

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

NAVAJIVAN'S DHARMA

[Speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the Opening Ceremony of the Navajivan Building on the 31st October, 1950.]

Bhai Jivanji, workers of the Navajivan Press, brothers and sisters :

I am very happy that early this morning we are all fulfilling a dear wish of Gandhiji at this place and we all are performing the ceremony of inauguration of the Navajivan Buildings. This Press was originally established at a place which nobody would like to visit. Swami Anand started this press in a small, old, dirty and dilapidated house at Pankor Naka. He and his colleagues laboured day and night to conduct it. I also used to go there occasionally. When Gandhiji came to Ahmedabad, established the Ashram and started his activities he decided that there should be a press of his own so that reliable and true information about his activities should reach the people. In Africa also, Gandhiji started a paper called the *Indian Opinion*. The Ashram established by Gandhiji is still there and the paper is being published. When Gandhiji started the Ashram at Sabarmati his activities increased and spread throughout India. At that time he endeavoured his best to see that all people get a clear and undiluted idea of his principles and thoughts. He would not allow a single speech or article to be published without his personal scrutiny. Therefore, it was necessary to have his own press. Thus the press was started. It was shifted to a second place but there also there were no facilities. The work of the newspapers is generally done on commercial lines and the newspapers get much of their income from advertisements. Some of them are also publishing advertisements which degrade the moral standard of the people. When Gandhiji started *Young India*, he made a resolve not to publish any advertisements in his paper. He felt that if the paper did not pay its way without advertisements, the paper should be closed; for him, it meant that the people did not like his ideas and there was no use in forcing them upon the people. But if our ideas were liked by the people there would be no need for taking advertisements. His own idea was to awaken India for the struggle of freedom and to increase its moral strength. If any one studies the issues of

Young India or *Harijan*, he will find out that there is not a single aspect of human life on which he has not expressed his ideas. They are different from what the common man thinks. One who wants to live a healthy life has much to learn from his philosophy. It was his desire that the Navajivan Press should have a good building and its staff also should have good quarters. When we were in jail, we talked about this.

The credit for this institution goes to its pioneer Swami Anand. He has put in very hard work in this. It was not easy to work with Gandhiji. He did not make allowance for any mistakes. Mahadev and Swami Anand used to look after this. Both used to correct each other's mistakes. Jivanji, Naraharibhai, and Kaka Kalelkar joined later. I joined it in 1928. I was also thinking that I should find out some good place for the press. I thought it would be best to have it between the Vidyapith and Ashram as all these would be his memorials. When I was dealing with the town-planning department as Chairman of the Municipality, this place came to my notice. It was a pond at that time. Afterwards by the efforts of the Navajivan Trust and by the help of our Ministers this land was purchased. This press building will give solace to Gandhiji's soul.

But I am a little worried. You have heard just now that there is a debt of Rs 15 lakhs. Unless that debt is repaid it is difficult for me to get an undisturbed rest. Bapu would not tolerate any debt; we also should not. We should try to be free from that debt by putting in some more effort. All possible clean measures should be taken. I am sure that we will be able to do this.

Bapu has written in the Trust Deed that all his movable and immovable property vests in Navajivan. The immovable property consists of his eternal purifying thoughts. It is our legacy to propagate his thoughts and to sell his literature as cheaply as possible. He has kept no other property and has not allowed his old colleagues to keep it as well. Those who worked with him day and night had to take a vow not to own any property. Property is an encumbrance and the public workers are put to trouble on that

account. But nobody has to regret for this sort of property.

It is a great responsibility of ours to make the best use of the legacy. Many people want to utilize independently Bapu's writings, speeches, articles, books etc. They think that we are not fit to be his heirs. But, whether we are fit or not, he has made us his heirs. I, therefore, appeal to all that it is against his wishes to try to publish his articles, thoughts etc. independently. Therefore, if you have any regard for him or for his thoughts, you should see that all this work is done through the Navajivan. We are the trustees and will have to go according to rules and regulations of the trust. Many people say that Gandhiji would not have done all this. I know Gandhiji and have worked with him. Wherever I was a trustee he always supported me in implementing the rules and regulations of the trust. Therefore, if anybody will break the rules, we will have to resort to Court. The trustees should strictly go according to rules. There has been some dispute and it is likely that in future also there may be some disputes. I, therefore, thought I would make the position clear.

Some argue that they will do the work more cheaply and more quickly. That may be possible. They may be able to do so but as they are not the heirs they have no right to do so. It is their duty to give full support to the Trustees. Gandhiji has done everything with a foresight.

Some say that we are sitting tight on the money of the Kasturba Trust and do not spend. That is not true. We have also lived with Gandhiji throughout his life. As long as he lived he himself managed the Kasturba Trust. We are following the tradition laid down by him that the money should be preserved if we cannot make proper use of it. We should not do anything in which the money would not be properly used or would be wasted. It takes time to train *desh-sevikas*, midwives etc. for helping the poor village people.

Same is the case with the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. People become restless when they see money — of course others' money and not their own. They should understand that there should not be any misuse of the money collected in Gandhiji's name. The Trustees will utilize it properly after careful deliberation. The literature of the Navajivan is also in the hands of a Trust, of which I am the Chairman and Shri Morarjibhai and Jivanji are members. We should see that even in future there is no misuse of it. We have strictly to follow the Trust Deed. We should also try to propagate Gandhiji's ideas as widely as possible. There is no intention of profiteering out of it. A portion of the profits is reserved for Harijans.

I hope that Jivanji and his colleagues will work with greater zeal and the Trust will be free from debt very soon.

May God give you success in this enterprise.

(Translated from Gujarati)

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI'S SPEECH AT THE CORPORATION

[Speech of the Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the reception given by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, on 29-10-'50.]

Mayor of the Ahmedabad Corporation, President of the District Board, Members of the Corporation and District Board, Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all let me thank you all for the address which you have been good enough to present to me and the warm welcome you have extended to me. Really speaking, it is not necessary for you to present an address to me. There is no need for a reception for a member of the family. If it is an outsider it is a different matter. Then it becomes our duty to give a reception to an outsider. I am one of you and it is not proper for you to praise me or for me to hear that praise. Moreover, whatever praise you give, it comes back to you. When my programme was fixed, the Congress President here who knows about my health cut down the programme of reception with a view to reducing the strain on me to the minimum. Then the Mayor wrote to me. I wrote to the Congress President saying that all persons in the Municipal Corporation are like members of the family to me and I would love to meet them but did not mean that you should arrange a big function. I have not come here for that. I have come here to meet so many old colleagues who have worked with me and also those lowly paid servants of the Municipality who have worked hard but have never talked in terms of a strike.

The Trade Unions which are formed today are of a different nature. At that time the Unions were just like a domestic union. This practice of the trade unions has come from foreign countries. The relationship between the employers and the employed which is prevalent in other countries does not fit in here. We should not slavishly imitate foreign practices but adopt only those which are suitable to our culture, tradition and surroundings. It does not mean that we are in a position to criticize them; but one thing is certain that we must eschew one thing in the practices that are followed there — the poison that is prevalent there should not penetrate here. The Mazdoor Mahajan here was established under the patronage of Gandhiji. It has achieved a great reputation. Obviously the workers or the millowners cannot follow in its entirety the advice of Gandhiji but they have done their best to act up to it.

Today I can afford to look back on the past. Those who worked in the twenties and thirties had to work their way against many difficulties and hardships. The burden of fighting with the Government fell on me. My colleagues fully co-operated with me and we overcame many difficulties. You all know that many times the Government had taken possession of this Municipality but every time they have handed

it back to us, they have always praised the work of the Municipality. Whatever national and patriotic spirit it was possible to introduce in the municipal affairs was introduced. The Municipality then took its due share in the National activities.

I remember that this hall had been just constructed when the A. I. C. C. meeting was held here. The Armed Forces stationed in the cantonment were getting supply of water for all the 24 hours at comparatively cheap rates. When we raised the question we were told that there was an agreement with the Municipality for this. We asked for the agreement. They gave us a draft. I asked for the original. Then it came about that the original was not available. In fact there was no original. I traced the papers. I found that the legal adviser had advised that as the cantonment was outside the city limits the Municipality could not supply water, but they were provided with a direct pipe line. I gave them notice that they must pay within a month the dues for the use of water for three years and within six months should make their own arrangements; otherwise I would cut down their supply. The Head of the particular branch of the army came here from Simla when there were only a few days left for the expiry of the notice period. He stayed with the Commissioner. The Commissioner told him that if the demand was legal, the Municipality must be paid the amount due. The Commissioner wrote to me asking me to see the Chief of the army. I was then in the A.I.C.C. and I replied that I had so many guests from all over India for the A.I.C.C. meeting and if he wanted he could come and see me in my office. He got angry and did not come. He then filed a suit in the Court of the District Judge and got an injunction against the execution of the notice. We told the District Judge that the order was illegal. The District Judge asked them to compromise with us. I told them that we had nothing to come to a settlement for. The District Judge asked them to deposit the dues in Court. I told them that they must credit the amount in the Municipality like other taxpayers and I would not give them any preferential treatment. Then they said they would not be able to make other arrangements within six months and wanted two years. I told them I would get it done cheaper in less time. Ultimately, they gave the contract to us and we did it. They paid three years' dues and one year's in advance. We were dealing with the Government in this way but they appreciated that we were protecting the rights of the tax payers. But now the Government is ours. We cannot fight with them in the same fashion. Of course there are some who complain that the present Government is doing certain things which even the previous Government did not do. There is a mention in the address about the separation of the education department from the Municipality. We did not submit to their demand and started our own schools by raising public funds. The Government had to accept defeat. Balubhai Thakore and others were active workers at that time. They said that other Local Boards were not following these scales of pay etc. Now our representatives are in the Assembly and we should get things done by mutual goodwill and understanding. You can say that I am talking about the Bombay Government but what about the Centre? If you ask the businessmen they will have something to complain of. Now the whole administration of the country is in our hands. Every one has his

own ideas as to how the administration should be conducted after Independence. Differences of opinion there are bound to be. Yet we should see that our work goes on and not hampered. There are lots of difficulties in our way. The economic unity of the country has been shattered due to Partition. The conditions of the neighbouring countries are also different today. We have to spend crores of rupees for getting food-grains from them. Still the Bombay people complain sometimes that they have rations for hardly twenty days. It is rather an uphill task. Shri Munshi is the Food Minister. He celebrated the *Vanamahotsava* so that we can get more water by planting trees. There was such a heavy rain that many areas were flooded. The trees had to be dislanted then. Now people say that there is no water and the trees are withering away. Assam suffered the tragedy of an earthquake and floods. So people are clamouring from all sides. Still we should not lose courage. We should learn to fight such calamities. Gandhiji has taught us that we should not depend on outsiders for anything. It was his idea that our mill cloth should go only to foreign countries. Today we are sending a good quantity. Indian cloth goes to Manchester instead of Manchester cloth coming to India.

Then the prices of the cotton have gone up. The labourers are clamouring for more wages. The middle classes find it difficult to make both ends meet, and are being hard pressed. Government servants are wanting more allowances. Of course this is not the work of the Municipality but a headache for Government. But it is the duty of the Municipality to see that the City is clean and free from diseases. The houses and the streets should be clean, and children should be provided with good education.

I reiterate what I said at the Gujarat Vidya-pith. We have achieved independence but we have to depend on a Pathan, or a Gurkha or a Bhaiyya to protect us. In Free India, if Gujarat wants to have its proper place, it should have all-sided development. I do not know what the revenue of the Municipality is, but the expenses have increased. It should be so. If necessary, we should increase the income of the Municipality. People should give donations to the Municipality instead of giving caste dinners.

The condition in the villages is still worse. India really lives in villages. The villagers are coming to the cities for earning their livelihood. This is not praiseworthy. The real thing to do is to improve the life in the villages. In England people go out to villages for week-ends to get peace, and to be away from the noise and bustle of the City. Here, if you go on Richey Road, you see the bustle. Horses, asses, cows, buffaloes and men all will be going along in full democratic freedom, but still there are less accidents here than in Bombay. In Ahmedabad we understand each other.

Ahmedabad was called by a Governor as the "Meanest and the Richest City in the World". He wanted funds. People here said that the leaders were in jail and did not pay anything. But we should be proud of our City and should strive for its prosperity. We should also see that the people of the villages round about live in happier conditions and are grateful to the City.

I am afraid I have already transgressed the doctor's limit and must now close. I am really happy to meet you all and once more thank you for your very cordial welcome.

(Translated from Gujarati)

NEW SPINNING AND CARDING TOOLS

(A diary of experiments in technical improvements).

Japanese Spinning-wheels

We received reports last year that the spinning wheels of Japan were more efficient than ours. Some friends suggested that representatives of the Charkha Sangh should go to Japan to study them. The Sangh considered the suggestion favourably and decided to send a party of its tool technicians to Japan. In the meantime, it was learnt that the Government of India were to bring to India some typical tools of Japan, and they would include a few spinning wheels also. We decided that we should first examine these wheels here before proceeding to Japan. On their arrival, our technicians went to Delhi and saw them. The Sangh was able to secure two models of *charkhas* and examine them in its experimental laboratory. The tests carried out revealed that they did not satisfy the objectives of the Sangh, and were not quite as efficient as had been imagined. It is unnecessary to discuss these models in detail. Suffice it to say that not much hope can be built on them.

If a wheel has ten spindles, or if the winding is automatic, we are apt to think that it must necessarily be superior to our simple *charkha*. But we must also take into consideration the problems created by several spindles, and by alterations made to facilitate automatic winding. The Japanese wheel, examined by us, is operated by pedals and had ten spindles. It was found that the speed of the wooden rollers on which the yarn was wound was so low, that all the ten rollers together could wind 500 yards of yarn in an hour with difficulty. Naturally, then, this was the limit of its out-turn. Besides its slowness, the wheel was defective also in drawing the thread. We secured this wheel for Rs 488 from the Government Department.

The other model was reported to be able to spin a thousand yards per hour. But it was found that this was a gross exaggeration. It could spin with difficulty even as much as could be spun on our ordinary wheel. Besides, spinning on this wheel entailed more fatigue than on an ordinary wheel.

With this experience of Japanese wheels, the *khadi* technicians doubted the usefulness of the projected tour to Japan from the point of view of making researches in the wheel or of discovering wheels suitable for our country.

Meanwhile in our own country, increasing attention was being paid to experiments in tool-improvements for the last year and a half, and the success hitherto obtained was promising. So the whole matter was reconsidered and it was decided to postpone the projected tour of Japan and to devote more attention to the experiments that were under progress in India. It is possible that there might be some more promising models not hitherto seen by us. The Sangh tries to secure information regarding such models.

Shri Kale's Wheel

Shri Ganpatrao Kale of Maharashtra has been carrying on research in the *charkha* for over three decades. His last model was examined very recently in Bombay by the technicians of the Sangh. It can be worked by pedals as well as by electricity. The technicians of the Sangh saw the second one. It is a miniature spinning mill. From carding to spinning—all the processes are carried on in the same way as in a mill! Yarn is spun simultaneously on 6 spindles, and 16 to 20 hanks of yarn of 16 to 20 counts is produced in a day. From the point of view of spinning, Shri Kale's wheel appears to be more efficient than the Japanese wheels; but it is doubtful how far this wheel will be useful for domestic spinning or spinning for self-sufficiency.

It seems that this wheel will be pretty costly, taking into consideration its high price, its dependence on others for parts, and recurring expenses. It is reported, however, that the Government of Bombay have been experimenting upon it by putting it to direct experience. We hope that we shall know accurately from this the utility of this wheel from the *Sarvodaya* point of view.

Experiments of the Bombay Gramodyog Committee

This Committee has been conducting experiments in spinning at Poona. A new wheel has been made within the last few days on the principle of the Japanese wheel. It can be worked by pedals as well as by electricity. With mill-made slivers, a person can spin on it 800 yards of yarn of 10 to 12 counts per hour. But if it is worked by pedals, it is very fatiguing and exhausts the worker. The device used in this wheel is not very likely to so improve it as to reduce the worker's fatigue and in spinning fine yarn the labour is bound to increase. So this wheel does not promise to be superior to the ordinary wheel in vogue.

Shri Ekambarnath's Wheel

Shri Ekambarnath is a village youth of South India. He has also made a wheel based on the principles of a spinning mill. On examination we feel that it is possible that this wheel may turn out to be the simplest and the most efficient of all the models made on the principles of a spinning mill. The tests revealed that about $7\frac{1}{2}$ hanks of yarn of 11 counts were spun on this wheel in five and a half hours, i.e. exceeding 1,000 yds. per hour. The strength of the yarn was between 110 and 114. The slivers used were those made from cotton carded on a hand-bow. The thread broke 133 times in spinning $7\frac{1}{2}$ hanks of yarn. The present model is not quite free from defects. These will have to be removed. But on the whole it seems to be a promising model and the Sangh has decided that our experiment section should pay special attention to it. Shri Ekambarnath has been given financial assistance to enable him to pursue his experiments.

Carding Apparatus

The Sangh laboratories have been paying particular attention to a new carding apparatus recently devised. It can be added as an appendage to the spinning wheels—both horizontal and vertical—or worked by itself independently. The initial experiments suffered from the defects of making too much noise and going heavy. These have been considerably reduced. We insisted from the beginning upon not using ball-bearings. We have now dispensed with metal bearings also. Bearings made of ordinary *kakar* (dry thin hide) are found to give satisfactory work. It has reduced the noise. The heaviness has been reduced by using the ordinary spindle bar as the shaft for holding the set of 'teeth-blades' of the carding-wheel. The present experiments are carried on to work this apparatus in combination with spinning. Including the time taken for preparing proper layers of cotton for being introduced into the carding box, and making slivers later on, and for spinning and winding, the highest speed attained is 355 rounds per hour. We expect that an average spinner will be able to attain the speed of 240 rounds (320 yds) per hour, in carrying out all these processes.

Some of us are of the opinion that instead of providing for carding along with spinning, it would be more suitable to provide for carding independently. In independent carding the unit should be a home so that all the slivers needed by the family might be prepared at once. This too is being experimented upon; their speed has reached 5 to 10 tolas per hour.

Shri Satyan, in his *khadi* centre in U.P., has devised a larger carding machine, so as to attain the speed of 20 to 30 tolas per hour. The spinners card their joint cotton by turns in co-operation.

All these efforts are made with a view to remove the necessity of purchasing slivers for spinning. Possibly all the three methods and units will prove useful according to circumstances. But we think that if the first device is successful, it will take us nearer towards our goal.

Foldable Bamboo Charkhas

Bamboo Charkhas are proving very useful and efficient. They have been made foldable so that they may be easily carried and placed away after use without occupying too much space.

Experiments on "Sea Island" cotton of Kerala

Kerala promises to be a good producer of "Sea Island" cotton. It has a long fibre, which cannot be carded either by the traditional *pinjan* (carding bow) or by our carding machines. Experiments of spinning with this cotton were conducted at Sevagram. It can be carded easily with a wooden knife by the *tunai* process, and spun into yarn of 65 to 70 counts. Possibly spinning a still finer count would make the work easier than otherwise. Owing to paucity of stock the experiment is still incomplete. If this experiment proves successful, it will solve the problem of making hand-spun sewing thread.

Wooden Axles

In the first stage of *kisan* and box *charkhas*, the axles used to be made of wood. As these were found to wear away speedily, those of metal began to be used. Recently we have discovered in Andhra a hard kind of wood, and we have been experimenting upon axles made of these for the last twelve months. The experiment is still being pursued, and it will be too early to predict its outcome.

(Translated from Hindi) KRISHNADAS GANDHI

ASSAM EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUND

From 24-10-'50 to 28-10-'50

Names & Place	Rs	as	ps
Dr Mahashankar Trivedi, Zoze	15	0	0
Shree Vallabh Vidyalaya, Bochasan	183	10	9
Shree R. D. Thiasawal, Indore	10	0	0
Shree Badrinarayan Monit, Jodhpur	9	0	0
From Chopda—Donating Rs 201: Shree Manekchand R. Sheth; Rs 101 each: Gangadhar B. Sheth, Govardhan B. Sheth, Totaram Z. Sheth; Rs 51 each: Sitaram N. Sheth, Nemichand S. Sheth, Chopda Motor Union, Nathmal M. Sheth, Fakirchand J. Sheth, Chhaganlal N. Sheth, Ranchoddas N. Sheth; Rs 31 each: Kalyanji Jerambhai, Haji Abdul Sakur H. V., Ranidan T. Sheth, Mulji K. Sheth; Rs 25 each: Asakaran T. Sheth; Rs 21 each: Shivlal A. Sheth; Rs 15 each: Chunilal B. Sheth, Karsandas N. Sheth; Rs 11 each: Dr Sadashiv Shankar Kothari, Nathmal K. Sheth, A. A. Isa Sheth; Rs 7: Motilal B. Sheth	1,101	0	0
Dr M. E. Naidu, Kottar	10	0	0
Shree Narayanbhai G. Patel, Borebhada	3	0	0
Shree Janakibai Soman, Ahmedabad	5	0	0
Shree Sarvodaya Samaj, Palej	101	0	0
Shree Phiroza D. R. D. Wadia, Bombay	100	0	0
Shree Mulji S. Dalal, Manavadar	20	0	0
Shree Bhalchandra K. Bidvai, Amravati	2	0	0
Shree Shantilal P. Desai, Bombay	25	0	0
A Gentleman, Aurgam	51	0	0
Shree P. R. Adhikari, Poonch	10	0	0
Sum already acknowledged	14,768	3	3
Total	16,413	14	0

BEWARE OF COCA-COLA

The other day I noticed a full-page advertisement of a new beverage recently introduced in India from the U.S., called 'Coca-Cola'. I wish to warn the public against its use. The following information about it is based on a note in the *Interpreter* (July 1, 1950) of Brookeville, Ohio, U.S.A. :

* The drink is prepared from a "secretly compounded concentrate" (designed 'Coke') shipped from America "to independent bottling companies all over the world, there to be mixed with sugar and carbonated water".

"In the more detailed *Consumers' Report* analysis (August 1944) we learn that to the concentrate are added acid (kind not mentioned), sugar (averages 10 per cent to 13 per cent), artificial flavouring and caramel colouring (source not indicated, but it is well known that flavouring and colouring are most usually harmful coal-tar derivatives), and carbonated water (which is slightly acid). The concentrated *cola* syrup is an extract of the *kola* (or *cola*) nut and the extract from the coca leaves, flavourful portion of cocaine-producing plants from which the cocaine has been removed. Says *Consumers' Report* :

"The *kola* nut, used medicinally as a nerve and heart stimulant, contains two to three per cent caffeine. But less than half an ounce of *kola* extract goes into a gallon of syrup, which is then diluted with about five times as much carbonated water, so the natural caffeine (in a six-ounce bottle of Coke) is very low — no more than a quarter of the amount of caffeine in a cup of coffee. Some manufacturers add more caffeine, however, to give the drinks more "stimulating" effect."

"Considering the harm from white sugar, Cola-users would do well to compute their consumption from this source. A six-ounce Coke with a 10 per cent sugar concentration, would result in six-tenths of an ounce. One bottle a day would mean about fourteen pounds a year; those 12-ounce Colas would mean.....28 pounds of sugar a year. (A total of fifty pounds of sugar from all sources per person a year is adequate.) Those who drink from two to ten Cokes a day in the summer can multiply the amounts to their heart's content—or destruction. It breaks ours to see parents 'treating' their youngsters—sometimes babes in arms—to Cola drinks. Even though there is nothing dangerously poisonous in it, the white sugar is destructive of body calcium; the appetite is blunted and wholesome food and drink replaced by Cokes. Children are thereby definitely trained to a 'sweet taste'—to eating for the palate instead of health's sake. This is the root of much that is superficial and harmful in modern food habits. In fact this dependence on sweet foods and on pleasing the palate is the bigger part of today's abnormal living for and by the senses."

On the one hand sugar is said to be scarce for ordinary domestic consumption and people cannot get it sufficiently even for their ordinary needs. But manufacturers of Coca-Cola, Gluco-Cola and similar sweetened drinks, sweets, candies etc. can get as much as they like for spoiling the digestion and tastes of the people, and making them pay more for the same amount of sugar after converting it into a harmful form.

Wardha, 20-10-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

CONTROLS WITHOUT SANCTION

The Madhya Pradesh (or the Central?) Government some weeks ago fixed the ceiling price of gram at Rs 13 per maund, without imposing any control on gram-dal. The result was that all the gram in the markets went underground and could be purchased only at black-market prices, and the price of gram-dal shot up to something like Rs 22 per maund, whereas proportionately to the Rs 13 for gram, it should not have been more than Rs 17 or 18. (I understand that the order has been since rescinded or modified, after allowing an excellent period to gram-merchants of making money).

It is clear that there can be no effective control without a proper sanction. U. S. A. can control the prices of cotton all over the world, because it possesses the largest stock of cotton in the world. A commercial magnate possessed of the largest stock of a commodity in a country, province or town can dictate his own price for that commodity in that area. These controllers do not require a Government to back them. There is no magic in a Government notification, that its mere promulgation may keep the prices at a desired level. The Government must be in a position to supply the commodity needed by the community at the rate dictated by it. This the various Governments of India are unable to do. Nothing is, therefore, easier for the merchants than to defeat such orders by the tactics of which they are good masters. Every such control is converted by them into an additional opportunity to make profits in a way detrimental to both the public and the Government. And morally the nation is sinking lower and lower every day. A considerable part of black-market money goes into the hoarded wealth. It gives neither income-tax nor sales-tax, and ceases to be effective currency for a considerable time. The honest trader is obliged to wind up his business, the honest consumer is unable to get his necessities of life and suffers in health. The honest man's standard of living definitely falls. The corrupt elements in the country thrive.

After the above was written I saw in a Gujarati daily a news item to the effect that a citizen contemplated to organize some kind of Satyagraha against controls. I do not know who he is, how far he is qualified for it, and what his plans are. But it is high time that a country-wide protest is made against the present understandable policy and an enquiry demanded to examine it *de novo*.

Wardha, 21-10-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

A Correction

In the speech delivered by Sardar Vallabhbhai at the Foundation Laying Ceremony of Kasturbagram as reported in the *Harijan* of 28-10-'50 the sum donated by the Mill Owners' Association of Indore for the construction of a prayer hall is given as Rs 40,000. The figure given is incorrect. It should be Rs 50,000.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND GOODWILL

APPENDIX I

The Place of Truth in the Modern World

The doctrine of Truth is as badly needed by the modern world as the doctrine of non-violence; for it reeks with untruth no less than with violence. As Lord Lytton puts it, Truth is a displaced person seeking a home and finding none in national as well as international politics (*What Life Has Taught Me*, Odhams Press, 1948—p. 166). "Party window-dressing to captivate the electorate would be deemed fraudulent in the prospectus of a business company. The language of politicians, whether when praising their own party or criticizing that of their opponents, has little more relation to fact than that of international diplomacy." As regards international affairs, Lord Lytton compares the profession of the Atlantic Charter (i: no territorial aggrandizement; ii: no territorial changes not in accord with the wishes of the peoples involved) with the performance of its signatories and says, "By such common consent has this great declaration of high altruistic purposes been consigned to oblivion that it is not even referred to by those who have suffered by its disregard."

"It has been said that Truth is the first casualty in war. . . . In order to deceive the enemy, it must be suppressed and may be perverted. Governments that have practised deception for many years as a military necessity become skilled in the process, and continue the habit long after the necessity has disappeared. As most of the nations of the world have either been engaged in actual warfare or have been obsessed by the fears and suspicions which are the fruits of war, for the last thirty years, scarcely a vestige of truth or sincerity remains in their relations with one another or in the language of their diplomatic communications. Words today in international politics have lost all meaning, since they bear not the slightest relation to the facts or the intentions which they profess to describe."

V. G. D.

DECENTRALIZATION AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Industrialism and Population

The most recent sociological enquiries reveal the startling fact that the over-industrialized nations of the West are incapable of perpetuating themselves, that the values they extol do not inspire people to bring children into the world. It is now demonstrable that under the conditions of giantism in machines, factories and cities, the population can be maintained only by the constant infiltration of healthy blood from rural areas.

* * *

During the last 30 or 40 years American farming has moved more and more in the direction of the big, highly mechanized, highly commercialized farm, or the application of the mass-production methods of the Industrial Revolution to Agriculture. This has done two evil things: it has dispossessed large numbers of small farmers and compelled them either to become mass-production farm labourers or workers in the cities, and it has transformed agriculture into an exploited industry. The result is that, according to the 1940 census 75 per cent of the population of the U.S. is now concentrated in urban areas.

We thus see that in the interest of physical survival, the decentralization of urban populations and of industry—involving the marriage of agriculture and industry—has become an urgent necessity. This physical degeneration is the counterpart of the spiritual decay, which is symbolized in the mass man with his mass pursuits who eventually becomes the basis of the totalitarian State.

* * *

Conclusion

Before concluding I should like to make a few observations on the probable effects of the economy I have advocated on the standard of living.

It is possible that in many cases the money standard would fall at least temporarily under the new economy, but unquestionably the spiritual standard would rise considerably. So many economics would be effected, however, that the fall of income due to the substitution of qualitative for quantitative production would not be as great as many are inclined to suppose. For one thing a considerable percentage of local production, both agricultural and industrial would be consumed locally, that is, within the regional areas that the new economy would bring into being, and this would cut out a large number of costs that are inevitable under a highly centralized system of production and distribution, especially those connected with transport, packing and middlemen.

* * *

Investigations and experiments carried out by Mr Borsodi the well-known American decentralist, have proved that owing to the relatively small overhead costs of small-unit production, the latter is able to produce more cheaply than the big combines, one of whose aims is invariably to drive the small producer out of business in order to raise prices.

* * *

Another factor which materially affects the standard of living, is fashion, which reaches its maximum power in a mass-mind community. Advertising and fashion are two of the major means of keeping industry going where profit-seeking rather than the quality of civilization is the outstanding social motive. By a sudden change of fashion, millions of garments, or pieces of furniture, as the case may, are discarded, thrown away or destroyed, without thought. This practice like the pursuit of excitement is the result of the mental vacuum caused by repetitive work. The cure is the extension of creative labour.

The pursuit of spiritual values is dependent upon the habit of meditation, which in the main springs from the habit of thinking that is developed in creative work. In such work one is always adapting means to ends, a mental process which has many important consequences. It results in the production of commodities of quality and distinction, which in turn help to raise the standards of taste, while the development of personality to which these processes give rise makes for greater independence of judgment, which is the antithesis of fashion.

Moreover, once the joys of creative work are experienced, they are sought for in every department of life. One invariably finds that the man who works creatively also plays creatively. As a result, the antipathy between work and leisure which is so characteristic of our disjointed times, disappears. Work and play become complementary forms of creative activity, each enriching and calling for the other. And in this way, we transcend the dualism of our time with respect to work and leisure and reach a true unity. To practise in leisure-skills that are complementary to those practised in work is the most satisfying way of using one's leisure. So true is this, that it becomes difficult to differentiate work from leisure.

It is the doing that is important. To watch a play, listen to music, read a poem, has its value, but the chief function of art is to inspire men to still greater creative effort. Life is a becoming and the human soul grows on what it contemplates and by what it creates. Creation is the highest form of human activity and thus the most satisfying.

How tragic, therefore, to think of "standards of living" in economic terms only, or to be asked by the Philistine if what one happens to be doing, be it making a garment, a piece of furniture or cultivating a garden is economic! Think of the pleasure of the doing, of wearing, using, contemplating or giving to one's friends the work of one's hands! Can money buy any greater pleasure?

What we need is knowledge of the art of living; the art of making beautiful lives, beautiful homes and beautiful

neighbourhoods, and of developing human personality; the knowledge that man can save his life only by losing it, by pouring out his soul in creative labour. It is because we have lost sight of this truth that we have sown the wind and are now reaping the whirl-wind, searing and selling our souls for a "standard of living" we are too stupefied to examine, and that is hurling us willy-nilly towards the abyss of the third world war.

WILFRED WELLOCK

(Abridged from *The Third Way*)

DECENTRALIZATION BY DECREE

Is Government-dictated decentralization ahead of us? We conclude that it is from reading "Billions for Atom Defence" in June 16th *U.S. News*. Government planners have a pump-priming project ready to start this winter that will involve one hundred billion dollars. (Try imagining what \$100,000,000,000 amounts to. We can only understand thousands. Multiply 1,000 by 1,000. Multiply that by another thousand, and multiply again by 100 and you have—rather the Government has—a hundred thousand, thousand, thousand dollars!). Portions of this unthinkable amount are destined for "long-range plans to decentralize big cities; aids for further decentralizing of industry; large-scale decentralized hospital facilities in suburban areas; decentralization of war activities etc."

Ought we now to give three cheers and raise a flag? Decentralization of population and decentralization of industry—at least two of the six decentralizations which we have been advocating—will become realities. But we find ourselves less than enthusiastic—for look at the cause and consider the method! Possible atomic war and Government planning and money, to achieve what good sense, right education and volunteer action should accomplish. What ironical confusion this is, that the two things to which decentralists are most opposed—war and centralized Government—should "put over" what decentralists have been calling for! Can both the determining cause and the method of operation be wrong, and the result good? It is not likely.

What will become of creative community forces, local initiative and regional patterns of culture? What chance have "grass roots" activities to flourish in the face of over-all Bureau blueprints authoritatively moving people and industries to the hinterland? Moreover, government decentralization moved by atomic fear, is to be accomplished by a mass boring into the earth. Decentralization as a normal, human trend should mean millions more people living in the sun and air, and on the land. But now charts and pictures show not only shelters, industries and huge parking spaces below the earth, but family living quarters in basements and cellar living rooms encased in concrete.

Modern man blindly refuses to see or seek natural, normal solutions to his living problems. He persistently ignores available alternatives to war and destruction. He hellishly insists on using Science to patch up old sores and thereby piles abnormality upon abnormality. Blind, like the mole, he now turns to burrowing underground.

Would that the Decentralist Conference, begun in 1945, had had the vision, skill and leadership to forge a widespread decentralization based on voluntary action! The best hope we can entertain now is that Schools of Living will be set up in many small communities and colleges to analyse life and guide experience of the flood of urbanities that will soon be coming, by government decree, to our villages and towns.

— M. J. L.

(From *The Interpreter*, U.S.A. July 1950)

By Mahatma Gandhi

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR

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NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

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HARIJAN

Nov. 4

1950

AN UNFAIR ATTACK

The Mail of Madras wrote two leaderettes in September last under the common caption "Harijans" in which it charged the Harijan Sevak Sangh with departing from its original object of the abolition of untouchability. "Instead," it alleged, "it has set off the Depressed classes as a separate, permanently untouchable community."

The immediate cause of the first article was a few questions and answers in the Madras Legislative Assembly, arising from an order of the President of India publishing a schedule of Hindu castes, which should enjoy the special privileges mentioned in Article 341 of the Constitution. It appears that both the questioner and the Minister who answered him agreed that the schedule was a list of castes popularly styled 'Harijans', and that "Non-Hindus could not be called Harijans." In other words, in order to be styled a Harijan, the claimant must be a Hindu.

The Mail joined issue on the last point. It pointed out that

"the President's Order does not mention the name Harijan....."

"Harijan was excluded, and we think, wisely. That term was used by Mahatma Gandhi to denote untouchable, backward, and underprivileged people. He could not have meant that it should be applied exclusively to a section of the Hindu community. Nor could he have foreseen that in taking up the cause of Harijans he was giving room for their permanent separation from the rest of the community, which, as we have long insisted, is the effect of the work of organizations such as the Harijan Department in Madras."

The opinion ascribed by *The Mail* to Gandhiji is certainly incorrect. Shri V. Bhashyam Aiyangar, President the H. S. Sangh, Madras, pointed this out in a letter addressed to the editor, and published by it in its issue of the 11th September. As he said,

".....the name *Harijans* was given by the Mahatma only to those sections of the Hindu society who were regarded as untouchables. His famous Poona Fast was undertaken to see that the said sections were not torn away from the fabric of the Hindu society through politics. The movement immediately started for implementing the pact, then come to by him on behalf of the main Hindu society with the leaders of the said sections, was originally known as 'The Anti-Untouchability League'. It became 'The Harijan Sevak Sangh' after the term *Harijan* was found and applied to them by him.

The term *Scheduled Castes*, Shri Aiyangar wrote, had a history of its own.

"Scheduled Castes were formerly defined in para 26 of part I of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. They are castes of the Hindu society. The members of these castes were eligible for the help given by the Local Government through the Labour Department. Those who belonged to the

said castes, but were converted to religions other than Hinduism, were also eligible for help by the said Department. Curiously enough, the former were being designated "Non-converts" and the latter "Converts". The designation of "Non-converts" which is obviously absurd, was done away with by a Government Order of 1947, which directed that the term *Harijans* should be substituted therefor.

"The result at present is, therefore, that 'Scheduled Castes' and 'Harijans' are of identical significance."

Referring to other "backward and underprivileged people" who were not Harijans, i.e. untouchables of the Hindu community, Shri Bhashyam Aiyangar pointed out:

"There are, of course, non-Harijan Hindus who are also eligible for the special help provided by the Government. They are called 'Other Eligible Communities'. Those who belonged to the Scheduled Castes, but had been converted to religions other than Hinduism, continue to be eligible for help as before."

He refuted the charge that the work of the Harijan Department of Madras resulted in the "permanent separation of the Harijans from the rest of the Community".

The Mail answered Shri Bhashyam Aiyangar in the same issue. It accepted that originally "the object of the (Anti-Untouchability) League (the precursor of the Harijan Sevak Sangh) was to unite Hindus and the Depressed Classes by abolishing untouchability.

"But the Harijan Sevak Sangh, departing from the objects of the parent League, has set off the Depressed Classes as a separate, and permanently untouchable community. It employs the word *Harijan* in a sense very different from what Gandhiji meant. Whereas he used the word *Harijan* to mean 'the pure people of God', the leaders of the Harijan Sevak Sangh use it as a synonym for pariahs, outcastes, untouchables or, as they were later called, 'Scheduled Castes'."

It appears that in the opinion of *The Mail*, Shri Bhashyam Aiyangar's statement that "at present Scheduled Castes and Harijans are of identical significance" is at variance with Gandhiji's use of the term *Harijan*.

This is a puerile pun upon the meaning of the word *Harijan* in its literal *cum* idealistic sense and its denominational sense. Who are the Harijans, that are not also untouchables and members of Scheduled Castes, and vice versa? The name *Harijan* was given to all those who were regarded as untouchable Hindus and none else. "I regard 'Harijan'" wrote Gandhiji, "as a fitting name, because the Caste Hindus cannot be properly considered God's children, but the 'untouchables' certainly can." (*Harijan*, 11-3-'33).

The leaderette proceeds to say:

"The Harijan Department, in effect, pays the Harijan, to remain untouchable, aid from the Harijan Fund being denied to a Harijan if he embraces another faith and thereby ceases to be untouchable. Leaders of the Harijan movement say that Harijans are Hindus. If they are, they should be called Hindus, and the term *Harijan* given up. The State should help them along with other poor and deserving people, without bisecting the Hindu community as it now does."

I regard this change as a subtle way of keeping the untouchables under subjugation. The

aim of the anti-untouchability movement was and is the removal of untouchability without the untouchable being asked or compelled to leave the Hindu fold. If renouncement of Hinduism is the method to be employed for the removal of his untouchability, obviously the easiest (although the most suicidal one for Hinduism) method would be to reward every untouchable who left the Hindu fold, and to pay grants to every proselytizing religion for taking over untouchables into its fold. Could this have been the object of Gandhiji in founding the Anti-Untouchability League or the Harijan Sevak Sangh? Let Gandhiji himself say:

"Liquidation of untouchability cannot be attained by the conversion of untouchables to Islam or any other religion. For it is the so-called caste Hindu, who has to rid himself of the sin of untouchability. He can wash away the stain only by doing justice, however tardy, to the outcaste." (*Harijan*, 20-4-'40).

The Constitution has fixed a period of ten years for the complete fusion of the Harijans with the general Hindu community. This is possible only if the *Savarna* Hindus will, during the period of grace, rise to the occasion and perform their part of the duty, namely to treat Harijans on terms of equality unreservedly and unconditionally, and to insist on full justice being done to them in every walk of life. They must honestly do every thing to give them equal status in their daily normal affairs, and to qualify them to enjoy their full citizenship rights. The Harijans must have free and unmolested access to every school, temple, shop, hotel, *dharmashala*, well, water-tap, tank or other reservoir, and public places where other caste Hindus are allowed to go. The *Savarnas* must not by hook or by crook put every obstruction in the way of their progress or drive them to conversion out of despair. If instead of working towards this result, their idea is to simply wait for the completion of the ten years' period in order to demand that they (Harijans) should be deprived of their special privileges, it would be a dishonest agitation. The Harijan Sevak Sangh would be failing in its duty if it did not jealously watch the interests of Harijans during this period, regardless of the motives that might be imputed to it. In fact it is the only largest institution, which does it in an organized manner, throughout the length and breadth of India. It has a body of permanent workers drawn from both the so-called Caste and Non-caste Hindus, and pledged to this work. It will certainly do every thing, in the words of Shri Bhashyam Aiyangar, "to facilitate the complete fusion of the Harijans with the rest of the community by helping the former to come up to the average level of the latter in education, economic condition, status and influence."

Wardha, 24-10-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

GREETINGS

[Some of the messages of goodwill received on the occasion of the opening of the new NAVAJIVAN premises are reproduced below.]

(1)
Calcutta, 30-10-'50

New House will be able to give even a greater publicity and make available Mahatma Gandhi's teaching to countless millions who need them today more than ever.

(By telegram)

RAJENDRAPRASAD

(2)
Wardha, 26-10-'50

My dear Jivanji,

It is glad news that the Navajivan Press is going to occupy its own building and premises. I am really sorry I am not able to attend the function and hear the Sardar's inspiring words on the occasion.

This opening ceremony has behind it the history of the progress Navajivan has made from the day it was started in the narrow lane near Pankor Naka to this day. It had to pass through various ups and downs during all these years. I believe Swami Anand and yourself will have to tell the whole story some day.

During these years Navajivan has changed its premises more than once, has passed through many a vicissitude, the names of the Papers the Navajivan Press printed and the names of the editors of those Papers have also often changed and would go on changing, but the ideal which brought it into being has ever remained the same, has never changed. That ideal was set by Babu, Navajivan's founder and real editor. Navajivan has to follow that ideal even in the future. Its various publications and the profits they bring have been reserved and are to be held in trust for the constructive activities in the service of our people as shown by Babu.

Through Navajivan Babu breathed new life into India, fought many a battle, performed the miracle of exercising the right to conduct a Paper from a prisoners' cell; he was able to achieve all this by his truth, his non-violence, the meekness that was in every fibre of his being, and by the infinite compassion he felt for the poor.

May the Navajivan Mandir ever strive and succeed in maintaining and furthering those ideals!

Yours sincerely,
K. G. MASHRUWALA

(3)
New Delhi, 25-10-'50

My dear Jivanjibhai,

Your letter of October 24th. I am glad to learn that Sardar Patel is performing the opening ceremony of the new premises of the Navajivan Press. I am afraid, it is impossible for me to attend this ceremony but I send you my good wishes for the occasion.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(4)

Wardha, 26-10-'50

My dear Jivanji,

Received your invitation to the function to be held on the occasion of the opening of the Navajivan building and premises. To attend the function would really have been a great pleasure. I have seen the beautiful big building for the Press and offices and the residential buildings for workers just a few days ago. I have expressed my pleasure also. When an institution has its own convenient buildings it can perform its function well and to satisfaction. Such buildings contribute a great deal to the steadiness and progress of the activities of the institution.

Bapu by his will has assigned the ownership of all that could be called his material wealth to Navajivan. He has also by his blessings assigned to Navajivan the duty to spread his revolutionary message throughout the world.

I am sure Bapu's blessings will for ever act and inspire Navajivan to serve India and the world brilliantly.

Yours sincerely,
KAKA KALELKER

(5)

New Delhi, 29-10-'50

My sincere hope and prayer that work for Bapu's ideals for which Navajivan has always stood will be carried on with ever increasing zeal and devotion in new building. Best wishes on auspicious occasion.

(By telegram)

AMRITKAUR

(6)

Council Hall, Poona,
27-10-'50

Dear Shri Jivanji,

I am in receipt of your letter, dated the 24th October 1950, and thank you for your kind invitation to the opening ceremony of the new premises of the Navajivan Press and of its Staff Quarters at the hands of the Sardar on the morning of the 31st October. I regret very much that it will not be possible for me to come to Ahmedabad for the function as I have to be in Bombay on that day. The Navajivan Press has been the means of giving to the world the great teachings of Mahatmaji at a nominal price and as its very name implies, has infused through those teachings a new life throughout this country. I sincerely send my good wishes on the occasion and pray that it may continue to have a long career of increasing usefulness and inspiration to our people.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. KHER

(7)

Rishikesh, 30-10-'50

May God's guidance be ever with Navajivan in spread of Bapu's sacred message.

(By telegram)

MIRABEHN

(8)

New Delhi, 31-10-'50

Wish Navajivan Trust continue career on true public service as country's greatest Publishing House.

(By telegram)

DEVSDAS GANDHI

(9)

New Delhi, 29-10-'50

Sri Devdas Gandhi has told me all about the great Navajivan buildings. My best wishes to all those housed therein.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

(10)

2, Park Street,
London, W. 1.

I wish Navajivan all success in the service of the motherland. It is a plant sown, watered and nurtured by Bapu and there is no doubt that, it will always remain true to his message under the care of the Sardar, who is the guiding spirit.

(From his letter)

G. V. MAVLANKAR

(11)

Shillong, 30-10-'50

May Navajivan Press with which great names of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel are associated serve people of India and cause of Bapu's Life Mission by broadcasting his writings to every nook and corner of country. I have every expectation that new premises opened by Sardar Patel will help in fulfilling that objective. My best wishes with all workers who will be using these premises for above great purpose.

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

(12)

Your telegram. Maulana Saheb sends his good wishes and blessings on the auspicious occasion.

30-10-'50

(By telegram)

PRIVATE SECRETARY

(13)

New Delhi, 27-10-'50

Dear Friend,

Thanks for your kind invitation to attend the opening ceremony of Navajivan Building. I am sorry I have other previous engagement at the time. Under Sardar's auspices I am sure the ceremony will be a grand success. Navajivan has done valuable work in the past. I am sure with new opportunities its scope of useful activity will increase. The nation needs Bapu's thought and philosophy of life. In spreading his message Navajivan is not only rendering service to India but the whole of humanity. My best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI

(14)

Belgaum, 26-10-'50

My dear Jivanjibhai,

I am grateful to you for the kind invitation you sent to me to attend the opening ceremony of the new premises of the Navajivan Press on

the 31st October. It is fitting that a great disciple of revered Bapu should perform the ceremony. I wish the function all success.

I am sorry I cannot attend the ceremony. Yet my heart is with you.

Yours sincerely,
GANGADHAR DESHPANDE
(15)

New Delhi, 29-10-'50

Dear Friend,

Received your invitation to attend the function of opening the premises of the Navajivan Press and the staff-quarters. I am sorry, I will not be able to do so.

I am sure the Navajivan Press will, through its work, help people to realize Bapu's dream in their individual and social life. The new premises will also offer one more opportunity as well as facility in this task.

I wish the institution all success.

Yours sincerely,
SHANKARRAO DEO
(16)

Nagpur, 26-10-'50

Navajivan Press really represents in the truest sense new life. Whatever Bapu touched transformed itself and became an instrument of the service of the people. Press today is a potent factor in leading men on to truer and better life. Bapu never valued anything by how much money it produced but by what service it was capable of rendering to the people and contributing to their peace and happiness. Navajivan Press is one of the contributions of Bapu for that purpose.

MANGALDAS PAKVASA
(17)

Simla, 28-10-'50

Dear Shri Desai,

I thank you for your kind invitation at the opening ceremony of the buildings of Navajivan on the 31st October by Sardar Patel. I wish the function all success.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. TRIVEDI
(18)

New Delhi, 27-10-'50

My dear Jivanjibhai,

I must congratulate you for having been able to get Sardar Vallabhbhai to open the new premises of the Navajivan Press and its Staff Quarters.

Dreams are really a very fragile stuff and often-times disappear into nothingness. But that is not certainly the case with the dreams of people like Bapu. *Satya Sankalpa* may be the proper designation for the dreams of such people. I am sure under the able guidance of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Navajivan, The Trust would for ever more continue the work that it has started and put into the hands of the people in a concrete artistic form the words of wisdom that Bapu thought, spoke and wrote.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. DIWAKAR

(19)

Ranchi, 31-10-'50

Engaged. Cannot attend. Congratulations. Hope workers will carry Bapu's ideal through life

DHIRENDRA MAZMUDAR

(By telegram)

(20)

I am glad to learn that the Navajivan Press is having its own new premises for the office and staff quarters. It is a matter of gratification that its opening ceremony is being performed by the Hon'ble Sardar Patel, who had such close associations with Bapuji. May this institution flourish and continue its long and unbroken record of service to humanity by propagating Bapu's noble ideals. My best wishes go with the institution.

GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

(21)

New Delhi, 30-10-'50

My dear Jivanjibhai,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th October, 1950.

As I was away I could not reply earlier. I am glad that Navajivan Trust will be now having its own accommodation. This building, I am sure, will continue to be the centre of inspiration for all over the country.

I wish your function every success.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. GADGIL

War Resisters' International Conference

[The following is received from Miss Grace M. Beaton, Secretary, War Resisters' International, Enfield, England. — Ed.]

At a recent meeting of the War Resisters' International Council it was decided to hold the next International Conference in Germany.

The Conference is booked for the 27th-31st July, 1951, both inclusive, and will meet at the Kant Hochschule, Braunschweig (British Zone), Germany. The headmaster and staff of the school have extended to W. R. I. a very cordial invitation and friends in the town nearby are also looking forward to the visit to their part of Germany. It is also interesting to note that the Danish Fredsvenners Hjaelparbeide. (Danish Friends of Peace Relief Work) have a centre in the vicinity and they too look forward to the visit.

This programme is announced from now, so that friends making their plans for next summer may know of this opportunity of meeting the members at the triennial international gathering of the movement.

For further information, please write to Miss Grace M. Beaton, Secretary, War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

THE PARADOX OF MONEY

This is a tale of 1935. In those days I spun the whole day. I took a vow of spinning at least 16 *lattis* (4 hanks of 850 yds.) every day. I did this for one full year. This was a full day's work for a good spinner. The object was to measure wages for spinning and, if possible, to live by the wage earned. Bapu once asked me how much money I could earn at the current rates of the Charkha Sangh. I told him my labour was worth two annas. He then asked me what my expenses were. I replied that they were 8 annas. His grief could be clearly seen from his words, "This means that a full day's wages of even a skilled spinner cannot maintain him."

At about the same time the well-known civil engineer Shri Ramdas Gulati, who was supervising spinning at the Savli centre, had brought to Bapu's notice that the wages paid to the spinners were quite inadequate to maintain them.

Bapu began pondering and placed before the Charkha Sangh a suggestion that a spinner should get a minimum living wage of 8 as. The suggestion was discussed at great length. Even experienced workers felt perplexed by the suggestion. In the end the Sangh accepted the principle of the living-wage, though it did not agree to the 8 as. as suggested.

Charka Sangh and the Living Wage

The Working Committee of the Sangh considered the current wages of the spinners inadequate and expressed an opinion that the wages of the spinner for 8 hours' work per day should be fixed at a value which would enable her to buy a balanced diet and necessary cloth (20 sq. yds. per year) and asked all the provincial branches to progressively increase the wages, as circumstances permitted, till the objective was reached.

Accordingly, the wage was, more or less, increased in all the provinces. Experiments were carried on for 2 or 3 years. The Maharashtra branch of the Sangh fixed the daily wage at 6 as. but it did not work. The other provinces did not co-operate, and the increased rate halted at 3 as.

A recent discussion on wages with Shriyut Krishnadas Gandhi disclosed that at present a spinner can earn (for 8 hours' work) 8 as. at current rates. This does not mean any increase in the living-wage; it only indicates the effect of mounting prices.

Marvel of Declining Wages

That the living-wage had not increased was known to me, but the talk revealed that it had actually decreased. I was not prepared for this; I was under the impression that at least the status quo was maintained.

The calculation of this decline is as follows: 15 years ago when the wages were fixed at 3 as. per day, the daily wage could purchase $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pailis* of *juar*. At the present rates, the maximum quantity of *juar* for 8 as. is $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pailis*. This means that the present wage is the equivalent of the old 2 as. But it is strange that nobody was even aware of the reduction. How has this marvel come about?

The Paradox of Money

This is the paradox of money! Had the old wages been fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pailis* instead of at 3 as., they could not have been reduced to $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pailis* without a hue and cry being raised.

Today people like me do not even know it; on the other hand employers might be feeling that wages have risen in proportion to dearness. This paradox of money which shows a reduction as an increase is the ruin of all our work. The poor spinners, content with their lot, dare not demand increase in wages. But we have to ponder on this. Does this satisfy the expectation raised by the above resolution of the Charkha Sangh?

Give Full Living Wage

The dawn of the living-wage idea was named by Jajuji the Birth of the 'Moral Age' of *khadi*. The preceding period was the 'Age of Relief'. The present orientation of *khadi* is regarded by him as the 'Spiritual

Age' of *khadi*. This must surpass the Moral Age. It is good to spin and with understanding, but in employing others we must give them a full living wage.

VINOBA

(Translated from Hindi *Sarvodaya*, September 1950)

A NEW CULTURE

Humanity is longing for a new civilization, a civilization built by a non-acquisitive, non-compulsive and non-discriminating society. But a society cannot be without a culture, which is the vitalizing and the rejuvenating factor and culture is measured by the sum total of values tacitly and universally accepted. Now, while a political and social system can be created by organized power, a culture must grow from within the individual.

Without the seeds of a new culture a new society cannot emerge, since mere transfer of power from one social group to another changes nothing in the perception and appreciation of human values. No political revolution in the past has ever created a new culture; inevitably the old values would re-establish the old order with quite superficial modifications. We see it in all the countries which have passed through a revolution.

A change of values cannot be brought about by force or by skilful administration of people's work and leisure; it can only happen in freedom; and nobody can discover for another. Periods of the greatest culture were invariably periods of the greatest freedom, whatever the formal, political and social structure. The more liberal and non-compulsive the government, the greater the culture. Dictatorship is a dull affair.

We are now between two periods in human history, but there is no certainty that the new will be in any way better than the old, unless a new culture emerges. The old values, based on compulsion, gross or subtle, have created the very world which is now crumbling down before us; unless those values are given up entirely the new world too is bound to end in frustration.

Who will be the seed of the new life? Surely not he who draws his sustenance from the past, who lives on the past materially, intellectually, emotionally. He who lives on the past cannot but perpetuate the past. Who is the man who can stand up in revolt against all that the past contains not only politically and socially, but also ideologically and culturally.

Among the modern thinkers I regard J. Krishnamurti to be one who has divested himself of the past deliberately, consistently and entirely. He does not look to the past for any form of guidance. His thoughts are entirely original in the sense that they are drawn from his own personal experience carefully cleansed from all conditioning by the past. He is more than a thinker — he speaks from experience, he does not speculate, he describes. He puts before you facts, not theories. The ideas set forth here are collected from his talks and writings.

Nothing stands between man and truth except his clinging to the false as true. As the

truth is ever in the living now and never in the past; intelligent and clear-sighted revolt against the old, the established, the traditional is the first step to understanding. When the past is seen as false, the new comes into being, which is not a repetition with a variation.

It is neither possible nor necessary to speak of truth; truth cannot be seen as long as the false is seen as true. As the doctor is concerned with the disease and not with what the patient will do when well, so one must feel primarily interested in bondage, leaving liberation to the liberated.

This has a bearing on every aspect of human life. To be true to fact is the summit of understanding. The very cause of our misery lies in our unwillingness to see the facts as facts and ideas as ideas and in our perpetually mixing up facts with concepts. It is our tendency to take ideas for facts that creates havoc in the world. Discursive thinking, the very thing which has made us what we are, has become an obstacle to further growth. The comparatively new science of semantics is of absorbing interest in its bearings on human culture. It shows what a perverting and limiting instrument of thought is the word. To let go words and to cling to facts is the essence of right thinking.

Not only the instrument and the method of observation must be right, but also the observer must be careful not to allow his own conditioning get mixed up with the object of observation. He must not read himself and his instrument into the fact. For the observation to be correct the observer must go.

This is simple when dealing with material things, but when it comes to man's relation with man and with himself, the removal of the observer is not easy. But it is absolutely necessary to know how to look without the veil of one's personal and collective past. This is possible only in the state of awareness, which is the facing silently and choicelessly the actual, the fact, the "what is now". Only in the state of awareness understanding can happen. In understanding the problem dissolves.

Therefore the right approach to the problems of life is not through the past experiences, the usefulness of which is questionable, but through direct insight. This state of awareness comes when one learns to watch oneself, one's movements and speech, feelings, thoughts and ideas, motives of action and reactive impulses moment by moment and day by day.

Nobody can lay down the truth for another. The experience of it is the only thing that counts and experience is only for oneself. Every one must discover himself and the world anew — truth is never secondhand. Authority invariably breeds decay. Without self-understanding and self-integration the individual will remain a desintegrating factor and cause chaos in the world, which is but a magnified projection of

himself. Without change of heart there can be only variations in disharmony.

When this is seen our attitude to all group action undergoes a deep transformation. Without individual integration collective action is strictly speaking not possible. There can be mass action, organized, controlled and directed by a few, but true collective action, free from leadership and authority, cannot happen unless the individual is free from fear, greed and wrong ideas. Order and goodwill cannot be held by compulsion; non-violence is a matter of culture and without decent human beings there cannot be a decent world. Mass control will lead nowhere, because all control implies compulsion by power. Power can turn the ladder but the ladder will be there all the same.

The struggle for power between the various social groups must continue as long as such groups exist. But to look to this struggle for the solution of the world's problems is a sign of obstinate disregard of facts.

The masses are static, only the individual can be dynamic. The history of human culture is the history of revolt by individuals who would not follow the world and thereby made the world follow them. Society depends on its individuals for vitality and drive and therefore the stature of the man and woman it consists of is of utmost importance.

Individuals cannot be formed by mass action. All mass education, all forms of compulsion and propaganda merely perpetuate the mass. Nobody can change another, man only can change himself. Man will change only when he understands that he is the cause of the immense sorrow in the world and in himself. When he sees that there is no other way out of the world chaos except through man's self-sought change of heart, — in that very seeing there is change of heart.

The understanding that there can be no revolution except in the individual in his relationship to things, people and himself is very disturbing and hard to accept because it destroys our reliance on parties, organizations and institutions, on leaders and prophets, on every form of mediatorship between man and his sorrow.

It does not mean that joint action for a common purpose is not desirable. It has its place but it cannot replace the individual action born out of clear perception of the problem. True collective action is not possible without the right people to carry it out. Mass action is not collective action. It is based on compulsion, gross or subtle, while true collective action is in understanding and goodwill. On the other hand, the individual cannot live in isolation. In isolation man is not. Being is relationship. But the relationship with the others cannot be harmonious and creative unless man is truly related to himself. To be related to oneself is to be aware of oneself from moment to moment, to understand oneself, to solve one's problems and

to recreate oneself anew. The process begins with the individual, but does not end there.

To set the world right the man must set himself right. Until then whatever he does will be all wrong. Setting oneself right is not a distant dream. The moment its need is seen it begins to operate. The difficulty is with the seeing, not with the transformation. The transformation comes when need of it is seen.

This approach is essentially human, because it does not sacrifice man to an idea. Ideas are nothing and man is everything. Nothing has ever been achieved by sacrificing the individual. The new world cannot be purchased by sweat, blood and tears. The price is understanding and love.

MAURICE FRYDMAN

RELIGIOUS SACRIFICE OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Shri S. B. Adityan and the Madras Legislative Assembly deserve to be congratulated for passing a law prohibiting the slaughter of animals and birds in temples by way of offerings to gods. This practice prevails in all parts of India. Except in Bengal, in the rest of India it is confined generally to educationally backward classes, though some members of the priestly and ruling classes are not quite innocent of it. But the practice is resorted to on rare occasions and is definitely indicative of superstition masquerading in the name of religion and appeasement of gods. Unfortunately in Bengal, and perhaps in some parts of Bihar, where the worship of Shakti is more prevalent, it is on a very large scale. Public opinion elsewhere is definitely against it, and even the classes who resort to it do not approve of it when reasoned with. But when there is illness or some misfortune, superstition gets the better of reason, and since they are not abstainers from meat they do not look upon the sacrifice with that horror, with which vegetarians do.

The Madras law does not forbid slaughter of animals for food. It does not attempt to make people vegetarians by compulsion. It is aimed simply at preventing superstitious killing in the name of religious sacrifice.

The movement against animal sacrifices is several thousand years old in India. It has progressed step by step, but has not yet reached its goal. How deeply Gandhiji felt on this subject will be seen from the following sentiments expressed by him in his *Autobiography* :

(In 1902, Gandhiji was in India for a short time. He paid a visit to Calcutta. On the advice of Babu Kalicharan Banerji he went to see the Kali Temple.) "On the way I saw a stream of sheep going to be sacrificed to Kali. . . . We. . . . passed on to the temple. We were greeted by rivers of blood. I could not bear to stand there. I was exasperated and restless. I have never forgotten that sight.

"That very evening I had an invitation to dinner at a party of Bengali friends. There I spoke to a friend about this cruel form of worship. He said: 'The sheep don't feel anything. The noise and the drum-beating there deaden all sensation of pain.'

"I could not swallow this. I told him that, if the sheep had speech, they would tell a different tale. I felt that the cruel custom ought to be stopped. I thought of the story of Buddha, but I also saw that the task was beyond my capacity.

"I hold today (1929) the same opinion as I held then. To my mind the life of a lamb is no less precious than that of a human being. I should be unwilling to take the life of a lamb for the sake of the human body. I hold that, the more helpless a creature, the more entitled it is to protection by man from the cruelty of man. But he who has not qualified himself for such service is unable to afford to it any protection. I must go through more self-purification and sacrifice, before I can hope to save these lambs from this unholy sacrifice. Today I think I must die pining for this self-purification and sacrifice. It is my constant prayer that there may be born on earth some great spirit, man or woman, fired with divine pity, who will deliver us from this heinous sin, save the lives of the innocent creatures, and purify the temple. How is it that Bengal with all its knowledge, intelligence, sacrifice, and emotion tolerates this slaughter?"

Customs rarely agree with reason. The fulfilment of Gandhiji's desire is a long journey yet. The Madras Government has taken just a small step in that direction. Let us see how far other Governments are able to follow it up. If Hinduism purges itself of its animal sacrifices, it will create an atmosphere for inducing followers of other religions to cease to kill life by way of an offering to God.

Wardha, 21-10-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

REAPING WHAT IS NOT SOWN

'Grow more' is the slogan, but conscious and unconscious efforts tend only to growing less of food. Agriculture is not the mere cultivation of cereals and pulses for food, it is a wide range of the production of raw materials, needed for the industries also. Sugar-cane, oilseeds, tobacco, jute, cotton, tapioca are the raw materials of industries. The area of cultivation of these crops fluctuates according to the market price of these commodities. The crop which got the agriculturist more in terms of money attracted him, and he began to grow more and more of it. Whatever the attraction of these crops the traditional agriculturist continued to grow enough cereals for himself and his farm servants. The small holder's first preference has always been his food. But the introduction of controls has changed the situation.

The controls, with their logic of fair and equitable distribution at a fair price, have seriously lessened the production of commodities under their sway. A total rigid control of all consumable goods, and a guaranteed supply

of the minimum human requirement can be effective, but it is almost beyond human capacity to administer it. The administration of controls is at best imperfect, with no guarantee as to the supply of the minimum, but the result has been a reduction in the area of paddy, an important cereal. The Food Minister of Madras had to accept that seven *lakh* acres of paddy land had been diverted to commercial crops. Normally the extent of seven *lakh* acres should yield seven *lakh* tons of paddy or enough grain to feed some forty lakhs of people.

The uneconomic price of paddy and food cereals — the lowest of all States in India — and the intensity of procurement have forced the agriculturist to change over to commercial crops, even to the extent of dependence on the ration shops for their food. These commercial crops get them many times more money than the cereals, while they save the agriculturists from the harassment of the procurement officials. In these days of money economy they too want as much money as they could get.

Whether in the flow-irrigation area, or the baled-irrigation area or the rain-fed area, the change over to commercial crops is quite easy, and very attractive. The following is a table of flow-irrigated crops with their net incomes per crop :

No.	Crop	Duration	Total cost of cultivation per crop	Gross yield	Yield in money as per current Prices Rs	Net income per crop
1.	Paddy (rice)	3 to 6 months	120	24 mds	180	60
2.	Groundnut	4 to 5 months	100	30 mds	600	500
3.	Plantain	1 year	400	600 bunches	1200	800
4 a.	Sugar-cane	1 year	600	40 tons	1400	800
b.	—	...		60 bags of jaggery of 140 bales each	2400	1800
5.	Betel vine (Pan)	1½ yrs.	1000	...	3000	2000
6.	Turmeric	9 months	500	40 bags of 140 bales	2000	1500

This table will clearly show the disparity in the prices of the various commodities. Of these paddy is the one crop controlled and even if one is to raise three crops of it in his field his net income will be a fraction of that from any other crop.

With the rationing wing of the Food Department and with the supporting hand of the Government for these commercial crops the agriculturist need not be afraid of his future. He can command any amount of purchasing power. But if food is the concern, we are all drifting away from it. In other States the intensity of procurement has not been so far felt by the agriculturists, but when the uniform intensive procurement is enforced in all the States — as it has been decided — woe unto our country. Why self-sufficiency, we will have a surfeit of money, not food!

Who will look into this and mend?

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM

MANAGING TRUSTEE'S STATEMENT

Sardarshri, Sisters and Brothers,

Before I make, with your permission, a statement on behalf of the Navajivan Trust I would first remember the sacred name of the founder of the Navajivan Institution and the Father of our nation. He founded this institution in 1919 for the education of our people, carefully nursed it, looked to its proper development, and gave to it the spirit of service and sacrifice, the faith and the inspiration necessary to take it to the form it has reached today. During its career of the past thirty-one years the organization has passed through various vicissitudes and has seen many ups and downs but has ultimately emerged successful and strong by the strength of his devotion and sacrifices. I shall not take your time to depict this glorious and inspiring history of more than a generation. I would rest content by giving it in a small pamphlet which has been distributed to you today.

In the year 1919, Gandhiji started his campaign against the Rowlatt Bills or rather for the establishment of Hind Swaraj and as part of that campaign started the two weeklies the *Young India* and the *Navajivan* and laid the foundation of the Navajivan Institution. The Institution had neither its own printing press nor building at the time. The first five numbers of the *Navajivan* were printed in a small printing press, the Natvar Press. But it was not possible to carry on in this manner for long. On the one hand the sales of the *Navajivan* were rising very fast and on the other no press would long dare to go on printing Gandhiji's fearless writings strongly criticizing the Government of the day. Immediately therefore an old printing press was bought for rupees six thousand and was named the *Navajivan Mudranalaya*. We have met here today for the opening ceremony of the premises where the large printing plant into which that small beginning has flowered is to be housed.

But *Navajivan* was something Gandhiji had undertaken as his own special work — his mission. It was a seed with great potentialities. Its aim was to inculcate lessons of freedom in the people of India and establish Swaraj. These lessons had also in them the seeds of a new message for the world. Naturally therefore the history and development of this institution has been closely associated with that unique mission of Gandhiji. This institution started for the propagation of the mission has grown and prospered along with it.

This institution was started as a new phase of Gandhiji's lifework. But that great devotee of *Daridranarayana* would not possess anything in this world as his own property. To him the organization was property held in trust for the service of the poor. He was anxious to get it declared and registered as a trust in law at the earliest opportunity. In 1929 he executed a deed of trust and appointed a regular board of

trustees. Since that day the Sardar has been the chairman of the board of trustees and has ever remained its guide. Gandhiji was the soul of the institution and the board was ever anxious to be guided by him in its progress and the development of the work it carried on.

In this development Gandhiji had always before his mind's eye an ideal picture. He had always wished that the institution should have its own premises, that its workers have their quarters in its vicinity and that they together constitute themselves into one large colony. In 1928, a piece of land near the Sabarmati railway station was bought with that aim in view. It was however found unsuitable for the purpose and was later sold off. In 1939 the Trust bought from Government the land where we are sitting now. Land for housing the staff adjoining this piece was however not available. In 1947 therefore two pieces of land beyond the railway line were bought from Government. Gandhiji founded three institutions in Ahmedabad during the initial years of his mission in India — the Satyagrahashrama, Navajivan and the Gujarat Vidyapith. Their mutual relations have all along been very cordial. In fact they were limbs of the same body. It is a matter for deep satisfaction that today the latter two of them have become actual neighbours.

Navajivan has not carried on its work all along from any public funds or donations. It has always managed to find its own expenses. Gandhiji very strongly held that if newspapers could not find their own expenses it must be realized that the people did not need them and that therefore they should not be imposed on them and carried on anyhow. His other rule for journalistic practice was that newspapers should not take advertisements. These two self-imposed rules he practised successfully in the conduct of his papers.

Besides this beautiful building for its Press and offices Navajivan has built twenty-four small and seventeen large residential quarters to house its workers. It has invested an amount of about thirty lakhs of rupees in these buildings, their lands and in its various publications. An institution maintained solely for the purpose of educating the people could surely not be expected to have such a large capital at its disposal. The institution has therefore taken an amount of about sixteen lakhs of rupees on loan for these various investments.

The construction of the residential quarters for the workers is nearly completed and workers have already occupied them.

It gives me real pleasure to inform you that architect Shri Asarpota and the Western India Engineering Company with its engineer Shri Haribhai Desai, have shown laudable care and enthusiasm in the construction of these buildings.

I also take this opportunity to express my feeling of gratitude for all those workers big and small who have laboured to take the institution to the position it holds today.

How could I fail to remember the late Mahadevbhai on this occasion? Every page of the *Navajivan*, the *Young India*, the *Harijan* papers and his various books that the Navajivan House have published is witness to the labour he devoted to the development and progress of this institution. This occasion is certainly one of joy for us but the consciousness that he is not present amidst us today adds a shade of deep sorrow to our joy.

Gandhiji has said in his will that he did not believe he had any property which he would call his own. But if in law some movable or immovable property was considered as his, books written by him and to be written thereafter, published or unpublished articles and writings and their copyright he left it all to Navajivan as his heirs. By this will Gandhiji has left all the wealth he possessed as property to the Navajivan Institution for the propagation of his ideals of truth and non-violence. He has thus assigned a task of heavy responsibility to the Navajivan Institution. It is certain, various memorials will be raised to his memory in various places all over the world. But his literary products which this institution will place before the world will surely be his truest and biggest memorial. I pray to God that to us the present trustees and workers of Navajivan and to all the future trustees and workers He give the strength and the capacity to fulfil this great responsibility loyally and faithfully.

Before I close I must express my gratitude to you all for the love and affection you have shown for us by gracing this occasion with your presence.

Remembering again the Mahatma of sacred memory I close. May his blessings ever keep us steady on our path of duty.

Sardarshri, I now request you to declare this building open.

Navajivan, JIVANJI DAHYABHAI DESAI
Ahmedabad,
31-10-'50

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