

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor : K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

• DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

I use the term 'democracy' here as a convenient word for a system of government in which there is a regular method of allowing the people a decisive voice in the affairs of the State. Usually the government takes the form of governing the people through their own representatives. In practice it is not a unanimously chosen body but a body enjoying the confidence of the largest section of the people.

This unavoidably leads to the election of representatives and one of the offshoots of that system is proportional representation, i. e. representation in proportion to the population of each interest to be represented.

The question is: Is proportional representation sound in principle? It is usually demanded on the ground that all important interests among a people should get a 'just share' in the affairs of the State and it is assumed that the demands of justice are sufficiently met with, if each interest is represented in the various bodies functioning in the State in the same proportion as the number of people bound up with that interest.

This basis of justice likens representation to loaves of bread. If there are only a definite number of loaves and if they are rationed out to each group in proportion to its population, each individual will ultimately get the same quantity. In the same way it is assumed that with proportional representation, democracy or the rule of the people is justly established. Thus arose the practice of assigning a seat per so many of the population in regional, communal, trade or other divisions.

But it was forgotten that where decisions are taken by majorities—simple or burdened—and not necessarily unanimously, the equity sought through proportional representation becomes ineffective in practice. For, a permanent minority, however fully and well represented according to its proportion, could not prevent a permanent majority from disregarding its opinion. This realization gave rise to demands for weightage and separate electorates. Weightage was like putting some artificial hurdles in the path of the majority and separate electorate was sought to prevent the major party from putting its own nominees in the minority group.

But so long as a majority remains a majority, none of these remedies can prevent the evil, real or

imaginary, for the prevention of which, they have been put forth. What is needed is to find such substitute for the type of democracy known as government of majority as could be of use to all minorities which consider themselves to be placed under similar handicaps.

It must be confessed that there is something inherently defective in coming to decisions by merely counting the number of hands even with palliatives like proportional representation, weightage and separate electorates. The reason for the defect is that a fundamental principle of good government is lost sight of when we accept democratic government as equivalent to government by majority, with the further assumption that government by majority is the same as good government.

Let us think over this subject in a dispassionate and abstract way.

First, in well-organized party systems, voting is often a means of self-deception. That a particular proposition has been supported by a great majority does not necessarily mean that all those people who have voted for it have applied their minds to the merits of the proposition before they arrived at that conclusion freely. More often than not it only means that the party is thoroughly organized and obeys the direction of its whips faithfully. It is not unusual that though the number of hands is very great, the number of heads who have thought out the matter, is extremely small—even one. For practical purposes, a rule might as well be made that after noting the result of an election in terms of the strength of each party, the leader of each party should be credited with as many votes as the number of men in his party, and the body should be reduced to these leaders, with a few colleagues or associates of their own choice. The leader of the largest party with the help of his colleagues might run the government and the leaders of other parties with their respective colleagues act as opposition until the time of fresh elections. The rest of the members might be dismissed. A vigilant Press and public opinion might be better safeguards in the interests of good government than a large number of party men bound over to obey the party whips.

We should also remember that mere majority opinion is not necessarily correct. Galileo in his time was alone in thinking that the earth revolved round the sun. That the majority thought otherwise and punished him for holding a contrary view

did not mean that they were doing either right or good. The majority was too strong for Galileo and he had to yield to it, at least verbally. Under different circumstances we also find instances in which a single strong person is able to dictate his decisions to a large body. In his absence that body is about to come to a different decision. But before it has made the decision, he comes in and his single voice is able to turn the tables. (The Jaipur Congress gave a practical demonstration of this, when the Subjects Committee changed a resolution, which it had already passed, on the appeal of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru). Thus the deciding factor ultimately is the strength or weakness of the head. If the head is powerful the hands become folded. If the hands are strong the head bows down.

How should then democracy be regulated to create good government?

When there is a quarrel or a difference of opinion between A and B, if both are wise and desire peaceful settlement, they refer the matter to one or more judges or arbitrators. The qualifications which guide the selection of the judges or arbitrators, are not their well-known partiality for or interest in one or the other of the disputing parties but their impartiality and ability and the pledge to decide without fear or favour. A man who is too strongly coloured by his like or dislike of the one or the other disputant, or is too closely interested in him will not be generally regarded as a proper person to adjudicate. Our faith in courts of justice and panchayats is in proportion to the qualities of impartiality and dispassionateness of the presiding officers of those institutions.

Likewise in the administration of other departments of the State also, what people expect and want and what the administrators have to promise at the time of taking office is that they shall perform their duties without fear or favour. This means that whatever might be their personal political views and whatever be the section of the people to which they belonged, they would not think in terms of their particular personal affiliations but would, as humanly as possible, try to be above party or sectional or other considerations. Every president of a legislature or municipality assures all the parties that on taking office he ceased to be a party man.

The same rule should apply to the ministers of a government. They might be chosen by the largest political party of the legislature and from their own party, but they should be chosen not merely for their affiliation to particular parties or sections, but for their capacity to be above all parties and sections in the execution of administrative functions.

The use of office for the purpose of consolidating one's party or bestowing favour on the people of one's own section should be considered dereliction of duty and breach of the oath of office. But the established practice of modern democracy is just the opposite and it is this fact which is responsible for the demand of proportional representation in every

big or small department of public affairs. The evil of seeking proportional representation has grown to such an enormous extent that there is hardly any big caste, community, region or other unit, which does not count up its numbers and cry for a right number of appointments whenever persons have to be elected or selected for any purpose whatever. Ability and character have lost their importance, belonging to a particular section alone matters.

This cannot lead to good government. A system of government, whether it is highly centralized or decentralized, and even if it is elected on the widest franchise possible cannot but be an institution of corruption with this practice. It cannot but lead to the oppression of the weak by the strong. I feel that the decline of republican or democratic institutions in ancient India as also the conquest of India from time to time by foreign invaders was due to this form of corruption and oppression. It cannot create a really strong centre.

It is necessary that administrators should know the mind of the people and of every section in it. It is also necessary that they should be correctly informed and have a proper perspective of how a particular proposal is viewed by a section directly affected by it and the consequences of a particular policy upon its life. On this, that section alone is the right body to express its opinion, and that opinion should not be less important simply because there are only a handful of people to express it in a body of very large numbers of other sections. The importance of the opinion must rest upon the evidence adduced by the expressors and upon their trustworthiness and not upon their numbers. No doubt where matters are so intricate and full of conflicting opinions, some sort of counting of numbers, that is voting, might become necessary. But since voting can be manipulated the deciding factor should not be mere voting.

My suggestion is that in instituting the machinery for eliciting public opinion through representatives, taking ultimate decisions and implementing public will on all matters falling within the scope of the State, the constitution should make a distinction between general representatives—(Legislative Assembly), interested representatives, i. e. representatives of particular sections, parties, interests, etc.—(Legislative Council), and disinterested representatives, i. e. representatives chosen for their impartiality and sense of justice and understanding—(Board of Referees). While both the Assembly and the Council should have their say on every matter of State, the final decision should be made by the Board of Referees and the government should be responsible to the first two in a general sense and completely responsible to the last in particular details.

The Assembly might consist of members affiliated to particular political parties such as the Congress, Liberals, Socialists, Communists, and the

like, not based on regional, religious, social or other particular divisions or interests but on differences of political ideologies.

The Council, or the house of interested representatives, should represent all particular interests. Every interest of recognizable importance might be allowed to nominate its representatives on it. But the number of all should be equal irrespective of the population of the section. Thus each separate regional unit, each recognized communal or sectarian or other group, each trade or economically distinct interest, each important academic branch, should be regarded equal for purposes of representation. Of course, some conditions would have to be laid down for qualifying an interest to be recognized for this purpose.

The governing body should be drawn from or taken on the advice of the largest party in the Assembly. It would initiate the policies and measures. Without prejudice to its right to discuss every measure in minute details, generally it should discuss only the broad principles and express party and popular views about them. The bodies to discuss the measure in close details should be the Council, and the Board of Referees (or disinterested representatives). The latter might sit like judges in the former houses and after hearing every criticism on every matter brought before it ultimately give the final verdict. In arriving at the verdict it would take into consideration the fundamental policy to which the government in power is pledged. Its decisions should be binding on the government. The verdict might be extremely different from that desired by the government but that need not be taken as a defeat unless the government considers it to be a matter inconsistent with its fundamental policy.

The Assembly might be elected by the people either directly or indirectly as may be decided. The Council should be elected by their particular electoral colleges. It would be smaller than that of general representatives. Referees should be elected by these two bodies as their first act after each election. It should not be a very large body, say, not more than 30. They need not be members of the Assembly or Council, and in their election a practice should be set up either through conventions and law that the voters should elect a number of people (at least half) who either belong to no party or belong to a party other than the elector's own. They should be persons of, in the first place, outstanding high character, experience, intelligence, sound judgment and a high sense of duty, over and above other qualifications necessary to perform the following functions:

(a) to pronounce judgment on every matter debated in the Council;

(b) to carry on the government of the Centre or a State, when in any of these the popular government is unable to function and re-election does not appear advisable; and

(c) to be in charge of the judicial administration of the State, without interference from the ministers; (this should be its own particular permanent function).

K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE GRAM SEVAK VIDYALAYA, WARDHA

ANNUAL GATHERING

The annual gathering of our Vidyalaya was held on the 24th April, 1949 under the chairmanship of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala.

The Superintendent's report stated that in all 26 students underwent training during the year. Of these only 13 took the full 10 months' course.

The students came from various parts of the country. Of them 2 were from Nepal, 4 from Bihar, 5 from Orissa and 2 from Saurashtra.

Out of these 8 students were declared successful and are eligible for the Diploma of Gram Udyog Vinit. Out of these 3 have been awarded certificates of merit. These names are as follows:

A. DIPLOMA OF GRAM UDYOG VINIT

(a) Merit Certificate (in order of rank)

	Industry	Province
1. Janaklal Sharma	Ghani	Nepal
2. Satyanarain Tiwari	Paper	Orissa
3. Mohanlal Patel	Ghani	Saurashtra

(b) Pass Certificates (in alphabetical order)

1. Chakradhar Jena	Paper	Orissa
2. Dharanidhar Raut	Paper	"
3. Hem Narasinha	Paper	Nepal
4. Jamnadas Shah	Paper	Saurashtra
5. Vishnudeo Singh	Paper	Bihar

B. INDUSTRY CERTIFICATES (in alphabetical order)

1. Ganapati Tripathi	Ghani	Orissa
2. Naresh Chandra Das	Ghani	Bihar

NEXT SESSION

The new session of our Gram Sevak Vidyalaya opens on the 1st of July, 1949. The regular course, which includes training in a major industry such as Oil-pressing or Paper-making as well as short elementary courses in Bee-keeping, Soap-making from indigenous materials and Date-palm *Gur*-making, is for a period of ten months.

Subjects such as principles underlying our Village Movement, Health, Hygiene and Sanitation, Book-keeping and the Constructive Programme are included in the course.

Expenses including cost of materials come to about Rs. 40 per month.

Prospectus and admission form may be had from the Secretary, Gram Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganvadi, Wardha. The last date for receiving applications is 31st May, 1949.

HARIJAN

May 22

1949

HARIJANS OF ROHTAK DISTRICT

In the last week of March, fortyfour Harijans came all the way from Rohtak to Rajghat and undertook a fast for the removal of some of the grievances from which members of their community in Rohtak district were suffering. During the seven days that they kept the fast, I visited them three times to acquaint myself with their problems. On the 29th March, they broke the fast on certain assurances given by Shri Thakkarbapa, myself and others on behalf of Sardar Patel to take up their cause and to do whatever was possible to help them.

During the course of the last few months, I have toured the East Punjab twice and know that most of the village Harijans of those areas are victims of all that these people were suffering from. I enumerate below some of the grievances for the redress of which the fast was undertaken:

1. Social boycott of the Harijans by zamindar Jats.

2. Organized violent attacks by the said Jats, who came in a party in three villages and beat the Harijans to the extent of necessitating the removal of many of them to hospital for treatment. Since then one man is reported to have died.

3. Ejection of the Harijans from their houses by the unauthorized occupation of common lands by the Jats.

4. Prejudice against them shown by the non-election of the Harijans to the panchayats with just a very few exceptions, in spite of the fact that they form a considerable part of the population.

1. SOCIAL BOYCOTT

We all know what a terrible weapon of torture social boycott can be, which in this case also includes economic boycott. It is even worse than the weapons of violence. We are told that the poor Harijan victims of this boycott could not even purchase the necessities of life like food, kerosine oil, cloth and salt from any of the village shops. They either had to go to long distances to provide for their needs or had to go without them. Any *bania* who defied this boycott 'order' of the panchayats had to pay Rs. 50 as fine.

The Harijans were not allowed to work in the fields and had to forego the scanty wages on which they were living. Non-compliance of this 'order' was also subject to a fine of Rs. 25 by the village panchayat.

Their cattle were prohibited from entering the common grazing lands, as a result of which most of the *chamars* had either to dispose of their cattle at low prices or had to send them to their relatives in distant villages.

Harijan tenants were not even allowed to reap their harvests.

2. ORGANIZED ATTACKS OF VIOLENCE

Some of the perpetrators were arrested by the police. The fear of the Harijans, based on previous experience, was that due punishment would not be meted out to the culprits. They said it openly that they did not expect justice from the District Courts. According to them the police also showed great partiality. The result of these three organized attacks was that the whole Harijan population of the Rohtak district was in a state of panic and felt that their lives, property and women were not safe.

3. EJECTION OF HARIJANS

In certain villages the lands which were in the occupation of the Harijans for generations were taken possession of by the zamindars, and even their houses and house yards were not spared, as a result of which a number of Harijans had become shelterless.

Their sufferings touched me deeply, and I approached Shri Thakkarbapa and some others to take up their cause and get them relief. But I knew that the Harijans must have done something as a reprisal for which these cruel measures were taken by the Jats. As expected I found that the *chamars* of this area had resolved not to remove the dead cattle and not to work unless adequate market wages were given to them. All the misery heaped on these poor people was in the shape of reprisals against these two measures. I expressed sympathy with their sufferings and told them that they were free men and no one could force them to do anything, but refusal on their part to handle dead cattle was a wrong decision. I gave them the instance of Shri Dastane, who, though brahmana by birth, took up the work of carcass removal to set an example. I explained to them how much wealth each carcass meant, the proper handling of which would bring them ample money in return. By refusing to handle carcasses, they were damaging their own interests. In this age of scarcity of employment and occupation they might find its replacement by another gainful occupation difficult. At that time they were adamant in their determination, but later on I was told that they agreed to follow this occupation of carcass removal only if some caste Hindus joined them in this work.

After the fast was broken Shri Thakkarbapa appointed a committee of three persons, namely, Shri Viyogi Hari of Harijan Udyogashala, Shri Brijkrishan Chandiwala and Shri Krishna Nair of Karol Bagh to tour the district, investigate and report. The Committee toured the district and submitted its report, corroborating all that the Harijans had said.

We sought Sardar Patel's intervention. Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, the then Premier and some of the other officers were approached, and they all assured us that they would look into the affair and would do everything to redress the wrongs done to the Harijans. The report has been

referred to the East Punjab Government which, in the meantime, has changed its composition. This question will come before the new Cabinet whose members have taken an oath to serve the people and to do justice by them. I appeal to them to examine this case minutely and to do their duty by these victims of orthodoxy and selfishness. The Harijan problem in the villages of the East Punjab is getting more and more acute every day, and unless the new Cabinet makes a Herculean effort to cleanse the Augean stables, it will be impossible to restore the province to normality and peace. It is a matter of great regret that at a time when every individual in the country should be feeling the fresh air of freedom, such repression is resorted to.

RAMESHWARI NEHRU

ADVANTAGES OF CITY STATES

As promised last week, let me explain the advantages of separate city states to the country.

1. In the modern world, the defence of the country is mainly the defence of the cities. The obligation to defend the country rests upon the Central Government. It is proper, therefore, that the cities should be under the direct charge of the Central Government.

2. Large cities are an obstacle in the progress of the other parts of the province, particularly the villages. Cities loom large in all the administrative matters of the provinces. Politics, Industry, Commerce, Education, and even inheritance and succession, are all considered from the point of view of cities. The adequate supply of food, milk, water, maintenance of good roads, sanitation, hygiene, hospitals, entertainments, and even expensive art for the orientation of the cities take priority over village necessities. The villages get sympathy but nothing very concrete or beneficial. Rather, they are unhesitatingly exploited for the cities. E. g. cheap milk is brought from the Kheda District for the city of Bombay and from its profit the buffalo-keepers of Bombay are enabled to carry on their trade. Similarly, in Calcutta hundreds of cows and buffaloes of the best quality in the country are being sent to the slaughter-house every year for this purpose. In Delhi, as Shri Mirabehn has pointed out elsewhere, the Sahiwal cow is reared because of her great capacity for producing milk, although her bulls are unsuitable for draught purposes. They have to be slaughtered and since the popular sentiment is opposed to cattle-slaughter, their maintenance will be a burden upon mofussil areas. The things which villages get from the cities are those which are discarded as out-of-date by them or which are perfectly unnecessary. In order to remedy this, it is necessary that provincial governments should be so located that they have an opportunity to breathe the village atmosphere and are free from the anxiety of solving the problems of the cities. Inasmuch as my suggestion involves the

transfer of a city to the central authority, if it allows its population to increase beyond ten lakhs, provincial governments will care to see that their towns do not become too large. They will thereby increase and preserve the village prosperity.

3. It is not possible for a city to be unilingual, except to the extent of using the common language of the whole country to a greater degree than others. The reason is that a considerable part of its population keeps on going to and from the city to the native town or village and does not — cannot — leave the latter permanently for a long period. It cannot, therefore, afford to give up its native language or connections with the original home. Hence in major matters it should be under the direct administration of the Central Government in which all provinces, including the cities themselves, would be represented.

4. Moreover, a city state cannot, in its own interest, be as fully autonomous as a province, since it cannot be self-sufficient to the same extent as a province in respect of its essential necessities.

They seem to yield a major part of the revenue. But the revenue is fictitious in the sense that what they give back is the money issued by the Government itself and not materials; while what they use is the latter, the major part of which is yielded by the rural provinces.

5. The apprehension that by transferring the cities to the Central Government the provincial governments would be starved, since the major portion of revenue is derived from the cities, shows that the present economic order is really uneconomic, as it is unnatural. This condition could be remedied only if the so-called provinces become not city-minded but village-minded.

In the present order of things, this cannot be. Cities today do not live *for* the mofussil but *on* it. When they earn one thousand crores from villages, they will pay to the Central Government a small portion of it, say, one crore. And if from that one crore, five or ten lakhs are given back to the villages, it is really inconsequential. It is an order which brings *illth* and not wealth to the nation.

Nevertheless since the whole country would be interested in the suitable maintenance of the cities, the system will lead to the striking of a more satisfactory balance where the interests of the cities and the provinces seem to conflict.

Hence in the interest of the provinces and ultimately for a better distribution of population, industries, commerce and wealth, cities should be constituted into independent States. If, as is supposed, independent circumstances have created a necessity for doing so in respect of Bombay, I do not think that Maharashtra would be at a loss by reason of it. Rather the experiment would be very useful to all.

Wardha, 11-5-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

EVEN JAINS!

"There is a Digambar Jain Temple at Madras. The temple belonged to the South Indian Jains. One up-country Jain made certain improvements to the temple building. This act of benevolence gave him an opportunity to dominate over the economically backward South Indian Jain community. For some years the temple is under the management of North Indian Digambar Jains. Though there are numerous racial discriminations shown by the management, I shall not mention them lest they might reflect on the very religion I profess. I confine myself to recording the discrimination in worship. Up to 9 a. m. the North Indian Digambar Jains offer their prayers, and the South Indian Jains offer theirs after the North Indians have finished their *poojas*. Recently one South Indian Jain, not in any way inferior to the North Indians in culture, offered prayer at the time when North Indian Digambar Jains were worshipping. This audacity of the South Indian Jain made one North Indian Digambar Jain lose his temper. He made the air sulphureous. He attacked the South Indian Jain with all the filthy language at his command. The South Indian Digambar Jains, who are economically dominated, did not come to his rescue. The poor man therefore walked out.

"Some time ago you wrote in the *Harijan* that the North Indians, in whichever province they may live, should identify themselves with the people of that province. In view of the above, is there any wonder if the South Indians agitate for political, economic and social separation from the North Indians?"

Such a representation was least to be expected of a Jain, and that too of the Digambar sect. For the Svetambars still cling to the cloth, while the Digambar regard that too as an encumbrance and would have nothing but *ahimsa* to rely on.

Dharma literally means that which holds or supports all. Religion also means the same thing. It means that which binds men together. अहिंसा परमो धर्मः means *ahimsa* is the greatest supporting force. If adherence to the same faith fails to bind together the Digambar of the North and the South, common provincialism will in a short time create jealousies between different districts, *talukas* and streets also. A particular kind of administrative arrangement may be convenient and may be adopted, but it should not be on account of provincial or other jealousies.

It should not be difficult for followers of *ahimsa* to find a non-violent remedy for the alleged discrimination in worship. According to the story of Mahavira's life, he was not only abused but was more than once gravely injured by his people. He bore it with his non-violence and attained the title of *Mahavira*. Compared to that this is a very trivial matter and can be amicably settled in a fortnight.

I hope the so-called North Indian Digambar of Madras will look into this in a non-violent and loving manner. Even if the complaint made above

is unfounded or exaggerated, the feelings of the South Indian Jains should be soothed.

Wardha, 26-4-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

HAND PRODUCTION OR MILL?

The way the Government departments are deciding whether a certain thing should be done by the hand process or be entrusted to the industrialists discloses a dangerous misconception of the principles that should guide such considerations. It is easy from competitive and money consideration to make out that hand production is inefficient. But such considerations are altogether wrong criteria to judge by. Village industries form part of our life and these cannot be judged apart from the life of the people. We may as well advocate the buying of food from coffee hotels as being cheaper than cooking at home. Home cooking is superior in many respects, though it may be apparently costly because of superior materials being used to those that a commercial person will go in for.

Another commonly boosted up reason for advocating the mill industry is the so-called "efficiency". Even here we may point out that a complete picture is not before those who decide on these things. Recently for instance, the bicycle industry in India was said to be incapable of competing with foreign factories. The local made cycles are manufactured by the best brains in India such as Tatas and Birlas, and it will be a presumption on our part to say that their organization is in any way inferior to the foreign organizations. The real difficulty comes in that the foreign products are buttressed by the Government which is interested in building up armament factories and maintaining them. Similarly, if our own Government were to adopt cycle factories as a nucleus for our armament production, we have no doubt that our efficiency will also jump up!

In this manner extraneous considerations are allowed to affect our decision and make those who should be responsible, to pass irresponsible judgment on village industries also.

We may cite the instance of hand-made paper which is constantly being charged with being more expensive and not readily available. The fault lies in the lack of proper research and patronage from the government side. The best quality of paper can be made by hand, and we may say, can only be made by hand. All our University diplomas, High Court stamp paper and currency notes are hand-lifted paper, while the pulp is made by machinery, which can well be reduced by bullock power. Hence it is up to us to consider the place of hand-made paper in our economy.

The C. P. Government and other provincial bodies are backing the introduction of paper mills in their territory. A paper mill requires forest of bamboos and other fibrous products to provide the materials for their paper making. This will mean denudation of our forest resources. We are not aware that the forest department has taken up this extra load and changed its policy to fit into the requirements of paper mills. Otherwise this support to paper mills spells danger to our land. Already our

forests have been denuded of over 10 years cuttings and the paper mills will be an extra load that the country will hardly bear. Where cheap paper, such as needed for newsprint, is necessary, it may be a wiser policy to import it from countries such as Sweden, Norway and Canada which have an over-abundance of forest areas and who can well afford to exploit their forest resources without endangering the economy of the country. Our country is already suffering from lack of rain, erosion and torrential flooding because of an inadequate forest policy. We can ill-afford to be careless in this regard.

On the other hand, hand-made paper utilizes our resources to the best advantage. Bamboos are first used for a number of years as raw materials for baskets, *chatais*, roofing and other household requirements. Then when they are rotted, we use them for paper. Therefore hand-made paper making does not make a drain on our available resources. Similarly, in case of other raw materials like rags and old jute bags, hand-made paper can utilize materials which have already served the needs of man for some time.

Hence in planning our economy we must take into consideration all possibilities by which we can make the best use of our raw materials under the conditions prevailing in India. It would appear, therefore, that newsprints and other cheap paper which can well be prepared by mills, it will be best for us to import from abroad, while higher quality paper should be made out of waste materials available to us in the land. Similarly, in many of the industries, unless the Government is definitely set on building up armament factories, it would be best to utilize hand processes in preference to the mill processes which latter do not fit into our economy where super-abundance of labour is available along with a scarcity of capital. Under such circumstances to plump for large-scale industries would be like depending on hothouse plants for our staple food. We trust in the new setting where we have to reorient our industrial policy, wiser counsels will prevail.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

NO RUNNING AWAY

"We are government servants, who desire to serve honestly and, if possible, to render other social service also. In fact, we joined government service in independent India or returned to our posts from which we had resigned during the national movement with this hope, besides earning our livelihood. But we find no peace of mind in it and often feel inclined to take up some other national work. The atmosphere has been made so very corrupt, both by our colleagues as well as the general public, that it is difficult for an honest man even to live safe in it.

"Superior officers often ask us to do irregular and unlawful things. If we refuse to do so, we are marked as unfit. On the other hand, if we do so and later if the wrong is detected, our officers escape by disowning it and we are caught in the

trap. We have to be passive onlookers while our colleagues take bribe. If we report, it is backbiting. Even so, if we venture to proceed, the officers are there to connive at it, for they themselves are often offenders in their own way. Under the circumstances, nothing results except ill feeling among us, colleagues. Not caring for the consequences, if we manage to convey it to the authorities concerned, and if enquiries are instituted, the onus of proving it will fall on our own selves. And only those who have experience of such cases can realize how difficult it is to prove them even if there is no doubt about their truth. In the circumstances we often feel moved to get out of this bog and take up some other work."

I have given above the gist of representations made to me in letters or talks by some government servants. They represent several departments.

My views in the matter are as follows :

It is an illusion to think that such things exist only in the government services and other professions are free from them. If we enquire of honest merchants and their clerks, they will relate the same story. Not only that, even public institutions and religious trusts will be found suffering from one type or another of such evils.

There is also no reason to regard them as of British origin. They are legacies from times immemorial. But men of truth and principles have never been reconciled to this worldly wisdom. The method, however, generally adopted to get rid of this environment has been to become *sannyasis* or (which is the same thing) run away from the post, instead of facing them boldly and fighting them. The result is that those who could not bear the evil made the line clear for the wrongdoers.

Even if it be assumed that men of high ideals and integrity are rare in government services, how are the services to be cured of the evil in them, if even these abandon their posts? The hope of leading an honest life by undertaking some other occupation is an illusion. I shall not be right if I claim the credit of leading an honest life by editing the *Harijan* papers sitting under the electric fans and lights in Bajajwadi, not drawing a high salary or purchasing in the blackmarket. Not even ashramites living a life of austerity and hard work can claim to be so. For, sober thinking brings home to everyone that he is sitting on another's back or is living on the charity of those whom he calls profiteers and usurers. None is pure, excepting those who earn their daily bread only by the sweat of their labour.

It is useful to think of these matters for our own improvement. But it should not result in the desire to give up the work. Malice lies in fighting this untruth with the strength of a Satyagrahi and in finding out ways and means of purifying the atmosphere.

Therefore, I would like to advise these government servants and those in other walks of life that they should stick to their posts and observe truth and honesty to the best of their capacity. They need not despair if they fail to influence their

colleagues and superiors. They might try to guide and control their subordinates.

It is possible that they may have to face many hurdles; their promotions may be hindered; their juniors may go ahead; they may have to suffer from transfers time and again; they may have to remain poor while their colleagues enjoy a prosperous life; but let it be remembered that these are the indispensable sacrifices in the path of Truth and through these only can we make an advance and raise the level of the society. We must not forget that Gandhiji had to bear the bullet for the sake of Truth. Martyrdom is the highest reward of Truth.

When the mind is troubled too much, please seek the soothing company of the *charkha* and the name of God or take up a great and good book and after recuperating start afresh for the field. Consider wrongdoers as those who have missed the right path. Neither justify them in their wrong nor help them. But let not the pride of being superior to them creep in you. *Sabako sanmati de Bhagwan* (God! grant light to all) should be your prayer, while you stand firm on your truth like Prahlad.

Wardha, 19-4-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

(Translated from the original in Gujarati)

BLOOD-MILK OR PROSPERITY?

Neither the Government nor the public appear yet to have faced the absolute necessity of a definite policy with regard to cattle development. They both talk of the need of dual-purpose cattle, and the desirability of prohibiting slaughter, but at the same time both are busy breeding Sahiwals, Holsteins, and other heavy milkers. For instance, at the Indian Institute of Agricultural Research Dairy at New Pusa, large sums of money are being spent on a most elaborate development of the Sahiwal cow, which has produced remarkable increase so far as milk yield goes. People are dazzled by these results, and they do not stop to think what it all means. What it does mean is simply this, that to drink the milk of Sahiwal cows and the like, is to drink "blood-milk", because the Sahiwal male stock is altogether useless for draught purposes and, except for those which are kept for stud bulls, all are butchered. When the pending laws prohibiting cattle slaughter are brought into force, instead of being slaughtered, these animals will die of starvation, unless special camps are made for them, where they are fed and looked after at the expense of the Government, or cow protection societies. It is quite obvious that to breed cattle and be obliged to keep half the progeny as a burden on the slender fodder and grazing resources of the country, is a bad policy. Are we going to slaughter or are we not? This question has to be squarely faced.

I am endeavouring to collect the figures of Government plans for development of heavy milking breeds. What the Government does, the public naturally follows. By developing one-sided milch cattle, not only does the policy of prevention of

cattle-slaughter become spoilt, but the all-important development of useful cattle for the cultivators remains completely neglected. It is, therefore, as clear as daylight that if we do *not* wish to produce "blood-milk" and if we *do* wish to improve the lot of the cultivator, who is the backbone of our prosperity, we have got to proclaim the policy of breeding dual-purpose cattle and *see that it is carried out.*

MIRABEHN

Not in Common Man's Interest

The apprehension I had about the effect of the High Committee's Report on the agitation for linguistic Provinces is confirmed by what has commenced since then in almost every province in the south, west and Central India.

The report had hardly reached the public before the Congress President explained that it did not close the door against the demand for linguistic provinces, and that Andhra was certainly going to ask for it. And agitation is now afoot with redoubled vigour dividing each province into two or more groups. And names of great leaders are freely used as being in support of one demand or another. I hope I may be in a position to retract my words later on; but for the present I cannot but feel that this report has rendered a disservice to the country and encouraged power politics, party politics, group politics and caste-mindedness simultaneously. I wonder if it will be possible for the Congress now to do anything but concede the most extreme and fissiparous demands in regard to this matter. It might lead to the formation of not less than two States in C. P. and Berar, four in Bombay and four in Madras; with a further agitation in the opposite direction for re-union of some of them. No doubt unemployment bureaux might get a good chance of thinning their registers. Also we shall be able to have more governors, cabinets, legislatures, secretariats, and high courts, great schemes and with them heavier budgets. But will it bring more agricultural land, more food, more clothing, more education and any relief in taxation and prices? It is not going to be in the common man's interest.

I would therefore urge all common people to discourage and keep at a distance from all activities agitating for these divisions.

Wardha, 10-5-'49

K. G. M.

CONTENTS	PAGE
DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNMENT ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	89
THE GRAM SEVAK VIDYALAYA, WARDHA ...	91
HARIJANS OF ROHTAK DISTRICT ... RAMESHWARI NEHRU	92
ADVANTAGES OF CITY STATES ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	93
EVEN JAINS! ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	94
HAND PRODUCTION OR MILL? ... J. C. KUMARAPPA	94
NO RUNNING AWAY ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	95
BLOOD-MILK OR PROSPERITY? ... MIRABEHN	96
NOTE:	
NOT IN COMMON MAN'S INTEREST ... K. G. M.	96