

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

The difference between reduction and abandonment of armaments resembles that between *dana* (charity) and *tyaga* (renunciation) of wealth. It is only by abandonment that fear could be shed.

At the same time, abandonment of armaments presupposes shedding of fear. Thus we have a riddle before us. The risk involved in abandoning armaments is the possibility of others attacking us from outside and endangering our freedom. This is common to both the parties. But someone has to make a beginning. Who will do it? The smaller of the two nations says: "Since I am small I cannot take the risk of making a beginning." And the bigger nation says: "Since I am big, I cannot make a beginning." The small one is afraid on account of its smallness, the big one because of its bigness. But if there were courage, even the small could make a beginning, and the big one also. The small would consider: "After all what is my military strength? What do I gain by maintaining it? If I give it up, I shall at least be free from this worry." The big power will think: "My strength is known to all. In this context if I abandon the armaments, it will be considered an act of courage. How will it fail to impress the world?" But how may such courage be created in the small and the big nations? If it were a case of two individuals, it would be possible to say to any of them, 'Take the step with *Ramanama* on your lips.' But when it is the question of a whole nation, such methods of *mantra* do not work. Along with *mantra* (faith) they need also the *tantra* (organizational approach). The entire economic structure of society should be built up so as not to invite or encourage invasion or attack on it. Should there be no equality of all persons in its economic structure, it would some day certainly invite internal disorder, or external aggression, or both.

The famous saint Tukaram has said: "My wealth is not so small as could be kept in

a box or a house. It is therefore kept in all houses. My wealth and my food grains are spread over the entire world." Hence there was no fear of theft in Tukaram's house. Only if such decentralized economic arrangement is introduced in the house of a society and *ahimsa* is practised along with it, could the abandonment of armaments be made possible, and *ahimsa* bear its fruits.

Under the capable leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our Government is putting great emphasis on non-violence in international politics. I am gratified by it and I have several times expressed myself so. But I apprehend that so long as our Government does not adopt the policy with the village as the pivot of national economy, the policy of non-violence might remain only in words. Gandhiji had the confidence that India would be able to set an example to the world by abandoning armaments, because the culture of India is filled with this fragrance; because India has won independence through non-violence; and because India could be a self-sufficient country.

But for the achievement of this ideal, he laid down the conception and plan of a village civilization. I am quite clear that if any one left village industries aside and yet wished to follow non-violence, he would be pursuing an impossible ideal. His efforts would resemble a river without water. Like Uma and Shiva, village economy and non-violence are wedded together and would always stay together. Their mutual relation could be stated as under:

(a) Where there is non-violence, there will always be village economy; and

(b) Where there is no village economy, there will not be non-violence.

Readers will note that I have not said that where there is village economy, there will definitely be non-violence. That would be a wrong statement.

Paramdham, Paunar, 11-5-'50 VINOBA
(Abridged and translated from the *Sarvodaya*, May, 1950)

"RE-ORIENTATION" OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, India's Minister for Industry and Supply, addressing the second session of the All-India Cottage Industries Board at Jaipur recently, made the following observations:

"A new orientation should be given to production in cottage industries. This new orientation can only be brought about by a larger mechanization of the methods of production, the invention of small machines and labour-saving devices, the adaptation of imported machines to our conditions and to the use of our raw materials, the study of techniques of production followed in other countries and experimental work relating to the starting of new small-scale and cottage industries." He also announced that the Government of India were setting up a Central Institute of Cottage Industries at Aligarh and a beginning would be soon made with the machinery already purchased from Japan.

Dr. Solomon Trone, the American industrial expert who has been invited by the Government of India to advise on the economic development of the country, also made similar remarks in the course of a recent speech at Bangalore:

"The main problem is how to make the millions of unproductive people in the country productive. If this objective is recognized, the methods of achieving it could be developed. The only way to create more wealth is naturally to use more machines in addition to human hands. You cannot go on buying machines from abroad; you must learn to make machines yourselves. Otherwise industrialization and the development of agriculture is impossible..... As in Japan, much of the industrial production in India could come out of village industrial co-operatives, if properly organized."

It is, indeed, gratifying to know that both the Government of India and an eminent planning expert like Dr. Trone are wholeheartedly in favour of developing cottage industries in this country. In fact, the logic of hard facts in Indian economy has forced this conclusion; there is no other way. As Dr. Mookerjee himself stated in the course of his address mentioned above,

"whether from the point of view of solving the growing problem of unemployment or of avoidance of growth of social evils consequent on over-centralization of large-scale industries, or of the paramount need for raising the standard of living of millions of our countrymen in the rural areas, it is obvious that we must encourage a co-ordinated and systematic growth of cottage industries."

But there appears to be some confusion or misunderstanding regarding the extent of mechanization to be employed for these village industries. In order to give "a new re-orientation" to the cottage industries, Dr. Mookerjee wants "larger mechanization of the methods of production". Dr. Trone also feels that the only way to increase the wealth of India is "to use more machines in addition to human hands". But who wants the cottage industries to be run only by hands without the use of small and efficient machines? Surely, Mahatma Gandhi was not against all machinery; what he was against was the "craze" for unnecessary multiplication of machinery and "labour-saving devices" in a

country like India where the main problem was to absorb labour and not to oust or save it. The recent brochure on *The Principles of Sarvodaya Plan* also makes it abundantly clear that the Gandhian ideology is not hostile to mechanical efficiency. To quote the pamphlet,

"the technical efficiency of these (decentralized) industries may be improved by the use of electricity if it is available to all artisans in the region and by the introduction of such mechanical devices as would not hamper full employment."

It is thus, quite clear that in organizing cottage industries in India, we have to steer clear of primitive and crude technique as well as over-mechanization and centralization. As Prof. Aldous Huxley in a "Note on Gandhi" in the Gandhi Memorial Peace Number of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* observes,

"too much mechanical efficiency is the enemy of liberty because it leads to regimentation and the loss of spontaneity; too little efficiency is also the enemy of liberty because it results in chronic poverty and anarchy."

Viewing the whole problem from a rational and scientific standpoint, there should be no objection to the use of machinery in the development of cottage industries if the following conditions are satisfied:

1. Full employment of the human, animal and natural resources of the country.
2. Elimination of economic exploitation through the organization of Industrial Co-operatives.
3. Machines should be cheap enough to suit the economic condition of Indian masses in rural areas. They should also be easily repairable in the locality. If necessary, the State should set up machine-tool stations in sufficient number for facilitating quick repairs.
4. Cheap hydro-electricity is made available to all the artisans in a region. If electricity is "rationed", it would naturally lead to dissatisfaction and economic disparity among the villagers.
5. Power also should be, as far as possible, decentralized so that the dislocation of one hydro-electric plant may not force millions of artisans to be idle and helpless. Such decentralization of electric power has been effected to a considerable extent in countries like Japan and Switzerland.

Consistent with the above-mentioned considerations, experiments should be made in different cottage industries to find out the "optimum" size and mechanization that would be suitable and efficient from the standpoint of 'overall' and balanced national economy for India. If serious efforts are made in this direction without bringing in 'irrational' considerations and prejudices, I am sure something tangible and concrete would be achieved in preparing final plans for the all-round economic development of the country.

Wardha, 1-3-'50

S. N. AGARWAL

[Note: My feeling is that while hydro-electricity may be a good long-range programme, for the purpose of speedy economic recovery of the country by finding immediate employment for large numbers of people, it is not of very great use. The industries immediately needed are such as can be established at once, and the tools such as can be worked by animal and human

energy. Also the articles so produced must be protected against competition by machine-made goods for satisfying the same wants. —K. G. M.] 11-3-'50

NOTES

Graded Pledges

The Jains have a sect known as 'Terapanthis'. It is said to hold very extreme views about the implications of Jain doctrines, and claims a few *lakh* followers mainly belonging to the mercantile communities of Rajputana.

At present it is headed by an eminent *acharya* in the person of Shri Tulsi. As the mercantile community is most involved in the present deterioration of business morals, Acharya Tulsi has for some time past been directing his attention to awaken the conscience of his followers in particular and the public in general against this deterioration.

The doctrines of Jainism in their strict conception presuppose total relinquishment of worldly life. But since this is not possible for a majority of human beings, a way has been found to admit laymen into the fold by a system called *anuvrat*, i.e. graded observance of pledges starting from a minimum of each. A person who has faith in, say, non-violence or non-possession, but does not feel strong enough to live up to it fully, may under this system proceed towards it by pledging that he will at least abstain from violence of a particular type, or from acquiring possessions beyond a particular limit or in a particular manner. Such pledges are called *anuvratas* (literally, atomic observances). At one time, this practice seems to have been widely prevalent among Jains.

Acharya Tulsi with a view to repopularize this practice, has established an association called *Anuvrati Sangh*, open to all people without distinction of caste, creed, colour, sex, etc. It has laid down for its members rules of minimum observances under such heads as truth, non-violence, sex-control, non-stealing, non-possession, prayer, etc. Some of the restrictions laid down would seem to be so obvious that every one should be expected to observe them. Some even need to be further tightened up. But the fact is that the most obvious duties of man towards society are not fulfilled in the post-war world. Hence, their specific enumeration is good.

Though the organization is open to persons of all religions, and the detailed items under heads other than that of non-violence have been thought of from a social and non-sectarian point of view, those of non-violence are conceived of strictly from the point of view of a religious sect. For instance, howsoever desirable strict vegetarianism might be, in the prevailing conditions and structure of human society, including that of India, only a small section from among Jains and Vaishnavas may be expected to pledge itself to abstain totally from egg, meat and fish diet, or from callings connected with these foods; so also, in regard to the use of silk and trading in

silk. (It is remarkable that the use of pearls and pearl trade are not mentioned, though they involve as much killing of life as silk, and are highly prevalent among Jains).

But these details apart, this effort to arouse the public conscience against unprincipled and unregulated life is commendable. A Conference of this *Sangh* met in Delhi in the first week of May, and it is reported that about five hundred merchants took the pledges, detailed in the rules of the *Sangh*. I hope the pledgers will observe them in letter and spirit, and act as a leaven to raise the moral level of the whole society.*

Wardha, 5-5-'50

A Remarkable Marriage

Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta's Sewakunj Ashram, Gangaghat, Kanpur, had a marriage performed in a remarkable manner on the 19th April. Besides the fact that it was an inter-provincial and inter-caste marriage, inasmuch as the bridegroom was a Bania of U.P., and the bride a Nair of Travankore, the priest was Shri Manzar Ali Sokhta himself, a full Muslim. Both the bridegroom and the bride are working under him and he stands to them in the position of the father. The marriage was attended by a large number of people. The ceremony was very simple and consisted of a *bhajan*, a sermon by Shri Sokhta, a set of questions to the bridegroom and the bride and, in keeping with the Travankorean custom, the tying by the bridegroom of a *tali* round the neck of the bride and the giving of a ring by the latter to the former. This was followed by a mutual present of garlands in accordance with the U.P. custom, and of a garland of hand-spun yarn by the priest himself to each of the parties to the marriage, as symbolic of the *Sarvodaya* spirit.

Wardha, 11-5-'50

K. G. M.

Gram Udyog - Nai Talim

The new session of the Grama Sevak Vidyalaya begins on the 1st of July, 1950. Along with the usual ten months' *Vinit* course (which includes training in a major industry such as oil-pressing or paper-making as well as short elementary courses in other village industries, together with theory classes in subjects connected with rural social service and Gandhian economy) from this year will be started the two-year course of *Gram Udyog - Nai Talim* with the object of training worker-teachers who will be able to give rural education through village industries. Village industries will become the media of education. While therefore the object will be education, the means will be productive village industries.

A short course of six months' duration for rural organizers named as *Gram Seva Pravesh* will also begin from July.

Details and prospectus can be had from the Secretary, Grama Sevak Vidyalaya, Maganwadi, Wardha. The last date for receiving applications is the 7th of June.

* The rules of the *Sangh* and other information may be had from Adarsha Sahitya Sangh, Sardar Shahar (Rajasthan).

HARIJAN

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1950

FRIENDLY RE-UNION*

Shri Alokkananda Mahabharati, President of the Arunachala Mission, Calcutta has recently (March 1950) published a pamphlet entitled *Indo-Pakistan Federal Union—the Only Solution*. Though parts of the pamphlet are after the style of religious literature and in the name of the founder of a particular religious order, it is a thought-provoking paper. Its arguments may be summarized, in the author's own language as nearly as possible, as follows :

The Partition of India was an immoral and unrighteous thing. It was not a case of the Majority (Hindus) imposing their wishes upon the Minority (Muslims) but, the Minority, misled and misguided, demanding Partition as the price for agreeing to the independence of the country. Unfortunately, Congress leaders agreed to it. But they did so under duress just to get rid of the third party, the British, the root of all troubles. They were sincerely and solely actuated by the desire of avoiding conflict and bloodshed. But the Partition solved nothing. It created...great, terrible, gigantic new problems. India is almost baffled by the immensity of the problems arising out of the Partition.

The Partition of the Punjab was an immoral and unrighteous thing. Forcible changes of population have not solved the Punjab's problems. The holy *gurudwaras* of the Sikhs and the temples of Hindus are in Western Punjab, where they cannot freely go and worship as they used to do before.

Similarly the Partition of Bengal, also, was an act of immorality and unrighteousness. Here also, an exchange of population will not solve the problem. Hindu temples and images, places of pilgrimage like Sitakund, cannot be moved or exchanged. The fundamental rights of the Minority could never be exchanged or surrendered. The thousands of temples and deities cannot be exchanged.

Therefore, the Partition must be undone. Let Pakistan remain a distinct entity, if our Muslim brethren so desire. But Pakistan must enter into a Federal Union with India. Indians should bear no ill-will against Muslims. But so long as the Partition is not annulled, there can never be peace and security for the Hindu Minority in Pakistan, nor for the Muslim Minority in India, no peace for either India or Pakistan. It touches their very existence. It has been the root of infinite troubles and degradation and savagery. Indo-Pakistan Federal Union is the only solution to the problems that have been created since the Partition.

Exchange of population will be criminal folly. It would be total and ignominious surrender to the forces of reaction. It would be getting further into the hands of the power of evil and courting more trouble. West Bengal and India would be overwhelmed. God does not sanction it. It would be something worse than war, evil as it is.

The author also discusses the means of achieving this. After arguing strongly against war, the author asks :

"How then, if war is ruled out, could it be achieved?"

and answers it as summarized below :

Men need a compelling force to break their mental inertia, to correct their wrong thoughts and ideas, to cure their perversity. This is right in the Divine Scheme of Things. God, in His Infinite Love and Wisdom, uses this compulsion through circumstances, which are being continually shaped and fashioned by Unseen Spiritual Forces.

But when men seek to apply that compulsion, it may go wrong. The motive may be impure, selfish, bad. Action causes reaction. Compulsion is met by opposition, sometimes strong, stubborn, violent. It may defeat its own object. Correction may in the end be delayed.

This does not, however, mean that men can leave it to God and themselves sit idle and do nothing. Men are on the plane of action. Theirs is to do to the best of their highest powers. But the thing is, at times of great national crises, men have not only to take momentous action but, also, to avoid wrong thoughts and actions, to pray to God, to switch their minds on to God, who alone can give right thoughts and right guidance. They have to act in God's name. On the plane of action, let Pandit Nehru and his Government, let every Indian, man and woman, take courage in both hands, and in God's name, placing full reliance on Him, reject evil. Let them denounce and repudiate the great evil of Partition, openly and unequivocally, and call for a Federal Union of India and Pakistan.

In the altered circumstances of today, in the light of the monstrous things that have happened, they will be fully justified in doing so. Anything short of it will not meet the demands of the situation. Anything short of it will be a betrayal of the Minorities. Men may find fault, but God will be on their side.

This they have to do. Instead of having one crisis today, another the day after, and so on without end, it is better to have a first class crisis, now and at once. Let there be a full and final solution.

In an earlier paragraph, the author draws attention to the necessity of a new understanding of religion,—

Above all, a great and profound change must come over the spirit of our Muslim and Hindu brethren. They must be awakened to a new consciousness, that they are above everything else the children of the same Father, God, brethren, one of another.

This is the only solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem, on which depended India's freedom, peace, progress and happiness. Change of heart and mentality alone will result in changed action on the part both of Hindus and Mussulmans.

God is One and Religion also is One. Hindus, Mussulmans, Sikhs and Christians, whatever may be the different forms and practices that they follow, are in truth, and reality, of one Religion. The moral and material interests of Hindus and Mussulmans are one and the same. Forty-five millions of Muslims are still in India. Partition serves no real human necessity.....

Not isolation, but UNION is the way, the one and only way, to the world's salvation.

Presently the fog shall be lifted. The darkness shall vanish. The Sun shall rise. Hindus and Mussulmans shall hang at each others' neck, weep and repent, and together they shall rejoice.

Islam and Hinduism shall be united, the two cultures, the two civilizations shall meet. Islam's mission in India shall be fulfilled. And together they shall worship their common Father, God.

Whether or not there is formal Federal Union does not seem to be very material. The

important thing is the substance and not the form. The substance is that the States of India and Pakistan and their various communities radically change their ways of thinking and attitude towards one another. They must always think in terms of unity and mutual friendship; they are together one people. They might belong to scores of religious sects or to none, and speak a dozen different languages and write in as many scripts. It is to the benefit of all that a composite unity should evolve out of all these differential factors. This will take its own time, but the essential condition for its possibility is that the approach of the communities and classes to one another should be friendly; that they realize and accept that they are children of the same soil, their problems are similar, their interests are identical and their geographical unity is indivisible. They cannot, must not, think of each other in terms of enmity. Folly, bigotry, selfishness etc. of some people on either side might create disturbance here or there; but the two Governments, and the leaders and the wise men and women of both the sub-countries must keep their heads calm and clear, hearts clean and impartial, and never allow the evil forces to gain ground. If this is accepted as the common permanent policy of the States and is demonstrated by honest actions on both sides, conventions, treaties, consultations, etc. may serve the same purpose as a formal Federation. A formal Union can be brought about under pressure even as the Partition was made. But it will fail to achieve its purpose without the union of hearts. A hearty understanding has no such fear, even if there is no writing.

If there is a conviction, as the author has pointed out, that the Partition did no more than satisfy "the vanities and unholy ambitions of a few politicians", and was "against the highest interests of vast millions of Hindus and Mussulmans", people of both religions should once for all, close their ears against all propaganda of hatred and war, whether in the name of Partition or in that of some kind of dictated reunion. The Government and the people of Pakistan must be as much convinced of the necessity of a formal Federal Union as the Government and the people of India. They must take their own time to know this. If the Partition is, to quote again the words of Swami Alokanda, "positive-ly against Divine Plan and Purpose, and can but lead as it has led, to disastrous consequences" and that "Hindus and Muslims must unite in God", let us not lose hope that God will give the same realization to the Governments and people of both the sub-countries. We must prayerfully wait till "God, in his Infinite Love....., reverses men's thought process" and brings about a conversion from within.

Wardha, 5-5-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

A.I.V.I.A. CONFERENCE, ANGUL

[The following statement has been issued as representing the considered view of the All India Village Industries Conference of the Sarvodaya Sammelan held in Angul on the 7th April, 1950 under the Presidentship of Shri J. C. Kumarappa:]

1. In order to increase the production of consumer goods for the people, on the basis of regional self-sufficiency at the present time, when there are only very few such goods which are sorely needed by the people, constructive workers everywhere should select some productive village industry and become personally proficient in it and then open centres of such production work in suitable places, organizing local resources and supply of local materials to the fullest extent.

2. To provide employment to the maximum number of people in the country, it has become necessary now more than ever before to emphasize that people should make their purchases of village-made articles in preference to any other even at some extra cost, as that will be true economy in terms of the masses who are in chronic unemployment and consequent dire poverty. It is specially the duty of the Central and State Governments to adopt and follow such a policy of purchase of village-made articles to the utmost extent possible, both to set an example and to help village artisans.

3. The industrial policy of the Central and State Governments raises the fundamental issue of the place of village industries in national planning. It is necessary for Governments to declare in unequivocal terms that in order to give a living employment to the maximum number of people and to utilize to the fullest extent local materials and talent they will not permit large-scale and centralized industries to destroy or even cripple village industries and that the right of village artisans and workers who produce what they need for their daily existence with local resources and materials will be untouched and fully nourished in any programme of national planning.

The Conference places before the people and the various Governments the following items of immediate work to help the country tide over the present economic crisis:

(i) All cloth production to be increasingly through the *charkha* and handloom only and the adoption of a policy of the progressive closure of textile mills and the stoppage of the import of foreign yarn and cloth.

(ii) Oil production through the *bullock-ghani* to be organized intensely on a country-wide scale in the rural areas and giving protection to this great village industry against competition by oil mills.

(iii) All paddy-husking and flour-grinding to be organized through *hand-chakkies* and all rice and flour mills to be closed.

(iv) Palm-gur production to be taken up as an alternative to sugar-cane products

and sugar-cane cultivation and sugar mills to be adequately curtailed.

(v) Leather tanning to be organized extensively as a village industry under direct help from Government and same to be protected from exploitation by big capital.

4. Since in the organization of certain village industries it has been found that there are some laws and regulations which act as a serious obstacle it has become necessary to study the statute books to discover such laws and rules and to remove them forthwith. Where necessary, suitable amending legislations should be made. The removal of such laws and rules should be made widely known among peasants and workers.

OBJECTIVES BEFORE THE SPINNING CLUBS

The idea of spinning clubs has caught the imagination of constructive village workers since the Charkha Sangh announced it and disseminated information and details about it. This is naturally gratifying and encouraging. At the same time we must not be blind to the risks underlying a sudden rise of popular enthusiasm in a movement. We have noticed several such tides of popular enthusiasm for the *charkha* in the course of the last thirty years.

In the course of my recent tour through various provinces, I noticed that people evinced great interest in the clubs on various considerations. For instance, that they would thereby be able to get *khadi* from the Charkha Sangh depots with ease ; or, that in course of time the spinning clubs would develop into a political party and capture power through this programme. Hence they feel that these bodies should be caught hold of from their inception. Similarly, there might be other opportunist considerations also for taking to this idea.

Thus there is a danger of the spinning clubs being pushed away from the right track, and so we must be on our guard from the very beginning. We must always keep our eye on the original objectives of the clubs and direct the movement in the right direction.

The spinning clubs have a heavy responsibility to discharge. They have started an activity in the name of Bapu. They should realize that the world is passing through such a complicated situation that the complication itself might become instrumental in destroying human society. Under various names and forms a powerful class or party arises which establishes its control over people and then exploits and crushes them.

In every age, people have fought battles in the name of freedom. But after obtaining victory the same persons started exploiting and crushing the people through the political power captured by them. The pages of history are replete with the testimony of these facts.

The organizers of the spinning-clubs movement have to find out the root causes which are

responsible for the constant failure of popular efforts for obtaining freedom. On careful examination, we shall find that usually the freedom battles had had the aim of defeating a ruling authority and not the evil system on which it rested. Consequently in the first stage, the fighters for freedom only dethroned a ruling monarch but not the monarchical system. This they made even stronger than before. The very persons who led the battle of freedom became the rulers of the State.

In the second phase they destroyed the capitalist, but not capitalism. The essence of capitalism consists in the system, which makes capital, or centralized control over the sources of wealth indispensably necessary for ordering life. With such living order, it was essential to create alternative centralized organizations in place of the old capitalist class. Thus those very people who had destroyed the old capitalists having organized themselves into a party, became the controllers of the very people, whom they had inspired to wage the war for freedom. In other words, capital was merely transferred from the hands of a class into those of a party. Being a better organized body than a class, a party could succeed in seizing the people in its iron clutches in the form of Dictatorship, and it coerced them into absolute submission.

The question is, why did such things happen? Gandhiji through his new revolutionary programme made an attempt to find a solution to this fundamental problem. He used to say from the beginning that an individual, or a class or a political party is simply an instrument. It is the system which is either good or bad. Therefore, if people desire to have real and genuine freedom, they must not aim at simply overthrowing the holder of power (whether an individual, a class, or a party) but should bring about a revolution in the system itself. The political leaders of India did not fully grasp Gandhiji's ideas, with the result that people seem now depressed and disappointed. We have not followed Gandhiji's advice of radically altering the British administrative system ; what we have done is simply taking over the administration into our own hands from those of the British. The result of it is that the condition of India is similar to the one which happened in the west when a king was overthrown but the kingship continued ; and capitalists were destroyed but capitalism is maintained.

This happened so because the leaders of all these movements of freedom kept the people simply as their followers during the war period. They neither made them self-reliant, nor prepared them for leadership of the freedom movement. Indeed, the problem of leadership is a difficult one. You must have clear views on this point. When during the war period people remain as mere followers, after the victory they have to remain dependent upon their organizers for all their institutions and also for the solution

of all their problems. Not being trained and practised to apply their own minds and initiative, the talent becomes inert and gradually atrophied. The establishment of absolute and arbitrary rule over such people becomes easy and natural.

Indeed, the problem before us is not how we might change the individual head who runs the system, but how we should revitalize the people's native talent and by producing in them the capacity to protect their own innate power, eliminate the necessity of organizer-leaders. This would be Gandhiji's fundamental revolution.

Gandhiji advised us that the way of revitalizing the people lay in creating a sense of responsibility in them through the constructive programme. But instead of following his teaching, we put up the people to simply fight the personnel in the administration arousing their passions through attractive slogans. After the end of the campaign when the passions subside, the people become even more dispirited and lapse into greater inactivity than before so that we who secure power are able to run the government in the same way as before. It is for the spinning clubs to end the beaten way of arousing fleeting passions and take to that of bringing about a real awakening in accordance with Gandhiji's ideals, so that people may learn to avoid being caught in the traps of an ambitious individual or class or party and to develop self-reliance.

The formation of spinning clubs through the Charkha Sangh is only a step in the direction of establishing people's own *swaraj* by putting an end to centralized management. You have to formulate your programme with this fundamental aim in view. In other words, spinning clubs must look to the supply of all the fundamental necessities of society; for it is their responsibility to free the people from the crushing burden of the individual, the class or the party. It is, therefore, necessary that the members of the spinning clubs should have a clear conception of the fundamental responsibility and their entire outlook and inspiration should be based on it. Members should arrange holding deliberations, debates and studies for a clear understanding of Gandhiji's views on politics, economics and sociology.

Besides they would have to pay special attention to the following points in the method of organization:

1. As I said above, whatever attempts have been made hitherto for the welfare of the people have been sustained on external inspiration and leadership. Their evil effects are visible in the prevailing conditions. Therefore, wherever village spinning clubs are formed, the inspiration and leadership should come from within. The task of the outside worker should be limited only to awaken the people.

2. Until now 'Constructive work' has been of the nature of philanthropy for the benefit of the "pitiable poor". This attitude of

patronization cannot lead to Gandhiji's basic revolution. In the final analysis the riches of the rich are made by the exploitation of those very "pitiable poor". To continue the programme of fighting poverty with the help of these riches of the rich is to perpetuate the exploitation of the poor at the hands of the rich, and be satisfied with taking back a bit of the exploited wealth for ending the "pitiable poverty" of the "pitiable poor". This is impossible. Therefore constructive workers must give up the usual method of carrying on their activities with the help of donations from the rich. Spinning clubs will have to shoulder the responsibility of organizing the supply of the requirements of the people and creating a social order without taking power into their own hands. Remember that power does not become stable unless it develops on the basis of responsibility. Power secured to the people by the Constitution sustains them only to the same extent as food distributed to the poor from a charity kitchen (*भक्षशाला*) may be expected to give them nourishment. It can only relieve them from immediate pangs of hunger. For permanent livelihood productive activity is essential. Similarly constitutional provisions may remove the immediate helplessness of the people, but for stabilizing the people's authority, people have to forge a sanction by continuously shouldering responsibilities. Therefore, even though you start only with the activity for being self-sufficient in cloth, you have to bear in mind that ultimately you have to organize the meeting of all the requirements of the people, develop a proper social order and maintain internal security by the people's own efforts.

3. In order to discharge such serious responsibilities of the spinning clubs, their members must be such young men and women as can achieve the fundamental aim of the revolution through sacrifice and *tapasya* (discipline and deliberation). You might be aware that 30 years ago, Gandhiji laid stress on self-purification as a part of the national movement. As the nationalists of the day did not adopt Gandhiji's message of self-purification, the country is faced with the present disturbing situation. Therefore, the responsibility of completing the task of self-purification now devolves on you.

4. Considering the above facts you should not worry much about increasing the number of clubs and members, but look intently for the degree of self-purification, the development of the spirit of brotherhood, and the growth of initiative and qualities of leadership in the members on roll. You must also observe how far the clubs have become self-sufficient in respect of tools and won the trust of the people and whether the people of the locality have understood the revolutionary character of the *charkha*.

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

(Abridged and translated from a letter to provincial spinning clubs)

GOSEVA CONFERENCE, ANGUL

[The following resolution passed at the All-India Goseva Conference at Angul, Orissa, on 12th April, 1950, has been received from the Secretary, All India Goseva Sangh, Wardha:]

The Conference is of opinion that the people, the *goshalas* and the Governments should help the nation-building activity of cow-breeding. The expectations of the Conference in this matter are as follows:

1. *From the people*: that they
 - (a) use only cow-milk and cow-*ghee* in their homes;
 - (b) do not use leather articles made from the hides of slaughtered cattle;
 - (c) do not use hydrogenated oils;
 - (d) carry on co-operative cow-dairies in villages far away from towns for the milk required for their needs;
 - (e) get their inferior bulls castrated and have their cows served only with superior-quality bulls; and
 - (f) if they are agriculturists, maintain cows and try to grow fodder for their cattle.
2. *From Goshalas*: that they
 - (a) maintain *go-sadanas* of unproductive cattle in distant forest tracts by several *goshalas* joining together for this purpose;
 - (b) convert the present town and city *goshalas* into institutions where good and healthy cows are maintained and superior-quality bulls are reared;
 - (c) maintain *nandi-shalas*, i.e. superior-quality bulls to serve cows maintained by the public;
 - (d) co-operate with veterinary departments;
 - (e) conduct *goras-bhandars* for supplying milk to the public.
3. *From the Governments*: that they should,
 - (a) inasmuch as it is essential for the uplift of the village that the village talent and wealth should not be lost to it, provide complete education and machinery of justice to the villager in the village itself, encourage village industries and create conditions to enable the villager to get the full value of his products;
 - (b) treat agriculture and *gopalan* (cattle-breeding) as inseparable occupations, and so encourage cultivators to keep cows, and grant lands to *gowalas* (cow-breeders);
 - (c) prevent the possibility of adulterating *ghee* with hydrogenated oils either by stopping that industry or by any other method;
 - (d) remove the milch-cattle of the cities to distant villages, and arrange for the import of milk from the villages into the cities instead of the cattle;
 - (e) take measures for improving the cow of the agriculturist, castrating unfit bulls and providing those of quality;
 - (f) grant forest lands for *gosadanas*, and give monetary and other help for initial and other essential expenses;
 - (g) allow full use of the forests for grazing;
 - (h) reserve grazing land as far as possible and not break the present grazing lands;
 - (i) start cattle-insurance scheme; and
 - (j) until milch-cattle are removed from cities, provide facilities for their return to villages on nominal railway freights during their dry period.

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No, a hundred times no, inspite of what the warring nations are saying as to the result of the discovery of the atomic energy and its use in war, and various devices for guarding its secret, and finally its power to put an end to war. And this, because, the selfishness which has driven mankind to kill and conquer, can never put an end to evil and violence but merely drive it underground till the defeated party becomes strong enough to avenge the defeat.

Only non-violence and passive resistance can triumph over evil and violence and selfishness which manifest as these.

You cannot go on bombing or killing a non-resisting people for any length of time. And if you do not succeed in turning non-violent movements into violent ones, there is no way of suppressing them. Not only world opinion, which has not yet learnt to understand and appreciate this old-new force, but the very conscience of man, inspite of its perversion, cannot help feeling the influence of selfless goodness.

Buddha and Jesus Christ and other great sages and prophets like Laotse, were not such fools as the worldly wise have taken them to be. But the world still waits to see the application of their teaching. A few obscure saints had practised it merely as a personal virtue, but it had not been applied to the affairs of a nation or the world at large. In this age, Leo Tolstoy expounded it with great genius, and Mahatma Gandhi tried to carry it out better than any one else had done before.

The time is at hand, perhaps through the very discovery of the atomic power, to test its efficacy and to show to a selfish and doubting world what it can accomplish. That will be the test and application of the spiritual anti-atom bomb to neutralize the atomic bomb.

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