

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

## GANDHI AND MARX

### I

It has been often said that Gandhiji was a Communist *minus* violence. Indeed, it is possible to quote Gandhiji himself in support of this proposition. Gandhiji was not in the habit of rejecting descriptions of him or his principles, if they were meant as compliments, and if they helped his main mission. But in a careful examination of principles, such descriptions should not be regarded as very accurate and must not be used as handy definitions. The error of such descriptions lies in its capacity to conceal the full implication of the differential factor. When it is said that Gandhism is Communism *minus* violence, the impression created is that the '*minus* violence' factor is some small impurity in communism which if removed will make Communism the same as Gandhism. As a matter of fact, even if it were possible to so equate Gandhism in terms of Communism, the '*minus* violence' factor is a major factor of considerable value. The implications of "*minus* violence" are so great as to make the equation as illusory as to say that red is green *minus* yellow and blue, or a worm is a snake *minus* poison.

The temptation to offer such easy explanations arises from a vague awareness that Marxism or Socialism has caught the imagination of the people, and that ultimately it really is the right solution for the ills of the world; and therefore, Gandhism must be interpreted in terms of Marxism; also from a latent desire that the introduction of Socialism must not take place at a rapid pace. It is felt that Gandhiji's method somehow provides easy stages for the introduction of Socialism, which is accepted by such people as the final goal.

But I feel that this is an incorrect position to adopt. It avoids facing fundamental issues, and fails to call the attention of the people to the need of a fundamental revolution in their approach to moral, spiritual and religious dogmas and creeds, from which ultimately all changes in the political, social and economic structure of human society emanate. Thus considered, Gandhism and Marxism are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike.

If, indeed, the difference between Marxism and Gandhism consisted only in the insistence upon non-violence in the latter, and that if the ultimate goal of the Congress or "Gandhi-ites" were the establishment of a socialist order, then the present is the most opportune time for doing so without violence. For, the Government machinery throughout India today is in the hands of those who proclaim Gandhiji as "the Father of the Nation", and invoke his name and refer to his ideas and principles every day in their public utterances. It is in their power to anticipate the Communists and take all the wind out of their sails by carrying out changes which Communists would make if in power. The question of a violent revolution can arise only if the State machinery were not in the hands of the believers in Communist doctrines and if Communists despair of attaining power by constitutional means. If the Government itself is pledged to the establishment of Communism, which according to the explanations offered is indistinguishable from Gandhism, then Government and Communists should be working hand in hand; or if it were a question merely of personal group politics, the people should be able to tell the Communists, "We do not need you and your methods, because we have already established what you advocate."

But this does not happen, and the reason is that the difference between Gandhi and Marx is deeper than can be expressed by a simple equation with plus and minus signs.

It is necessary to explain this in some detail, and I propose to do so hereafter.

Bombay, 31-1-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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## FOOD CONTROL

### I

The following note is based on my experience as a (retired) Revenue Officer.

#### Defects

The Press and Platform have both wrangled over the question whether control is justified. While protagonists of its continuance have been setting forward persisting shortage of food in the country as their argument, antagonists contend that the so-called shortage is only illusive and not real and further argue that the control far from eliminating black-marketing has brought in its train both black-marketing and blackmailing.

It is not the aim of this note to enter into the controversy so far as it relates to past action but there cannot — ought not — to be two opinions on the proposition that controls are an artificial system, which must end sooner rather than later and that the normal sources of supply and normal channels of distribution should be restored. So many intricacies have sprung up from this system.

First, Government being impersonal, the controls have to operate entirely through paid staff all of whom, in our present conditions, cannot be expected to work with the requisite amount of integrity as well as training and experience in the art of trade.

Secondly, sufficient thought is not devoted to the movement of grains from district to district and the cost of transport is unnecessarily swollen. Districts in which ample quantities of grain of superior quality are grown ration out to their own consumers inferior qualities, often deteriorated in transit or by long and improper storage while their own grains of superior quality migrate to other areas.

Thirdly, the present system does not admit of taking stock of the real position of food-supply in the country as a whole and an estimate of the real shortages cannot be drawn up.

Fourthly, each province has its own policy of procurement and distribution. There is lack of full co-operation between the provinces in rendering mutual aid. Since areas which were the best granaries have passed into Pakistan and the dislocated conditions in Burma have also affected our food position, it was all the more essential for our provinces to work wholeheartedly in the pooling of resources to feed the population of the country and to minimize the shortages to be imported from foreign countries at prohibitive cost. But the contrary has been our experience. Surplus provinces could certainly have contributed more quotas than they have done, considering the difficulties of the country as a whole.

It is essential to remove the provincial bans because they operate very harshly on the deficit provinces to the advantage of the surplus provinces. In normal times and during the natural

course of trade, grains from surplus provinces found their way into the deficit provinces with the resultant automatic adjustment of the markets. As the result of the bans the deficit provinces have been deprived even of that privilege.

Fifthly, procurement of food grains (made in the Bombay Province) under "levy system" represents not the whole of the cultivator's surplus but only a fraction of it with the result that the remainder left with him meets not only his domestic requirements but also allows a wide margin for sale. Although he is prohibited to sell his grains to any one except the Government, still it is an open secret that grain from villages surreptitiously enters black markets in the town.

Sixthly, black markets are the result of defects in the rationing system. The rations allowed while being deficient in quantity are often poor in quality. The grains are even deliberately mixed with sand, earth and gravel. Deterioration results also from bad storage. For all these causes, grains available in black markets are generally superior in quality than those issued from the ration shops.

Black-marketing and profiteering having come in the train of the present system of control mainly because of the defects in the system, it would be better to replace the present system by an entirely different one, viz., of employing the agency of *licensed* merchants in the procurement, stocking and distribution of food grains and to concentrate control over the stocks in their charge.

The decontrol attempted two years back failed because it was hedged in by various limitations and the half remedy only worsened the disease. Interprovincial and interdistrict bans were left untouched with the result that normal sources of supply of the different markets were not thrown open. Six districts of Gujarat were cordoned off from the operation of decontrol. Control and rationing in the four important cities of the Province were allowed to continue. The worst results followed from allowing residents of the four cities to import under permits food grains from mofussil areas in quantities equivalent to one year's requirements. Huge quantities of cereals were drained off from mofussil areas in a very short time and the result was that while the importers got an opportunity to sell them in the black market, the mofussil areas were depleted of their stocks with the resultant enormous rise in prices in both the areas.

The above episode establishes two principles, viz., (1) that it is highly dangerous to remove control only from some areas while it is allowed to continue in others and (2) that decontrol would not be successful unless the normal course of trade is put on its way to recovery.

What is, then, the remedy? I shall make detailed suggestions in my next article.

K. V. KOUNDINYA



### VILLAGE ECONOMY

Shri Jhaverbhai Patel writes :

"Under the present economic system based on competition, producers of raw materials and basic needs get minimum remuneration while manufacturers of finished goods and fancy articles get highest ones. This is due to the former being produced in villages and the latter in towns. The result is that both wealth and intelligence flow from villages to cities. The remedy is to make villages manufacturers of finished goods in addition to the production of raw materials and to fix just prices for village produce such as foodgrains, ghee, milk etc. The principle of giving a living wage and amenities of life has been accepted in the case of organized industrial labour. It is but fair that peasants and village labourers though unorganized should be similarly assured of getting living wages and proper amenities of life.

"While on the one hand expectations of a just economic order have been raised, on the other hand both the inequitable features of the current economic order,—namely regional division of the production of raw materials and manufacturers as well as their unfair ratings—are not only sought to be maintained intact but even plans are afloat to that end. There is already a cry raised that prices of food grains and other agricultural products should be lowered.

"What is the duty of the Government in this behalf? Should it wait until popular opinion on this question crystalizes? Or should it proceed to change the present economy in the interest of the masses, on the strength of its own knowledge of the public mind?"

Undoubtedly the duty of the Government is to plan village life on the principle of self-sufficiency to as great an extent as possible. This is being delayed. Perhaps there are reasons for it some of which may be valid. I do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion of these just now.

But one of the reasons is that our leaders are not clear in their minds on this subject. They are often heard to say that the question of equitable distribution is irrelevant in our country for the present, for, in the face of insufficient production, what is there to distribute? This is an instance of the misapplication of the principle 'First things first'. It is argued that the 'first thing' necessary being full production, the problem of distribution may well wait for the present. But this is a mechanical way of reasoning. Mechanical methods might be good in processes of production, but their application in logic leads to fallacious thinking. If there were no production at all, there would be no problem of distribution. But since there does exist some production, the question of proper distribution automatically arises along with it. If, again, distribution could be postponed until full production was reached, perhaps it would be possible to put off its consideration to a later stage. But we do consume day after day whatever is produced. And while some secure far more than what is just, others don't get enough. And it is the producers who almost invariably get less. If unequal distribution adversely affected non-producers only, there could be perhaps some justification for it. Even if it had been the case that though non-producers got a larger share, producers were able to get sufficient

enough, the consideration of equitable distribution could be deferred. But the present condition does not admit of patient awaiting.

Under these circumstances the issue whether production or distribution should be regarded as more important, is irrelevant and one cannot be preferred to another without harm.

Another error involved in such compartmental consideration about the problems of production and distribution is that it might lead to the adoption of such methods of production as to make equitable distribution impossible later on. Our methods of production must be such as to solve the problem of equitable distribution simultaneously with the increased production. This means intensifying production through tools of village industries. But these are rejected because they seem to work so slow, and we are in a hurry. And our very hurry is impeding our pace.

We are led into a similar error by the poser, whether defence or production should be given priority? And some urge that it should be the former. For instance, the Prime Minister of Pakistan is reported to have declared, "We cannot neglect the question of Defence, even if we had to starve." But this readiness to starve is only a sophisticated way of saying, "let the poor starve if Defence needs it", the truth being that whatever be the expense of Defence, the rich are not going to starve. This logic makes militarization the first charge on the State and brings in its train industrial and other mechanization on a huge scale. The result is that the appeal of village industries is dismissed.

My plea for a simultaneous tackling of production and distribution may easily evoke the support of economists, but they become cold as soon as I plead for village industries. So I have to plough a lonely furrow and I am conscious of it. I do not wish to waste my time in criticizing the Government. I would rather have workers engage themselves in work straightaway. If the present is not kind to us, the future will surely be with us if we only work directly among the masses and persevere whole-heartedly in our programmes.

Now let me deal with a few points raised in the above letter. The manufactured necessities of village life, raw materials whereof are also available locally, should be produced in the village itself. Really, a peasant must not be a mere agriculturist, but an agriculturist (i.e. agriculturist *cum* handicraftsman). He is not fully employed unless he is also the latter. But the motive for this village-industrialism must not be trade and commerce.

Undoubtedly, the villager must get the right price for his milk, ghee etc. But the villager must first consume his own milk, ghee etc., and should sell only the surplus. Not until he consumes his own produce, will he be able to get adequate price for the balance. So also with fruits and vegetables. If the growers



follow the teaching of Saint Tukaram who said 'Eat the fruit of your deeds', they will be able to command the market. But this can happen only when they themselves produce the main necessities of their life. The work of developing co-operation in villages and making villages self-dependent through village industries is a programme which if accomplished even on a miniature scale, will serve as a pointer to the Government in solving our economic riddles. I wish our all-India institutions put off their all-India basis for a while and busy themselves with solving the problem of production and distribution in their own local areas in accordance with the principles of *Swadeshi-dharma*. Thereby, I believe, they will be able to justify their all-India character more quickly than ever.

It is but just that the peasants should get the right price for their produce, but since food is man's basic need its right price must not mean dearness but cheapness. This is possible only if part of wage of agricultural labour and the collection of land revenue is made in kind. This will also make the lifting of controls easy to the great relief of the peasant.

Pavnar, 8-1-'50

VINOBA

(From the *Sarvodaya*, January, 1950)

## HARIJAN

February 12

1950

### "YOU HAVE LET DOWN GANDHIJI"

This is a charge which every one seems to be laying upon very one else now-a-days. Since this has become a widespread failing, it is unnecessary any longer to investigate this matter further. It might be more profitable to make a search for those who have "upheld Gandhiji". Surely there must be some who even in the midst of all 'let-downers' are earnestly and humbly following Gandhiji with complete faith and without waiting to enquire whether they stand alone or are in good company. And let him who finds any such noble soul, forget a thousand false followers and rejoice in that good one, and pay him his silent tribute. And may be, when he begins his search that way, he may have some surprises. He might come by more than one such person; also, instinctively this method of enquiry might bring about a radical change in the investigator himself. Instead of an attitude of condemning every one for his failings in living or acting upto Gandhiji's principles, he might say, 'Well, this man, though not cent per cent a true follower of Gandhiji, is 90 per cent, 60 per cent, 50 per cent', and so on, and incline to pass him and then begin to feel satisfied with almost every weak—but sincere struggler, and instead of hating him for his shortcomings, sympathize with him for the weakness of his flesh.

Rationally, the too easy condemnatory as well as the too easy eulogizing attitudes are both wrong. But the latter is better than the former, being a seeker of good instead of dirt in the surroundings. A person who examines a heap of rubbish for finding things of value that it might contain gets better returns than one who simply looks at it to see what a heavy waste will have to be burnt up or thrown into the sea.

So far as I am concerned, I plead guilty to the charge of having now and then done something which might be looked upon as having 'let Gandhiji down'. I had not had the privilege of being a good follower of Gandhiji even when he was alive. There were things, in which I quickly responded favourably to his ideas, and even contributed my mite to his development; in some others, I hesitated or even opposed for a time and took my own time to feel convinced of the correctness of his ideas. There were also subjects, in which I remained unconvinced or unreconciled till the end. Gandhiji himself understood my attitude perfectly well and took me as I was. This was the reason for my saying when assuming responsibility for *Harijan* to the effect that much as I have imbibed from Gandhiji, I have imbibed also from others; and there is something which perhaps has arisen from my own nature. It is all mixed up in me. So I cannot say that I shall be able to express views for which authority could always be found from Gandhiji's writings. The test to be applied should not be Gandhiji's utterances, but that of Truth and Non-violence.

Gandhiji's was a life which evolved during a period of nearly half a century of public service. In specific details his views often underwent changes, as it must be the case with all those who never cease to grow. It is therefore wrong always to seek or quote his authority on particular details. It is the fundamental bases which are important and they are truth, non-violence, self-control in every sphere, and in the event of a conflict between moral good and material good, preference for the former.

The charge of having let down Gandhiji has become a fashionable utterance because so many of us have cultivated the opposite habit of making Gandhiji and *Sarvodaya* and truth-and-non-violence hackneyed phrases. Every leader and every Minister seems to regard himself as on insecure ground unless he says, "This is what the Father of the Nation taught us," or, "ultimately the good of the world consists in taking to Gandhiji's way of life."

It will be far better if, instead of constantly referring to the Father of the Nation, we humbly rely upon the spirit of Truth and Love within us. For whatever Gandhiji said or did came to him from his quest of Truth and sprang from his Non-violence. And though the Mahatma is no longer with us, the light which guided him is always there to guide us, if we have the will to accept it.

Bombay, 31-1-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA



## KASTURBA FUND APPEAL

The general public are well aware that, on the sad demise of Kasturba Gandhi at the Agakhan Palace on February 22, 1944, during imprisonment with Mahatma Gandhi, an appeal for a memorial fund was issued by leading men and women in the public life of India on March 8, 1944. Fortunately, Mahatma Gandhi was set free soon after, and it was decided to present the amount of the memorial fund as a purse to him, the funds being applied in such manner as he might direct.

The total of the fund came to about Rs. 1.25 crores, and under the directions of Mahatma Gandhi it had been decided to apply the funds for the benefit of women and children in the rural areas. It has also been the policy of the memorial fund to entrust the work to women workers, and the work is being carried on in the whole country in different provinces through women-agents in the provinces.

The work of the Trust is two-fold :

(1) The training of personnel as basic and pre-basic teachers, *balawadi* teachers, midwives, village craft workers, *gramasevikas*, etc., and

(2) starting centres of *gramaseva* in villages through the trained personnel.

The Trust is the only all-India organization in the country which works among rural women-folk and children. It lacks the glamour and publicity of urban work, and, therefore, many appear to be ignorant as to what work is being carried on under the Trust.

The Trust trained 500 *gramasevikas*, 120 basic teachers, 61 midwives and health visitors, 50 *balawadi* teachers and 20 other types of *sevikas* by the end of 1948 and about 250 women workers were under training at the end of 1949. The Trust runs 16 *gramasevika* training centres, nine midwifery training centres, 51 medical centres, including a leprosy hospital, and about 225 *gramaseva*, basic and other centres. This work is spread throughout the whole of India. This figure will give a rough idea of the volume and extent of the work that is being done.

The Trust has also under consideration a scheme for establishing Kasturbagram which will be a central training institute for all types of workers. It is estimated that the scheme is likely to cost about Rs. 12 lakhs non-recurring and an annual expenditure of about Rs. 2,00,000 recurring.

The budget for 1950 comes to about Rs. 16 lakhs. With a view to keep the institutional work going on from year to year, as also to create indigenous interest in the work, the Trust is following a policy of acquiring a certain percentage of contributions from every locality, in which the Trust centres are working. It is expected that out of the total budget of Rs. 16 lakhs about Rs. 4,00,000 will be thus contributed locally.

Besides the 25 training centres for *gramasevikas* and midwifery training the Trust proposes to run 28 medical centres and 261 *gramasevika* centres in 1950. Besides the work above, the Trust is also paying grants-in-aid to a number of deserving sister institutions working in villages.

The Trust is recognized by the income-tax authorities for exemption from tax donations to the Trust. It is, therefore, hoped that charitably disposed people will take advantage of the concession and contribute liberally to the fund.

The total amount of funds collected may appear to be huge, but is practically a drop in the ocean considering the potentialities of expansion of the work and the needs of the country. Mahatmaji was Chairman of the Trust from May 1944 to the time of his sad demise, and, thereafter I am the Chairman. Shri Thakkarbapa is the Secretary, while Shri Sushila Pai is the deputy Secretary, who is in charge of the day to day work.

The provincial agents as well as the local workers and *sevikas* will be collecting funds from January 31 onwards so as to be able to declare the total amount of

collections on February 22, which will be observed as Kasturba Day all over India by all institutions and centres under the Trust.

I, therefore, earnestly appeal to all our countrymen — rich and poor — to contribute their mite towards the fund to enable it to meet the vast, important and extensive work of the uplift of rural womanhood.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

## GANDHIJI — THE LAST PHASE

### I

In March of 1946 Gandhiji was staying in Uruli-Kanchan, an idyllic little village near Poona, to engage in his pet hobby of nature cure, which in the evening of his life had become a passion with him. In the last week of that month he received a pressing personal message from the British Cabinet Delegation to meet them at Delhi. The special messenger bringing the message was miraculously saved only by the late arrival of his chauffeur, so that he missed the RAF plane by which his seat was booked, and which half an hour later was reported to have crashed, all the occupants being instantly killed.

It was the hour of India's destiny. Ever alert like a sentinel in his watch tower, Gandhiji had been carefully observing the signs of the times. The speech of Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons debate on the 15th of March, 1946, had for the first time removed, so far as declaration of British policy was concerned, the main hurdles that had all along stood in the way of Indian independence. "There is little doubt," he mused in the weekly columns of *Harijan*, "that India is about to reach her promised goal of entering into independence. Let the entrance be prayerful." And in his characteristic way suiting the action to the word, he decided that thereafter during his visits to Bombay and Delhi he would put up, not in the palatial residences of the rich, but in Harijan quarters. "Indian slavery under the British rule is hardly two centuries old," he exclaimed, "yet we are impatient to see it ended here and now. How dare we, now that India is on the threshold of the Promised Land, ask Harijans to subsist on the promise of a distant Utopia? The emancipation of the Harijans cannot wait. It must be now or never."

For months before he had been preparing for the event. What exercised his mind was "how the millions would react to the first shock of freedom." As he watched the delirious enthusiasm and devotion of the crowds that greeted him wherever he went, he asked himself the question, "Does it spell violence or non-violence? Unless the people are properly trained and organized in non-violent behaviour," he declared, "they will not be able to make much of freedom, and it might even prove to be a questionable boon." And so he turned his extensive tours in South India and Bengal in the winter of 1946 into tours of inspection and study of crowd behaviour. He instituted the practices



of delivering addresses on the topics of the day in the setting of prayer, and of mass singing of *Ramadhun* to the accompaniment of rhythmic beating of time with the hands as a means of inculcating non-violent mass discipline. It was a revolutionary innovation in the technique of non-violence. It remained an unused weapon to the end. He had not the time to develop it, but from the experience that he had of it, he was convinced that it had boundless application in organizing non-violent mass action.

#### Truth Which Is God

The Cabinet Delegation continued their labours through the months of April, May, and June and then on the 29th of June left Delhi to return home and report. After their departure, Lord Wavell continued the effort which they had initiated.

To Gandhiji the handling of the British Cabinet Mission became another experiment in his endless quest for truth. To man is given control over his actions only. If his actions are an unadulterated expression of truth that is within him, then all will be well. And so he intensified all the more his ceaseless endeavour at introspection and self-purification which had always been an essential part of his life and which made his daily life an unbroken spell of worship at the shrine of Truth which is God. Truth to him meant not merely verbal truth, but complete accord between one's principles and practice, between one's thought, word, and deed.

Daily he held a silent court within himself and called himself to account for the littlest of his little acts. Nothing was too small to escape his scrutiny. For instance, it had been an old practice of his to sell by auction after the evening public prayer ornaments presented to him for Harijans. He had discontinued the practice to save time, but it made him feel unhappy to think that he was saving his time at the cost of Harijans — his special wards — and so he resumed it. Then on a rainy Saturday evening prayer was held under a dripping *shamiana* and the auction was omitted as the crowd was much smaller than usual. But afterwards he found fault with himself for it. Did it not betoken lack of faith to fear that the auctions would be low because the crowd was small? His South African friend Downes, scheduled to speak from a church pulpit at 7 p.m. in Durban, had begun to address at the stroke of seven with an audience of only one. That was faith.

New Delhi, 29-1-'50

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## PEACE ON EARTH BY VEGETARIANISM AND FREE ECONOMY

### II

Could such an economic, social and cultural uplift become possible again in our time? Certainly. This has been proved by a very successful experiment.

In 1932, in Austria, the economic depression was very bad. Production came nearly to a standstill; unemployment grew worse every day. The small town of Woergl in the Tirol suffered a great deal. But the mayor was a small man with bright brains and full of energy, Michael Unterguggenberger. He knew Silvio Gessel and Free Economy. So he started to help his town. He introduced an emergency money. I had the privilege to be of some help instructing the public by lectures. What did this money look like? In Austria they have Schilling and Groschen as you have dollars and cents. The dollar bill of Woergl had on one side twelve small compartments, one for every month of the year. At the end of every month a tax stamp of one cent had to be glued to cover that month; otherwise the bill lost its value. At the end of the year every bill had to be exchanged for a new bill.

The effect was exactly as it had been in the Gothic Middle Ages. People hurried to buy goods, to pay debts, to grant credit without interest in order to avoid the tax. Such is human nature. We have to introduce reforms which work with every kind of people, with the average man and even with the criminal, not only with a few idealists.

Woergl could give work and income to its citizens. It became an island of work and peace within an ocean of depression and despair. Papers in Europe, even in America, wrote about "The Wonder of Woergl". Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale University, a well-known economist (by the way, a vegetarian too) sent a man to Woergl to study it. When he received the report, he wrote in a paper, "If we in America apply this kind of money, we shall be out of depression within three weeks."

Minister Daladier of France personally travelled to Woergl and published an enthusiastic report. Such a rebellion and self-relief the financial powers could not tolerate. It could clear heads and waken up nations to go the practical way to overcome the whole system of capitalistic exploitation. Therefore, the National Bank in Vienna, having the monopoly of issuing money for Austria, tried to forbid the working and helping money of Woergl, and after a struggle of many months, the small mayor Unterguggenberger had to give way. The State was stronger than the man with his common sense. And again the waves of depression covered Woergl too. This island of work and the hopes of millions sank down.

Any progressive government with clear knowledge and honest will could introduce such



a working money of stable value and with motor for steady circulation. Let us put it in a simplified way. The U. S. issue new dollar bills every year. In exchanging the old bills for the new ones a tax of 6 per cent is taken ; this is  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent for every month. The amount of money in circulation is regulated in order to keep the index of the price level stable. If necessary, cheques can be taxed too. The rate of exchange with other currencies is free. This is, very much simplified, the scheme. We haven't time for more details here. They can all be found in the literature of Free Economy.

The second problem to be solved is the land question. Briefly, Free Economy proposes a reform of landed property somewhat along the line of Henry George and single tax (that means the ground-rent goes to the community or state) but improved and in connection with the monetary reform. Single tax on land only, without changing the monetary system, cannot reach its goal of full social liberation, and through this, peace. Single tax on land combined with single tax on money will create the foundation of the new social order of freedom and plenty, of peace on earth.

We vegetarians want peace even with the animals. We are for *ahimsa*, for kindness and love, for non-violence, for freedom. This has to be valid for human beings as much or even more as for animals. "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you."

An economic order corresponding with the vegetarian philosophy can only be based on freedom. However, we are against the liberty of capitalism which allows the rich to exploit the poor, under which interest and speculation can take the cream of the result of every work. This is no freedom. We are also against violence and bureaucracy of the State as far as they can be avoided. The stronger the State and its machinery, the more man, the individual, is enslaved. The more insignificant the State, the freer, the more self-responsible is man, every individual.

Single tax on money and land will give freedom to man without exploitation, will more and more reduce the State to a willing servant of humanity. This will be the solution for all the world, so bitterly needed.

Humanity is divided into East and West and the tension is dangerously growing. The East (Russia) wants socialism, communism, and this should mean brotherliness. But there is no socialism without the full freedom of man. Russia rather has terrorism. The West (America) wants the freedom of man. But there is no freedom of man without social responsibility, no freedom as long as we have not overcome all the deficiencies, the injustice, the exploitation of the capitalistic system.

Brotherliness and freedom: Social justice combined with free enterprise: This is the synthesis of the best that East and West can

offer. This is the solution for peace. Only Free Economy can bring it, the Free Economy of Silvio Gessel, the vegetarian with the bright eyes and the kind heart.

You may ask, "Is there any hope that Free Economy will come?" There is hope. At first it was very difficult to get men to listen to this important truth. Gessel published his first book in 1891. About 1900 he published a monthly magazine for two years and sent it free to all leaders, personalities, politicians of influence. Only three persons out of thousands have paid him a contribution. I myself have worked for this cause for more than thirty years. Two of my friends are in the Congress of Switzerland. Our proposals are gaining influence even upon the Government and National Bank.

Since 1946 I have spent most of my time working in Germany. The National Socialists had destroyed my books and put my friend and publisher Rudolf Zeitzmann into concentration camps for sixty-four months, over five years. Hitler had forbidden the strong movement for Free Economy. Since the war we have been building it up again amidst ruins, hunger, fear, despair and the fierce resistance of those old political parties, which failed to solve the economic problems before 1933 and thus opened the road to Hitler. We are gaining ground slowly but steadily. It is the hope for Germany and Europe.

The earth is the home of man. It would like to become a paradise for us ; instead, we have made a hell out of it. This is our work. We have been thinking and acting against the laws of eternal wisdom. Now we have the result. It is as we deserve it. The tree has brought its fruits.

Man is co-creator. We can make the world better. The change has to begin inside of every one of us. If we recognize ourselves as the children of the Father in Heaven, as the Bible expresses this truth, as sparks of eternal light, we shall become aware of our mighty creative forces and make intelligent use of them. This means to us a life as vegetarians. We prefer kindness to violence also towards the animal brother, towards nature.

However, to create peace on earth a good deal more is required. We have both heart and head. We have to see all the causes of war, of human and social unrest and despair. The Light has to penetrate all darkness in a realistic and practical way, in finance and in the social order too. Otherwise we shall remain mere dreamers who will never create or deserve the Kingdom of Heaven, Peace on Earth.

Friends, a last word. Many of you would like to see quicker results from your efforts. Is this wise? The grain wants to rest in the silent ground of Mother Earth before it sprouts up into the light. Our words and deeds are seeds for the future. They will sprout and grow in



time. We receive and enjoy many fruits our forefathers planted. Why should we not do the same? — Sow good grain, good thoughts and deeds that our children, that future generation can harvest? Good things are not in a hurry.

The most important effect of right living you will have at once. He who finds a truth and lives up to it with all his heart, by all his means, in that every moment becomes transformed. He finds the inner peace; he becomes One with the Father. This is the greatest Earth can bring unto us. It means health and happiness in mind, soul and body.

Once you have experienced this you lose every haste and fear. You live and you work for truth because it is the highest happiness possible. You never think what can I get? You only think what can I give. For everything we give out of a pure heart will be returned to us manifold.

May all of us become more and more such Brothers and Sisters in the Light!

Ringenberg (Bern),  
Switzerland

WERNER ZIMMERMANN

#### NOTES

##### '21 and not '20

I referred to the ambiguity about the year of the letter of Gandhiji to Deenabandhu Andrews published in *Harijan* of the 29th January. Shri Mathuradas Trikamji assures me that the year must be 1921 and not '20; because (1) the letter is written from Calcutta, where Gandhiji had gone to attend a meeting of the Congress Working Committee towards the end of January 1921; (2) during the same period of 1920, he was in the Punjab in the course of the enquiry regarding Martial Law outrages and (3) the problem of Harijans, to which the letter refers, was first taken up at the Congress level in the Nagpur Congress of 1920. He suspects that an examination of the original letter, might show that the dash between '20 and '21 might really be not a hyphen but the continuation of the line scoring off '20, written first inadvertently. It is kind of Shri Mathuradas Trikamji to have taken so much trouble from his sickbed.

Bombay, 1-2-'50

##### "Miss A Meal" Programme

Popular enthusiasm for meeting the food scarcity is commendable. It had led to several campaigns, such as 'Miss a Meal a Week', 'Chew More', 'Stop Feasts', 'Waste Less' and so on. They are good so far as they go, and if addressed to well-fed people. But the enthusiasm has been even over abundant in some quarters. For instance, Shree Oudh Behari Lal, a naturopath of Lucknow, in a bulletin to advance the campaign of 'Miss a Meal a Week' argues as follows:

"If 24 crores of men in India fast only half a day in a week, and one meal cost annas 4 only, then there will be a saving of Rs. 5 crores per week, i.e.

20 crores per month and 240 crores in a year, which means that India will be in surplus of food."

How easily does simple arithmetic solve our problems! The good naturopath forgets that crores of people in India miss almost one meal every day, and several even more than that. They do not know what it is to have a full meal from year's end to year's end!

It may be all well for well-fed people to fast occasionally, but it is no remedy for meeting the scarcity. People need more food than they get even just to keep going and more food is necessary if we wish to maintain them in a fit condition. It is also needed for our cattle.

Let us not be side-tracked by over-emphasizing side remedies from the fundamental necessity of actually producing more food.

Bombay, 28-1-'50

##### Place of Liquor in Cold Countries

There is a superstition that even if liquor might not be quite necessary in a warm country like ours, it (along with meat) is an unavoidable necessity in cold countries. This superstition leads even vegetarian Indians to take to meat and liquor when they go to Europe. But Norway is even colder than the northern-most point of Great Britain. Oslo, the capital of Norway, is in a more northern latitude than Leningrad, the cold capital of Russia. Norway suffered heavy destruction in the last war. The destruction in Finnmark which is its northern-most province and separates it from Russia "was so complete that almost every house here has had to be rebuilt." But the calamity has become a boon in disguise. A writer in the *Saturday Evening Post* (U.S.A.) December 3, 1949 says:

"The war proved to be a great equalizer through Finnmark. The well-to-do and the poor alike lost everything, and today live in similar plain houses. The social centre of Kirkenes is the Ritz Cafe, where workers and executives eat the same food at adjoining tables. Somewhat to my astonishment, I observed that these cafe patrons are ardent cake eaters. The Ritz serves hard liquor, but these miners, hunters, woodsmen and ironworkers prefer to order cake — thick slices of rich sweet cake. The consumption of liquor has fallen off drastically in post-war Finnmark, and there is almost no crime."

Bombay, 31-1-'50

K. G. M.

CONTENTS	PAGE
GANDHI AND MARX — I ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	425
FOOD CONTROL — I ... K. V. KOUNDINYA	426
VILLAGE ECONOMY ... VINOBA	427
"YOU HAVE LET DOWN GANDHIJI" ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	428
KASTURBA FUND APPEAL VALLABHBHAI PATEL	429
GANDHIJI — THE LAST PHASE — I ... PYARELAL	429
PEACE ON EARTH BY VEGETARIANISM AND FREE ECONOMY — II ... WERNER ZIMMERMANN	430
NOTES:	
'21 AND NOT '20 ... K. G. M.	432
"MISS A MEAL PROGRAMME" ... K. G. M.	432
PLACE OF LIQUOR IN COLD COUNTRIES ... K. G. M.	432