

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue of the *Harijan* papers will be published on Friday, the 26th January, instead of the 27th. It will be mainly devoted to articles on Independence, Gandhiji and Sardar Patel. It will also be a double number, that is, comprise issues 48 and 49, and consist of 24 pages. This double number will be priced two annas only.

Readers and agents will please note that there will be no issue on 3rd February.

JIVANJI DESAI

SCIENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

[Important extracts from the main speech made at the close of the function by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Indian Science Congress, Bangalore, on 2nd January, 1951.]

Want of Humanitarian Consideration

I have the greatest admiration for pure research which is essential and out of which may come out many practical applications ultimately.

Inevitably, a person like me who is concerned with day-to-day problems of great importance has always to think a little less of pure research and more of the application of research to the problems of human society. More particularly today, it is in the present context of things that I used (want?) to think exactly where we are leading to in the world and what science has to offer in regard to it. Science certainly has done much to make conditions more difficult, that is to say, make the possibility of war far more terrible than at any time previously. Now the scientist as a scientist I suppose is not entirely a human being. That is to say he pursues truth regardless of where he might reach, regardless of even humanitarian considerations. And that is right because it is no good trying to become sentimental at the cost of truth. But the fact remains that if human society is to survive we have to look at it as a human society and not as an abstraction.

Paradox of Universal Outlook and Narrow Heart

It is a strange thing. Here we meet eminent scientists coming from different parts of the world and for the moment you forget your national boundaries and you confer together as colleagues and co-workers in the cause of truth

in the course of human progress and you achieve certain results and yet, somehow or other, national barriers come in, national hatreds and animosities and ambitions, and then they not only come in the way of your work but destroy much that you do.

Now how are we to meet the situation? I am a politician and have to deal with these problems from day to day. I have to deal with human beings in their mass as well as individual human passions, and it amazes me how utterly irrational human beings are both as individuals and in the mass! We call ourselves scientists or living in a scientific age. All the world today shows what science can do. Nevertheless, it is astonishing how far from what might be called scientific temper or scientific outlook we are all of us, wherever we might be, although we might profit by the latest advances of science.

Now that means that there is a kind of a race between the good effects of science, which are obvious and the evil effects of scientific development — not of science but of its application. One does not quite know which will win in the end. It is also becoming to have no purpose in life.....

Political Exploitation of Scientists a Primary Problem

How are you then going to deal with the situation? You do serve your various States in various capacities, and sometimes your abilities are taken advantage of by the State for purposes which probably you do not approve of or admire. In other words, you are exploited for wrong ends by the State and yet it is very difficult for you, of course, to do much about it because the machine of the State becomes bigger and bigger. You may call it democracy or you may call it by some other name, but it is a huge machine with slow momentum which carries everybody with it. Now I am not offering any kind of solution to you of this problem, but I do feel that every thinking human being and more specially every scientist should consider this as a primary problem.

It is this, the present-day temper all over the world, which is, I regret to say, encouraged

both by politicians and by the Press in many countries. It is a deliberate temper not to win over people but to add to hostilities. Obviously that is not the way to solve a problem.

Solution by Force

It is the way of solution by force. Force, I do not rule out. . . . It is not from the point of view of pacifism that I am talking, but rather from the point of view of trying to understand present-day problems.

I am utterly convinced that there is no solution by mere war. Now, being convinced of that, one should try to find some way other than that, because that is no way.

I am compelled in self-defence to use my armies, of course. I use every method I can. That is a different matter, because submission or surrender to what is definitely evil is always bad.

Gandhian Approach

Now in this connection I may remind you of the basic things that Mahatma Gandhi stood for. The basic things that Mahatma Gandhi stood for was that one must not submit to evil. One must resist it. One should resist it despite any consequence. At the same time, one must resist it in a particular way. One must try to win over his opponent; fight him also in a particular way. Now, it was difficult to combine these two processes because when one was once in a mood to combat, that mood led to greater hostility of mind. That resulted in going farther and farther away from the solution of the problem except by absolute subjection of the other party. That might be a possible solution, although the past two generations had shown that there was no solution except in a very small way when a very big party was dealing with a small party. Even then it was doubtful whether it would solve the problem. But when the parties were evenly matched then it was no solution. It was only very large-scale destruction and wrong for all concerned.

"Open Diplomacy!"

What surprises me is the manner in which statesmen of high degree talk to each other. It is said that we have come to the days of open diplomacy. But one is inclined to think that anything is better than the open diplomacy of today which consists often enough in open abuse of each other. So I am led to think that apart from our objectives — and we all talk of noble objectives of peace — it is at least as important for all of us in our individual lives, as in the larger national or international life, to pay attention to the manner of doing things as much as to the thing we aim at. To put it in a different way — I come back to Mahatma Gandhi again — the means are always as important as the ends. That was the basic lesson of his life.

Hypocrisy about Peace

How can you get peace if you are aiming at war, talking of war and thinking of war and exploiting the word *peace* for that purpose? We have peace conferences where the most violent discussions are made. I cannot understand how you can reach peace if you travel that way.

Lesson for Scientists

So it comes to this. . . . It becomes important that we should understand a little more the mind of the human being, of the individual and the mass, and try in some slight degree to control the minds of the politicians and statesmen, because it may happen that all our work and all you may do may suffer irretrievable damage because of things going wrong.

I do not know whether the development of social sciences and the like is going to help. No doubt they ought to help. But I myself know examples of eminent botanists knowing all about flowers except having an appreciation of them. So scientists and social scientists know all about human beings and treat them as very interesting subjects for study, but are not personally moved by the human aspect of the problem. I do not know if scientists are in a position really to help in dealing with social sciences directing them in a particular way.

Highly educated people somehow miss something that might be called the concept of good life, the concept of an integrated poised life. They are very clever; they can do many extraordinary things; but they do not know how to lead their life in a poised and integrated way. That applies to the individual as to the group and nation. Now, how are we to find that poise and integration in life in a nation and as between nations? Because, if we do not, we do not remain where we are.

Necessity for Human Approach in Science

The choice becomes one of really recovering some balance in national and international relations, or cracking up completely.

. . . . A measure of human approach to human problems is not only desirable but essential today for scientists as for others. What others do has some importance in the mass, but what the scientist does has importance individually and in small groups. Because they do count in the modern world and they can make a difference. They can give a turn or twist to happenings.

We utter pious platitudes — we politicians in our public addresses and elsewhere — and we get headlines in the Press, but it has very little meaning. The real problems remain and are neither solved by a slogan nor by a platitude and the real problems demand, if not instant solution, at least instant attention in the right way and, therefore, I have ventured to place some ideas before you.

APPROACH TO THE ABORIGINAL II

(contd.)

5. Treatment of Disease

Aboriginals as a rule shun modern medicine. Every man and woman among the South Indian aboriginals has a thorough knowledge of the use of a limited number of herbal decoctions which they administer to themselves in treating all minor ailments.

In tackling serious ones, they find no better efficacy in any system of medicine and entrust themselves entirely to the Will of God. They sometimes spend days and nights in prayers and penance, their eyes glued to the burning embers of a low fire of dry twigs which is kept alive until the prayers are heard either in the shape of a Divine promise conveyed to them over the wings of a dream or by actual symptoms of improvement in the condition of the patient. It cannot be denied that their faith is often strengthened by the miraculous cures effected by this traditional method of treatment. This observation of mine should not be mistaken as an argument against all medical treatment. The numerous delivery deaths, the increasing child mortality, the spread of yaws, malaria, and several other diseases which are on the increase in tribal areas owing to total absence of hospitals, child-welfare centres, and the inadequacy of anti-malarial operations taken so far by the State Governments must convince that the aboriginals have been neglected in the matter of even medical relief. There can be no difference of opinion however in stating that preventive measures are more essential and urgent than actual treatment in regard to the aboriginal tribes. While conceding that too much drugging is always bad whether it be to the hill-man or plains-man, it cannot be asserted that nature alone will cure all maladies.

6. First results of awakening

No doubt there are no communal problems worrying the aboriginals. That education will introduce such evils is a needless fear that may not be countenanced. It is no doubt true that political awakening may disrupt their society into groups and factions but that cannot be helped so long as democracy and elections exist. The *panchayat* system persisting among aboriginals, particularly those of Assam, is still a live factor in directing their social life.

It is wrong to think that education will turn the aboriginals into exploiters. The right type of education is, on the other hand, bound to help them against exploitation. It is a well-known fact how the hillmen are today being cheated by greedy *sahukars* and cunning businessmen at the usual weekly fares called *shandies* where the aboriginal sells his meagre gatherings of forest produce and purchases clothing, utensils and other necessities of life at considerable disadvantage to himself.

7. Exploitation

Exploitation by plains-men is sucking the blood of the unsophisticated and ignorant aboriginal. We found the other day, touring in the Andhra Agency, that some Gujarati and Marwadi merchants were purchasing a forest material from the Koyas at Rs 25 and exporting it to Bombay at Rs 125 per maund. Similar exploitation was noticeable in Gujarat though luckily the network of forest co-operative societies started by the Bhil Seva Mandal of Dohad has reduced this menace to the minimum by now.

8. A few misunderstandings

It may not be correct to say that several institutions serving the aboriginal tribes use major portions of their collections on medicines, *hakims* and compounders. To quote a few well-known affiliated tribal organizations of the Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, the Andhra Provincial Sangh has not provided even a pie for this kind of activity and its budgeted amount has been mostly devoted for providing free boarding and lodgings for tribal children. The Bhil Seva Mandal of Dohad has got to its credit a network of forest and other co-operative organi-

zations catering to the needs of Bhils in Gujarat and liberating them from the grip of moneylenders.

The Adimjati Seva Mandal of Ranchi is concentrating on hostels, schools and co-operative grain banks. The social service department of the Government of Hyderabad State has distributed nearly 2 *lakhs* of acres of land for cultivation and has distributed several lakhs worth of plough bulls to the Gonds of Adilabad District, Koyas and Konda Reddies of Warrangal District and the Chenchus of the Mahabubnagar District. It has also opened several co-operative societies and hundreds of elementary schools for the tribals. The Government of Madhya Pradesh (Central Provinces) has started a separate department for tribal welfare under the guidance of an able Honorary Director and has been devoting most of its funds for promoting tribal education. The organization in Assam has no doubt taken up the much-needed anti-leprosy work among the tribal population near Sarihajan and other medical relief work in Barama but the funds spent on medical relief are very small compared with the amounts spent on education.

V. RAGHAVIAH

Gandhiji's Photographs

The following information is published for the general information of organizers of Gandhi Melas during the ensuing fortnight—30th January to 12th February—seeking to exhibit Gandhiji's photographs at such functions.

Photographs meant for exhibition and return can be had on hire at rates depending upon the size of the photographs. We have also prepared for hiring out about a hundred magic lantern slides of Gandhiji's pictures in various poses and groups. For conditions of hire etc. please correspond with the undersigned.

A 16" x 20" photograph in three colours showing Gandhiji plying the *charkha* is also available for sale. It is the same as is generally exhibited on the publications of the All-India Spinners' Association (Charkha Sangh).

KANU GANDHI,
Manager, Gandhi Chitralaya,
Rashtriya Shala, Rajkot
(Saurashtra)

(Note: Readers are requested that all enquiries and communications pertaining to notices of the above nature must be addressed directly to the institution concerned and not to *Harijan* papers, or Navajivan Karyalaya or to me.
— K. G. M.]

By Mahatma Gandhi

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BAPU'S LETTERS TO MIRA

(Written to Mirabehn during 1924-'48)

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HARIJAN

Jan. 20

1951

ELIMINATION OF THE BLACK MARKET

Attention has been constantly drawn, with telling evidence, to the evils of the present system of controls and the consequent creation of the black market. While I often lay before the public evidence of this type, I have been constantly seeking a solution, which would secure to the needy public the advantages which controls claim to give to the people, without at the same time creating a black market, with its moral degradations. It seems to me that this can be brought about in the following manner.

As it is, the Government does not take or even claim to take possession of all such goods on which control regulations are imposed. Even when it takes possession of any of them, it does so of only a small part of them. A large part is left untouched. It is this small part that is distributed either through ration shops or licensed dealers at controlled rates and in controlled measures. The measure is always less than the minimum requirement of the card-holder. This compels him to purchase from private dealers at prices dictated by them. These transactions are denominated 'black-marketing', and declared an offence. It is this feature that has become the bane of the control system.

Let the distribution of necessaries through ration shops or licensed dealers at controlled rates and in controlled measures be undertaken as might be necessary for the convenience of the needy. It need not — should not — be extended to the well-to-do. Government should have the power to purchase for this purpose their requirements at fair bottom prices. Let us call them 'procurement prices'. If the price does not give complete satisfaction to the producer, let him regard it as a kind of tax. The procurement price should be regarded as meant only for the purpose of distribution through the official agency, and for the sake of serving only the needy to the extent of preventing starvation and other great hardships. There should be no attempt to make for such distribution the claim that it supplied the full need of the consumer. Rather, it should be clearly understood that the consumer was expected to purchase his balance of requirements from the usual market or resort to substitutes.

With regard to the prices of such commodities in the usual market, Government should declare not what are called ceiling and bottom prices, but what I would call 'justiciable prices'. They would be higher than the prices of the ration shops, and sufficient not to leave ground

for any just complaint that they leave no room to carry on honest trade to earn a living. These prices might be settled for a season, or revised, if necessary, from time to time, even from day to day or week to week, and might vary in different districts. The effect of the 'justiciable price' of a thing is that in case a dispute arises between a seller and a buyer in respect of a transaction relating to a commodity, whatever may have been the price agreed to between the parties, a court of justice would not decree more price for it than its justiciable price on the date of the transaction. It does not legalize sale or purchase at a different rate, and so there is no reason for making vouchers at prices other than those agreed to. When a transaction is completed by payment and delivery, it does not enable one to reopen the case. But if it is a transaction on credit, and a party has to resort to a court of justice for any part of the unpaid price or undelivered article, the court would adjudicate the claim at the justiciable price. It would also enable the Government to requisition a commodity at that price for public purposes.

The slur and the penalties of the black market would thereby go. The needy could be served to the extent they are done at present. The honest citizen would find an open way of selling and purchasing goods. If the justiciable price is fair, both the seller and the purchaser would keep within it generally. At least it would be possible to carry on honest trade, and therefore to awaken in the seller a sense of social responsibility. Small and temporary variations in demand and supply would not affect the prices to a very great extent.

I present this scheme for the consideration of the authorities and the public.

Wardha, 8-1-'51

K. G. MASHRUWALA

"Thus Spake Mahatma"

Requests are often made by raisers of Gandhi memorials for suitable pithy sentences on various subjects from Gandhiji's writings. There are a few publications which give collections of Gandhiji's views on various matters; e.g. Prof. Nirmalkumar Bose's *Selections from Gandhi* (Rs 4/-) published by the Navajivan Publishing House, P. B. 105, Ahmedabad and *Light of India* (Rs 6-8-0) by Shri M. S. Deshpande, Shri Ganapati Sansthan Press, Sangli. They are certainly useful for making selections from; but they are large books, and often contain long paragraphs. A small collection is *Thus Spake Mahatma* published by Vichara Sahitya Ltd., Bangalore City. It is a small pocket-book of about 120 pages, priced 8 as. (s. 1/-) and gives quotations arranged under 35 heads. It may prove useful both for selecting appropriate sayings, as also for self-study and meditation.

Wardha, 10-12-'50

K. G. M.

HOW LONG THIS DELUSION ?

The effect of the ceiling order on the jaggery market has been disastrous. From November 18th for about 20 days I had been to several places and found that jaggery was not available in the markets of big cities like Madras, and Secunderabad and small towns like Anakapalle and Vijayawada. The black-market price of jaggery ranges from Re 1-2-0 per *viss* at Secunderabad and Re 1-6-0 per *viss* in Cherukupalli village to Rs 3 in Ellore town. In places like Madras and Vijayawada it is not available for any price whatsoever. The daily *Andhra Patrika* reports that there was no jaggery available in Kurnool town and what was being issued from the ration shop there, was condemned as unfit for human consumption by the District Health Officer. If this scarcity and black-market prices continue, what is to be the fate of those who cannot do without it? This is one experience.

A few days ago Shri V. Bhashyam Iyengar, retired High Court Judge and now Honorary Director of Harijan Welfare in the Madras State, and I visited a few Harijan hostels of Kakinada. In one of them there were 34 souls, consuming 18 seers or about 40 lb. of rice per day, for their three daily meals. Kakinada being informal rationing area, counting at 8 ounces per head per day, these 34 persons get below 20 lb. and the rest must have come from elsewhere. Those poor fellows would have become skeletons by this time, but for this extra rice; as under the stipends paid by the Government, they could not get either buttermilk or milk or oil or *ghee*. Similar is the state of things in other hostels there, and also at Madras. This is another experience.

A third experience. In one place in Bankpeta, 2 samples of rice were shown to us; one of them contained about 10 per cent unhusked paddy grains, and about 2 per cent clods of earth; in the second sample, the rice was altogether spoiled and it appeared to us unfit for use by man, beast, bird, or worm. At my suggestion, samples were taken by Shri Bhashyam Iyengar for analysis in the Coonoor research laboratory.

It is true that the controlled articles supplied by the Government are sold at comparatively cheap rates, but being deficient in quality and quantity, they are being supplemented by purchases elsewhere, at double or treble the rates prevailing in the ration shops. The consumers therefore are spending more money than they would have spent if there were not these two official and non-official markets, but only one general market. This is an inevitable conclusion which must be accepted by all. In case some people restrict themselves to the rationed things they are compelled to resort to restaurants where they lavishly spend on costly tiffins two or three times a day. It was reported to me that this is happening in the case of the boarders in the hostel attached to the Coconada College. The parents and guardians of these students are thus compelled to incur heavy expenses. Those

who have no means of supplementing their needs openly or clandestinely have to suffer from partial starvation and malnutrition. Their number is large.

Therefore, conformity or non-conformity with the control and ration rules leads to a heavy drain on the people's purse and health.

When the Chief Minister of Madras was recently touring in the West Godavari District, complaints were made to him about the quality of rice supplied in the ration shops. He is reported to have replied that the ryots, and not the Government, were responsible for growing such rice. If he is correctly reported, he seems to have overlooked an important fact. Thanks to mother earth and kind nature, the ryots are still able to grow good paddy in their ordinary fields. But in the special fields — rice mills and dealers' shops — licensed and supervised by Government officers and their agents, the rice complained against was produced. That the ryots' paddy is good, is proved by the fact that even now nice rice is available in the non-official market.

These control rules and regulations are not like the fundamental laws of morality, whose breach carries with it, physical and moral sanctions, and popular disapproval. They are, on the other hand, artificial rules made for a temporary purpose and for a limited period; and from the way they are worked in practice, they have lost any small claim to morality which they might otherwise have had.

When the working of controls already in existence has exposed the incapacity and inefficiency of most of the concerned officers, why should the Government bring in more articles within that orbit? The greater the number of controlled articles, the greater is the difficulty in their enforcement.

On bended knees, I request the officers high and low, to report the correct state of affairs to the Ministers, Central and Provincial. Let there be no ground for self-complacency or self-delusion. Those in authority should not delude themselves that all is well down below. The people are not convinced by their high-sounding speeches and contrast them with the realities experienced by themselves and conclude that an attempt is being made to hoodwink them. Such an impression will not conduce to happy relations between the rulers and the ruled.

I am reminded of our jail experiences. The convict warders used to cry "All is well." We used to reply "All is hell."

The officers may report "All is well", probably with some, if not with all of them; but the echo is "All is hell", surely with the people. These controls are creating a bondage worse than the foreign slavery. The atmosphere is surcharged with untruth; highly philanthropic gentlemen are obliged to evade these rules, to connive at their breach. It is high time that this

blight and burden is lifted from off the backs and heads of the suffering countrymen of ours.

Vinayashram, 31-12-'50

SITARAM

(Note: It is possible that the case for de-control is overstated, in the sense that wider than justifiable generalizations have been made from a few instances taken from the class of people of particular strata only. It is necessary that a few workers should survey typical wards of a town and a few villages to ascertain what people of each type actually feel about the various controls and the rationing system. The surveyed areas must comprise very poor, lower middle, middle, and upper middle classes. Besides taking their opinions, they should also examine for themselves the effects of the control and rationing system upon them, and collect dependable data. An estimate should also be made of the proportion of each class in the total population of the State concerned. It would be possible, then, to ascertain the exact economic merits and demerits of the control system. At present its greatest demerit lies in its morally degrading effect on character. It is a highly important factor, but it would be better to find also its economic value, both as an immediate relief-measure and in the long run.

An objection has been raised to the inclusion of more and more articles under the control system. It is stated on the other side that this becomes inevitable, once you accept the control system for a single article of general importance. A detailed examination is, therefore, necessary to ascertain what controls can be lifted without any adverse effect on the production and distribution of an article requiring to be unavoidably controlled and rationed. I suggest to constructive workers to undertake both these investigations.

— K. G. M.)

THE COLOMBO PLAN

India's Finance Minister presented to the Parliament the other day a report, comprising a six-year plan for the economic development of India costing £1,379 million (Rs 1,839.6 crores), and the Colombo Plan costing £1,868 million (Rs 2,740 crores) for the economic development of South and South-East Asia (covering India, Pakistan, Ceylon, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak).

For some years past we are having so many plans one after another for the uplift of our millions that we have become quite sceptical about them. The importance of the latest plan must, however, be ascribed to the vital concern which England and Australia have in its make-up and fortunes. And since they are intimately linked with America, she too is greatly interested in it. This is also the reason why this plan outbids its predecessors in aiming as a wholesale plastering of western ideas about national economy and welfare on the Indian Republic. No wonder the Chancellor of the British

Exchequer has called the plan "great and imaginative".

The six-year period of the plan will commence from July 1951. If successfully implemented, the Report says, increased production of crops of foodgrains, cotton, jute and oilseeds would follow, resulting in the availability of 15 yards of cloth per individual as against 10 yards at present and 8 *chataks* of food-ration in urban areas as against 6 *chataks* at present. It is clear that the emphasis of the plan is on agriculture, power and transport in order that more ambitious plans of large industrial expansion may be taken up thereafter.

As the Indian Finance Minister and British Chancellor have both pointed out, the main hurdles in the successful execution of the plan are two—dearth of trained men and capital. Ultimately they reduce into one of capital alone. Of about Rs 1,840 crores required, the Government of India expect to raise a sum of a little over Rs 1,000 crores (about 55 per cent) during the ensuing six years from internal resources such as economies in Government expenditure, taxation and savings. For the remaining 45 per cent they depend partly on their own assets in London, but more on the aid from some international institution or from foreign private investors or Governments. "It seems certain," says the report, "that a substantial element of Government finance will be required, particularly in the early stages of the development programmes." Needless to add that the Commonwealth countries desire and expect America to share the burden and help in the amelioration of no less than 570 million human beings in whose welfare she has evinced a warm and growing interest.

The task of raising the aforesaid finance is really what matters. Taking internal resources first, the capacity of the Government to launch a drive enabling it to raise Rs 1,000 crores may well be doubted. In the recent past its efforts in this direction have not met with any substantial success. All endeavours to effect economy in Government expenditure have almost been fruitless. Nor have the savings of the people increased to any appreciable extent. As regards taxation the whole onus ultimately falls, as ever, on the impoverished poor. So the net result will be making the poor still poorer. How far it will lead to the betterment and re-compensation of that class is at least a doubtful feature.

External aid is an item of even more doubtful value. Our sterling balances in England now stand only at £ 620 million. If India goes on drawing upon them as in the past 3½ years, its effects on her economy are bound to be dreadful, especially on the currency. From the International Bank she has already borrowed more than £ 60 million for the purposes of land reclamation, railways and power development. Nor much reliance can be placed on private

investment; because, first, development of agriculture and power and transport is hardly likely to attract foreign capital; secondly, the foreigner now steps too cautiously, for during the last three years India obtained only about £ 4 million private British capital and hardly any American capital. Hence the emphasis in the report on foreign aid at Government level — meaning the U. S. A. In fact the entire plan seems to be an attempt on the part of the 'mother-country' England and her own child Australia to establish an Asian replica of Marshall Aid before the latter expires in Europe (if not extended). Thus impelled by their self-interest to earn their own dollars, Britain and Australia expect to contribute to the welfare of the millions in South and South-East Asia. Incidentally it also serves the object of meeting the advancing communist menace which was, at the bottom, responsible for the very conception of the plan. Besides, it cannot be vouchsafed that American aid will reach India's shores irrespective of her political attitude. It is not the way in which capital behaves. Manifestly enough it feels no satisfaction unless unstintedly supported in every sphere by all and sundry under its clamping influence.

Assuming, however, that all expectations, internal as well as external will be realized, the question poses itself: what is the plan heading for? The political implications of such a plan are much too obvious. But they can well be ignored (for the time being) when an urgent objective, economic betterment of a people, is likely to be accomplished. If all conditions are fulfilled, i.e., if everything passes smoothly and only bright clouds keep hanging over the blue sky for half a dozen years at a stretch, the plan can be expected to yield commensurable results. But in practice, it would simply amount to the setting up of a few projects, installation of some big plants, building of some roads and temporary employment to a few thousands. It will hardly touch a fringe of the problem of want, which India's teeming population is suffering from.

The authors of the plan, lost in formulating ambitious proposals, seem quite to forget what constitutes the real wealth of India. It appears as if they had no use of her main capital resources, namely, (i) billions of mis-spent hours of millions of her unemployed (partly or wholly), (ii) the traditional manual aptitude and skill of the people. It is very regretful as also striking that India's well-wishers, scientists and economists, concentrate all their attention on the utilization of coal and electric and atomic power resources, but not a jot on her human and solar reserves. Of all the laboratories so enthusiastically started not one feels concerned about the harnessing of these limitless resources at India's disposal. Nor is any sociological (or other) Institute interested in the organization of her human material. What is a source of pride and power

to the Indian villageman is of trivial value to the official or the expert. A hundred laboratories and a thousand plans can no more succeed in achieving the proclaimed objective than the waters of the Pacific can be soaked by throwing bales of blotting paper into it.

Further, the plan proposes, almost chimerically, to raise the living standard by inflicting all sorts of scientific stuff upon the people. To take one instance, it is intended to increase the supply of fertilizers in order to raise the crop-yields. Never was ambition more unfortunate. These fertilizers or artificial manures have served but one purpose of soil erosion or raping the earth. They have virtually brought disease and disaster. To quote Sir Albert Havard, the immortal author of *An Agricultural Testament*, "In the years to come chemical manures will be considered as one of the greatest failures of the industrial epoch. The teaching of the agricultural economists of this period will be dismissed as superficial."

What they in the West condemn and discard, the civilized ones of India admiringly adopt and refuse to learn from experience.

Like chemical manures, the plan imposes the arbitrary use of machinery imported from abroad. The aim seems to be to destroy what little is left of the village system, to tear away the people from their cherished homes and deprive them of the little sunshine which they sometimes enjoy.

Again, by implication, the plan claims unquestioned loyalty to that irresponsible and insulting monster called money which too, alas, shall not be solely our own. Presumably India is to be relentlessly placed at ransom in the banks of London and New York. Not her own people, but the buffets of the fortune and the aberrations of the brains of the people of the far-West shall choose the course of her destiny.

As mentioned above, the Colombo plan is an alien product whose bonafides can well be questioned. Its proceeds will amount to fetching a good number of dollars to England and Australia and some lucrative jobs for some experts in India and for the masses nothing more than a vain longing for would-be better days. The triumphs of the machine, as contemplated in the plan, will not provide any stimulus to the people who will fail to respond. This shall happen when, and only when, the millions suffering from grinding poverty get what they from their heart demand, i.e., an industry "which will," to quote Gandhiji, "enable the nation not only to live but to live as a nation, to live as a nation producing wealth which is real and equitably distributed, not wealth which in Ruskin's picturesque language 'may in variety be only the gilded index of far-reaching ruin; a wrecker's handful of coin gleaned from the beach to which he has beguiled an argosy!'"

HOMAGE TO THE SARDAR

The following resolutions paying homage to Sardar Vallabhbhai were passed at the meetings of the Navajivan Trust and the Mahadev Desai Memorial Trust on 9-1-'51. The Sardar was President of both these Trusts.

Navajivan Trust Resolution

"The Navajivan Trust has lost in the Sardar its never-failing well-wisher and guardian and feels a deep sense of grief and loss at his demise. Gandhiji founded the institution and the Sardar was the first president of its trust and remained so till the end of his life. He took a keen interest in its working and with his advice and guidance enabled it to attain the position that it occupies today. The obligations of the Sardar on this institution are great, and it can repay them only by carrying on its activities along the path shown by him. The Trust believes that this alone would gratify the soul of the deceased and prays to God that He may give us all the necessary strength to tread along the path shown by him."

The Mahadev Desai Trust Resolution

"This meeting of the Mahadev Desai Trust records its deep grief and sorrow at the demise of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. After the formation of the Trust the Sardar agreed to become its president, gave his advice and guidance in formulating its policy and activities and actively helped in promoting them. By his death the Trust has sustained an irreparable loss, and feels that its responsibility has consequently increased and that special measures should be adopted to keep alive the tradition of service founded by the Sardar in Gujarat. This alone will give true peace to the soul of the deceased."

After these resolutions were passed, Shri Morarji Desai was elected President of both the trusts and a few new members were appointed on the trusts, Shri Kanaiyalal Desai being elected Vice-President of the Mahadev Desai Trust.

The personnel of the trusts thus reconstituted are now as follows:

The Navajivan Trust

President: Shri Morarji Ranchhodji Desai.

Members: Shri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai, Shri Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Shri Kanaiyalal Nanabhai Desai, Shri Manibehn Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Thakorabhai Manibhai Desai, the last three being newly added.

The Mahadev Desai Trust

President: Shri Morarji Ranchhodji Desai.

Vice-President: Shri Kanaiyalal Nanabhai Desai.

Members: Shri Indumatibehn Chimanlal Sheth, Shri Manilal Chaturbhai Shah, Shri Gopaldas Desai, Shri Manibehn Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Khandubhai Kar-sanji Desai, Shri Ravishankar Shivshankar

Vyas, Shri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai, Shri Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, the last five being newly added.

JIVANJI DESAI

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI MEMORIAL FUND

A meeting of the Sardar Memorial Fund Committee was held at the Congress House, Ahmedabad, at 3-30 p.m. on Tuesday, 9th January, 1951. It was attended by 50 members including two ministers of Bombay State, viz. Shri Morarji Desai and Dr Jivraj Mehta. An Executive Committee of the following 21 members was appointed:

President: Shri Kanaiyalal N. Desai.

Vice-Presidents: Shri Kasturbhai Lal-bhai and Shri Nanji Kalidas.

Treasurers: Shri Bhogilal Lala, Shri Amritlal Hargovinddas and Shri Bhogilal Sutaria.

Secretaries: Shri Jivanji Desai, Shri Kantilal Ghiya, Shri Ratilal Nathalal and Shri Chhotalal Patel.

Members: Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Ganesh V. Mavlankar, Shri Khandubhai Desai, Shri Ravjibhai Patel, Shri Maganbhai Desai, Shri Maganbhai S. Patel, Shri Uchhangrai Dhebar, Shri Manubhai Shah, Shri Bhagwanji Khimji, Shri Tulsidas Kila-chand and Shri Ramdev Potdar.

The President was authorized to appoint conveners for Regional Sub-committees and it was decided to open accounts in the banks in the names of the treasurers.

It was also decided to begin the work of collection.

The Regional Sub-committees above referred to have now been formed.

JIVANJI DESAI

Correction

In the article "Taxation and High Prices" (6th January 1951), the price of 'pepper' given is the price of a *khandi* (i.e. 20 Bengali maunds) and not *maund* as printed.

The word *kattha* mentioned in the list refers to coconut fibres and not to the colouring powder used with betelnut leaves, also known by the same name.

Wardha, 12-1-'51

K. G. M.

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