

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

OUR MOST PRECIOUS LEGACY

People complain that our Government is moving away from Gandhiji's ideals and is not taking sufficient interest in the programme of *khadi* and constructive work. Such criticism only betrays ignorance as to the meaning and significance of constructive work. *Khadi* and constructive work were conceived by Gandhiji essentially as a means for forging a non-violent sanction for the service and emancipation of the toiling masses. As such, their function is not to seek or depend upon the patronage of the Government but to bring strength to its elbow and to put a brake upon it, should it stray away from the principles of truth and justice or the ideal of the service of the masses. In the last analysis, the true guarantee of popular freedom would be found not in any character of civil liberties or fundamental rights or any other constitutional device — certainly not in the police and military protection, but in the power of non-violence, otherwise known as *satyagraha*, that the people might possess.

The weapon of *satyagraha* is the most precious legacy which Gandhiji has left us and we can forget or forsake it only at our peril. We must understand that constructive work is the means *par excellence* for the cultivation of non-violent mass discipline and organization, which is the basis and foundation of *satyagraha*. Have we taken up *khadi* and constructive work in this sense?

It is up to the constructive workers to show that constructive activity can be harnessed to provide an answer to the various problems that confront the country today as nothing else can. That needs diligent study, patient research and ceaseless thinking. Constructive work that lacks these qualities and is taken up merely as a time-filling activity or a sort of a ritual will have little value in terms of Gandhiji's ideal. It is for the constructive workers to take up the challenge. It will not help us to seek a false moral alibi for ourselves or work up a glow of vicarious virtue within ourselves by railing at the evil times or the government of the day. Take, for instance, shortages of cloth, food grains and other food stuffs. Can't a humble beginning be made by every one of us — especially those living in the villages, with night-soil disposal and compost making? Cannot every one of us relieve the strain on the supplies of imported

food to the extent even of a couple of pounds by substituting home-grown food stuffs for the bazaar purchases? "Miss a meal a week" drive embodies an admirable sentiment. But one must be forgiven if one feels sceptical about a programme which begins with and proceeds by words. Could not the drive be made more real by collecting the economized grain and publishing figures of the collection made in each locality every week or fortnight?

Then, there is the growing problems of corruption, malpractices in Government offices, ration shops, refugee relief camps and rehabilitation agencies. Traffic by gangs of professionals in sugar and even in queue space at newly opened Government shops has grown up in some cities. It could be checked within twentyfour hours if local people were alert and moved the authorities in an organized manner to take the necessary steps. But that calls for the quality of non-violence. Have we made a conscious effort to cultivate it in our own daily personal relations or in our dealings with other institutions, if we are conducting a constructive institution ourselves? It is no use complaining when it is open to us to make a beginning however small with ourselves straightaway. Each little act thus performed will show the way to the next.

Delhi, 2-10-'49

PYARELAL

Investment in Savings Certificates

In his Dasera day broadcast the Governor-General made an earnest appeal to the people to invest their savings in National Savings Certificates. It should be as earnestly responded to. Personally I do not like the institution of interest. But until our ideas take a revolutionary turn, that institution will stay. And if choice is to be made between investment for interest and hoarding, the former is certainly better than the latter. Hoarding is a dog-in-the-manger policy. Money is meant for facilitating exchange. As its name indicates, it is *currency*; that is to say, it must always be running like a current. If it does not, it creates inflation. Those who are unable to invest their savings in any *productive* occupation of their own cannot do better than invest them in National Savings Certificates. It will help to bring down prices, and also enable the Government to carry on the administration without printing more money and enhancing taxes. It is a way of reducing the volume of currency without loss to the investor.

Wardha, 5-10-'49

K. G. M.

GANDHIJI AND HARIJAN UPLIFT

The subject matter of today's talk is the success of Gandhiji's efforts towards Harijan uplift. To understand clearly the nature of this task, it will not be out of place to depict the real and true picture of the conditions of the Harijans in India before Gandhiji undertook this as one of his life's missions.

The population of the Harijans in India is 60 millions consisting of 429 various communities. This number exceeds the number of great many nations in Asia and in Europe. The Harijans as they are situated are scattered throughout India. Socially they are lepers, economically they are worse than slaves, religiously they are denied the houses of Gods. All public amenities of life are denied to them. Services of doctors and lawyers are not made available to them. In some places even their approach within the measured distance is a social crime.

The Harijans belong to the same culture of the Hindu community. They recognize the same sacred laws of the Hindus. They celebrate the same Hindu festivities; and yet a mere touch of these people is held to cause pollution. The orthodox Hindus treat this as a sin and so the Harijans are forced to live in a state of isolation from the rest of the community. From this curse of untouchability nobody is saved; nobody is cured. It is branded permanently on the forehead of a Harijan even from his birth. However clean he may be, however wise he may be, once a Harijan is always a Harijan. Even Death the Leveller, is not strong enough to remove this curse. The funeral rites of the Harijans have to be carried through the veil of untouchability. The miseries of these unfortunate human beings are further aggravated by the fact that the people other than the Hindus such as Parsis and Christians observe untouchability though their religion teach them contrariwise. This is the wretched and miserable lot of this sheet of humanity. It is really a wonder how they exist; only God above and Harijans below know it. This sort of hereditary untouchability of the followers of the same religion, of such a huge mass of population, observed for centuries together is unparalleled in the history of the world. This type of untouchability among the Hindus stands in a class by itself.

In the earlier times Buddha and Mahavir and later on the great saints like Dnyaneshwar and Tukaram raised their voices against this social injustice, but they were not heard. Brilliant men like Dr. Ambedkar tried in their own way to pierce through this knotty problem but their attempts also fell short. But I would unhesitatingly say, with my conscience clear, that it was Gandhiji and none else who with his persuasive speeches, powerful pen and untiring efforts succeeded in this task to a much greater extent of solving this age-old tyranny.

Gandhiji from his very childhood was conscious of this evil system of untouchability. For

the sympathy he had shown to the untouchables, particularly to the sweepers, he had to encounter opposition from the members of his family. Gandhiji himself was a Hindu — and a Sanatani Hindu too — and he was proud to be called so. The Hinduism of Gandhiji's conception, of the *Gita*, of the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagwata* and the *Mahabharata*, taught him that all life was one and that in the eyes of God there was no superior and no inferior, and that man was high or low not by birth or the work he was called upon to do but by his own actions.

The so-called orthodox section of the Hindu religion believes that the origin of untouchability is found in the Shastras. But Gandhiji was of the firm belief that untouchability as practised today in Hinduism had no warrant in the Hindu Shastras. There was no such thing as untouchability attaching to birth and incapable of being cured by any penance or purification. Pandits did believe in untouchability attaching to acts and occupations, but this was no peculiarity of Hinduism; it was common to all religions and was based upon sound hygienic principles. Gandhiji's conviction was that the interpretation and practice of the present untouchability was contrary to all canons of morality.

Gandhiji was also alive to the fact that this practice of untouchability was leading to the destruction of the Hindu religion. He visualized that Hinduism was nearer to the scene of tragedy and that the canker of untouchability was eating up the vitals of Hinduism. If Hinduism had to live, untouchability must die. Hinduism died, if untouchability lived. So Gandhiji advised the members of the Hindu religion that they must serve the Harijans to atone for the sins they had perpetrated through centuries in observing untouchability. This service to the Harijans should not be a matter of bestowing patronage on them; they should go to the Harijans not as teachers or donors but as debtors going to their creditors to discharge their obligations. In order that untouchability should be wiped out earlier, Gandhiji advocated that each Hindu family should allow a Harijan to live in the family as one of its members and should liberally provide funds for the amelioration of the Harijans.

The Harijans are Hindus and they are one and indivisible part of Hinduism. They are kith and kin. On this ground Gandhiji opposed the move of separate electorates to the Harijans; for it would throw an apple of discord between the untouchables and the orthodox, and this would lead to a miserable state of affairs for the Harijans in villages which are the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy. Gandhiji, therefore, staked his life against the Communal Award in 1932 when he was in Yeravda Jail and he came out successful through this ordeal.

The deliverance of 60 million human beings from the age-long tyranny will not be brought about by mere showy demonstrations. A solid

constructive programme on all fronts is needed. This requires concentrated energy of thousands of social workers actuated by the loftiest humanitarian principles. Immediately after the Poona Pact, an All-India Anti-Untouchability League with provincial units was formed in September 1932. Subsequently Gandhiji christened it as the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Since its conception, all the units of the Harijan Sevak Sangh are trying their utmost to remove every vestige of untouchability by persuasion among caste Hindus and educating and helping the Harijans. Gandhiji was the fountain-head of inspiration to these social workers with whom service to the Harijans is service to humanity. India is deeply indebted to them.

In 1934 Mahatmaji toured throughout India and preached his mission of the removal of untouchability. He delivered thousands of speeches, gave interviews and wrote articles. He went abegging from door to door for this cause and collected a sum of Rs. 8 lacs. Even the humblest citizens of India contributed to this fund and that counted with him the most. Since the word 'untouchable' evoked unpleasant associations of the past, Gandhiji substituted it by the sweet word 'Harijan'. To reform public opinion, Gandhiji started his own paper under the name *Harijan*. To act up to his own preachings Gandhiji himself many times did the work of the *bhangis* and lived in *bhangi* colonies.

If the darkness of ignorance in which the Harijans had been groping for centuries is once removed, they will have proper perspective of the environments surrounding them. They will be conscious of their rights as human beings and will fight for them. They will be alive to the need of becoming free citizens by breaking through the bondage of Hindu orthodoxy. With this aim Gandhiji encouraged the opening of *ashrams*, hostels and schools for the Harijans and thus he kept the flame of knowledge constantly burning in the hearts of the Harijans.

Gandhiji convinced his co-workers that special facilities should be provided to the Harijans to bring them to the level of the rest and that all the doors of administration should be thrown open to them. It is due to Gandhiji that we see now in all parts of India the responsibility of administration being shouldered by Harijans equally with others. It was the declared policy of the Congress that the observance of untouchability would be treated as a crime in Swaraj and this has now been adopted in the Constitution of India. It was at the inspiration from Gandhiji that all the provinces have now enacted Removal of Social Disabilities and Temple Entry Acts and have provided more and more funds for the various ameliorative measures for the Harijans.

The success of Gandhiji's efforts towards Harijan uplift can be measured by applying the test which Gandhiji himself had laid down.

"The untouchables should be made to feel that their shackles have been broken, that they are in no way inferior to their fellow citizens, that they are worshippers of the same God as other Hindu citizens and are entitled to the same rights and privileges as the latter are enjoying."

On applying this test we find now that education among the Harijans is fast spreading, political consciousness is widely awakening and they are increasingly sharing the administration of this country. All public amenities have now been made available to them and all temples are thrown open to them.

The path which leads to the abolition of untouchability is sufficiently lighted by Gandhiji and if we follow the same path, surely within a short span of time, untouchability will become a thing of the past. It is because of Gandhiji that we are in a position to solve this age-long tyranny. In the eyes of the Harijans, Gandhiji was all in all.

Mahatmaji often said that untouchability and himself were the two competitors in the field. It was the condition of his existence — he lives and untouchability goes, or untouchability lives and he goes. Gandhiji has gone but untouchability is no longer going to live. And the prophesy of Gandhiji that "it will be only out of the ashes of untouchability that Hinduism can revive and thus purified will become the vital and the vitalizing force in the world" will, I am sure, turn out true.

G. D. TAPASE

(Broadcast talk on 9-9-'49)

Support for Animal Transport

Your article on "Animal Transport" remind me of a discussion with a prominent political worker and a deep student of public affairs of Bombay during our incarceration in 1942. He said :

"Having regard to the conditions of our country, we must maintain our system of bullock transport in good order. It must be organized according to modern methods and assigned its own field for work. For instance, all transport of goods upto 20 miles must be made by bullock-carts. The type of cart, oxen, the load to be carried, the timely departure and arrival of carts and the rates should be regulated and their places for rest and change of bullocks fixed. This would be profitable to the country in more ways than one."

"I realized the truth of this at once, for, as aptly put by Shri Vinoba, India's civilization is cow-centred. Our agriculture depends upon bullocks, both for their physical labour and supply of manure; the cart provides our cultivators with a subsidiary occupation during the dry periods. And we need the cow also both for the bullocks and the milk, and the manure common to both. Thus both the sexes of this species are our multi-purpose assets.

10-9-'49

B. V. SHIKHARE

(Translated from Marathi)

HARIJAN

October 16

1949

THE MORAL OF DEVALUATION

The devaluation of the rupee brings to light very clearly the fictitious nature of the thing we call money. It is a certificate of wealth with no definite meaning, its issue being controlled by a small group which is virtually the master of the destinies of all those nations which believe in industrialization, foreign trade, high living and peace through armaments. It shows how thin the Independence we have achieved is. The U.S.A. and Great Britain came to some arrangement about their monetary difficulties and decided that the piece of British paper, which was passed on as equivalent to more than four dollars till yesterday night, was to be valued from this morning at less than three dollars and all other countries must adjust themselves accordingly. The common man does not understand why this decision taken by England with the U.S.A. should make Indian cotton, which was regarded worth Rs. 100 till yesterday, should be worth only about Rs. 70 today and that a small machine, which he expected to purchase at Rs. 100 till yesterday, cannot be had today for less than Rs. 143. Nothing that he knows has happened to the stock of cotton or the machine to explain this sudden revolution in prices in two opposite directions.

But that is what has happened and might happen again and again as long as we have to trade through such false measure of value as money. If we cannot produce our own necessities and cannot remain satisfied with what slow and steady progress we can make with the help of our own resources, but must arm ourselves with modern means of warfare and wanton exploitation of nature with the help of a foreign country, a day might come when we might have to surrender not only our liberty but everything that we possess to obtain a little food and cloth, and may have to decide upon a planned scheme of, not health and education of the masses, but systematic destruction of our race. Capital and machine industries have no need for large populations and still less of cattle—even as slaves. For a machine is a more efficient and cheaper slave than man or animal. The unneeded extras must therefore quit the globe.

This is what the money civilization is leading the world to. Indeed some experts—and we are governed by all sorts of experts these days—have confessed that this is the inevitable destiny of over-populated nations like India, China and even Russia. William Vogt, a keen scientist and a powerful writer of the U.S.A., in his now well-known book, *Road to Survival*, writes about India :

"A heavily industrialized India, backed up by such population pressure, would be a danger to the entire world. Disorders following the British withdrawal seem to be imposing once more the Malthusian checks that held the pre-British population within reasonable bounds. It appears probable that the turmoil will also stultify any considerable industrial development. *This is a result piously to be desired—until the United Nations has perfected machinery to prevent war, or until the Indian population is brought within reasonable bounds.*" (Italics mine)

Even Russia he regards as over-populated and incapable of maintaining the "American standard of living" unless it adopts "a more realistic population policy".

It may not be wrong to read a little deep into this major event of devaluation. We spent during the last few years crores of rupees for purchasing grains at exorbitant prices. Experts doubt our capacity to become self-sufficient. Our population is reported to be always increasing in spite of famines, mass killings of an unprecedented nature, diseases, infant mortality, low longevity and abject poverty. The West is afraid that unless we severely reduce our population, a time might come when it may be impossible for it to prevent our people from migrating to their countries in large numbers. This would lead to deterioration of their standard of living. So every means must be adopted to bring a pressure upon us to undertake measures to reduce our numbers. The South African policy is one way; this monetary pressure is another way of doing so.

This perhaps shows also the real issue between Russia and the West. Russia has admittedly a much simpler way of life and that is a challenge to the West, where, as in India, both lavish living and indigence are allowed to reside together. Unlike India, the U.S.S.R. refuses to fall in line with the West and, therefore, is regarded as a 'menace' to 'civilization'.

While the sudden and almost compulsory nature of this devaluatory step might leave a bad taste in the mouth, it must be realized that this was inevitable some day. Partly owing to inflation of the currency and partly on account of depleted stocks of goods, our rupee, as we know in our every day experience, is less than one-third of its former worth in our own markets. Therefore in a country where there is less inflation and sufficient goods, it cannot continue to enjoy its former value. The devaluation therefore, simply reveals to us our true situation. *The way to restore the rupee to its former value is to reduce the volume of the currency, enhance right type of production and cut down expenditure.*

The clear moral to my mind is that we must revise our notions about the standard of living and industrialization and plan humbly and simply in a way which will suit our own resources. It is often urged that India cannot live in isolation; that the whole world is one. Quite so. But even then it cannot make itself run with the U.S.A. and other thinly populated and large-

area countries, even as a bullock-cart cannot be made to run with an electric train, and must decide to go independently — even though by a rugged and humbler track. We must free ourselves of our suicidal trades and industries and subservience to foreign countries and capital.

Wardha, 30-9-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

BUTTER, VANASPATI AND CONTROLS

Yesterday a deputation of the ghee-merchants and butter-producers of Wardha and the surrounding districts met Shri Vinoba, Shri Jaju and a few members of the Go-Seva Sangh to relate how *vanaspati* in combination with controls had affected the butter and ghee trade. They represented that on account of the ban of the provincial Government on the export of ghee to other provinces, they had to depend only upon the local markets for the sale of their product. For various reasons this province has always produced more ghee than it could locally consume. To add to this, owing to *vanaspati*, the popular opinion was that no pure ghee could ever be had in the market, and so it was best to take to the *vanaspati* habit. This habit has already become so strong that people have actually lost memory of the odour and taste of pure ghee, and think that when a substance called ghee smells and has a taste, it must be an adulterated substance. Now pure ghee has a pleasant odour and taste when fresh. But unfortunately nature has so ordained that edibles in their natural and vital form do not keep fresh for a long time, and tend to deteriorate in taste and odour sooner or later. This is not so with artificially devitalized substances like hydrogenated oils, white sugar, etc. Consequently, if the manufacture of butter and ghee is to be encouraged, it is essential that they should find consumers as quickly as manufactured.

The local consumption of butter and ghee having become less than their production, its export to the neighbouring provinces would have helped its disposal. But this having been banned, it is estimated that about five thousand tins of ghee have accumulated in C. P. and Berar. They have become stale and rancid and merchants apprehend that they will be obliged to sell them to manufacturers of soap!

This has happened in spite of reduction of prices of both ghee and butter. The price of butter came down to Rs. 3 per seer, i.e. below its cost price, but even at that price the ghee manufacturers would not purchase it, and sellers had to take it back home. The only remedy is to stop *vanaspati* or to allow ghee export. Ultimately the ghee traders are but cousins of *vanaspati* manufacturers. If the former trade does not pay, they will sooner or later change over to the latter. The ultimate sufferers will be the cattle-breeder and the cattle. They both must sink towards ultimate extinction. This is the combined effect of controls and *vanaspati*.

Let us consider the contradictions created by hydrogenated oils. The aim of cattle-farms

is to seek methods of increasing the fat content of milk. But if ghee ceases to be an article of food for the ordinary people, there can be no point in enriching milk with butter and, perhaps, experts might have to be asked to produce fatless milk!

Another curious self-contradiction is that it is those who are most interested in *vanaspati* that are also most enthusiastic for *go-raksha*, banning cattle slaughter, and maintenance of *go-sadans* for unwanted cattle!

That cattle must be saved from slaughter, I agree. But it must be realized that to make it possible, *vanaspati* manufacture must be banned and the maintenance of *go-sadans* in an efficient manner should be the obligation of the moneyed classes.

Wardha, 7-10-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

PRAYER AS A NECESSITY

[Is prayer necessary for all? Here the word 'necessary' can have two meanings: one is an obligation for every one in an institution to take part in its congregational prayer, and the other, prayer — worship of God — considered as a necessity for every one. In the first sense, prayer, it is conceded, can be left to the individual's option. The following excerpts of Shri Vinoba's post-prayer speech at the Mahilashram, Wardha, on 22-7-'49 give his views on prayer in the second sense, i.e. as an indispensable necessity for man. — Ed.]

In the matter of food there is no obligation that every one should eat; in fact, it can be forgone if there is no hunger. Still generally we feel hungry and so eat every day. When ill, it is always better to abstain from food and we do abstain from it, though such occasions are rare. So in the matter of food, one can understand that at times it is better not to eat than to eat; but that cannot be the case with prayer. This is altogether different from forgoing a particular time of your prayer in particular circumstances. For instance, in case a house catches fire at that moment, you can leave your prayer and engage yourself in putting out the fire in the same prayerful mood. Even then you will seek another time to say your prayers; for instance, since the time for sleep is at your disposal, you may not sleep before your prayer.

Prayer is not a mechanical activity. Even its comparison with hunger is not quite apt; it is superior to the feeling of hunger. We compare it to hunger because we have no better analogy to describe its usefulness. All the great seers of the world bear witness to its value. In spite of the fact that the various religions, all built up with the services and sacrifices of many great men, have some major or minor differences in their doctrines and observances, there is no difference of opinion in any religion on this matter that prayer, performed either collectively or individually, by repetition of His names or in some other way, is indispensable both for the individual as well as society, for his or its life, moral uplift, purification of mind, search of truth and maintenance of mental equilibrium in the sorrows and attachments of life.

Prayer is the last act of our daily routine. During working hours we do many acts of commission and omission. At the end of the day, we stand before Him and say: Merciful and Omniscient Lord! Thou knowest everything, even without our expressing them in so many words. But we feel a consolation in speaking about Thee in our own language. So we pray, let us not take credit and feel proud of whatever good acts we have performed. Save us from pride and give us the wisdom to do acts without egotism. We might also have committed wrongs—some knowingly and others unknowingly. Forgive us for all those failings. By forgiveness we do not mean that we should escape from the punishments for such acts. Do punish us, for Thy punishment itself is forgiveness. But have favour on us and guard us against committing such sins.

If we open our hearts before Him in this way, we would experience as if a wondrous beam of light entered in our hearts and illuminated and strengthened our being. There is no source of energy in the world which, if we draw from it, does not decrease, except the one emanating from God, Who is within us. He is deeper than we can reach. Tamil has an excellent word for this, namely, *Kadavul*, which means 'One that exists deep beyond our reach'; the word *paramatma* also has the same meaning. And yet there is a way to reach Him. Our small intellects cannot reach Him through their reasoning. But every one can perceive and receive His love. A child does not know its mother's strength or knowledge, but it recognizes her love, which requires no training. Even an animal recognizes affection. Where there is love there is God. Love is the highest insignia of God. In that way, God is attainable though not through the act of the intellect. We do not aspire for His knowledge; we aspire for His love and mercy.

When we, old and young, mix together in this manner, we learn the lesson of humbleness; all our differences disappear. We must give up here the vain distinctions of high and low. The respectful relation between *guru* (master) and disciple—the regard and sense of the latter that the former (*guru*) is his guide and leader and himself an humble pupil, though quite proper in the class room, has to be forgotten in the presence of God, where all people, high and low, bow before Him with the same humility.

Externally also, if we conduct our prayer in a proper manner, its sweetness will be further enhanced. There is no limit to mental purity. It is not like a cloth which has a limit set upon its purity and if it is cleaned beyond that limit, it only wears. But mental purity can be developed to any extent and prayer is very useful in this.

We should attend the prayer with a pure, open and free heart. Let us not worry who attends the prayer and who does not. If we can only feel that God is present in our prayer, everything else will go well.

(Translated from Hindustani)

MARCH ON STEADILY

The Constituent Assembly has decided that the State language shall be Hindi in the Devnagari script, but that its full implementation will not take place for at least fifteen years. During this period, the administration will be carried on in English as at present. The papers report that the decision was received by the House with great applause and satisfaction. The members felt joy and relief at the unanimously agreed conclusion of a controversy which had become a serious bone of contention among them.

I must confess, however, that the decision has not gladdened me, rather it has depressed me. It is not due to the fact that the Assembly did not decide upon Hindustani as the State language, but because even in *Swaraj* we shall not carry on our administration in an Indian language, but will be compelled to use a foreign language for at least fifteen years, and, may be, even longer. Again and again I ask myself the question, "Did the members truly represent the aspirations of the people in coming to this decision?" And the only answer I get is, "No, they did not—they did not."

The issue before the Assembly was not whether the scholars of North India or South India shall govern the country, but whether the people will be governed as quickly as possible in a language of the people or in English? This main issue, I regret to observe, was side-tracked.

I have been receiving letters from my colleagues with regard to their policy hereafter. The authoritative decision can be made only by the Hindustani Prachar Board, which is convened towards the end of this month. Before giving my personal opinion, it would be best for me to reproduce here two letters, which Gandhiji wrote to Shrimati Perinbehn Captain (Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Bombay):

"Heaven knows what is in store for us.

The old order changeth giving place to new. Nothing is settled. Whatever is decided by the C.A., Hindustani with the two scripts remains for you and me." (22-7-'47)

"Your letter. You will see what I spoke yesterday on Hindustani. You and I must work hard, even unto death for the purpose. Let us not lose heart." (25-7-'47)

Thus Gandhiji gave two years ago his lead to the lovers and workers of Hindustani. Personally, I cannot think of any course outside the clearest lead of Gandhiji. This means that we "must work hard, even unto death for the purpose. Let us not lose heart." Hence my personal appeal will be that we must continue to march on steadily in the propaganda of Hindustani. I strongly believe that whenever Hindi comes to be used as the State language, it will be in its Hindustani form only. And I have also no doubt that if we wish to establish a secular democratic government in our country and not that of a particular section or group of sections,

and to evolve an Indian culture, composed of the customs, traditions, literature, religions, etc. of all the sections of our large country, the knowledge of Hindustani in both the scripts will prove itself extremely valuable. A communal and sectarian attitude is suicidal for a great country or nation.

We had struggled to bring *Swaraj*—*Ramaraj*—in our country. We have won freedom from foreign rule, but we have not yet established *Swaraj*—our own rule. We have made the British quit, but the English language remains dominant. Our struggle is, therefore, not over. It has to be carried on diligently until we have established *Sarvodaya*—the well-being of all.

It is said that Indian languages are not yet well enough developed for administrative purposes. We are unable to swallow this opinion of our learned representatives of the Constituent Assembly. The entire administration in the Baroda State was carried on in Gujarati till the other day. The far-seeing Sayajirao Gaikwar commenced it years ago. But since its merger in Bombay, the administration has begun to be carried on in English! The village officer could understand the orders of the Gaikwar; he cannot understand those of the Bombay Government, because the poor fellow does not know English. This is his first experience of *Swaraj*!

And twenty-nine years ago, Gandhiji formed the Gujarat Vidyapith and brought about a successful revolution in imparting highest education through Gujarati. How can we—at least the people of Gujarat—forget these two great facts? There is no reason why what was possible in Gujarat cannot be done through other Indian languages. Indeed, Gandhiji warned the country as far back as the 21st September, 1947 that if English was not quickly displaced, it would tend to become permanent. But our own leaders have lost self-confidence in the capacity of Indian languages for government! They feel puzzled how they would be able to administer the country, if they were not allowed to use English! They forget that ultimately every law and order has to reach the people in an Indian language. Why should it be not possible to issue it directly in that very language?

However, that is the position. In order to remove this diffidence, it is necessary for us to develop and propagate Hindustani so fully and widely that none should feel that Hindustani is not rich enough to enable him to express any idea exactly and fully.

And so I say with all the earnestness and emphasis in my power that English should be discontinued in our internal affairs, and the sooner it is done the better. Consequently my appeal to my colleagues can only be: "March on steadily with Hindustani in both the scripts."

Wardha, AMRITLAL T. NANAVATI
Dasera, 1-10-'49

(Translated from the original in Hindustani)

SWARAJ AND SWADESHI

It appears that a business firm of Bombay is organizing a so-called "Indian Industrial Exhibition" in Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and other cities of India during this and the next season. It is proposed to hold it for a month or so in each of these cities by turns. All the three words of the designation are loosely used, for it is not to be entirely Indian, nor entirely Industrial, nor only an Exhibition, but just a huge fair or *mela*, organized in the modern expensive style with considerable fuss and propaganda.

That business organizers should adopt various methods of attracting crowds of purchasers is hardly surprising, even if undesirable. But this firm goes a step further by disseminating wrong and harmful ideas among simple people. A paragraph in their prospectus runs thus:

"At the Indian Industrial Exhibition there will be no restriction on the display and/or sale of foreign goods or machine-made articles. *We are now free and are the largest buyers on the foreign market* in these circumstances it is now not necessary to restrict display to Indian goods only."

The words italicized by me must be regarded reprehensible even in a business advertisement. They mean that this Exhibition is by way of protest against Congress Exhibitions. They also mean that *Swadeshi* is necessary only so long as there is no *Swaraj*. Why are we the largest buyers on the foreign market, if that statement is true? Is it good for our country to be so? Let the people be not misled by such propaganda. It was the absence of the *Swadeshi* sentiment which ruined our country economically and subjected us to British domination politically. It took more than a generation to create that sentiment among the people to a moderate extent. And now within two years of the end of apparent foreign rule, these profit-seekers have recommenced preaching the doctrine of anti-*Swadeshi*.

It will be pertinent to relate here an incident heard from Gandhiji more than once. It is said that the late King George V happened once to visit an Exhibition in England. He saw American typewriters in use in the office of the Exhibition. This gave His Majesty a great shock and he so severely chastised the heads for this disregard of *Swadeshi*, that the office had quickly to replace American machines with British ones. England, a country enjoying freedom since centuries, cannot afford to neglect *Swadeshi*, and we are advised by this organizer that there is no necessity for India to restrict herself to her own manufactures, now that she is free! As if it was the British Government which was preventing us from purchasing foreign things!

I hope no Government minister or Congressman is encouraging this function.

Wardha, 1-10-'49

K. G. MASHRUWALA

NAI TALIM FOR REFUGEES — FARIDABAD CONFERENCE

A conference of constructive workers and the refugees at Faridabad Camp to consider the proposals of *Nai Talim* for displaced children in Faridabad and Rajpura Relief Camps was held on the 17th September, 1949 at the Faridabad Relief Camp. It was attended, among others, by office-bearers of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, officials of Education and Rehabilitation Ministries, and prominent constructive and social workers.

A Reception Committee for this conference had been formed from the members of the Camp representing the seven districts in the North West Frontier Province. The proceedings began with prayers in Hindustani and Pushtu by the children of the Camp and representatives of the Reception Committee, followed by a speech of welcome by the Secretary of the Reception Committee.

Opening the Conference, Dr. Zakirhus-sain reviewed the circumstances under which the work of education among displaced children was entrusted to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. He referred to the work already commenced in the Faridabad Camp and said that *Nai Talim* was a new method of education through activity, which aimed at making the boys and girls equal to, if not higher than, those who had the best education under the other systems. Education was as much the responsibility of the parents of the children as that of the teachers, but the refugees being placed in difficult circumstances, it became the responsibility of the State and society to educate their children. The country must give the best education to these children and he expressed the hope that the best educationists and constructive workers would devote themselves to this task.

The objective of the work of *Nai Talim* in the Refugee Camps, he said, was to solve the problems of both material and mental rehabilitation. The problem before them, he continued, was not merely the provision for physical necessities but the far greater problem of mental rehabilitation, which could only be done through love.

This educational work, Dr. Zakirhussain said, could only be successful with the co-operation of the Government, the non-official agencies of constructive work and, above all, the parents.

He then read a message from the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India, which ran as follows:

"I am very glad to learn that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh have undertaken the responsibility of providing Basic Education to children of displaced persons. Though some of the Provinces have shaped their educational programmes on the advice of the Talimi Sangh, till now you have not directly under-

taken the education of large numbers. Your new venture is, therefore, full of interest and promise to our future educational programmes.

"Education through 'activity' is a recognized principle throughout the world today. Gandhiji went a step further and said that the 'activity' must be socially significant. This is the essence of craft and that is why Basic Education is so intimately related to one of the primary crafts.

"I need hardly assure you that your work at Faridabad will have my fullest sympathy and support. The Government of India are particularly interested in this development, especially in view of the Government's accepted policy of gradually changing the predominantly academic character of much of our instruction in schools. Education is, however, a matter in which there can never be a final word and sympathy and imagination are essential for the success of any scheme. I hope that the results of your work at Faridabad will furnish us with valuable experience that will enable us to re-shape our educational structure so as to make it creative and significant."

Shrimati Ashadevi, next addressing the conference, said that the task entrusted to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was very great and the capacity of the Sangh was limited. Yet they were taking up the work in all humility, because the education of the displaced children was the most urgent educational problem before the nation today. The response to the work already started, she said, inspired her with hope and she appealed for the co-operation of the parents of the children in this difficult task.

Others who addressed the conference were Prof. Humayun Kabir, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and Shri Ramsharan Upadhyaya, all of whom assured the organizers of their fullest sympathy and co-operation on behalf of themselves and also on behalf of the departments they represented.

The conference was then opened for discussion, in which the members of the Camp participated.

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM,
Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh

Sevagram

(Abridged)

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