

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

NOTES

"A Sacred Obligation"

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in a message to the 12th Session of the All India Depressed Classes League said,

"India's Independence would be incomplete until every Harijan can claim and obtain complete equality with the highest placed persons in the State. The cause of Harijans is the sacred obligation of every Indian. All of us must hold our heads down so long as there is any single disability from which they suffer. The uplift of Harijans was more a trial for others than for themselves and their advancement is alike the duty of the State and the citizen. The political rights and the social reforms of Harijans are not merely their due, but also the inescapable obligation of all administrations and Constitutional Assemblies."

A. V. THAKKAR

(From *Monthly Letter* for May, '49)

Abolition of Death Sentence

The following sentiment reported to have been expressed by Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly will be generally endorsed by India. Indeed, it stands on the list of the famous Karachi Resolution of the Congress. It is to be hoped that the Constituent Assembly will fulfil the country's hope by providing it in the constitution. The subject should not be left to the Legislature:

"This country by and large believes in the principle of non-violence. It has been her ancient tradition. Some people may not be following in actual practice but all certainly adhere to the principle of non-violence. The proper thing for our country, therefore, is to abolish death sentence altogether....."

Wardha, 7-6-'49

K. G. M.

Wardha Mahilashram Examinations

The coming *Prarambhik*, *Pravesh*, *Neeta*, *Suneeta* and *Parangata* examinations of Mahilashram (Wardha) will be held in the second week of next September. Those wishing to open centres for holding these examinations and those wishing to appear at them should please apply as early as possible and in time. July 27th (Wednesday) has been fixed as the

last date for opening a centre. August 12th is the last date fixed for receiving applications from candidates desiring to appear at the examinations. For further information please enclose stamps worth annas five and ask for a prospectus from the Secretary, Examinations, Mahilashram, Wardha (C. P.).

The Weekly Off-Day

Even since the *Harijan* was restarted I have received off and on the suggestion to recommend that Friday should be fixed as India's weekly off-day in place of the present Sunday. Now that the constitution is being actively considered, the suggestion has been repeated. It is a change which Muslims will appreciate, writes a Muslim correspondent. It is the day on which Gandhiji was deprived of his life, once wrote a nationalist. It is also the day on which Jesus was crucified, observed a respector of religions. Now that we are independent, we should have our own off-day, wrote a Swarajist.

Personally my feelings do not warm up much over these matters. If a day is needed for rising late, over-eating, gossiping, and over-indulging, perhaps it is better to have the usual Sunday. My notion of independence does not raise in me a desire to seem different from other nations in every manner. Rather I would have as many things in common with the rest of the world as I can, where no principles of truth, good character and right conduct are concerned.

However, it is not that Sunday is an off-day in all the countries of the world. If Friday is desired by our people, there is no reason why this harmless desire of theirs should not be satisfied. I hope some member of the Constituent Assembly will take up this matter.

But if this change is made, let those who have urged it bear in mind that Friday should be a day of piety and service and not self-indulgence.

Wardha, 4-6-'49

K. G. M.

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THE SO-CALLED CRIMINAL TRIBES

II

A deputation of men belonging to the Criminal Tribes from the Rohtak District came to see me the other day. One of them was a Matriculate and was a teacher in a school and the other — also a Matriculate — was a clerk in one of the offices. They had previously seen the Hon'ble Shri Jagjivanram, Labour Minister, Government of India. The occasion for their seeking these interviews was a letter issued by the Deputy Commissioner, Criminal Tribes Department, Jullundur to officers in the East Punjab to enforce rigorously restrictions on the liberty of all the refugee criminal tribes in different parts of the East Punjab. I will not give the details of the restrictions put on the movement of these people; suffice it to say that under the directions given these people, some of whom had already got their partial freedom before the partition, were once again subjected to the same rigorous regulations which robbed them completely of freedom of movement. This was particularly hard on them as they had to go out in search of a living for themselves. Being able-bodied men, the Government did not consider itself responsible for their food and raiment. Apart from the humiliation which these orders inflicted, they made the members of the Criminal Tribes in the Rohtak district numbering about a thousand, victims of police atrocities. The slightest delay in reporting or any minor breach of the regulations real or imaginary gave sufficient handle to the police to exploit them. I give below some of the relevant points from the Memorandum which these people submitted demanding repeal of the Act:

1. We claim to belong to the Rajput Tribe whose fore-fathers fought the battle of Chittor under the banner of Maharana Pratap, but we had to migrate to the Punjab owing to the tyranny of the Mughal rulers of the time.
2. Before the partition the British Government settled many of us in the Canal Colonies of Multan, Montgomery and Sialkot as free men. Many of our young men were also recruited to the police and the armed forces.
3. All our young boys and girls are literate and many of them are Matriculates and Graduates. Several girls have passed J. V. and S. V. and are trained teachers, who were all working before the partition in the Punjab as school teachers.
4. We are not criminal minded as is proved by the fact that we do not constitute even one per cent of jail convicts.
5. Our main grievance is that in free India under the present Government instead of getting our freedom and other facilities we are even deprived of the facilities given to us by the British, and that our condition in general now is much worse than previously. At a time when we expect relaxation in the restrictions imposed on us, for the repeal of which we had been pressing, fresh and stricter restrictions are being imposed.

RAMESHWARI NEHRU

THE VETERINARIAN IN INDIA

The value and importance of a veterinarian can be judged from the fact that two-thirds of the income of India is derived from animals. This is in spite of the situation that, as estimated by experts, 170 crores of rupees are wasted annually for the upkeep of useless livestock. Only veterinarians can improve these animals and thus can not only save this enormous sum annually but even add to it many times more by turning these useless creatures into workable ones.

Ours is an agricultural country. Agriculture and livestock go hand in hand. They are complementary and each is indispensable to the other. To promote agriculture, efficient labour-power is essential. The chief agency that supplies this motor-power is the ox. If we take away the ox or allow it to be inefficient, there is no agriculture. Veterinarians have an indispensable place here.

Milk, which is nature's best, complete and thoroughly wholesome food both for children and adults, is a product of the animals. But the average milk yield of our cow is less than one seer, while it is nine seers in the case of cows of Denmark. It is shocking to know that (before the last war) the quantity of milk that we drew from 18 crores of animals was drawn from 2½ crores in Germany, 3½ crores in U.S.A., 7½ crores in Great Britain and 7 crores in Russia. Denmark started to improve their cattle when the average milk yield of their cow was not better than the average milk yield of a milch cow in India today. Yet in less than fifty years the average yield of butter fat per cow has been raised from 88 lb. to 359 lb. per annum, i.e. more than four times. Similarly marked increases have been effected in other countries. There is no reason to believe that our cows would not be able to yield as much milk as the cows of other countries.

In spite of the fact that India has one third of the cattle of the world, the average milk consumption per head of population is only 7 ounces, while it is 30 ounces in France, 35 in U.S.A., 39 in Great Britain, 43 in Norway and 56 in New Zealand.

There seems to be some relation between milk consumption per head of population and the average age of man. The average longevity of an Indian with low milk consumption is 27 years, while that of the New Zealander with milk consumption of 56 ounces is about 70 years.

The infant mortality occurring in India is probably the highest. Similar relation as in the case of milk consumption and average longevity seems to exist here too. Here is the task for the veterinarian. For, he alone can help our fellow men to grow healthier with better brains and long life.

Indian sheep are of bad quality and their average live weight would be hardly sixty lb.

Their average wool yield is about 2 lb. which is very low. As against this, sheep of European countries are of superior quality, their average live weight and wool yield are about three times more than those of Indian sheep. India has 6 per cent of the total number of sheep of the world but produces only 2 per cent of the total wool of the world, that is three times less when compared with the number of sheep it has. This too is the task of the veterinarian, who by turning the sheep into as good as those of other advanced countries will supply better and more woollen clothes and more meat as well.

The same is the case with goats and poultry. They also need improvement. By improving these, the veterinarians will be able to make milk and eggs within the reach of everybody.

Let us now consider the losses that we have to meet due to some of the major contagious diseases of the animals.

There are three main contagious diseases that generally occur as epidemics. These are Rinderpest, H.S., and Foot and Mouth. These cause immense losses to India. The deaths recorded in 1926-27 due to Rinderpest were 202.2 thousands, H. S. 36.4 thousands and Foot and Mouth 13.6 thousands. As a matter of fact these figures are far below the actual state of affairs. This is clearly shown by the examination of the figures from Burma, in a part of which the notification of deaths from cattle diseases was made compulsory. There it was found that if these figures were believed to be correct then the calculated average age of an animal would come to 54 years which is nothing but absurd. The average age of cattle is probably 6 years which is nine times less than the average age calculated in Burma. So roughly we can say that actual deaths are nine times more than those reported. Perhaps still heavier losses are sustained by the cultivator indirectly; as, in case of Foot and Mouth, for one animal that dies 99 may be temporarily incapacitated and also there is loss due to imperfect cultivation and decrease in milk too. There are also other numerous known and unknown parasitic and protozoan diseases, the losses due to which also are fairly heavy. The loss due to warble-fly infestation has been estimated even on a conservative estimate to be 1½ crores of rupees annually. These diseases have been practically stamped out in European countries and there the losses due to these amount to a negligible quantity compared to the losses in India. There is no reason to believe that we should not be able to accomplish what others have. Thus we see that it is a veterinarian only who can save the country of the tremendous loss by eradicating diseases, etc.

There are a number of diseases like T. B., rabies, anthrax, undulant fever, actinomycosis, Foot and Mouth, etc., that are communicable from animals to men. There are also the so-

called milk-borne diseases such as cholera, diptheria, typhoid, scarlet fever, septic sore throat, that may be transmitted through the agency of milk from one individual to another. Thus the veterinarians, by eradicating such diseases in animals and supplying scrupulously clean milk, will reduce the incidence of these in human beings too.

I think this should suffice to convince any impartial judge of the great importance of veterinarians in India. As a matter of fact the key to the prosperity of India lies in the hands of the veterinarians.

Yet we see that the veterinarians are ignored everywhere. No due regard is paid to them. They are looked down upon by the majority of the people. This is all due to the ignorance of the public who do not understand their worth. Even some veterinarians think that theirs is an odd job. They think themselves to be unfortunate ones to join this profession. But the veterinary profession is economically the most productive and its science an illuminating one. Even then veterinarians are not properly paid by the government.

Let bygones be bygones. Let us look to the future with hope. For we have now at the helm of affairs genuine men who will pay attention to these. Up till now the most important things were the most neglected. So the veterinarians have been neglected to the utmost. Today they are so downtrodden that a veterinarian often hesitates to disclose his profession.

The reader will see from the above that most important problems confront the veterinarian. These are :

- (1) Production of milk and its byproducts;
- (2) Improvement of cattle and the supply of bullock for agricultural purposes;
- (3) Supply of meat by improving sheep and goats;
- (4) Supply of wool by improving the sheep;
- (5) Supply of eggs by improving poultry;
- (6) Control of contagious and non-contagious diseases of animals;
- (7) Eradication of diseases common to man and animals;
- (8) Eradication of milk-borne diseases;
- (9) Treatment of sick animals.

Besides this, the veterinarian has to supply beef and pork to persons who relish it.

These are important problems for the nation. If our country is to progress and progress soon, the most efficient and competent persons should be induced to join the veterinary profession. But unfortunately those who generally fail to find a place elsewhere join this profession. To attract efficient and competent persons, it is essential that the status of the veterinarians must be raised. I hope leaders of the nation and various *go-seva* workers will consider this subject with zeal.

HARIJAN

June 19

1949

SUICIDAL DEMAND

A correspondent enjoying a good position in his province is extremely dissatisfied with the public affairs of his province (a Union of merged States) and despairingly writes that it would be better if the Central Government took over the province under its direct administration than allow the present ministry to function. He thinks that some of the ministers are inefficient and unable to control their officers and others are not actuated by the spirit of public service.

I do not wish to enter into the merits of my correspondent's opinion about his provincial government. Though my personal opinion is much higher about it, let me assume that the cabinet is far worse than described by him, and deserves to be dismissed. Even so, no responsible citizen should demand or desire that the administration of his province should be taken over by the Central Government and placed under an Administrator. We did not struggle against the British Government and the Princes for more than a quarter of a century to exchange them for government under Sec. 93 or military or civil administrators. This manner of government was well known under the British regime and was often efficient and even better than the previous one. But it was not democracy. We, deliberately elected to establish democratic states, that is to manage our affairs ourselves through our own elected men. We always said that good government was no substitute for self-government, and that we wanted home-rule even if we made mistakes. Indeed, we said we wanted the right to make mistakes. Our ideal has been to make even small villages autonomous, i.e. manage their own affairs through people elected from among themselves.

Demand for an Administrator appointed by the Central Government will be a return to autocracy. The Administrator is not responsible to the people of the province.

Whether we are well-governed or ill-governed, we should insist upon being self-governed. In the first place, let us have some patience. The ministers are new, the task is too heavy and difficult; neither they nor the people are sufficiently experienced. We do not yet understand sufficiently the heavy responsibilities which fall upon the people of an independent country. The will to fulfil them is also very weak. To add to this, power politics has so vitiated the atmosphere that a great deal of time and energy of the ministers is exhausted in minding the problems created by this condition. Let us give them some time, educate the people, awaken their moral sense and things will

improve. But even if our patience is exhausted, and we are convinced that the Cabinet is not worthy, we may take all remedies that are open to a people. We may agitate and organize public opinion, condemn its actions, pass vote of no-confidence, ask for fresh elections and take other constitutional measures. If these do not prove sufficient, we can adopt other non-violent methods also, even to the extent of no-payment of taxes and civil resistance. Let no one understand that I recommend that any such extreme agitation needs to be organized or contemplated. I mention these remedies just to show what ways are open to the citizens of a province as a last resort. But to ask for being governed by a military or civil officer is suicidal. It cannot but lead to a sort of militarist or semi-militarist rule.

The people of a province are in a position to look to the Central Government and appeal to it to intervene in case of maladministration. But whom may the whole country look to if the Central Cabinet is unworthy and misgoverns? If we cannot trust the people of our own province for evolving good government, we shall not be able to trust the Centre also to do so. Shall we then ask a foreign power to come and take charge of our country? Our ancestors did this several times in the past and handed over a whole region in a single battle or even without it. Let us not commit the same fatal mistake again. Whether we are happy or miserable, well-governed or ill-governed, we must not swerve from the determination to be self-governed. We should strain every nerve to improve the administration and to overthrow bad government, but we must do it with our own democratic effort. We may not ask a Super-State to lord it over us.

Wardha, 9-6-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

QUESTION BOX

Liquor Advertisements

Q. A well-known Daily of U.P. has been publishing Whisky and Brandy advertisements dressed up in an attractive style. Should not a Government committed to the policy of Prohibition prohibit them?

A. I am afraid that the present Prohibition policy of the Congress governments allows certain class of citizens to drink wines subject to certain rules. If the policy had been one of total prohibition, prohibition of such advertisements could be ordered, but it might not then be even necessary. For, how could any one sell wines openly in that case?

But whatever the policy of the government might be, a nationalist paper believing in prohibition would be expected not to take an advertisement of that type.

Wardha, 8-6-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

SALARY PROVISIONS

I do not know if articles in the Draft Constitution relating to salary provisions of some of the principal officers of the Union and the States have already been discussed and adopted. In my opinion no definite amounts ought to be fixed in the Constitution itself. To do so seems to me bad in principle. Whether they should be annually proposed and passed along with the budget or should be fixed by special acts of the Legislature, which would remain good until altered, is a point which I keep open.

I do not say so simply because the amounts of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000 proposed in the draft for some of the big officers are extravagantly high, but because they are antagonistic to the main pledge set forth in the preamble, namely to secure to all the citizens, *inter alia*, "Justice, — social, economic and political — (and) Equality of status and of opportunity." The drafters have been shrewd enough not to promise equality of economic gains for all. Nevertheless, even if there was economic inequality among its citizens, it would have to be consistent with justice and not so great as to make the attainment of equality of status and opportunity impossible. In other words, the difference between the maximum and the minimum incomes of its citizens would have to be within reasonable limits; say, to take a very mild view of socialism, in the proportion of 10 or 12 to 1. For, with a wider difference, it would be impossible for a citizen to obtain equal status and opportunity.

If the Supreme Chief Justice or the President was to have an income of Rs. 5,000 per month, it would mean that India would have reached the condition of securing to its poorest citizen an income of not less than Rs. 400 per month, so that the spirit of the pledge might be fulfilled in at least a mild degree. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to expect that a person with an income of Rs. 400 per month can enjoy the status and opportunity of a person earning Rs. 5,000 a month. But one might take the satisfaction of making progress in the right direction. Even if one confined the application of the principle within the narrow limits of the Chief Justice or the President, and their respective staff, it would mean that the lowest paid sweeper, *chopdar* or crier of the Government would have to be paid about Rs. 400 to 500 per month. Is it possible? If not, can the Republic afford to promise such salaries through its Constitution?

There are other reasons also for making no mention of definite amounts in the Constitution itself. Money has ceased to be a reliable standard of measure, if ever it was. At the time of the Karachi Resolution, Rs. 500 per month was considered a decent provision for a minister; in 1939 it was just sufficient; in 1949 it is regarded as insufficient; in 1959 it might become

anything between a luxurious salary and insufficient amount even for the minister's peon to live upon! Money might get so debased that wheat would sell at Rs. 10 a seer or so appreciated that it sells at 10 seers per rupee. Where is the good of speaking in terms of a measure which varies as widely as the thermometer of New Delhi on a wintry night and a summer noon?

But I do not wish to discuss here the question of currency. I beg only to point out that the provisions for emoluments should be consistent with the pledge in the preamble. This requires that at least in departments of State, the Constitution should lay down that the maximum salary of a State-servant shall not exceed so many times the minimum salary paid by it to any of its servants. I would not mind even if the present maximum is more than 10 or 12 times the minimum as suggested by me, if we can thereby fix a distance which we shall not allow to increase, but shall endeavour constantly to reduce.

The salaries of the judges are certainly excessively high. I know that I shall be told that even with these salaries, it becomes often difficult to induce eminent lawyers to sit on the bench. As advocates they earn fabulous sums, and they are actually losers in terms of money as judges.

This is a matter for serious consideration for constitution-framers, pledged to a more or less socialistic ideal. Is it possible, except in a capitalist order, to have a system of litigation which enables advocates to earn, consistently with justice, equity and good conscience, as much as Rs. 25,000 or more per month, as some of them do? How much shall a man earn through practice of law, or medicine, or engineering? They were termed 'honourable professions' because they were once practised in the spirit of service. They were not meant to make their practitioners rich. But modern civilization has made them some of the most exploiter occupations. The system is so demoralizing that we are told that after an affluent practice of more than 15 or 20 years, an able advocate falls in such deep love with money that he cannot be easily induced to become a judge! An able advocate never loves to retire. The judge has to retire compulsorily after 60 or 65. He would like to revive his love for money after vacating the bench. Since he cannot do so, it is another reason why the judgeship does not tempt him. With all his deep learning, balanced thinking, clear reasoning, judicial attitude, uprightness and impartiality, the one thing which the learned judge or advocate is not credited with is that he cannot give to the society the benefit of his legal knowledge except in consideration of very substantial payment. I am sure that this is an evil arising out of wrong traditions and systems. It is not an evil inherent in advocates. It cannot be set right by providing opportunities to earn good salaries, but by creating traditions of rendering free service.

An invitation to serve on the bench should be regarded by the advocate as an obligation which should be honoured in the same way as a knight would do a call to duty. It should be regarded as a condition of his *sanad* that he would not refuse to accept judgeship if the State required his services. The emoluments might be nominal, a rupee per month, upto the maximum which the State can give under the principles indicated above.

An office of responsibility should be regarded a sacred obligation not to be valued in terms of money.

Wardha, 7-6-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

PENALIZED TRIBES

[Under instructions from Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Shri Somnath Dhar, Regional Officer, East Punjab and Pepsu, visited several settlements of the so-called "Criminal Tribes" displaced agriculturists" in the East Punjab. The following note is based on his longer report. — Ed.]

I toured two of these settlements, namely, Ghumthala Garhu and BIRTHABARI, from 10th to 13th of May, 1949. In the first, the police officials informed me that no criminal case had been registered against any member of the 99 families settled in Ghumthala Garhu for more than one year. Still restrictions rigorously controlling their movements had been increased in compliance with a circular issued by the Deputy Commissioner, Criminal Tribes, East Punjab. Previous exemptees, numbering six, who had been freed from the operation of the act were once again placed on the police roll-call.

BIRTHABARI is an agricultural settlement housed in barracks specially meant for the so-called criminal tribes. It was inhabited by Baloch criminal tribes before the partition. I was gratified to find that many young men had joined the National Volunteer Corps but their fettering disabilities had not been lessened on that account by the Superintendent who resided on the spot. For parades on duty at Rajaund Thana they had to cover a distance of four miles. They could leave the settlement only with the permission of the Superintendent even for this national service. And, if and when they were detailed on duty elsewhere from Rajaund, they had first to walk back to the settlement, secure the Superintendent's permission to go to the places and then alone they could proceed on their duty.

Some educated inmates of the settlement had formed an association, namely Azad Sudhar Sabha. The office-bearers were harassed by the Superintendent in all sorts of ways. So many other grievances were brought to my notice. I assured these unfortunate and worst oppressed class of Harijans that steps were being taken by the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh to remove their stigma.

23-5-'49

SOMNATH DHAR

RELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

[The following is Acharya Vinobha Bhawe's speech at the evening prayer meeting on the second day of the All India Basic Education Conference held at Periyayakanpalayam (Coimbatore) on the 7th, 8th and 9th May 1949. In order to follow Shri Vinoba's observations, it is necessary to mention that in the course of his speech in the open session of the Conference on the 8th, Acharya Kripalani observed that *Nai Talim* could not take its firm root in society unless and until government became democratic and casteless in the true sense of these terms. A revolution was needed to bring about that. And revolution could not be achieved without making the fullest use of the political power. The establishment of a new social order after our ideal was not possible through *Nai Talim* alone in the near future. A change in the present social order must come as quickly as possible, even a day's delay being dangerous. It was necessary therefore to take up the work with great vigour and enthusiasm. — D. M.]

I regret to notice that all of you do not understand Hindi. I request you to learn it before this Conference meets again next year. For, unless you do learn Hindi, English cannot be replaced, though the British rule has been. There is no feeling of hatred for English in this. It is necessary to replace it in order to contact the masses. Gandhiji foresaw this and so commenced his propaganda for Hindi in South India. Many people laughed at his attempt to carry out an educative campaign without government aid. But you see that the seed which Gandhiji sowed has steadily grown into a tree. Its growth is however slow, and it is yet to flower and bear fruit. The reason is that we never put our heart into Gandhiji's constructive programme. At best, it was taken as a bitter medicine to be swallowed, as if it were, like price-money to be paid for getting his leadership, which alone we really appreciated. Hence it is that in spite of Independence, we do not yet see its expected fruits. But better late than never. I request you all to learn the national language within a year. During the whole day I heard English speeches at the Conference. They became bearable only because I was occupied in spinning all the time.

This is by the way. The main subject I wish to speak about is the opinion which Acharya Kripalani expressed this morning. He had expressed the same views at the Rau Conference. Shri Kripalani had said that without taking power into our own hands, it was not possible to establish the social order of our conception. But is not power in our hands today? If we think that by taking power from the hands of those who are wielding it today, we shall be able to do better, we are very much mistaken. My view is that since power is in our hands, we can make use of whatever help the government is able to render in establishing a social order of our conception, but government itself cannot be expected to do much. If I myself had the power in my hands, I would not be able to do very much. Because government reflects only public opinion and is never revolutionary. A democratic government represents the outlook of the general people. A government is what its people are. If the majority wants to drink, government would not be able to enforce prohibition. If the government is good, though the people are not so, it must be something other than democracy.

Hence, social revolutionaries have to give up political power and carry on their work. The work creates the power necessary to bring about a political revolution. Buddha had to leave his kingdom to bring about a revolution. If he had remained a king, he could not have become a revolutionary, though he might have been a good ruler. Similarly, Akbar was a good ruler but he was not a revolutionary. Buddha, Jesus Christ and Gandhiji were all revolutionaries, but their power was

all moral. A government follows and adapts itself to the moral influence, but it cannot create that influence or power.

A cry for power will not create it. It can be created only by pursuing a superior moral law. Therefore I say that if we develop *Nai Talim* according to our own ideas in a spotless manner, we may achieve the revolution. We may take the help of the government also when offered, but we cannot make ourselves dependent upon it. We must carry on in our own way and allow the government to follow us, if it will. It means that we shall lead the government. And if there are such progressive people in the society, a government favourable to them will follow in their footsteps.

It is a pessimistic view and unbecoming of us to think that we cannot do anything without power. I would wish you to feel more hopeful and self-confident. Let us look at Gandhiji. He also was a man like us. If he became a great power; we too may. The truth is that power (*Shakti*) cannot stand alone. It follows the Spirit (*Shiva*). If we are devoted to the Spirit, power must come to us. The Spirit does not care to aspire for power. Rather, it is the latter which seeks the former. We should not aspire for power but for the Spirit, i.e. God. That is what Gandhiji taught us.

It is true that in order that the constructive programme may achieve a revolution, it should be worked out with a revolutionary outlook. Then only the necessary power will be generated. The constructive programme is our means of creating power.

Can any Government establish a casteless Society by a decree? The government passed the Sarada Act, but still girls are married at the ages of 10 and 12. We are told that it is so, because it has not been made a cognizable offence, just as theft is. But in a society of thieves, theft would not be a cognizable offence.

To say that we can bring about a revolution only with the help of the governmental authority is to abandon one's faith in non-violence; for then one accepts that it is force and not ideas which bring about changes. We must possess the faith of Shankaracharya in this. On being asked by people what he would do if they did not understand his ideas, he replied: "I shall explain them to you." "But if we cannot understand you still?" "I shall explain to you again, and again and again." The law is that darkness cannot exist before light. Darkness is not power. Light is power. Once the light comes in, darkness has to go.

Jesus gave a similar answer, when he was asked how many times should one forgive a wrong-doer. He said: "As many times as he commits the wrong." Anger is not power. Forgiveness is power. The former cannot stand against the latter. This is faith in *Satyagraha*. If we have faith in our ideas and in our forgiveness, we shall be able to bring about a revolution in the society. If we pin our faith on power, then we cease to be revolutionaries and just become rulers. Suppose we issued an order that those who did not wear *khadi* should be imprisoned, and so people wore *khadi* out of fear, would Gandhiji have thought that the revolution had come? If there is anything revolutionary about *charkha* and *khadi*, it is the fact that it stands against the mill, and it will kill the mill by its idea. The revolution after Gandhiji's ideas cannot be achieved by making it compulsory to wear *khadi*.

You should, therefore, have courage and regard yourselves as the salt of Hindustan. People look to you and entertain high hopes of you. You should take Shri Kripalani's words as an exhortation to take up the work of *Nai Talim* with great vigour and enthusiasm and with full understanding of its revolutionary implications. You must believe that *Nai Talim* is a revolutionary force.

To him who says that without power we cannot spread this education, my answer is without education, we cannot create that power. It is a puzzle similar to that expressed in the Tamil proverb: 'The girl cannot

be married as she is mad (hysterical); and her madness (hysteria) will not go unless she is married,' which means that we must break a vicious circle by boldness. It consists in creating that power by spreading our education and ideas. With the help of that power, *Nai Talim* will advance further. If I sow a seed today, a hundred seeds will come out of it and if I sow those hundred seeds, a hundred times more seeds would grow. Similarly, through constructive work we shall create power and through that power the constructive work will make further progress.

So I implore you not to place your faith in power but in spirit. All power lies latent in the soul and let us realize it.

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

LETTERS FROM YERAVDA MANDIR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

XVI

I have discovered one great defect in our women, namely that they hide their thoughts from the world. They thus become hypocritical. Hypocrisy comes easy to those alone who are wedded to untruth. I do not know of anything so injurious as hypocrisy, but the hypocrisy of our middle class women who are always subject to pressure eats into their vitals like a veritable cancer. Every now and then they do things which they do not like, and believe that they must do so. If they apply their mind to the subject a little, they will see that there is no reason why they should yield to outside pressure, no matter from what quarter. Let them master this first lesson that they must cultivate the courage to stand before the world just as they are, and everything else will be added unto them.

XVII

[To Grand-daughter Manu]

It is good that you saw Harilal's sorry plight with your own eyes. I knew everything already. However let us not give up hope. For with God all things are possible. If there is any merit still to Harilal's credit, it will make itself felt. We must not pamper him nor feel false pity for him. If only we become purer and purer ourselves, our purity is bound to exercise a beneficial influence over him. You must be tough and write to Harilal that you cannot have anything to do with him so long as he has not given up drink. He might rise from his stupor if all of us adopt such a strong attitude. A drunkard often gives up drink if he feels a severe shock.

I approve of your views on your marriage. You were dangerously ill as a little child and there was no hope that you would recover. But your life was saved thanks to Ba's devoted nursing and skilled medical treatment. But that illness was so severe that your growth was arrested for the best part of five years, and you are weak even now, so that you might fall ill but for Bali's excellent care. Therefore I always consider you to be at least 5 years younger than you actually are. For us in the Ashram the earliest age at which a girl should think of contracting marriage is twentyone. At this rate you will hardly be ready for marriage at 25. But I have no intention of binding you down.....

For the present you must attend to your studies, build up a good constitution and understand as well as discharge your duties in terms of the *Gita* doctrine.

XVIII

[To Shri Nanabhai Bhatt]

Why are you worrying over Dakshinamurti finance? Here you can by all means take a leaf from my book, for I am an expert in the subject. I had mastered one lesson long before the country made a *mahatma* of me. Just as one may not carry on trade with borrowed capital, one may not conduct a public institution on a credit basis. And if an institution has to send out the ablest members of its staff in order to collect the necessary funds, I would say that it operates on a credit basis. Instead of pitching upon a certain sum of money as your target, you should limit the number of admissions so as to be able to manage with the funds actually collected. It is the easiest thing in the world to carry out my suggestion. You have only to make up your mind; that is all. At the beginning of the year you should fix the amount of money you will need. If you get that amount without leaving your post of duty at the school, you carry on. If you don't, you close the school down. Your school has an excellent record and efficient teachers. Why then don't you have faith? Dedicate the whole thing to God who will conduct it if He so wills. 'He has never been known to let down His servants,' as the Gujarati poet puts it. You say you could have surmounted the difficulty if the Sardar or I had been available. But where is the difficulty? And who are we to help you forward? One blind man cannot lead another. Therefore cast your burden on Him alone.

(XVI to XVIII translated from Gujarati
by V. G. D.)

LEST WE FORGET

XIX

Khadi in Various Aspects

(i)

If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. (*Economics of Khadi*, p. 7)

She can live for herself only if she produces everything for her requirements within her own borders. (*Ibid*, p. 8)

(j)

I would plead for a stiff protective duty upon foreign goods. (*Ibid*, p. 9)

(k)

God be thanked that the beautiful women of the Punjab have not yet lost the cunning of their fingers. It is to me a perfect delight to find them throwing balls of yarn into my lap. (*Ibid*, p. 14)

(l)

Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the best. (*Ibid*, p. 15)

(m)

Multiplication of mills can only cause concentration of money and labour and thus make confusion worse confounded. (*Ibid*, p. 16)

(n)

Swadeshi is our veritable *Kamadhenu* supplying all our wants and solving many of our difficult problems. (*Ibid*, p. 17)

HARIJAN DISABILITIES IN NORTH MALABAR

[No comment is needed on the following.—Ed.]

The Madras Government have passed the Temple Entry Act and the Civil Disabilities Removal Act. There is no doubt that these Acts have gone a long way in removing many of the disabilities of the Harijans. But our experience shows that unless workers interest themselves in the cause of the Harijans, their difficulties and disabilities continue to exist in spite of the legislation. I give below two painful instances that happened in South Kanara District recently.

1. Ramavilliam in Trikkaripur is a small shrine where festivals are conducted occasionally. The Harijans had worshipped in this shrine after the promulgation of the Temple Entry Act. But during a recent festival conducted on a large scale with huge collections raised from the public, the Harijans were not permitted to enter the festival area. Paddy and money had been collected from Harijans on printed receipts and they had been required also to contribute mats for the occasion. Still they were required to stand at a distance by their masters. A local landlord of great influence set up a party of *goondas* to keep away the Harijans from the temple premises. The police who were on the spot adopted an indifferent attitude and treated the complaints of Harijans with contempt. The more responsible officers never turned up till after the end of the festival, which lasted for seven days. Even now no enquiry has been made on the complaints made to the police. This attitude has created an impression in the poor Harijans that they are not enabled to exercise their legitimate rights.

2. At Pullicode about five miles from Trikkaripur, Harijans had been summoned in the Village Court by the Village Munsiff in connection with a case. But the Village Munsiff would not permit them to enter the court, and wanted them to stand at a distance. The Harijans have complained to the authorities and an enquiry is being made.

The Temple Entry Act and the Civil Disabilities Act have not been given wide publicity. The subordinate officials who come in touch with the public should take greater interest in the Harijans and try to implement the policy of the Government. We often feel the need of more workers in the Harijan cause.

SWAMI ANANDATIRTHA,
Harijan Sevak, Payyanur

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