

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

PENALTY FOR TALENT ?

"The result of excluding boys of merit from colleges—medical, engineering, science and arts—because they belong to a particular section of the community is one of diluting the standards and lowering of efficiency. It would be tragic if parity is tried to be achieved in this way in Madras. The elimination of Brahmans or deliberate discrimination against them may not only mean a set-back in administrative efficiency which is a matter of serious concern but driving them to unsocial activities. The growth of a genuine parity can be brought about not by excluding a particular section but by widening the educational ladder and emphasizing merit and by providing an alternative in the nature of training.

"Democracy rests on the assumption not only that the will of the majority shall prevail, but that that will shall include a proper consideration for the rights of the minority. Non-Brahmans constitute a numerical majority in Madras. They can choose to disregard all interests but their own, and all their own interests other than the most immediate and obvious. By imposing a policy embodying that lack of regard, the largest section is purely pursuing a communal policy and even the most exclusively conceived communal interest is hardly served in the long run.

"The policy of the authorities should be to reduce pressure on colleges not by excluding boys belonging to a particular section, thereby lowering the standards, but by providing an alternative in other institutions differing in the nature of the training they provide but not in its quality. The growth of a genuine parity will come only when it is realized that only a small proportion of boys and girls will be better equipped for life by a college education and will be happy in the kind of occupation or profession which it opens to them. For the rest, the alternative provided by a good general education combined with a sound introduction to a career in industry, agriculture or domestic science must have strong attractions. It is an alternative which is suited to the needs of most boys and girls seeking employment in a complicated technological society and to the needs of the society itself.

"One agrees that career and education should be open to all who qualify for it and denied to the incompetent. But the less reputable means of achieving it through the exercise of power should be made impossible. Success in professions and efficiency in administration require ability of a high order.

"On paper the Congress ideal like the Communist is classless society. But in practice, the ideal which is so flattering to our self-esteem leaves the hard-baked communalist chuckling up his sleeve and the hard-boiled liberal Congressman shaking his head.

"It is not dogmatic exhortation to live up to the ideals of Gandhiji that is needed from the Ministers but 'a Government of maximum width of outlook

in its ensemble and of true creativeness in its individual members'. One feels tempted to add that if there is anything irritating about the preaching of Gandhian principles it must be the exhortation of ministers to live up to those principles which they do not observe.

—P. Narasimham "

I have retained the title which the writer has given to his subject with the addition of a question mark as I doubt the appropriateness of it. The writer's vehemence (of which I have cut off a great part) may be excused. I take the policy complained against as simply one of communal discrimination. It cannot be supported according to the ideals on which our Swaraj is based.

But the question is: What should be done to bring in line with the advanced ones those groups, which, on account of the social structure hitherto in vogue, have lagged behind? It is easy to talk of open competition. But it is not possible for the best carriage-horse to race with a weak race-horse, because of the special capacities carefully nurtured in the latter for several generations. The Brahmans and Non-Brahmans of Madras bear to a certain extent this relation between them. If Brahmans willingly fuse themselves with the Non-Brahmans and help them to rise to their own level, this problem could be solved in a happier manner.

The need for the alternative training stands irrespective of the communal problem. Even Brahmans need it; and it is not impossible that even in these departments the Brahmans might beat the Non-Brahmans at the higher end. The reason is that in the Western type of training, even in technical matters, it is the administrative and scholarly talent which is paid better than the executive and practical talent. And in that sphere the Brahman holds at present a position of vantage over the other.

If the talented Brahman had remained also true to his Brahman culture, he need not have been an object of jealousy. He became so, as soon as he began to measure and exchange his talent in terms of money. If the scale of emoluments of the service posts was on the model of a typical Brahman's life the Non-Brahman would not have tried to elbow him out. So the dissociation of talent and emoluments and

lowering the standard of the latter at the higher end is another necessity for the solution of the problem.

I think the Brahmans should regard this state as unavoidable to a certain extent. In their own interest and all-round development, they must themselves try to enter fields other than the traditional ones. Even if the non-Brahmans are removed from the scene, these fields have become overcrowded, and hundreds of their class are unemployed or under-employed, and live an unenviable life. On account of long waiting, before a good employment is secured, a moral degeneration has set in, with the result that they resort to unlawful ways of getting money in the discharge of their duties. They soon cease to be the Brahmans, whom one would bow with respect.

Wardha, 17-6-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

ARTIFICIAL FOODS

For some weeks we have been seeing a good number of advertisements describing the effects of *vanaspati* on consumers' health issued by the Vanaspati Manufacturers' Association of India. They quote the statements of ministers and experts to show that prejudices against *vanaspati* are unjustified. Concern has been expressed on this issue by some of our legislators both in the Central and Provincial Governments; and a Bill is pending in the Central Parliament for prohibiting the manufacture and sale of hydrogenated oils.

Even in America, the legislators face the same situation:

"Concern has been expressed about the ever-increasing flood of chemicals proposed for use in food for reasons of convenience, rather than of dire necessity. There are hundreds of them, and of a great many the sum total of knowledge of their harmlessness is precisely nil. It has been estimated that it would probably take the life-time of all the pharmacologists in the country to make adequate toxicity tests on them. If the manufacturer refuses to accept his responsibility the Government must do the job. Of course, all of them cannot be tested at once; the ones which seem most likely to be bad actors can be selected with the hope that the guess is right and that the answer will be found before any one gets hurt, even a little bit."

"Two substantially identical resolutions have recently been introduced, one by Congressman Keefe and one by Congressman Sabath for the appointment of a committee to investigate and study

(1) the nature, extent and effect of the use of chemicals, compounds and synthetics in the production, processing, preparation and packages of food products to determine the effect of the use of such chemicals, compounds and synthetics,

(a) upon the health and welfare of the nation, and

(b) upon the stability and well-being of our agricultural economy;

(2) the nature, extent and effect of the use of pesticides and insecticides with respect to food and food products, particularly the effect of such

use of pesticides and insecticides upon the health and welfare of the consumer by reason of toxic residues remaining on such food products as a result of such use;....."

Now turning to the oil and fat industry of America, we wish to cite a number of examples regarding the deleterious effects of the chemicals used in the manufacture, on the national health:

"Organic insecticides such as D.D.T. are being used for a long time on the parent crops. It is of course possible that lard might be thus contaminated from D.D.T. ingested with the feed or even sprayed on the hogs. However, the contamination of supplies of milk and beef is slight indeed. For example, the most that has been found in milk could be characterized as a trace. D.D.T. is no longer recommended for forage crops and dairy cattle or barn sprays. The abandonment of such use should assure its absence from the milk supply.

"We return to antioxidants used in the fatty foods as a preservative. There can be no question of the desirability of these chemicals in lard or in any other fatty food which has a tendency to become rancid or otherwise deteriorate with the lapse of time. But necessity in production is one thing, and preserving of food against that natural corruption which is its birth right is something else. Thus there can be no tolerance for toxic preservatives; and all preservatives must be harmless. In June 1948 the Bureau of Animal Industry has authorized the addition of Hydroquinone into baked foods as an antioxidant. But the Division of Pharmacology had some misgivings about the adequacy of previous studies upon the toxicity of hydroquinone (stated quantities of) oral doses of the chemical in terms of milligrams per kilo of body weight were found to kill half the group of experimental animals.....As in the bleached-flour episode, they used several species of experimental animals as follows: rats 320; mice 400; guinea pigs 550; pigeons 300; cats 70; dogs 200. It is also found that the oxidation products quinhydrone and quinone were even more toxic to rats. As a result the Government has banned the use of half a dozen of chemicals as anti-oxidants in the baked food and fatty food industries. But all these chemicals look perfectly harmless externally.

"At best one can never be sure that a chemical is harmless even if it has enjoyed long use. Take the nitrogen trichloride process for bleaching and maturing flour for example. This has been in use here and abroad for some thirty years, with no evidence of toxicity. Late in 1946 Sir Edward Mellanby, an English scientist of international reputation, has reported that dogs fed on flour so treated, developed what is commonly called running fits. His findings were confirmed in America also. While no evidence that humans are affected was obtained then or later, nobody wanted to wait another thirty years to find that out. The use of nitrogen trichloride was promptly abandoned. Can any one wonder that pharmacologists are inclined to be profoundly pessimistic? Rather than being dogmatic about the harmlessness of a chemical, they agree with the cautious Vermonter who looked at a cow on a mountain side and said, 'Well, she's white on this side!'"

B. ANJANEYULU

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American Oil Chemists' Society, Chicago and

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(South India)

(Abridged with necessary changes from a pamphlet)

INDIA'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION

(The first article by the writer, written on his return from the World Pacifist Meeting and an extensive tour of India.)

Social Revolution was inevitable when India gained her freedom and took over the reins of Government on August 15, 1947.

The undecided question, which still remains undecided, is what is to be the nature of that Revolution. Is India's economy to be founded on self-supporting or largely self-supporting villages, or on mass production in heavily populated, highly industrialized towns and cities which are to be fed by the villages?

According to the Gandhian interpretation—and with which I am personally in complete agreement—if India chooses the second course, which is the line of Western industrialism, there will inevitably follow all the evils which have latterly descended on the Western world, and which are at the moment hurling the entire West to catastrophe and destruction at a rapidly accumulating pace.

Many vested interests, Indian and foreign, are looking upon the Indian scene with longing eyes. What a ripe field of starving labour for capitalist exploitation! What an immense store-house of riches awaits the enlightened scientist explorer, the physicist, the mathematician, the engineer, and, alas, the psychologist, who in the West has learnt the art of adjusting the mass mind of the mass man to the processes of dehumanized industrial functioning in the interest of cheapness and profit-making through the capture of markets.

Old Arguments No Longer Valid

In India, with the aid of American and British capital, develops mass-production industry on a gigantic scale with the object of raising the standard of living of her submerged millions at a very rapid rate in order to stave off the threat of Communism, it will not be long before the Indian market in consumer goods dries up, and the West is challenged in scores of world markets with prices she will be unable to meet.

Be it remembered too, that Japan and China will also have to be reckoned with in this connection.

The old argument that raising the standard of living in the East would increase the latter's purchases of Western specialities such as up-to-date wireless sets, electrical appliances, etc., is no longer valid.

Every country in the Far East is out for self-sufficiency, and until that goal is reached will severely restrict the importation of consumer goods, and use all her internal wealth to develop industry to the utmost, in order to absorb the new spending power of the people as it arises.

Moreover who can estimate the degradation which will follow the harnessing of the 1,000,000,000 people of India, China and Japan to mass-production machinery? A civilization of 1,000,000,000 inhabitants living on money values, the majority of them disintegrated and atomized by repetitive labour, will quickly run amock, in orgies, turmoil and blind revolution.

In the meantime the fear of Communism which is powerful in America and reaching menacing proportions in India, may lead to an American line-up in the East, on an even more gigantic scale than the American line-up of the Atlantic Pact and Marshall plus Truman aid.

The alternative to this nightmare is the natural economy based on the culture of Indian villages of which there are 700,000 and in which dwell 85 per cent of the Indian population.

Ending Village Poverty

Most of these villages have been mercilessly exploited by absentee landlords, by money lenders, by foreign capital and by an imperialism which deprived thousands of villages of half their income, by forcing into the country machine-made goods with which the hand workers were unable to compete. Deprived of half their livelihood, they have been in dire poverty ever since.

It was the liberation of these villages to which Gandhiji devoted his chief attention. His concept of Basic Education arose out of the necessity of teaching the Indian villages how to accomplish their own emancipation, how to rebuild their villages, and free them from the numerous exploiters, home and foreign, who have brought down the level of their subsistence to a condition that is too despicable to be described, and too painful even to make the attempt.

I am unable to see how the British Government has tolerated, accepted and sustained a rule which permitted the depth and extent of the misery which reigns among the teeming millions who comprise the Indian villages. Is it not possible that Britain can make some gesture of regret for the errors of the past, and of goodwill for India's future, in a fitting gift to those followers of Gandhi who have taken the vow of non-possession of goods, and are devoting their whole lives for the salvation of India by way of renewal of creative energy, and the achievement of economic self-sufficiency and spiritual independence specially in her villages?

India is at the parting of the ways. One section of Gandhi's followers see in Home Rule only the beginning of freedom, and with their leaders see its completion only in the emancipation of the villages through a dual process of spiritual regeneration and economic self-sufficiency.

The other sections are attracted by the mechanisms and the material abundance of the West, and are being urged by the fear and spread of Communism to see in Western civilization the one hope of spreading material abundance at a rate sufficient to check the advance of Communism in India.

A Fool's Paradise

The latter are living in a fool's paradise. They fail to see the major effects of Industrialism; that it neglects man's creative powers, destroys spiritual values, stimulates the appetites and the demand for goods and services, and thus for an ever increasing share of the earth's resources, whence follow class and international strife.

Industrialism neglects all values which cannot be reduced to monetary terms and so lowers the quality of social and personal life. When that happens, rank materialism reigns, and, to use a Gandhian term, violence reaches its maximum strength within a society.

The art of ending war is the art of discovering the conditions of a peaceful society.

WILFRED WELLOCK

(From *Peace News* of 28 April, '50)

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CLARIFICATION ABOUT VANASPATI

On 15th June last, two representatives of the *vanaspati* industry came specially from Bombay to discuss with me the subject of *vanaspati*. Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj, Secretary, All-India Goseva Sangh, was also present at my request. We had a long discussion embracing several points but the point on which the representatives laid the greatest stress was what our attitude towards the industry would be if it was agreed between the Government and the industry that *vanaspati* should be so made that it does not resemble genuine *ghee* in colour or aroma and is rendered incapable of being adulterated with it. I was also informed that while the selection of a suitable colour presented difficulties not perhaps capable of quick solution, that of putting in an unmistakable different aroma might be effected without delay, and in fact they were already working upon it.

I have to answer this question. There are several grave objections to the hydrogenated oils. They have been dealt with at length by several writers heretofore and so, without giving any arguments, I may only recapitulate them in brief :

(1) Oil extraction is fundamentally a village industry, i.e., capable of being carried on in the widest decentralized manner ;

(2) As a village industry, it (a) supplies to the consumer fresh oil which does not require to be refined or deodorized to prevent rancidity, (b) gives for the cattle an oil-cake which is richer in fat and purer in dirt, (c) solves the problem of distribution, (d) reduces the necessity of transportation and packing and cost of tins, bottles etc., (e) preserves the village wealth, and gives employment to villagers, (f) reduces considerably the possibility of and temptation for adulterating oil with baser oils, and (g) does not in any way conflict with cattle-keeping or the dairy industry ;

(3) Hydrogenation having grown out of oil-mill industry and as a corrective of the evils arising out of it, it is not an essential part of the country's economic system ;

(4) It has not proved its superiority as an article of diet (a) over fresh oil, or (b) even over raw or refined oil of the factories, for purposes of health ;

(5) The experiments hitherto conducted are negative in result even so far as they go ; besides, there are grounds to believe that they were conducted in an unsatisfactory and inconclusive manner ;

(6) It does not stand comparison with pure *ghee*, which is the article needed by those, who would not eat oil or cannot tolerate it ;

(7) People — mostly of the poor middle class — are made to incur unnecessary expenditure on a showy material and are deceived or helped to deceive themselves into believing (a) that they are taking and feeding their family and friends with *ghee*, or (b) at least with something better than oil ;

(8) It has been observed that the false odour and taste of hydrogenated oil, or their complete absence creates when its use is prolonged, a loss of memory in the consumer of the taste and odour of genuine *ghee*. Consequently, when he happens to be served with pure home-made *ghee* at any place, he actually thinks that the *ghee* stinks as it does not taste and smell like *vanaspati* to which he is used. This is a permanent injury (a) to the senses of taste and smell of the consumer, and (b) to the cause of *ghee*, since even if its production were increased and it were made available in larger quantity than now, the artificial tastes and smells of the various brands of hydrogenated oils would have set artificial habits, which it would become difficult to correct. It is like producing and popularizing designs of the Delwada Temples and the Taj Mahal on cement slabs or iron sheets by a mechanized process, and permanently injuring the sculptor of marble, the aptitude for appreciating real human skill, and the capacity to distinguish between artificial (mechanized) beauty and artistic beauty ;

(9) The hydrogenation business prospers by providing not only an easy adulterant of *ghee*, but also of refined oil in the form of the waste residue of the oil-mills ;

(10) The vice of adulteration has spread over the entire *ghee* and oil trade, and has permeated also the villages. It affects the morals of the nation. Even if all the other grounds did not exist, it would be sufficient reason for condemning *vanaspati*. The demand for colourization is now pending before the Government and the industry for at least the last three years, but nothing has been done ; the experts are unable to find any colour and possibly do not even believe in getting it. Dr Bhatnagar feels satisfied that vegetable *ghee* is the least harmful of all the adulterants commonly used in India. We do not know if he has, therefore, given up his search for a colour and, if so, who else has been entrusted with that task.

Under the circumstances, a mere assurance that attempts would be renewed to find a colour will not, I think, be acceptable to the people as

satisfactory. The question of time has become vital. But if the hydrogenated oil is immediately given a colour and an aroma so distinct that it would be impossible to use it in any event as an adulterant of *ghee* the last objection to it namely, that it is a spoiler of people's business morals will have been met, and the question would have to be considered on the remaining grounds. I believe that they are sufficiently strong for banning this industry altogether. But I can conceive that some of them might be regarded as debatable, or considerations might be urged, which might make the legislators and Government hesitate to take the extreme step at one bound. So time might again be sought. For this, the change of colour and the aroma is the most urgent of the demands on behalf of the people. Hydrogenation must not be allowed in any case unless and until these conditions are fulfilled. But sooner or later this artificial product should go altogether, and people must be given, and if necessary, trained to prefer pure fresh wholesome oil or *ghee*. Recolourization and reodorization must not be taken as an end of the matter.

Before concluding I wish to make an appeal to the Government, the industry as well as the experts and journalists. The above might appear to have been written in the style of a person bent upon destroying this industry. May be they will be generous enough not to attribute to me any base motive for it, and regard it as a quixotic zeal for a pet theory or cause, perhaps out of a sense of loyalty to Gandhiji, who had his face set against it.

My humble request is to look at the question impartially and with an open mind keeping apart the opinions of Gandhiji or any other person, or considerations based on mere sentimental grounds; also to put aside materialistic considerations of the amount of capital invested and the great profit or revenue accruing to the industry and the Government and to regard the whole question as affecting the morals, health and safety of the nation—the masses—and take only these as the most important decisive factors. Let us apply the parable of the three sieves: What is its contribution to the moral uplift of the people, to the health of those who are its greatest consumers, having regard to the fact that their diet is generally very deficient both in quality as well as quantity; and to the safety of the country, in case of sudden breakdown of any of the huge factors on which its production, transport and distribution depend? It entails the destruction of the method of producing oils and *ghee* by de-centralized methods hitherto pursued. It also involves at every stage the concentration of large stocks of seeds, liquid oil and *vanaspati* in small areas. A single accident or an act of sabotage (an activity which is unfortunately on the increase) means permanent destruction of large amounts of food. Its having been covered with insurance helps only the investor of the capital.

To the nation so much food is lost for good. On the one hand, we spend crores of rupees for getting more food grown; on the other, we tamper with natural foods in various ways, removing some of their essential constituents, reducing their bulk, then in the attempt to restore the loss, seek to reintroduce them artificially through synthetic products. We want to bring down prices, but take every step to make the articles of food more expensive; we preach economy and spend *lakhs* on advertisements and other propaganda, full of exaggerations and mutilations of facts. Why is all this? If this is all in the interest of the nation it is necessary to know how it is.

Wardha, 23-6-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

NOTES

Caution Against Vanaspati Propaganda

It is possible that the public might see hereafter press and other propaganda for *vanaspati* dressed in various forms, such as cinema-films, articles, short stories, dialogues, hints for cooking etc. They will extol the virtues of *vanaspati* in artful ways so that they cannot be detected as advertisements. The services of doctors, science-graduates, story-writers, poets, teachers, editors and others might be recruited for this purpose. The people should not take these as opinions of disinterested persons. It is a part of the modern business methods.

Criticism Against Tree-Planting

I have received letters criticizing the tree-plantation programme of Shri Munshi. Two grounds are urged: Planted trees are not taken care of and most of them die for sheer negligence. Thus it becomes a wasteful *tamasha*. This is no doubt a good ground and must not be allowed to exist.

The other ground is that for every new tree planted, people destroy recklessly several good, young and fully grown up trees, and Government does nothing to prevent this criminal waste of the country's tree-wealth. Where is the good of planting new trees if all the time a greater destruction goes on simultaneously? This is a true description of the people's conduct. Unfortunately it is done so widely and even by officials that it is difficult to put an effective check upon it. To a certain extent, the people cannot be blamed very much for this. They have no alternative means of getting their essential needs. So I regard this to be all the greater reason for popularizing the *Vanamahotsava*. When people begin to plant and rear trees with their own effort, they will appreciate the value of the tree much better than they do now. A man who earns wealth by his own hard labour understands the necessity of thrift better than one who gets it in inheritance or by speculation and lottery. I am persuaded to think that tree-rearing might prove to be a good means of developing also parental sentiments in a person. A cattle-keeper will take care of his cattle and

parents of their children with greater tenderness and affection if they have a previous experience of rearing trees planted by themselves.

Wardha, 30-6-'50

K. G. M.

FREEDOM FROM THE BONDAGE OF MONEY

(Summary of a lecture at a hand-loom training centre at Mul, Dist. Chanda, on April 25, 1950)

The Charkha Sangh has been running classes for many years for the teaching of the various operations of *khadi* production. It has prepared several courses of study in that connection and tried to popularize them. Originally the teaching of *khadi* had been carried on at the Sabarmati and Wardha *ashrams*. But it had come to a stand-still after the freedom movement of 1930. The Sangh thereafter used to organize the manufacture and sale of *khadi* but did not provide for the teaching. This was started again in 1937 at the very place where we are assembled today. I can vividly recall to memory those days. The Congress had been placed in power in the Provinces though, as it turned out later, only for a short period. And it made a good use of it in pushing ahead the constructive activities, such as *khadi* and production. Gandhiji had just then imported into *khadi* the revolutionary principle of the living wage. Ardent young men full of the spirit of sacrifice had gathered at this very place and put in hard labour in the burning sun to learn the science of *khadi*. That was how we made a modest beginning of the Khadi Vidyalaya in these very hutments. Thereafter, Khadi Vidyalayas were started here in Sevagram and many other places.

Twelve years have passed since then, and times have changed. The hope of Swaraj is fulfilled, but, alas, that of *khadi* is withering. It is at such a critical moment that we are meeting today, at this historic spot to make a fresh effort. The present class has a significance. This is clear from the great number of applications received from many corners of the country. We regret, for want of sufficient accommodation we could not accept all of them. However, it is clear from the number of those, who have come and who wanted to come, how eager the workers and the lovers of *khadi*, in every part of the country, are to learn weaving.

You will put in strenuous efforts here to satisfy this eagerness. You will do your weaving for several hours every day. But hard work by itself will not serve our purpose. Before you do that you must have a clear conception of what we are aiming at; and along with industriousness there must be a thorough knowledge of the technique. At the very start you must understand the why of it, and then as you proceed you should learn its technique at every stage. Examine thoroughly whether the technique is appropriate to the fundamental aim. Do not think that the technique and the method followed here are final. Only accept as much of it as is conducive to the achievement of our aim and co-operate with us in remedying the defects.

We shall discuss the technique later. Just now let us see briefly why these classes have been opened and why you and the Charkha Sangh will expend so much money and labour after them. I am conscious that it may not be possible to explain it fully in the short time at our disposal. Hence I advise you to read our key-books on the topic. In his last days Gandhiji spoke frequently and with increasing emphasis on the fundamental principle and aim which I am just going to lay before you. Once it formed a long series of conversations between Jajaji and Gandhiji lasting for seven days. A report of these conversations is published in Hindi in a book entitled *Charkha Sanghaka Nava Sanskaran* (Re-orientation of the A.I.S.A.). The talks are so deeply pregnant with meaning that even those who were present on the occasion and heard them and participated in them discover new meaning hidden therein at every fresh reading. There lies embedded in it the whole philosophy of *khadi*, so much so that we can call this valuable book

"Khadi Gita". While you are here, do read it during your leisure for self-study. It is not a story which you will read once and put aside; it is a book which you will do well to meditate on again and again, and profit by reflecting over it.

Difference between Doing and Preaching

We are at a stage when wise and educated people feel prompted to engage themselves in some useful activity. Their feeling is honest and there is in their hearts a consuming zeal for the realization of certain ideals. But somehow they are unable to imagine themselves in the role of active workers doing things with their own hands. They plan to get them done by others. I shall illustrate the point. There are demands for teachers for *khadi*-work from many places. But thoughtful and capable men of the locality do not come forward to undertake the work themselves. The result is that the work cannot progress. There are so many nation-building activities which are awaiting to be done. The trouble is that ordering rather than doing has become a part of our nature; and we have reduced ourselves to the helpless position of a man with brains but no hands. This tendency has cast its ominous shadow on *khadi*-work too.

There is no dearth of *khadi*-lovers in our country. Even many of those who do not wear *khadi* have respect for it. But the pernicious distinction between doing and wanting things to be done by others has been blocking the way. *Khadi* is regarded as belonging to the second class, a thing to be got done. That was why when Gandhiji introduced the yarn condition and made it obligatory on every lover of *khadi* to produce a part of it, many protested against it. If such was the approach when Gandhiji himself was the sponsor, we should not be surprised to see people looking askance at us when we suggest self-weaving. But you have come determined to do things with your hands. You know how the progress of *khadi* is blocked without self-weaving; how it is difficult to save self-sufficiency from the onslaught of money-economy.

Gandhiji wanted the villages to be saved from the invasion of money-economy. Whatever *khadi* work we did so far had had the effect of sending back some money to the villages. Gandhiji himself expressed his satisfaction over this return of money—crores of rupees—into the villages through *khadi*. But he continued to say that this would not fulfil the purpose and aim of *khadi*. He called this kind of *khadi* production as "Relief *Khadi*". The other kind of *khadi* which would save the villages from the clutches of industrial economy, he called the *khadi* of Swaraj. It is the *khadi* which will give the poor the strength to stand on their own legs. This cannot be achieved with the relief-*khadi*, or *khadi* for sale. It can be achieved only through self-sufficiency *khadi*.

Just consider what things carry money to villages and what carry it away from them. You will see that excepting the produce of agriculture every other thing has the effect of carrying money away from the villages. Only when this outflow of money is stopped, there can be amelioration in their condition, and *grama-rajya* can come about. This drain of money is so huge that all the money that we refund there through *khadi* sales is like a drop in the ocean. The only way to fill in this ditch is to stop its outflow. It is not possible to level or balance it up by bringing money in from outside.

Even if you try that, you will not find a solution, which will apply equally to all villages. Moreover, those few villages which will benefit from it will tend to lose their rural character and change slowly into cities. And then they will begin to exploit the villages as the cities do today. The only effective way to end this exploitation is to reduce this outflow of money to the minimum.

The greatest drain is caused by cloth. Every village is sending out money worth thousands of rupees in the way of cloth. It can be stopped by self-sufficiency in cloth. Hence it is that self-sufficiency *khadi* is more important than relief *khadi*.

The people have not yet understood this aspect. They could understand *svadeshi* and so a strong movement was set in motion to stop the flight of sixty crores of rupees to foreign countries. Picketing was resorted to. But people find it hard to understand that it is equally necessary to stop the flow of huge amounts of money from the villages to the cities. It is a new idea. Even the villages have not grasped it. The day they understand it there is bound to be a commotion. They will not let the city cloth get into the villages. The forces of vested interests might try to push it into the villages. There might be a conflict. But so far this idea has not caught the imagination of the villagers. We have to understand this purpose behind the *khadi* and work for it.

Imagine what would happen if we succeed in popularizing this idea in the villages and an awakening follows. A mere agitation will not lead us anywhere. Ultimately we will have to produce the cloth. Is it possible to install a mill in every village and produce cloth? Even if it were possible where will the mills come from? Where shall we get the money needed for it? We do not manufacture in our country the machinery for mills. The planners say that within a few years they would get all the mills they needed from foreign lands and then these will give us more cloth. Even if we assume that we may be able to manufacture mill-machinery in the country, the flow of money from the villages without will continue. Moreover, a mill cannot be economical, if it only serves a unit as small as a village. Therefore, we have to devise a plan whereby a village could provide itself with all its cloth. And how are we to prepare villages for the adoption of that plan? How can we employ all the available labour, how could we bring into useful service the hands of even the child and the aged? How may cloth be produced in every home? And what shall be the implements and processes in consonance with our object of stopping the flow of money from the village? It was this approach which gave rise to the idea of home-weaving. Experiments were conducted to fully work it out, and now the stage is reached when we can hold these classes.

There was time when every home did its weaving even as we do our cooking today. Even today in Assam many families do their own weaving. The knowledge of weaving is a part of a girl's qualifications for marriage. If weaving could be introduced in every home in this way, the idea of self-sufficiency in cloth could be easily popularized, and made economically sound. A man's requirements of cloth today are greater than what they used to be in olden days. We cannot therefore copy the old days. But we can draw on it and develop our own modern home-industries and adopt them to reach our goal of self-sufficiency in cloth.

Here you will learn a new technique of home-weaving. But this technique has its limits. It will not teach you the art of weaving a *sari* or a *dhoti*. You will be able to weave cloth of short width, such as will meet your needs of every other clothing excepting the *sari* and the *dhoti*. This may not give you full satisfaction, but if you master it it will certainly make it easier for you to weave the *sari* and the *dhoti*. Either you yourself will be able to weave it or get it woven at your place. Today we are forced to send yarn over long distances. The weaver in our neighbourhood refuses to accept it. Why is it so? It is because we do not know home-weaving. If we get to know it the weaver will gladly accept our work and do it more efficiently. He will co-operate with us because we shall understand his difficulty and help him to overcome it.

His difficulty arises from the defects in our yarn. At present we do not even know what they are, though they cause utmost annoyance to the weaver. If we practise preliminary weaving, these defects will be eliminated. We shall learn the importance of firm joining, of not allowing loose ends to subsist, and the yarn to get into curls. We shall not tie the different sections of

the hank in a wrong manner. There is a good deal of spinning being done, but not being scientific we experience all the difficulties which beset a person who tries to correct bad habits of long standing. At times, we feel that before enlarging the number of spinners, we had better work for improving the quality of the yarn of the present spinners. Every one of you should find out the difficulties of weaving your yarn and should improve it so that it might be easily woven. The training in hand-weaving will help you in the effort.

Apart from the improvement of yarn there is one more aspect of this question which we will do well to reflect over. If you leave aside the skilled and professional weavers, you will find that only a very few among the farmers are able to weave the single thread of even good mill-yarn. They usually weave yarn double twisted. At least they are generally unable to use the single thread for the warp. Since we have to solve the problem of weaving *khadi*, we must adopt a method which can be easily practised by all including the unskilled and the inexperienced. The method ultimately depends on the kind of yarn selected. So you will see that in these classes we shall use the doubled thread for warp. In order that the weft may be of equal strength with the warp instead of keeping the number of warp and weft threads equal for an area, the former has been reduced, while that of the single-thread weft has been increased by 25 per cent or more. This has the further advantage of making the cloth look more even and attractive. In mill-cloth too the number of threads in the weft is generally greater than that in the warp.

You need not be frightened by the doubled thread. In the early days of *khadi*, we had to begin with *dhoties* of even 5 to 7 counts. As the *khadi*-lovers were resolved to boycott every other cloth, they welcomed those rough *dhoties* also. Their resolution made it possible for us to go forward and reach the stage of the present single-thread fine *khadi*. The present double-thread cloth is much better and finer. This you will find if you look at some fine specimens of the double-thread cloth which we have put here. If we proceed once again with the same firm resolve, we are sure to manufacture fine varieties of double-thread cloth also. And furthermore, we shall have made weaving much easier.

Resolve to get rid of the use of money at every stage of cloth-making, from *kapas* to weaving. Perform all the ancillary processes yourself or by mutual co-operation within your group. Then you will have learnt the purpose and also the art of *khadi* which these classes have been opened to teach. We have to acquire the strength that comes of a firm determination to be self-sufficient and next of the technical proficiency to realize that determination. These classes are an humble effort in that direction.

The idea of eliminating the use of money may appear novel to you. But it has a special importance for us and we must think over it seriously. We have freed ourselves from the political and military domination of the British. The military power is now in our own hands. We have taken this as 'Swaraj'. But we have not freed ourselves from the domination of money which today holds the whole world in subjugation. The whole world is struggling to break itself free from that bondage. Just think how disastrous has been the effect on the life of the masses and especially of that of the village-folk. Every day that passes, it is spreading its tentacles to bring in the whole of our life, every department of it under its sinister influence. All the things, which only a century ago were done by individual or co-operative labour, now need money for their fulfilment. Everything is measured in terms of money; and mark how the measure changes frequently. Moreover, the masses have absolutely no control over it. The control lies somewhere far away from them at some centre which they cannot see. The only way for the village-folk to get out of it is to practise self-sufficiency in respect of the primary needs of life. Cloth self-sufficiency is representative of that self-sufficiency. But even there we have not cast

away the use of money. Even if we spin, we often purchase the slivers or get them prepared by payment in money.

How can such *khadi* give us freedom from the bondage of money? It is true that we cannot shake ourselves free from it all of a sudden. But when one learns swimming, one gradually abandons the help of a buoy. Even so, though *khadi* began with money, it must now leave it away and replace it by self-reliance and co-operation. Therefore, our *khadi* movement must proceed in the direction where we may entirely dispense with money. We shall define *khadi* anew and deny that name to a cloth contaminated by the touch of money. The idea might appear impracticable to you at this stage. But you will realize its value as you reflect over the fundamental aim of *khadi*. The slogan, "Swaraj through *khadi*", means nothing less than freedom from the bondage of money.

KRISHNADAS GANDHI

(Translated from Hindi)

STRIKE AT THE ROOT

I am afraid that the agitation against *vanaspati* suffers not only from insufficient organized effort but also from lack of will to strike it at its very roots. All blame is attached to the machinations of the vested interests. But however strong vested interests might be, no opposition to a popular demand can prevail long against the organized will of the people. The will of the people must, therefore, be organized in the right direction.

We must understand that the principal factor which has led to the establishment of the *vanaspati* industry, is that raw mill-oils get usually rancid by the time they reach the consumer. Moreover, now-a-days they are also adulterated with poisonous substances like mineral white oil etc. Hence these oils require to be first treated to safeguard against rancidity, and then against adulteration. This supplies the initial cause for the manufacture of *vanaspati*.

In a sense, therefore, *vanaspati* is not an independent industry, but is a continuation of the processes of oil-pressing in mills, — a corrective to mill-oils. It is the logical corollary of mill-oils.

Those who oppose *vanaspati* should, therefore, trace the logic back and attack the root cause, namely, mill-oils. This fundamental issue is lost sight of and side-issues are raised. Since you cannot ask people to consume rancid oil, you first accept the process of refining, and object only to its hydrogenation. But refinement is no safeguard against adulteration, and you cannot ask people to consume adulterated oil, so you give partially in by saying that if hydrogenation is to be done, the fat must be coloured. But once you concede refinement, it becomes only a question of degrees, and you cannot stop exactly where you will. The fundamental corrective is to remove the need for refining and thus take away the entire basis of *vanaspati*. Anything less than this in the shape of fixing the degree to which oil-pressing in the factories should be allowed strengthens the will of the

industrialists by weakening the will of the people.

The will of the people can be organized only if the issues are frontally attacked and side-issues are not allowed to cloud it. People should not be asked to accept the oil-mills and reject only the *vanaspati*. It is asking for the impossible; for, the two go together.

The sooner this is realized, the better. The demand should no longer be "no hydrogenation or colourization", but it should be "no oil-mills, but the development of the *ghani*". The *ghani* oil being fresh does not get rancid and spoilt like the mill-oil by having to stay long before it is consumed. Hence it does not need refining. Being scattered in the countryside, the *ghani* affords no scope for the greed of vested interests. The *ghani* thus strikes at the root of the problem and is a sure way to end *vanaspati*.

Gosevaks will do well to realize one more fact. *Vanaspati* has, no doubt, ruined the dairy industry, but oil-mills have ruined it more. They have taken away from the villages the major source of the concentrate, viz., the oil cake. Oil cake can be retained in the villages only by the *ghani*. Dairy and *ghani* thus go hand in hand.

This basic fact does not seem to be recognized as *gosevaks* are not particular about the *ghani* and they often support the oil-mills by purchasing oil cake for *goshalas*. Just as *vanaspati* industrialists raise slogans of the nutritive value of their product, oil-mills claim nutritive superiority for their cake because of its greater protein content than that of the *ghani* cake which is richer in fat content. This is not the place to discuss the protein-fat controversy raised by the oil-mills, but it may be pointed out that there is no experimental data available in India. Only recently schemes have been adopted to study and find out the comparative nutritive values of the mill-oil cake and the *ghani*-oil cake. *Gosevaks* should beware of being carried away by such interested propaganda or by the consideration of prices. Great problems can be solved only by clear perception and adherence to basic principles.

JHAVERBHAI PATEL

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