

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

SARDAR AT THE WHEEL

Readers must have seen from the speeches which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been making ever since his return to New Delhi after his rest at Bombay, that he has now directed his serious attention to set right the economic situation of our country, and has already begun his moves one after another. We know how rapidly and non-violently he changed the political geography of India. Some days ago he paid a high tribute to the rulers. He also paid a high tribute to the Services and defended them against adverse critics. In spite of a high certificate from the Sardar himself, there were many who did not agree with his defence of the Services. But the tribute was not without a purpose. He has now induced them to accept cuts in their salaries in accordance with announced schemes and thus set an example to the nation for helping the country's finances. He has also turned his attention to industrialists, traders and labour, and will see to it that they too give their proper share to rebuild the country's finances. He has appealed also to the people, their leaders and workers to give him their hearty co-operation in this very difficult but extremely important task. Last year he had asked critics of Government to be patient and give them five years' time. He has now asked for co-operation along with patience. He fully realizes the troubles and annoyances of the people. He wants to give them relief. But with all goodwill and effort, it takes time to set right affairs after they have got into disorder. Moreover, they cannot be improved if every one does not contribute his share of labour and sacrifice. After all, wealth and goods are not produced by orders issued from the Secretariat. They have to be produced by actual work. Sardar wants the nation's co-operation. It is our bounden duty to render it.

Wardha, 15-11-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

To be Out on 4th December FOR PACIFISTS

By Mahatma Gandhi

"Gandhiji's cure is very radical and far-reaching. It demands nothing less than rooting out violence from oneself and from one's environment."

—Bharatan Kumarappa

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WANTED AN ACT OF FAITH

Shri M. M. Ismail of Madras writes :

"The following news item appeared in the Press last week :

'The only point to which all powers appear to be agreed after two years' deliberations is that the atomic bomb should be banned as a weapon of war. The obstacle to East-West unity is the method by which atomic energy can be internationally controlled to make quite certain that no power will turn it into a war weapon..... Britain, the United States and France together with Canada, have made it clear that they are prepared to give up the use of atomic weapons provided that an adequate fool-proof system of international control can be brought into force.'

This news is significant both for the existence of the chronic mutual distrust between the so-called big powers of the world and for the lack of faith in the strength of their own cause on the part of the countries mentioned therein. If the atomic bomb is to be banned as a weapon of war not because one country is likely to perfect its destructive capacity more than the other and consequently may have advance assurance of victory in a war between the two, but because its use is barbarous and inhuman—apart from war itself being barbarous and inhuman—then the logical thing any country that shares such a view should do is to make a voluntary and whole-hearted denunciation of the use of the atomic bomb by it and to destroy every atom bomb that it may have in its possession as a practical demonstration of the formal denunciation. Such an act will add to that country's moral stature as no victory in any war can ever do and will be a unique challenge to all other countries which will have necessarily to follow suit because of the peculiar atmosphere created by this great act of faith. When a power possessing the atomic weapon deliberately destroys it in pursuance of its determination not to use the atomic bomb, then the opposing power in a war will hesitate to use the weapon against this self-disarmed country. If this expectation materializes, then mass slaughter will be automatically eliminated. It is true that America used the atom bomb against Japan which did not possess the weapon. But there is this difference: Japan did not possess the bomb and did not discard it voluntarily. I believe that *ahimsa* essentially works in such atmosphere. This will be in accordance with the appeal of Gandhiji, *To every Briton*, during the last war. May we expect Britain, the United States, France and Canada which claim to represent democracy to muster their moral courage and renounce the use of the atom bomb once for all by destroying those bombs that are already in existence and stopping further preparation to make any more bombs, totally relying on the innate rightness of their action and leaving Russia to accept the great challenge?"

I do not happen to know my correspondent ; and the ' Big Powers ' or rather the Bigger Politicians guiding them, who control War and Peace in the world, are hardly expected to read this, and even if any read, to attach any importance to it. Even Gandhiji failed to persuade Britain or, for the matter of that, even the National Congress, when an actual occasion arose.

But, however difficult it might be to act upon a great principle, there can be no doubt that if war is to be abolished or even if the race for armaments is to be moderated (if not altogether stopped), someone has to do it unilaterally. If every one says, ' I shall do it only if the other one does it and proves to my satisfaction that he has done it ', the race can never stop. And if the race never stops, war itself cannot be avoided. Or even if the hot war is avoided, the ever increasing cost of armaments itself must kill the peoples by its own crushing weight.

The atom bomb may be the last word in destructive weapons at this moment. But it is merely a symbol. The fundamental thing is the competition to excel another in war-preparedness. To take the two States of our own country, though each declares that it has no hostile intentions against the other, none is prepared to believe the other's word, or, in case a war breaks out, to rely upon the moral strength of its own cause, along with the spirit of its own people. The result is that India wants to arm itself against Pakistan and Pakistan against India, and both must spend two-thirds or more of their respective revenues on the army. If they have to remain content with possessing weapons inferior to those possessed by Big Powers, it is for want of means and technical skill rather than for want of will.

Inventors, manufacturers and actual wielders of weapons do not take to that art for idle recreation. There is an innate will that their skill should be put to practical test some day, and they should be able to demonstrate what tremendous destruction their weapons can bring about. That will must sooner or later bear fruit in the material world. Whether it is war between two countries or a quarrel between two claimants for the possession of a field or a house or for rights of boundaries or easements, if each acts upon the faith that ' possession is nine points in law ', and therefore tries to anticipate the other for doing it, abolition of war must remain a day-dream. A fight can be avoided only by one party taking the risk of being forcibly trespassed against and relying upon means other than physical force for the vindication of its rights. These will vary from an appeal to an impartial tribunal to unbending Satyagraha of the highest type.

Thus wrote Gandhiji in his famous appeal, *To Every Briton* (*Harijan*, 6-7-'40) :

" I do not want Britain to be defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in a trial of

brute strength, whether expressed through the muscle or the brain. Your muscular bravery is an established fact. Need you demonstrate that your brain is also as unrivalled in destructive power as your muscle? I hope you do not wish to enter into such an undignified competition with the Nazis. I venture to present you with a nobler and a braver way, worthy of the bravest soldier. I want you to fight Nazism without arms or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself man, woman and child, to be slaughtered but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them."

The renunciation of the atom bomb is a much lower target than the above. It is not renunciation of violence altogether, but just putting a limit, however low, to the means of violence. Progress towards Peace and Non-violence involves a double approach : one from the right, consisting in the development of active benevolence and friendliness, removal of underlying causes of war, and adopting and constructing a life essential for a non-violent order ; and the other from the left, of renouncing violent methods step by step. Therefore what is needed is an *unconditional* self-imposed limit on the use and quality of destructive weapons.

Wardha, 14-11-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL STRIKE

Readers might be aware that the Calcutta Municipal staff had recently gone on a serious and prolonged strike. It involved suspension of work by more than 25,000 men to the serious detriment to the health and safety of the city for a number of days. It was also accompanied with breaches of the peace and loss of life. The strike came to an end at the end of the last month.

The Executive Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress met at New Delhi on 2nd November to consider the merits of this strike. The Unions responsible for the strike are affiliated to the I. N. T. U. C. I understand that under the constitution of that organization, a strike cannot be started if the matters in dispute are agreed to be referred to an arbitration tribunal. The Executive Committee found that in the present case this had been already done by the West Bengal Government and the strike had been started in spite of it. The strike was therefore unjustified and ill-advised. The labour leaders of the strike, it is reported, admitted their mistake. The Executive Committee passed the following resolution on this subject :

"The Executive Committee of the I. N. T. U. C. have deliberated seriously upon the situation arising out of the recent strike of the workers of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

"The Executive Committee is firmly of the opinion that after the reference of the matters in dispute to an arbitration tribunal, the strike and its continuance for a long time being against the principles and policies of the I. N. T. U. C. was unjustifiable.

"The Executive Committee reaffirms its faith in the method of solving all industrial disputes by peaceful negotiations and arbitration and directs all affiliated Unions and their office-bearers that they must faithfully implement this policy and must not resort to strikes as long as they can adopt the method of peaceful negotiations and arbitration.

"The attention of affiliated Unions is also drawn to the absolute necessity of obtaining the sanction of the President of the I. N. T. U. C. before launching strikes, etc.

"The Executive Committee realizes that the disregard of proper methods of solving industrial disputes and resort to unsatisfactory policies is indicative of a deep-rooted disease, now revealed in the strike of the Calcutta Corporation workers. The Committee, therefore, deems it necessary to make an enquiry into (1) the procedure adopted by Government in referring disputes to arbitration tribunals, (2) the procedure of these tribunals, and (3) the procedure adopted Government to implement their awards; and hereby appoint a Sub-committee consisting of Shriyuts Abidali, Shyamprasad Vasavda and V. V. Dravid to inquire into these matters and submit their report to the Executive Committee." (Translated from Hindustani).

What has been done cannot be recalled. But this event should serve as an eye-opener for the future. A hasty step, particularly in institutions of public utility services, is attended with dangerous consequences and serious hardships

to the people. I understand that the labour leaders of the Calcutta Municipal Unions could not muster courage to give the right advice to their workers, as they were not in a mood to listen to sober counsel, and would have been displeased with the leaders if they had refused to support the strike. Such situations will often arise in institutions composed of people from the masses. These situations are moments when leaders have to be on their guard. They must risk their position and even personal safety, rather than hesitate to give the right advice.

Government employers must also put an end to dilatory and vexatious methods and procedures. It is the loss of confidence in official ways and despair which make the masses impatient and tempt them to resort to coercive methods. If workers were assured of promptness, fairness and honesty, they would not like to go on strikes, which are no luxury to the strikers themselves.

Wardha, 15-11-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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We have prepared a set of 79 lantern colour slides dealing with the main incidents in Gandhiji's life for purpose of propaganda primarily among the rural folk. There is an explanatory note in each slide in English and Tamil ; similar ones will be prepared in Telugu and other Indian languages. A complete set of 79 slides with the printed notes costs Rs.158, excluding packing and railway freight. This set will be found to be of great use to those engaged in the constructive programme drawn by Mahatma Gandhi.

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HARIJAN

November 27

1949

SEARCH FOR TRUTH AND PEACE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

[The following letters were written to Shri Jammalal Bajaj and Shri Mahadev Desai by Gandhiji in 1922 immediately after his arrest and while he was still an undertrial prisoner. Mahadevbhai was serving a term of imprisonment in U.P. The two letters present Gandhiji's philosophy of Life. — Ed.]

My dear Jammalal,

The more I search after Truth the more I feel it is all-inclusive. Truth is not covered by Non-violence. But I often experience that Non-violence is included in Truth. *What a pure heart feels at a particular time is Truth; by remaining firm on that, undiluted Truth can be attained.* This does not involve any conflict of duty or conscience either. But difficulties often arise in determining what Non-violence is. The use of bacteria-destroying liquid is also violence. It is only by firm adherence to Truth that one can live non-violently in a world which is full of violence. I can, therefore, derive Non-violence out of Truth. Love is derived from Truth; gentleness flows out of Truth. A truthful *satyagrahi* (passive resister) ought to be very humble. The more his truthfulness increases, the more humble he becomes. I have been experiencing this every moment. I was not conscious of Truth a year ago to the same extent as I am now. Nor did I experience a sense of humility a year ago as much as I do now.

I am day by day realizing in an increasing measure the wonderful significance of the sentence: "God is Truth, the world is an illusion."

Therefore, let us always be patient. By remaining patient, we shall lose the hardness of our hearts. Absence of hardness would promote Non-violence. We shall, then, feel our own mistakes to be as big as a mountain, and those of the world as small as a mole. The existence of the body is possible only by reason of the ego. The complete annihilation of the body is salvation (or self-realization). He who has completely destroyed the "ego" becomes an Embodiment of Truth. There is no harm in calling him even God. That is why the beautiful name of God is "the Servant of servants."

Wife, son, friend, possessions — all these must be subordinated to Truth. We can become *satyagrahis* only if we are ever prepared to renounce all these completely in our search for Truth. I am at present engaged in this activity and do not hesitate even to sacrifice persons like you because I wish to render the observance of this Duty natural for every one. The exterior form of this Duty is India's self-government; its true form is the self-rule of each individual. This is delayed at present because so far not a single true *satyagrahi* of this type

has been perfected. But there is no cause for nervousness. It should be the reason for greater efforts.

You have made yourself my fifth son. But I am striving to be worthy. It is not an ordinary responsibility for an adopter. May God help me, and may I be worthy for it from this day!

Bapu's Blessings

Sabarmati Central Prison,
17-3-'22

Sabarmati Jail,
Day of silence, 17-3-'22

Chi. Mahadev,

Perhaps this might be my last letter to you for a long time to come. Regard yourself as rendering service from your place. My true service begins from this place. I shall persevere to observe jail discipline in mind, speech and body and shall make strong endeavour to banish passion and hatred. If I really become purer in jail, it will surely have its effects outside. My peace of mind today has no bounds. But it will increase further when I get my sentence and cease to have visitors.

This raises the question why one should not retire into the forest if greatest service is rendered thus. The answer is clear. To retire into the forest is itself an infatuation (*moha*) if (or since) it is of one's own seeking. A *kshatriya* performs his duty as the call for it comes to him in ordinary course. If jail comes to him in ordinary course, that peace will be for his benefit.

How wonderful are God's ways? The atmosphere was perfectly cleared at Bardoli. At Delhi, it was not spoiled in any way, but I cleared it further by placing the same ideas in language acceptable to the people, as along with my firmness I showed also my tenderness (humility). Thereafter also, I did nothing but carry on the work of purification through the *Young India* and the *Navajivan* by my article on Non-violence. And now I am arrested at the stage of highest purification and while singing *Vaishnava Jana*. What can be a better blessing than this? I wish that none should now intentionally court jail.

Please read a translation of this to your teacher Khwajasaheb and your co-worker Joseph and others.

Could I have ever imagined that Shankarlal would also be arrested with me? But Rama can make everything possible.

Bapu's blessings

(Translated from Gujarati)

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TO EVERY INDIAN

The following is the full text of the broadcast to the nation by the Hon'ble the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, from All-India Radio at 8-30 p.m. on 14th November, 1949 :

Welcome to Jawaharlal

Friends,

I am very glad to be broadcasting today, the birthday of my dear brother Jawaharlal. The day is twice blessed ; not only are we celebrating a great national event, but we are also welcoming him back with all our heart after an eventful tour abroad.

Our birthday gift to him is loyalty and devotion ; he has returned it with compound interest by raising our country's status abroad, and by presenting a sum-total of goodwill and friendship which he has engendered wherever he has gone during his tour. He returns today again to resume the heavy burden of responsibilities which attach to his high office. Let us offer him our felicitations as well as our prayers.

Immediate Tasks

How heavy is that burden, how great are those responsibilities you must have guessed in some measure from the speech I delivered on Saturday about our economic situation. I wish once again to emphasize the gravity of the situation that faces us and of the immensity of the task that lies ahead, if we are to stage a quick and permanent recovery. I can tell you quite frankly that the time for preparing paper schemes has gone ; we cannot indulge any longer in the pastime of conjuring before our vision idealistic Utopias. We have to live among the hard facts of today, and it is in the realistic atmosphere that we have to think and act. It is no use our offering to a hungry man a rich fare some time hence. Similarly, it is no use overloading an already bewildered mind with confusing ideas. The time has come, if it was not there already, for clear-cut policies and for strong and determined action. I would, therefore, invite you to share with me my thoughts in this light and spirit.

Self-sufficiency in Food and Cloth

During the last three years, that it has been my proud privilege to serve my country in a different sphere of responsibilities from that in which I shared the joys and sorrows of the struggle for emancipation, I have been constantly laying stress on the need for self-sufficiency in food and cloth, our basic wants. We have spent crores on our food-production drive without making any appreciable difference to our heavy imports, the crushing burden of which is visible in our dwindling foreign currencies and balances.

The Sugar Problem

As if this was not enough, we have the sad spectacle of scarcity of sugar of a dimension which we have not experienced before. I grieve to say that that problem still afflicts you. I shall not enter into the rights or wrongs of the deci-

sion that was taken to freeze the stocks of sugar or to control its distribution. I shall only say this : what has been happening throughout the country on account of the scarcity of this commodity has filled me with distress, and I cannot find words adequate to condemn those whose actions have brought about this scarcity and the confusion and muddle which has followed in its wake. To be quite candid, I see no chance of retrieving the situation satisfactorily until the next crushing season — which fortunately is not far off — places in our hands sufficient supplies. Till then, I can only ask you to bear with us this severe burden and hardship.

Agricultural Programme

However, something would have been gained if we make use of this to prevent a similar thing repeating itself, and it is there that I must ask for the co-operation of all citizens, both agriculturists and non-agriculturists. We have in hand so many schemes of irrigation. We have a huge area of cultivable waste which is waiting for the hands that can plough. Even the areas under cultivation can with diligence and well-directed efforts be made to yield more. We have a big reclamation programme, which is being financed from the money that we have borrowed from abroad. In addition, we have programmes in India for subsidizing schemes of food production. If we can concentrate on all these, I have no doubt that, in spite of the economic situation of today, we can produce enough to feed ourselves and reduce the heavy drain of freight and profits which we obligingly remit to foreign growers and shippers. Just think of it. If we had at our disposal the amount which we have spent on food imports during the last three years, we would have completely rehabilitated those unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours who had had to leave their hearths and homes in Pakistan and who are still looking up to us for relief and succour. It bleeds my heart to see so many of my unfortunate countrymen living in conditions of filth and poverty. Let those, who pass by them, reflect for a moment how they themselves are contributing to their misery by failing in their duty to help themselves and help us in ensuring self-sufficiency in food.

India's True Culture

We always speak of India's culture, of India's civilization, but do we ever pause to think that the relief of the poor, mutual aid amongst neighbours, charity to the helpless and kindness to the down-trodden have been the shining virtues of that culture and civilization ? Let us ask ourselves if we are living in the spirit of those ancient virtues. If we are honest, we shall point the finger of scorn at all those of us who demand their pound of flesh for every seer of corn that they hand over to Government, or who store up their corn even though they see their next-door neighbour starving, or who do not apply themselves assiduously to produce more from every inch of their soil, or who not only

allow land to go waste but also allow foodgrains to deteriorate, or who do not utilize for the purpose of growing food every inch of space that is available to them and can usefully be turned to this purpose. Are we to take Gandhiji's name only when it suits our purpose? I should like to ask all those who swear by him as to how they reconcile their professions of faith in his mission with the everyday breach of the principles which he taught.

Appeal to Agriculturists

My appeal to the agriculturists, therefore, is to work and work hard with a will to get the best out of their exertions and deliver to Government the maximum they can spare on the principle of their minimum requirements. They should help Government to implement the many programmes of increasing food production so that we can restore the balance between supply and demand of foodgrains as quickly as possible. Whatever area can be brought under cultivation must be utilized to produce foodgrains.

To Industrialists and Labour

My next appeal is to the industrialists, businessmen, traders, and labour. I need not stress here the importance which increasing production has in our plans to deal with the present economic crisis. In many ways it is our one and only hope to correct the maladjustment between supply and demand and thereby reverse the rising spiral of prices. At the Conference of Industrialists and Businessmen and Labour Representatives which was convened in Delhi on the 12th and 13th of this month, the subject was discussed in a spirit of mutual understanding and sympathy, friendliness and goodwill. I regard this as a happy augury for the future of this country and will consider myself amply rewarded if all those participating in these discussions will carry to their respective sphere the same spirit of co-operation and mutual help and, realizing the tremendous stakes involved, implement the plans and understandings reached. Government, industry and labour must all play the game in a spirit of national service. We must all have the fullest sense of a national emergency; we must close our ranks as we do in the presence of a common danger; we must tighten our belts to give the nation the tribute we owe to it; we must all contribute our mite to the creation of that huge reservoir of funds both here and abroad which we need to back our national effort for a happier and better state of living. Who flourishes if the country sinks into economic slavery? Who sinks if the country prospers? Let that be our ruling sentiment; let that be our ruling thought. Let industrialists concentrate on getting the maximum out of their plants and machinery; let labour lend their helping hand to the industrialists to exploit their resources to the maximum national advantage. It will be Government's duty which they must discharge to ensure that the decks are cleared for action

and there are no impediments, no bottlenecks and no red-tape. The wheels must move with clocklike precision and perfect smoothness and there must be no mutual fault-finding. The tradesmen have also to do their part. It is their duty to ensure that the produced articles reach the consumer with the minimum of difficulty and at the minimum of extra cost. None wishes to deprive them of their due but it would be a national crime for any one to take more than one's due. On the other hand, even if one has to sacrifice something of his due for the sake of delivering the goods to the nation, that must be cheerfully faced. In such an inexorable and unrelenting struggle for existence, mercenary motives must not be allowed to rule to the exclusion of patriotic duty.

Possessors of Cash

Let me also make a special appeal to those who have money to spare. It is, I know, a large body of heterogeneous elements. We are not spendthrifts as a nation; saving is our national instinct, whether we are agriculturists, labourers, businessmen, lawyers, civil servants, or traders. They must all save every pie they can and place their savings at the disposal of Government for utilization in nation-building enterprises. We all had a plethora of development schemes in the hope of large balances being available for expenditure. Now when we took stock of our position, we found that if we were to live within our means, we had drastically to cut our development programme. It is obvious that we cannot keep this programme in suspense for very long without doing grave damage to our national economy. These programmes are our only hope if we have to feed not only the present, but the increasing population of our country. They afford the only chance of increased industrialization, without which it will not be possible for us either to maintain or to improve upon our present standard of living. We must, therefore, restore our economy to a position in which we can implement these programmes to the best of our capacity and in an efficient and businesslike manner. For all this, we must have capital, and that capital must come from our own country. We may be able to borrow from international markets here and there, but obviously we cannot base our everyday economy on foreign borrowing.

In my speech on Saturday I have already indicated why and how the investor should place confidence in us. I stated that a point had reached when nobody who can save or has saved can afford to withhold investing it in a profitable undertaking without incurring the odium of having failed the country in its hour of crisis. Indeed, it would be as wrong for any one not to invest savings as it would be in times of war for any one to shirk the obligations of compulsory national service.

Cuts in Salaries

This brings me to commend to you the scheme, which we have separately announced,

of voluntary cuts in higher salaries and compulsory savings for Government servants of different salary grades. Both Government and Government servants have in this matter given a lead to business and professions which the latter would do well to follow. I am separately making an appeal to Provincial Governments to evolve similar schemes for their own Government servants. We hope shortly to supplement our own scheme by a similar scheme for Government servants drawing Rs. 250 and below. When that scheme is announced, I am sure Provinces will follow suit. I would now appeal to business-houses, commercial establishments and men engaged in different professions and other institutions employing any substantial staff to adapt our scheme to the conditions of their own organization and to implement it cheerfully and in a spirit of self-sacrifice for the country's needs. All these contributions would, while assuring to the contributors some saving for future needs, assist Government considerably in strengthening its ways and means position and would enable it to finance the many schemes of development which on account of the necessity for imposing rigid economy have had to be suspended or drastically curtailed.

Motto for Every Citizen

"Spend Less, Save More, and Invest As Much As Possible" should henceforward be the motto of every citizen in the country and all of you must see that that motto becomes the guiding principle of your life. You can select for yourself any suitable means of investments which are open to you, but only make sure that all the money that you save is spent for a national cause.

A Word to Government Servants

I shall now say a word to those Government servants on whom has fallen and will continue to fall, the implementation of the many measures of control and of regimentation of everyday affairs of the citizen which we have to enforce. It is a great responsibility. The powers which they wield, if rightly used, can bring the nation heavy dividends, but if abused, can bring not only harm but disrepute. They have the reputations of many citizens in their hands. They will very often find that a kind word, a sympathetic gesture and an attitude of understanding coupled with honesty and integrity will enable them to do their work much quicker and much better than snobbery, a sense of superiority and those departures from rectitude of which we find so many reports. No one has done more to see that the services get their just rights and due meed of credit than myself. If, therefore, I make a call upon them to do their part of national duty, I do so in full realization of the fact that a large majority of them are actuated by patriotic motives and a spirit of service to the nation. They must, however, understand that the misdeeds of a few of them are as likely to injure the reputation of all as a dirty fish can proverbially spoil the whole tank. If the Legislature and Government place such

large powers in their hands, they also place on them the responsibility for using them properly. If they fail to discharge that responsibility, they not only render themselves unworthy of the service to which they belong but also show themselves undeserving of the trust and confidence which the Government, the Legislature and the nation have placed in them. Let them, therefore, so conduct themselves that every action of theirs brings in as much good to the nation as possible without injuring any one except the evil doer. If they can do so in this spirit, I am sure they will convert antipathy into sympathy, calumny into praise and sullenness into co-operation.

A Personal Note

Finally, let me end on a personal note. Jawaharlal and I have been overwhelmed by the general measure of confidence displayed in us. Having regard to the universality of that confidence, we naturally feel the terrible burden that we have to carry. That burden can be lightened only if we can achieve all-round co-operation and support. My appeal to you all is, therefore, to extend to us and to the Government that co-operation and support and to help us in rooting out everything that retards the progress of the nation towards a better and happier state of things.

A FRIEND OF THE FORSAKEN

Gandhiji wrote on the occasion of the seventieth birthday (29th November) of Thakkarbapa :

"Thakkarbapa is a rare worker. He is unassuming. He wants no praise. His work is his sole satisfaction and recreation. Old age has not slackened his zeal. He is himself an institution. I once suggested that he might take a little rest. Immediately came the answer, 'How can I rest when there is so much to do? My work must be my rest.' He puts to shame every young man around him in the energy he expends upon his life mission." (*Harijan*, 21-10-'39).

And again, mentioned among Bapa's many merits,

"he had given up his office of Road Engineer for the Bombay Municipal Corporation to become a Servant of India. He is a loan to the Harijan Sevak Sangh by the Society." (*Harijan*, 4-11-'39)

And Mahadev Desai writing about him said :

"A light unto himself he has kindled many a light of service and sacrifice." (*Harijan*, 11-11-'39)

Indeed, in this respect, he has been a veritable hunter of probable public servants. Shri Vaidyanatha Iyer wrote in 1939 :

"I tried to resign thrice from the presidentship of the Tamilnad Harijan Sevak Sangh owing to sheer despair at my inability to help the Harijans; but Thakkarbapa stood firm, and in April 1939 he pointed out that unless I found a person willing to take up the work I would not be doing my duty, and so I had to take it up again. But for his insistence it (temple entry) could not have been achieved. I had equally strong objection in 1935 when he asked me to take it up; but he came to me between 9 and 10 p.m. and persuaded me to take it up, though I found I was utterly unfit, being scarcely a half-time worker, more engrossed in the day-to-day business of earning money and wasting the same." (*Ibid*)

I can testify to this myself. But for him I am not sure that I would have thrown in my

lot with Gandhiji as a full-time worker and lifer.

In the same way Bapa yoked my niece to the work of organizing Kasturba centres in Nagpur and Berar. For this purpose, he woke me up one day from my sleep after 10 p.m., told me that the Trust wanted to make direct appointments of organizers for every province, and asked me to suggest a suitable lady-worker for Nagpur and Berar. Some names were discussed including that of my niece. She had her own limitations on account of which I felt rather hesitant about her. But ultimately both Bapa and Bapu thought of trying her first, and she was summoned and persuaded to accept the appointment. And she is still at the wheel.

Bapa is a hard and methodical task-master, also a meticulous observer of social etiquette. If he visits a place, he never leaves it before seeing every one whom he knows there. But he is no flatterer, and does not hesitate calling a spade a spade. He is sorely irritated, and severely takes to task his workers if he finds that they have needlessly spent trust moneys, even if it is a few annas. I remember how he once got angry with someone who pleaded on behalf of a centre-organizer for items of expenditure which Bapa had ruled as improperly spent and ordered to be refunded. Indeed, in this respect, he is even more severe than what even Gandhiji was. Though himself always very simple and frugal, it was not impossible for Gandhiji's companions whether at the *ashrama* or in tours to live comfortably. Indeed, his laxity and generosity have even spoiled some workers and made them unsuitable for leading a life befitting a real servant of *Daivdranarayan*. Thakkarbapa, however, insists upon simple and non-luxurious living both in himself and his assistants. Even at 80, he would not ask for any particular convenience of lodging, boarding or conveyance for himself, either by way of vow or for health. Nor does he allow fastidiousness in his assistants. And yet he is ideally concerned about the comforts of his assistants in minute details. He would take his food or go to bed only after satisfying himself that his assistants have been fed and found a proper place to spread their beds. If he thinks that a cup of tea or coffee or an extra blanket is quite necessary for his assistant, and is available without any inconvenience to his host, he would give a hint for the assistant, but none for himself. But in taking work from his assistants, and in requiring it to be done in the right manner, he is still his old self—a civil engineer carrying a foot-tape and a level-finder, and exacting full work from his labourers. To work under Thakkarbapa for a year is a very precious training and a rare privilege for any young man desirous of being an efficient social worker.

I hope that all will pray for him and assist and love the cause for which he stands.

Wardha, 18-11-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

BEWARE !

A young Gujarati, about 35 years of age, has been moving about in various parts of the country, visiting public institutions like those of the Kasturba Trust Centres, the Charkha Sangh, Homes and Asylums of Destitute Women and Orphans, etc. He poses as a businessman and somehow persuades managers and superintendents to believe that he is a genuine philanthropist, well-known to various leaders and officers. He thus succeeds in enjoying the hospitality of the institution and before leaving, even manages to get a loan of pretty large sums, which he promises to return immediately on reaching his next destination.

Some weeks ago he came to Wardha as a penitent. He posed as a confessor and related his past adventurous career and evinced a desire to take to honest life hereafter. He met the people at Sevagram, Shri Vinoba, myself and several others and thus is in a position now to add to his list of acquaintances. After a few days' residence at Sevagram, he left promising to return to his home in Gujarat, there to lead a new life as advised by Shri Vinoba. But this too has turned out to be a hoax and it is reported that he has been pursuing his old ways still, and has visited a number of Kasturba Centres in South India and Karnatak. He also appears to be particularly attentive to young girls.

He is a thin man of dark complexion. He gave out here that his original name was Naginlal Shukla of Rajpipla, Gujarat, but in Mahakosal and Allahabad passed under the name of Shantilal and according to his own story had up till then adopted as many as ten aliases, never taking the same name in any one province. Maybe, he has taken quite new names now. He has been reported to the local police. But as, so far as is known, he is not 'wanted' by the police, they can only watch him if traced. The public and public institutions in particular are cautioned against him and should report him to the police and the latter will also do well to be on a look-out for him and watch his movements. He has already defrauded several institutions and small businessmen by taking loans, which have never been returned.

Wardha, 15-11-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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