

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHI AND MARX

II

The fundamental difference between Gandhiji and Marx lies in their different approaches towards life and the universe. All other differences whether of ends and means, or of ideas about political, social, economic, or religious order arise from this basic difference. And in this Gandhiji's approach differs not only from that of Marx but also from the protagonists of capitalism and industrialism. For, whatever other differences and conflicts there may be between Marxism and Capitalism, both attach great importance to centralized control over capital and land and large-scale industries and agriculture. The quarrel between them consists in each wanting to establish its own control over these and for getting the largest share in the fruits.

When a road branches itself into two, even if the angle between the two branches is less than five degrees at the base, after some miles, their ends will be away from each other by several miles. If the branching takes place, say, at Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin), one road might lead you to Peshawar and the other to Nepal. Similarly the difference between the way of looking at life and universe of Gandhiji and that of Marx and several others appears up to a certain stage to be so much alike for practical purposes as to make one feel that the difference is as between half a dozen and six. This is the reason for apparent agreement in the objectives of Gandhi and Marx, and for slogans, such as, "Gandhism is Communism minus Violence." But this agreement is only superficial.

The common point between Gandhi and Marx is their extreme concern for the suppressed and oppressed, resourceless and ignorant, dumb and starving section of humanity. They form the major part of the family. And their condition is wretched in a world which is abundantly in plenty and capable of providing a large degree of happiness to each and every one. Further, it is wretched in the midst of civilizations, which have again and again developed literature, science, art, industries, orderly governments, majestic institutions, cities and buildings, delved into the mysteries of nature to an amazing degree and created comforts and luxuries such as were once regarded as available

only in fairy lands. Both Gandhi and Marx want to establish an order, which would make these masses co-sharers in the gifts of nature and fruits of human genius. But while Gandhiji insists upon adherence to truth and non-violence for achieving this object, Marx (or Marxists, if, as some say, Marx must be distinguished from Marxists, as Gandhi from Gandhites) does not care about the quality of the means, if they appear efficient enough for achieving the end as quickly as possible.

The question naturally arises why two highly intelligent and highly cultured men inspired by a common high object should differ on a matter of vital importance to the human family taken as a whole. Whether or no one is able to trace the right cause for the difference of opinion, the fact itself must be taken as indicative of the existence of a very serious flaw either in the logic or in the truth of the premises assumed by the one or the other, or even both.

For centuries philosophers and scientists have sought to get to the primary root of the universe. Apparently it is a mixture or combination of innumerable sentient and insentient bodies. How many of these bodies or their scientifically distinguishable components are primordial in their ultimate analysis? Are they several? or only two (spirit and matter)? or, not even two, but only one? If one, which is it — spirit or matter? And even if spirit is accepted as the primordial substance, whether there are several independent and eternal individuals, or whether all life is One?

It is difficult to say whether philosophers and scientists will ever come to a final and unanimous conclusion on these points. And it would not matter in the least if there were as many theories about them as the number of thinkers, provided they remained confined to academies as subjects for intellectual treat with no bearing on problems of life. But it is not so. Each theory is sought to be applied to the dealings and institutions of man in everyday life. The acceptance of one theory points to the ordering of society and the place of the individual in it in one manner, of another theory in quite a different manner; and so on with every separate theory.

Progress in science may bring about a reduction in such theories. But, as yet, science

too, is, after a certain limit, merely enunciation of hypotheses and probability conjectures. The exact link between life and matter is still beyond human perception even with the aid of scientific appliances. But the stubbornness in man is not satisfied with merely accepting one's own theory as cent per cent truth for oneself, but impels him to bring about changes in the world in accordance with the corollaries arising from that theory. And in doing so, he does not hesitate to use, if needed, every type of foul means.

Of these philosophies, there are two which regard life and universe to be emanations of only one fundamental principle. Both Gandhi and Marx might be regarded as monobasists. But according to Gandhiji the basic principle is Spirit and not Matter. Even what we regard as insentient matter has its being in and by the Spirit; it has no existence independent of it; at any rate, in the absence of Spirit none can testify to its existence. The universe rises, exists and disappears in the Spirit, which alone is ever existent and imperishable. Therefore Spirit alone is *Satya* — Truth — ever-abiding principle. All other forms and forces are, so to say, rays or emanations from it; every one of them is subject to continuous change and total conversion or resolution from one form into one or more others. And the mystery of the Spirit is that though every sentient being is always associated with it and is never away from it, it is missed by most beings for the whole of their lives. And this is so much so that its very existence is doubted by many, and even most of those who accept it do so on faith. And just as a drop of water is as completely water itself as an ocean, so the Spirit is as much completely existent in a small bacterium as in the mighty lion, the huge elephant or the greatest genius. In spite of infinite varieties and degrees in the manifestation of its powers, the ultimate Base is one and even in all. Even as one may not perceive the strength of a sleeping lion though it is there in abundance, so too the Spirit is wholly and fully present in every atom, whether its powers are manifest or hidden. And its wonder is that though every individual being feels itself to be a separate, self-contained and independent ego, it is not many, nor a few, but only one common *Atma* — Soul — in all. The tiniest cell is not a different spirit from the biggest monster, nor the greatest sinner different from the greatest Mahatma, prophet or *avatara*. Even as coal and diamond, though so very mutually different in colour, lustre, hardness and various other qualities are but different manifestations of the same element called carbon, so too the different sentient beings are one universal Spirit. We may not be able to delve into the mystery of their differences, not even into the mystery of the workings of one's own mind and personality. But for Gandhiji there was no room for doubt that ultimately it is all one Life, and it alone works everywhere. The universe composed of infinite sentient and insentient

bodies, visible and invisible energies, good and wicked, moral and spiritual qualities, and micro-cosmic and macro-cosmic objects is one and only one and even abiding Spirit — Also called *Satya* (Truth), *Atma* (Soul), *Paramatma* (God). The different forms are only apparent and superficial coverings. They emanate from its capacity to manifest itself in infinite ways. Looked at from that side, there is no scope for dividing existence into I, you and the rest.

This was, as I understood it, Gandhiji's attitude towards Life and the universe. I shall further refer to this in my next.

Bombay, 9-2-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

SELECTED LETTERS

Second Series*

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

Brahmacharya is a mental state. It is undoubtedly helped by abstemiousness in all respects. But diet plays the least part in giving one the necessary mental state. Not that wrong diet will not hinder progress. What I want to say is that right diet taken in moderation is not the only thing in the observance of *brahmacharya* though it is undoubtedly one of the necessary things. Indulgence of the palate will be the surest sign of a weak mental state which is repugnant to *brahmacharya*. The sovereign remedy for the observance of *brahmacharya* is realization that the soul is a part of the Divine and that the Divine resides within us. A heart grasp of this fact induces mental purity and strength. You should therefore read such books as would enable you to grasp the central fact, cultivate such companionship as would constantly make you think of the Divine presence and follow all the directions given about fresh air, hip-baths etc. in my book called *Self-restraint v. Self-indulgence*.† And when you are doing all these things regularly and industriously, do not brood over all that happens, but have confidence that success is bound to attain your effort.

II

[To a student of science who asked how we can cultivate faith in God.]

Seeing that God is to be found within, no research in physical sciences can give one a living faith in the Divine. Some have undoubtedly been helped even by physical sciences, but these are to be counted on one's fingertips. My suggestion therefore to you is not to argue about the existence of Divinity, just as you do not argue about your existence, but simply assume like Euclid's axioms that God is, if only because innumerable teachers have left their evidence, and what is more, their lives are unimpeachable evidence. And then as evidence of your own faith, repeat Ramanama every morning and every evening at least for a quarter of an hour each time, and saturate yourself with Ramayan reading.

* The first series has been published in book-form by the Navajivan Publishing House. Price 7 annas; postage etc. 2 annas.

† Also published by Navajivan. Price Rs. 2/-, postage etc. 7 annas.

FOOD CONTROL**II****Remedies**

The remedies, which I suggest, provide two alternatives :

A

- (i) complete decontrol ;
- (ii) throwing open all normal sources of supply ;
- (iii) providing means of transport by rail, road and sea ;
- (iv) maintenance of fair-price shops till the markets well revert to the normal state ;
- (v) maintenance of an emergency store by the Central Government for being drawn on whenever and wherever shortage may be felt despite free transport and free trade. This reserve may be made up partly of local purchases and partly of imports from outside ;
- (vi) control and ban on exports to places outside the country.

The most auspicious time for introducing decontrol is the time when new crops are about to appear on the market. Decontrol would have to be introduced simultaneously throughout the country.

or

B

If it is considered expedient to reach the above stage of complete decontrol cautiously, the existing system of control could only be slackened for the intervening period but all provinces would have to follow a uniform policy. The slackening may be made on the following lines :

- (i) license selected wholesale merchants or an association of them to purchase from cultivators who shall be prohibited to sell their stocks to persons other than licensed merchants ;
- (ii) fix selling prices both for the purchase and sale of grains ; wholesale and retail prices for selling be fixed separately for each District ;
- (iii) allow merchants to store and deal in grains on their own account subject to the ceiling prices and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed in the licence. The following may be the conditions :
 - (a) Wholesale merchants shall sell only to licensed retail dealers under permits to be issued by the Officer to be appointed for the purpose in quantities mentioned in the permit ;
 - (b) submission of weekly or fortnightly returns of purchases, sales and stocks in balance by the wholesale merchants to the District supply officer. These returns shall be subjected to careful scrutiny ;
 - (c) stock registers and accounts of sales and purchases shall be liable to be examined and stocks to be verified by officers to be appointed for the purpose ;
 - (d) sales to merchants in other Districts shall be made only on the authority of certificates to be issued by the Collectors or Supply Officers of the importing Districts in quantities not exceeding quantities mentioned in the certificates. The transport shall be made only under permits to be issued by the Supply Officer of the exporting District ;
 - (iv) conversion of A. R. D. shops into fair-price shops which will be on a par with licensed retail shops. It should be open to consumers to purchase their requirements either from licensed retail shops or from fair-price shops irrespective of the 'income class' of the consumer ;
 - (v) an emergency store may be kept on Government account in each District. The store may

be made up of local purchases as well as of imports from outside on Government account.

It might be argued that by taking merchants into the system, the very object of the control would be frustrated and the whole thing may go amiss. No such apprehension need however be felt inasmuch as an effective check could be exercised over the licensed merchants and dealers by restricting their number to the absolute requirements. Moreover, unlike the present diffusive control, the control under the proposed system would be of a restricted and compact nature. All this could be done with a much smaller establishment than at present. This shall have the advantage of providing a midway arrangement between the present state of absolute control and the state of unfettered normal course of trade which is after all the ultimate desideratum. It shall also bring the much needed relief to the Public Exchequer which is the greater desideratum. Consumers will get grains of normal qualities as in the normal times at controlled rates. Also, the shortage of the country will have been reduced to the minimum with the resultant savings in the sterling and dollar balances for being utilized in the import of capital goods required for the betterment of the economic condition of the country. In short, quite the normal state of things will gradually set in without hardship to the public and with the minimum of expense to Government.

K. V. KOUNDINYA

[I regret I had to abridge the writer's carefully prepared note. I have not omitted any material point. The alternative system of licensed merchants as distributors does not appeal to me in spite of the various checks suggested by him for the simple reason that it would be exposed to corrupting influences and to manoeuvrings of all sorts in the same way as hitherto. The first suggestion is a natural and wholesome method.

— K. G. M.]

NOTES**Cane-Growers' Satyagraha**

Readers will be pleased to learn that on 8th January the dispute between cane-growers, the sugar factory of Nilakottai and the Madras Government has been satisfactorily settled as follows :

1. The cane-growers should voluntarily give one-third of their cane to the factory.
2. They should bring their cane to the nearest road and then the factory owner would transport the same to the factory.

On the 19th cane-growers commenced their jaggery-making operations in an atmosphere of rejoicing, and the factory also has begun to work.

Bombay, 7-2-'50

K. G. M.

Parcels of "Khaddar"

The condition necessitating pre-payment of charges attached to the Half Parcels Rate for hand-woven cloth including 'Khaddar' which is both hand-spun and hand-woven has been withdrawn in Local and Through Booking on this Railway with effect from December 27, 1949.

(G. I. P. News Letter, January '50)

HARIJAN

February 19

1950

HINDU CODE BILL

I have been repeatedly asked to express my views on the Hindu Code Bill now pending before the Parliament. I could not do it, as it is only now that I have been able to read the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, along with various minutes of the members of that Committee.

So far as main principles are concerned, I do not see anything in it which shocks me. Rather, in matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance, testamentary rights and adoption, I have been long of opinion that there should be a uniform law for all Indians, irrespective of their religion. There is no reason also for declaring that conversion to another religion should necessarily entail disqualification to inherit. Whether it should by itself confer upon the unconverted partner the right to claim divorce is a question on which my mind is open. The proselytizing activity would lose both its attraction and sting if it involved no change in social relations and brought no economic advantages or disadvantages, but remained, as it should, a pure matter of personal choice of the form of worship and pursuit of truth. A son or a brother does not cease to be so, nor is regarded disqualified for having turned a Shaiva from Vaishnava, or a Jain from Sanatani. Similarly too, must be the status of other creeds like Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism etc.

The abandonment of the idea of undivided joint-family property resulting in the abolition of the right of survivorship is one of the grounds on which the bill is being strongly opposed. I am in favour of the reform, if it is necessary to regard it as a reform at all. Bengal has not followed the Mitakshara Law for some centuries. The family ties are not less affectionate and warm there by reason of it than in other parts of India. Under the operation of the Income-tax Act, in other parts of India also people have been maintaining their books of account so as to make themselves appear as divided. The joint family law (with presumption of law in its favour) and the right of survivorship have been two of the great causes of heavy litigation among Hindus in India. Widows and daughters have been sought to be dispossessed, adoptions questioned, shares claimed in virtually self-acquired property by distant pretending co-parceners, and large estates have been made ultimately to be frittered away in court stamps and lawyers' fees. There is less litigation of the type of administration suits among communities not subject to the Mitakshara Law.

On the question of adoption, I do not see why there should be a taboo against the adop-

tion of a girl. Pearl Buck, the famous American writer, is a mother of five adopted girls, and I know Hindus too who being childless have brought up daughters of near relatives or orphaned girls as their own. It is of course open to them to make under the Bill a testamentary disposition in the ward's favour. But it often happens that adopters die without being able to make a will, and the position of such girls suddenly becomes pitiable. An adoption ceremony, if allowed, would make the position straight. It would be, after all, only an enabling provision, which is not likely to be very widely availed of. Even adoptions of sons are not too frequent and, I believe, are on the decline.

Much has also been said against the permission accorded to husbands and wives to seek divorce under certain conditions. It is said that this is against the fundamental conception of the Hindu idea of marriage being a sacrament. With all deference to Hindu savants and religious heads, let me point out that the section of Hindus among whom widow remarriage and divorce are traditionally prohibited is a very small one. A majority of Hindus have always allowed both. Some of the States have already passed laws or have before them bills on this subject. Simply because law enables parties to dissolve their marriage, it does not follow that husband and wife, who love each other or can even with occasional wranglings, pull on or be persuaded to pull on together, or feel that marriage is a sacramental tie which must not be cut asunder, need resort to the Matrimonial Court. People belonging to castes which do not allow divorce and widow-remarriage are not better known for their fidelity towards their partners or maintaining more peaceful and affectionate homes than those among whom these are allowed. In actual practice, the male permits himself to be even licentious; it is only the female against whom the taboo operates.

Lastly, about rights of inheritance granted to female relatives. It is but just that Hindu Law should be liberalized in this respect. The law of succession among no other people, whether in India or abroad, is so parsimonious towards women as the Hindu Law. The law which the present Bill seeks to lay down is even more liberal than that recognized by the laws applicable to other Indian communities. This may be rather too great a step for male Hindu relatives to accept generously and for some time may have unhappy reactions. The life, health and upbringing of Hindu women may be endangered. I believe that an attempt should be made to lay down a uniform law for all communities, and Hindu women may be requested to be content at that for the present in their own interest.

So, I welcome the bill on the whole. This of course does not mean that some sections cannot be improved both in language and detail. This, I trust, more capable draftsmen and lawyers than I, will look to.

Also, of course, legislators will be able to go only to the extent public opinion is prepared.
Bombay, 7-2-'50 K. G. MASHRUWALA

WEAVING WITHIN FIVE WEEKS

Spinners and *khadi*-workers well know the difficulty of getting hand-spun yarn woven. *Khadi*, whether for sale or for self-sufficiency, has not progressed satisfactorily owing to the difficulties of weaving. In the spread of hand-spinning, it is not the *charkha* which presents much difficulty in making an appeal; but the organization of weaving presents a formidable problem. Despite many serious efforts, only a few centres have been able to make satisfactory progress in weaving. After the world war, the problem has become even more intricate. At one time there is yarn but no weaver; at another time there is a weaver but no yarn; and there are also times when both yarn and weaver are available, but there are no sales and the stores are too full of *khadi*. This state of affairs is not confined to *khadi* only, it is equally true of mill-yarn weaving also. These unstable conditions have seriously harmed the cause of *khadi*, both for commercial and self-sufficiency purposes, and for some time past the problem of *khadi*-loom has engaged our serious attention. Really, our attention ought to have been drawn to it at a very early stage, because weaving is as much at the root of *khadi* as spinning.

After careful research in the matter, the All-India Spinners' Association has come to the conclusion that one of the solutions lies in devising simple methods of home-weaving, and has been able to find practical ways of doing so. For this it has decided to start weaving classes to teach weaving and impart elementary knowledge of its tools and accessory processes. It will take five weeks to complete the course. In the beginning two camps will be started under the auspices of A.I.S.A., from 25th April to 30th May 1950 at Mul (Dist. Chanda, Madhya Pradesh) and Bardoli (Dist. Surat, Gujarat) respectively.

It is expected that each learner will be able to weave three pieces of cloth, each of 10 yards' length and 27 inches' width in five weeks, working for seven hours per day. There will be no tuition fee, but the learner will have to meet his expenses for boarding etc., which are expected to be about Rs. 30 for the term of five weeks. Further details will be published in the supplement to the *Sarvodaya* for February 1950, or can be had (in Hindi) from the office of the All-India Spinners' Association, Sevagram, Wardha (C.P.) by sending postal stamps of 2 annas.

Application for admission should be sent to the same address on or before 31st March, 1950. Applications by members of Spinning Clubs will be given preference. The spinning clubs are requested to send at least one or two candidates on their behalf so as to make themselves self-dependent in the matter of *khadi*.

KRISHNADAS GANDHI

Secretary,

All-India Spinners' Association

Sevagram

(Translated and abridged from Hindi)

GANDHIJI — THE LAST PHASE

II

Seventy-eighth Birthday

On the occasion of his 78th birthday according to the Indian calendar on 22nd September, a comrade had thoughtlessly arranged to get Dr. Rajendraprasad, the then Food Member, to distribute sweets to Harijan children. To Gandhiji this seemed a criminal waste of food when the poor were threatened with famine. His indignation flared up and he let himself go. That day he made a double expiation — for the lapse of his co-worker and for his own loss of equanimity. He was in the habit of giving menu instructions for each meal, the menu being strictly regulated according to his physical condition, conditions of rest and work in prospect, mental strain and such other factors. That evening he scribbled out instructions that the juice of sour limes instead of the usual orange juice was to be served with his milk. What right had he to use oranges when he could possibly do with sour limes and jaggery? His diary for that day contained the following entry: "I was angry.... I have to consider what my duty under the circumstances is. It seems to be so very hard to maintain detachment of mind in the midst of this raging fire. My heart-searching continues." To a close friend he remarked, "I am filled with agitation. Why could not I suffer this inner anguish with unruffled calmness of spirit? I am afraid I have not the detachment required for living up to 125 years.... Success is impossible without infinite patience. A burning passion coupled with uttermost detachment is the key to all success."

On still another occasion, in the course of his delicate mission, he found himself nodding. The nod consisted in being overhasty in reading a document hurriedly put into his hands by the Nawabsaheb of Bhopal, though there was no occasion for hurry. He fancied it was all right when it was not. Luckily the mistake was detected in time and no harm came out of it. But it shook him to his depths. He arraigned himself before the tribunal of his conscience and accused himself of gross negligence, "which is criminal in a public man". Not satisfied with it, he made a confession of his error before the evening prayer gathering. "Friends might say that it was no sin but a mere oversight — a trivial mistake. I draw no distinction between error and sin. To confess an error or sin as soon as it is discovered is to purge it out.... If a man commits a bonafide mistake and confesses it with a contrite heart before his Maker, the Merciful Maker sterilizes it of all harm."

And, as an aid to introspection, he took to indefinite silence for normal purposes to be broken only to address the evening prayer gatherings or when it might be necessary for his mission in Delhi.

Applying the same test of truth to the Cabinet Mission's 16th of May announcement, he

posed the question: did it or did it not mean what it said? He likened it to a promissory note whose worth depends entirely on its genuineness. There were obvious contradictions in it, but if the assurances conveyed to the ear were not intended to be broken to the heart, he argued, it must be capable of an interpretation that would remove all contradictions and inconsistencies. And giving full credit to the Cabinet Mission for their bonafides, he proceeded to interpret the 16th of May announcement accordingly, thus rescuing the situation from a stalemate for the time being.

And so on the 24th of August, 1946, the Interim Government at the Centre was formed, with Pandit Nehru as Vice-President, and on the 2nd of September the Congress ministers took office after receiving Gandhiji's blessing at an impressive little ceremony at Bhangi Niwas.

On the Threshold

For Gandhiji it was a day of deep heart-searching. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he woke up and wrote out a short message addressed to Pandit Nehru instructing the members of the new Government in their duties. He reminded them that they must in the hour of fulfilment redeem the pledges which they had made when the Congress was in the wilderness. These related to *khadi*, communal unity, prohibition, removal of the Salt Tax, and total abolition of untouchability. Amplifying the substance of his remarks at the evening prayer gathering, he hailed the auspicious occasion for which India had long waited as a red-letter day in Indian history. He exhorted the people to abstain from jubilation, rejoicing, and other exuberant manifestations. The proper way of observing solemn occasions, as enjoined by Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity alike, was by fasting rather than feasting. They should, therefore, utilize the occasion to turn the searchlight inward and have nothing but the friendliest feeling towards all, even those who might be opposed to them. "All those who are born in this country and claim her as the Motherland... are brothers. Our mortal mother, who gives us birth, is entitled to our reverence and worship. Such worship purifies the soul. How much more worthy of our allegiance and reverence must our Mother be then — the Imperishable Mother on whose breast we are born and will die."

After that he was anxious to return to his ashram at Sevagram but was prevailed upon by the members of the new Government to prolong his stay at Delhi and give them the benefit of his sage advice and guidance at the threshold of the new era. And so, through the month of September, in the grilling heat and choking dust of the imperial city. The 78th birthday fell on the second of October according to the English calendar. It brought a shower of greetings from all over the world. One of the most touching, perhaps, was from Lord Pethick-Lawrence. "Gandhiji," he wrote, "the month of October

brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict — conflict between powers of good and evil.....

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the Light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours at the time of the celebration of your birthday!"

New Delhi, 21-9-'50

PYARELAL

LEPROSY COLONIES

Missionaries, who have been the pioneers in this field, deserve the credit for the immense and continuous service which they have rendered in almost all countries in the world. One of the ways devised by them for combating this disease has been the foundation of special colonies of patients of leprosy.

But unfortunately segregation has created serious social and economic problems. They call for serious as well as immediate deliberation, decision and action.

I had an occasion to study these problems for more than 16 years and I may sum up their nature as follows:

1. The patients, in almost all colonies become discontented and very often change colonies. For this they resort to various tricks including bribery.
2. They are not found to behave well and explore all ways and means to break discipline. They even form internal parties with various motives and resort to organized resistance, rioting and assaults to un-nerve the management.
3. Sex problems are always a headache to the management and are one of the causes of party formations.
4. Recovery in some cases is inordinately delayed. They lose patience. Naturally a desire to be free from all discipline leads them to leave colonies and take to begging. The disease is the capital on which they trade, and the more pitiable the apparent condition, the better are the earnings. These persons are then disinclined to take any treatment. Begging is looked upon as a right and lack of proper response by the charitable public develops anti-social and at times criminal tendencies.

Cause

These problems should by no means be regarded as peculiar to colonies of leprosy patients only. They are common to all institutions, where people have to live in segregation and in any but normal ways of life. The reason seems to be that evolution of human qualities results from a life of responsibilities whether personal, family, social or other, and from the love and regard with which society treats the sufferers. Despite, disgust and consequent inhuman attitude and treatment meted out makes them leave their homes and society. They are practically shut out from any occupation. This naturally leaves no scope for developing the sense of responsibility which leads to the evolution of human qualities.

Remedies

Efforts are now made to provide the inmates of colonies with some occupation. It is known as Occupational Therapy. The progress of this effort is comparatively better in mission or private colonies than in Government colonies.

Progress depends upon tactful and human handling, which again depends upon the man in charge. He must not only be a labourer for love and tactful and wise but also should have freedom enough to use his discretion to meet different situations created by different temperaments of the patients. This freedom is difficult in Government colonies with their hide-bound rules and regulations. Moreover, expenditure of Government colonies is comparatively very heavy. Governments also are now planning to introduce occupations in their colonies. This may again add to the heavy cost of maintenance.

The above circumstances call for joint deliberation. The Managers of several colonies, private and Government, should exchange notes with one another. Some measures which can lead the patients to realize personal and other responsibilities must be thought out. Facilities to discharge such responsibilities should be provided.

I make the following suggestions :

1. Patients should be classified according to their physical condition ;
2. their mental inclinations and aptitudes should be considered ;
3. occupations for various aptitudes should be decided upon ;
4. preference should be given to occupations necessary for the daily requirements of the colony itself ;
5. some method of giving remuneration either in kind or coin should be devised ;
6. inmates should be impressed and warned that they must maintain themselves on their own earnings, except for such subsidies as may have to be made on the ground of physical incapacities.

These suggestions are illustrative and not exhaustive. It will require experience as well as resourcefulness to implement all the lines that may be chalked out. But the problem has assumed a seriousness which does not brook delay.

Bhusawal

V. V. DASTANE

SATYAGRAHA UNITS

Just before the close of the World Pacifist Meeting at Sevagram, in December, 1949, the following statement on *Satyagraha* Units or "The Peace Army" was "received" by the Meeting, and concerned individuals heartily encouraged to constitute themselves an International Liaison Committee as provided in the closing paragraph of the statement.

"It is obvious that Pacifism cannot be a complete answer to Militarism unless we are able to show an effective alternative to armed defence. The Atomic Age is proving the futility of military protection. It is, therefore, necessary to organize defence based on soul-force or non-violence which admits of no defeat.

"We propose that serious and sustained attempts should be made to establish *Satyagraha* units in different countries. These units will be composed of those individuals who have full faith in the superiority of non-violence and moral force over violent methods and who are prepared to discipline their own lives for becoming true *satyagrahis*. (*Satyagraha* literally means insistence and reliance on Truth or soul-force. A *satyagrahi* is a person who prepares

himself for *Satyagraha*. These two words have been chosen because they were coined and made current by Mahatma Gandhi, and there seem to be no other words which could adequately take their place.)

"A true *satyagrahi* has to be trained in the observance of certain austerities of life which would prepare him for supreme sacrifice, if necessary. These austerities are indicated, for example, in the eleven vows of Gandhiji's Ashram.

"To quote Mahatma Gandhi, 'The difference between war and *Satyagraha* amounts to this: while the former aims at coercion, the latter aims at conversion. In war one inflicts punishment upon the adversary, in *Satyagraha* one draws the maximum suffering on oneself without a trace of bitterness against the opponent as a human being.'

"Unlike the military forces, the *Satyagraha* units will be fully active during peace time by tackling the roots of violence in social, economic, educational and administrative spheres. Non-violent defence has to lay great emphasis on preventive actions, as illustrated in Mahatma Gandhi's *Constructive Programme*. The *Satyagraha* units will also try to meet crisis situations non-violently in their respective localities or regions. They will not quietly wait for a conflagration to break out, but will, from day to day, try their utmost to create conditions which would nip conflicts in the bud. This could be made more effective if they are able to cultivate intimate personal contacts with people inhabiting those areas. In organizing non-violent defence we will have to stress quality rather than quantity, and, unlike military officers, the leaders will be required to be in the front rather than in the rear. There can also be no policy of secrecy in such an organization because non-violence and truth are integrally related.

"The technique of *Satyagraha* defence will include non-violent resistance to the invader, complete non-co-operation with the forces of 'occupation' or aggression, but an attitude of human understanding towards the invading soldier, as a hapless individual caught in a military machine. The *Satyagraha* units may, when occasions arise, take the 'offensive' in the form of 'Peace or Goodwill Missions' to eradicate misunderstanding and roots of war before it is too late.

"This is the barest outline of the scheme of Non-Violent Defence. Since its organization and technique are fundamentally different from that of the military, constant research will have to be conducted in different countries and under different situations in a spirit of faith and devotion.

"We suggest that a preliminary International Liaison Committee be established to co-ordinate the work of recruiting and training *satyagrahis* on the lines of the scheme indicated above. We readily admit that the non-violent defence is full of immense difficulties. But on the success of such a plan of *Satyagraha* rests the ultimate hope of mankind for world peace and brotherhood."

The following persons volunteered for service on the provisional *International Liaison Committee*, and most of them had a meeting at Sevagram, site of the Ashram in which Gandhiji lived toward the end of his life, on December 31, 1949.

Australia, John Fallding ; France, Henri Roser ; Germany, Heinz Kraschutzki ; India, S. N. Agarwal, G. Ramachandran, Donald Groom, Ralph Keithahn ; Japan, Riri Nakayama ; New Zealand, A. C. Barrington ; Norway, Diedrich Lund ; Switzerland, Rene Bovard ; South Africa (for the present England), Michael Scott ; Sweden, Sven Erik Nyberg ; United States, Richard Gregg, A. J. Muste.

It is hoped that at an early date correspondents may be named or may volunteer from other countries and those who have suggestions to make on this matter are urged to correspond either with the committee member nearest their own country or with S. N. Agarwal, Commerce College, Wardha, C. P., India.

A. J. MUSTE

DUTY TO FEEL ANGRY

[The Navajivan Press publishes today, 19th February, being the 35th anniversary of Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a collection of Gandhiji's writings on his great political *Guru*, in Gujarati. The following forms part of the Foreword to the collection.]

I did not have any opportunity of coming into personal contact with Shri Gokhale. I remember to have heard him only twice, first in 1907 at the Indian National Congress, Surat, and secondly, in 1908 or '09 at a students' meeting at Wilson College, Bombay. The only impression left on the mind is that he had a very sweet voice, which it was usual to liken to a silver bell. Some days previous to this, one of our professors had casually told us that Gokhale was the only Indian he had ever heard who spoke faultless English both grammatically and phonetically. It is possible, therefore, that when he spoke, I paid more attention to the sound than to the meaning of his language.

But there is an incident attached to this meeting, which deserves to be narrated. The meeting had been arranged on behalf of the "Students' Union", which was a new body then. It brought together for the first time all college students of Bombay on a common platform. Shri Manu Subedar was to read a paper on the Uplift of the Suppressed Classes, and Shri G. K. Gokhale had been requested to preside. As the meeting was expected to be thickly attended, permission had been obtained from Principal Mackichan to hold it in the Wilson College Hall. I had no office in the managing committee of the Union, but voluntarily helped the Secretaries, one of whom was my class-fellow and a dear chum.

Unexpectedly a last minute hitch was created by the Principal. He sent for my friend and told him that Mr. Gokhale was a politician and might discuss political subjects at the meeting. This he was not prepared to tolerate. So my friend should get an undertaking from Shri Gokhale that he would eschew all politics in his speech! My friend protested saying that the subject being one relating to social reform, there would be no occasion for politics to be brought in. But the Principal said that politicians could not be trusted to keep to particular subjects. They were capable of tacking any subject they wished to any other whatever. So, either my friend should bring him the undertaking or else he would cancel the permission to use the Hall!

This was a serious dilemma. My friend could see that this was a deliberate attempt to

insult our leader. How could he put so insulting a suggestion as that before Shri Gokhale? But what else was to be done? There was no time to arrange the meeting at some other place. Moreover, to do so would have meant that the Students' Union did want politics to be discussed in its meetings and as the authorities of most of the colleges were hostile to this Union, the incident would provide an excuse for banning it.

My friend felt perplexed. Ultimately with a trembling hand he scribbled a note to Shri Gokhale. Naturally Gokhale took it ill and wrote back to say that in view of the unreasonable demand, he declined to preside. My friend's perplexity increased. I shall describe the rest in his own words:

"I had not the courage to tell Dr. Mackichan that his stipulation was unreasonable. I went to see Shri Gokhale. I was very nervous, but told him everything. At first he became very angry. He said, 'This is deliberate insult. I cannot preside on this condition.' I felt like crying. I told him that the audience would think that I had falsely announced Shri Gokhale's name to gather a large audience, and thus cheated them. Shri Gokhale became softened. He asked me not to misunderstand him, when he said that our people had no sense of moral indignation. It was one's duty to feel angry on such occasions. He told me how our people pocketed without even a pang grave indignities, insults and ill-treatment, even vicious conduct from those whom they considered their superiors. They had lost the capacity of feeling righteous indignation. Then, he said, 'I'll come, but on one condition. Make me a promise that you will tell Dr. Mackichan that he had no right to tell me what I should say or not say at the meeting.' I gave him the promise. I did convey to Dr. Mackichan Shri Gokhale's reply, though with extreme nervousness. Dr. Mackichan also thought it wise to leave the matter at that. So Shri Gokhale came and gave his thought provoking address."

I remember also that that great Harijan worker, Shri Vitthal Ramji Shinde, was also present at the meeting, and Shri Gokhale had introduced him to the students.

These were the only two occasions when I saw and heard that great man face to face.

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from Gujarati)

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CONTENTS	PAGE
GANDHI AND MARX—II ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	433
SELECTED LETTERS	
— SECOND SERIES ... GANDHIJI	434
FOOD CONTROL—II ... K. V. KOUNDINYA	435
HINDU CODE BILL ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	436
WEAVING WITHIN FIVE WEEKS ... KRISHNADAS GANDHI	437
GANDHIJI—THE LAST PHASE—II ... PYARELAL	437
LEPROSY COLONIES ... V. V. DASTANE	438
SATYAGRAHA UNITS ... J. A. MUSTE	439
DUTY TO FEEL ANGRY ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	440
NOTES:	
CANE-GROWERS' SATYAGRAHA ... K. G. M.	435
PARCELS OF "KHADDAR"	435