves or small groups but for all. Thy Kingdom come.

Some of you may ask, what has the vegetarian life and the growth of our movement to do with economics, with the social order? A great deal. To grow healthy vegetables of high quality we need land. To buy and sell them we need money. Land and money are fundamentals of every economic life. If they are not in order, we can never build up health for all, peace on earth.

You may not be aware how difficult it is merely to tell the truth concerning healthy living against the mighty financial concerns of meat, drugs, tobacco and liquor. If we want to bring health to others, we have to be realists and to see the facts. I will tell you of one drastic example of dependence of vegetarianism on our monetary order, or rather disorder.

Two weeks ago (August 1949), I visited the Doukhobors in British Columbia (Western Canada) as I did in 1929. They are a religious group of Russians living as vegetarians and

war-resisters for several hundred years. The Czar tried to force them into military service but they refused. Many were killed or sent to Siberia and about 7,000 others came to Canada in 1899 by the help of Tolstoy and the Quakers. There they have made gardens and orchards out of uncultivated land and built their stately villages along the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers and elsewhere.

In order to buy the land the Doukhobor community had taken a loan of about 12 *lakh* dollars. During the first ten years they paid back 7.4 *lakh* principal and 5.4 *lakh* interest, i. e. 80,000 dollars more than they had received. During the depression the community tried to find protection under the Farmer's Protection Act, as every farmer could, but the court ruled against them. In 1939 the mortgage company confiscated all the property valued over 60 *lakh* dollars in spite of the fact that the balance due amounted to only 4.6 *lakhs*. The Doukhobors had lost what they had built up by peaceful work during approximately thirty years. Then the Government of Canada took over the land and houses of the Doukhobors and tried to induce them to buy their property once more, as private persons. They refused. Still today, ten years later, the Government holds the land. The Doukhobors are merely tenants. More and more they break away and try to acquire private property individually.

Folks in Switzerland say, "Money is ruling the world." Is this true? If so, it would be a pity for us men. We have created money as a tool to serve, to help us in the division of labour. If this tool has become a master, a tyrant over us, we have done a bad job. We shall have to do better as soon as possible.

What is wrong with our money? We have to study this question and to answer it without prejudice, fear or hate, in a truly scientific way. Healthy money needs two qualities—a stable value and a sturdy motor. I shall try to explain what I mean. A yard is a unit to measure length. The unit has to be stable. Think of a yardstick made of elastic to be stretched and to shrink at will. It would be of no use. Ten yards—nobody would know what length this would be. The dollar, the pound, the franc, are units of money. Every price, all wages, all savings, all liabilities are expressed in these units. If these units were elastic, there would be no real foundation to economic life.

The dollar and every monetary unit on earth is elastic. During the war, prices in the U. S. A. went up. During the last few months they have tried to go down again. The higher the prices, the smaller the dollar; the lower the prices, the bigger the dollar in its purchasing power, in its value. This means a unit, a yardstick of elastic. But the dollar is much more important than the yard. If once we realize that our money is elastic, then we shall not be amazed any more that our economic life is not sound. Rather we shall be amazed that mankind



is still alive. It is a fact that men can stand a lot of inefficiency and nonsense and still survive.

Rising prices stimulate business but deprive wages and savings of their purchasing power, which results in injustice, strikes and social unrest. Falling prices strangle business and production and cause unemployment, as during this year in the rich U. S. Only speculators are interested in fluctuations of the price level, the purchasing power of money. Speculation always gains in boom and in depression; labour always loses. What is the cause of these ups and downs? What is the remedy? Let us think on a drastic and tragic example, Germany.

In 1923 the Reichsbank with the monopoly of money printed bills day and night, made every German a millionaire, robbed all the savings of old people and destroyed economic life to its foundations. Between 1929 and 1933 the same Reichsbank diminished the amount of issued money from 5.5 to 3.5 billion (Milliarden) mark, refused credit, forced prices down more and more, strangled business and production. You may remember the consequences — seven millions of unemployed in despair, helplessness of the democratic government in Weimar, Hitler, World War II, and what has followed. Do you see the start? Blunder with money.

In the U. S., blunder with the dollar; in England, blunder with the pound; in Russia, blunder with the ruble; in Germany, blunder with the new German mark. And tensions and hatred grow. Where a democracy is not able to create a stable, honest money, the Fascists and Communists get the harvest. They never could get hold in a land with sound money, with full production and consumption, with real freedom.

The solution: Improvement of the monetary constitution. The office issuing money has to keep the amount of money in constant balance with production and market. It has to watch the index of average price level. Will prices rise? Take money out of circulation. Will prices fall? Put more money into circulation. It is like steering a boat; the deviations are constantly observed and equalized. It could easily be done, if there is the knowledge and the honest will. This would keep the value of the monetary unit stable.

However, to run steadily, both boat and money need a reliable motor. What could be this motor in money? In the Middle Ages in Germany, in the 12th and 13th centuries, when they were building all their wonderful Gothic cathedrals, they had a working money with motor. The coins were of very bad material, just thin pieces of cheap metal. One could break them. They had the name *Brakteaten*. Several times a year the ruler coined them new, and every time he kept one fourth or one fifth back as tax. This was the only tax.

The effect: An amazing upsurge of business and production, credit without interest, very high wages, short working hours, long vacations. By this tax hoarding of money meant a loss. Every one tried to get rid of his money as quickly as possible.

1. To buy what he wanted
2. To pay his debts
3. To save by granting credit

The creditor did not get any interest. He was glad to get back the full amount of money in one or ten years or when he needed it. If he had kept his savings in coin, within a few years they would have disappeared.

This working money of Gothic Germany created a social order of unlimited production without depressions and exploitation and made possible and furthered a wonderful development of spiritual and cultural life. Inspiring cathedrals with lofty spires were reaching up towards the skies, towards heaven.

WERNER ZIMMERMANN

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R. B.

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