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TWO ANNAS

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

We shall no longer be able to get the opinion of this great and clear-visioned seer of our times on any event or situation of importance to humanity. This is a great and regrettable loss. Not only was Shaw's approach to every subject quite original, but he expressed it in a style and language, which was inimitable and went home. Like our own great Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, he was a *rishi* of this age. Internally his attitude towards life was not less serious than Tagore's; but he preferred to act the philosopher in the guise of a jester rather than in that of a serious-looking priest. Though the sharp weapons he used were made of speech only, he reminded me of a surgeon rather than an iconoclast or a victorious general spreading fire and destruction. Like an efficient surgeon, he knew his particular social anatomy very thoroughly, diagnosed the exact seat of a social disease, degeneration or deformity, and made a precise incision into it with the sharpest literary instruments of novel patterns devised by himself. His instruments were always ready at hand and he used them effectively and with perfect self-confidence. They certainly made a sharp cut at the moment and caused a wound, but the operation appeared like a welcome and enjoyable luxury because of the laughing gas, which he provided in liberal and dilute doses.

He had clear ideas about life and the world and the problems of the individual and human society. These gave him a standard with which he measured and evaluated every small or big act of individuals and society, and the good and the weak points in their conduct and character. His standard was delicate and exact to a fine degree, and he could detect the least departure from it with accuracy. He perceived the incongruous, the illogical and the disproportionate features of our life rarely noticed by others, and put down the sharp point of his literary instrument with an exactness, which astonished one and laid bare the defect for every one to see. But he was kind and generous and loved humanity with all its faults and pointed them out not for arousing a feeling of contempt but for bring-

ing about reform of life, if possible, or simply for creating a little fun for common enjoyment.

This was the service he rendered to humanity throughout his lifelong literary career both by his voluminous writings and casual remarks. He has left sufficient literary treasures for a person's careful study. Unfortunately, of all figures of speech, those that are related with mirth, are inseparable from the structure, grammar etc. of their language and are difficult to be reproduced in translations, more so in translations into languages of such distinct pattern as ours. Also, his plays, whether ostensibly staging a past age or the present one, show patterns of life very much different from ours. Most of them presuppose a perfect acquaintance with modern middle-class fashionable society of London. It is, therefore, difficult for those who are not well at home in the English language and literature and unacquainted with modern English life to enjoy Shaw thoroughly. But like Shakespeare, he will be read and studied as long as the English language is read and studied.

There were common points between Shaw and Gandhiji. He regarded Gandhiji as a "kindred spirit" and jestingly styled himself a second "Mahatma". He sympathized with India's aspirations and struggles. He was a vegetarian for several years past.

It is a remarkable coincidence that in his last illness, this great literary surgeon was himself served by surgeons rather than physicians.

Both Gandhiji and Shaw believed that 70, 80 or 90 was not longevity enough to be considered an age ripe for death. Gandhiji placed the target at 120 to 125 years. G. B. S. placed it, perhaps, still higher. Indeed, he thought that till 70 or 80, man did not possess wisdom and experience enough to render useful service to the world. Life was not sufficiently healthy, if the tissues began to degenerate and mental faculties deteriorated after 50, 60 or even 70. But, it appears that an event happens in every one's life, whereafter interest in physical longevity declines, and even if body and mind do not cease to function well, functions and duties of life are carried on more as a matter of habit than with pleasure. Gandhiji lost his interest in life after the

partition and communal bloodsheds. G. B. S. found the interest gone after the unfortunate fall, which broke his thigh. From the type of very old men depicted by him in his *Back to Methuselah* he seems to have been conscious of such change coming over in one's life. Still 94 was not, according to him, a sufficiently ripe age for such transformation. However, it happened so even to him. But though physically dead, he created for himself a subtler form of life, whose span is as great as he imagined for his Methuselahs. As Bhatrihari said, "Long lived are the men of learning, because their bodies of fame know neither old age nor death."

Wardha, 5-11-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

G. B. S.

Mr Bernard Shaw had long been wanting to see Gandhiji, and it was not without considerable hesitation that he came. He sat with Gandhiji for close on an hour, interrogating him on a bewildering variety of topics — ethnographical, religious, social, political, and economic — and his talk was illumined by his sparkling wit and sardonic humour. 'I knew something about you and felt something in you of a kindred spirit. We belong to a very small community on earth.' said he. Whilst his other questions were of universal importance, he could not help asking a question about the R. T. C. "Does not the Round Table Conference try your patience?" he asked, and Gandhiji had to confess with sorrow: "It requires more than the patience of Job. The whole thing is a huge camouflage and the harangues that we are treated to are meant only to mark time. Why not, I ask them, make a clean breast and announce your policy and let us make our choice? But it does not seem to be in the English political nature to do so. It must go by round about and tortuous ways!"

M. D.

(*The Nation's Voice*, chap. IX, p. 158)

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THE NATION'S VOICE

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GUJARAT VIDYAPITH CONVOCATION

[The eleventh Convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith was held on 29-10-'50 at Ahmedabad under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhbhai, its *Kulapati*. The *Mahamatra*, Shri Maganbhai Desai's statement regarding the activities of the Vidyapith and Sardar Vallabhbhai's address to the *snatakas* have been given below:]

The Mahamatra's Statement

We are glad to welcome you here and congratulate you on entering upon your seventy-sixth year. We pray to God that He may grant you many more years of health and activity to serve the motherland.

The Vidyapith, founded by Mahatma Gandhi on 18-10-'20, has just completed 30 years of its chequered career. On 18-10-'50 we had the good fortune to have in our midst the first President of Independent India. On the same day by a happy coincidence the history of the Vidyapith was published with his blessings. That occasion marks for the Vidyapith, which came into existence as a part of the non-co-operation movement, the end of one and the beginning of a new era. The function that is being performed today under your presidentship is an auspicious harbinger of the new era.

The last (the 10th) convocation of the Vidyapith, as you know, was held under the presidentship of Gandhiji, as its *Kulapati* (Chancellor). It is after eleven years that we are holding a convocation today. As the collegiate courses were stopped in 1930, due to the struggle for Swaraj, no convocation could be held in the interval.

We have now resumed our collegiate activity after the attainment of Swaraj. This we have been able to do thanks mainly to the Mahadev Desai Trust. The Trust decided to run a college for training social workers of graduate level and entrusted the work to the Vidyapith. The College was started in 1947 with a full-length course of studies (including field work) for 3 years. All the subjects are taught through the medium of Gujarati. The study of the national language is compulsory for all. Students are expected to live in the hostel as hostel-life is made a part of the education.

Besides the College of Social Service we are conducting a primary school on the lines of Basic Education. The Government have recognized it as an experimental school of the new education. We are also conducting two refresher and craft-training courses for primary teachers — one of 3½ months' duration and another of six months.

For the propagation of the national language as defined by the Constituent Assembly we hold terminal examinations in all the districts of Gujarat including Saurashtra and Cutch. There are nearly 175 centres in the whole area and about 13,000 students annually appear for the different examinations.

Besides these the Vidyapith is carrying on the following activities: book-publishing, dictionary department (including scientific

terminology), the library including the copyright section handed over to the Vidyapith by the Government, adult education, etc. A new revised and enlarged edition of the Vidyapith dictionary of Gujarati has been published last year. The Vidyapith reading series is used in several towns and districts.

Our library has grown with the passage of time and is now badly in need of a separate building to house the valuable collections it now possesses. The plans of the building are under preparation.

We are now thinking of starting a college of physical culture for the training of teachers. We are on the look out for proper men to staff the college.

Next year we shall have to start our Vinay-
mandir (Secondary School) to link up the Basic School with the college.

A school for backward communities (the Vallabh Vidyalaya) is conducted by the Vidyapith at Bochasan. That centre has also undertaken the management of two primary schools from the Local Board.

It has become necessary to erect new buildings for the increasing activities of the Vidyapith. With your advice and guidance we have been able to persuade the Gandhi Memorial Trust to earmark a sum of Rs 10 lacs for this purpose. I must express my gratitude to them.

I now request you to confer the degree on the new *snatakas* (graduates).

Sardar Vallabhbhai's Convocation Address

Today, at this Convocation Ceremony of the Vidyapith, all the events since its inception are passing before my mind's eye. I vividly remember the time when I performed the *khat muhurta* and Acharya Ray laid its foundation-stone. The notable part which the Vidyapith played in the educational and political field in India in subsequent years is quite fresh in our mind. The ups and downs of the Gujarat Vidyapith have been coeval with the rise and fall in the graph of our fight for freedom. The Vidyapith has its legitimate share of pride in the achievement of our freedom. It had to undergo a lot of hardships, sometimes the Government taking possession of the whole institution. But, thank God, the Vidyapith emerged successful every time through all those ordeals. The graduates of the Vidyapith have been successful in the various fields of life wherever they have gone.

The graduates who have received their degrees today are getting them in quite a different atmosphere. The changes that ought to have been introduced in education in the wake of freedom have not come nor is there the same glow because, though we have achieved independence, we have not yet shaken off the dead-weight of old practices and ways of thinking and living. India is passing through a crisis the like of which she has never seen before. If we are not careful

we will lose the freedom that we have achieved after so much sacrifice. Today people are criticizing the Government everywhere. In a democracy, constructive and responsible criticism is always welcome. At the same time, we should understand that we are beginners in democracy and if we want to bring our Government into line with those of other countries, we should carefully observe the developments throughout the world. It is the duty of the graduates of the Vidyapith to study these developments deeply and carefully and not be carried away by cheap popular sentiments. The experience that I have gained while touring the various provinces in the country makes me feel that in spite of all the criticisms, Gujarat has maintained its proper place and has kept its head cool. No one should believe that all the miseries would vanish all of a sudden because we have achieved independence. On the contrary, we are suffering more difficulties now than at any other time. Our trade is showing a downward trend. Middle-class people are becoming unemployed. There is the scarcity of food and grain on all sides. People are complaining about the shortage of cloth. The prices of cotton have gone up — higher than at any other time. In every industry there is one difficulty or the other. If we do not study the root causes of these features, we are apt to blame those who are not blameworthy. We, the people of Gujarat, are considered sane and have business acumen. The foundations of the fight for freedom had been laid here. It is, therefore, our duty to improve things as much as we can. We should not lose our balance of mind; we should not be overpowered by the difficulties that confront us. I am confident that we will be able to correct our mistakes, and will be able to explain the difficulties to our people. It is then that we would be leading the country on the right lines.

The progress in the field of education is rapid but it is not in the direction in which it should be. If we will not revolutionize our educational system we will not be able to make any progress. A system of education which does not make the people and the country self-reliant has to be changed. Now, it is in our hands to change our educational system. The Vidyapith has not to do much uphill work now; but the rich experience it has gained during the last 30 years should not go in vain. It should serve as the beacon light to guide all others. The Vidyapith need not have the false and artificial glow but it should put in solid work and should attract the people. It should not lose its equilibrium in success or adversity. We should also see how it can prosper. We must remember that it owes its existence to Gandhiji.

Maganbhai has drawn our attention to the need for physical education. We have been good businessmen, but if we want a *chowkidar* we have to bring him from outside. I sometimes wonder whether the *chowkidar* is the owner of

the property or the man who possesses it, if he has to depend on the *chowkidar* for protecting it. There are few Gujaratis in the defence forces. We are all businessmen and visit all parts of the world in connection with business. In business also, however, we have to be careful. The pioneer of the mill industry here was Shri Ranchhod-bhai the founder of the family of Sir Chinubhai. The industry is not in their hands today. We should, therefore, beware and use foresight.

The Vidyapith is not for such an industry. It has to exist for the education of our rural population. It is its duty to inject blood into the skeletons of millions in the villages. You graduates who have received degrees today should remember him whose picture (pointing at Gandhiji's picture) is before you and follow in his footsteps. You should not do anything that will bring the Vidyapith into disrepute. I hope you will prove worthy of the Vidyapith.

I give you my hearty blessings.
(Translated from Gujarati)

THE GUJARAT UNIVERSITY Foundation-Stone Laying Ceremony

[The Foundation-Stone Laying Ceremony of the Gujarat University Buildings was performed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on 1-11-'50. The following are the speeches of Shri Morarji Desai and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the occasion:]

Shri Morarji Desai's Speech

By inviting Sardar Vallabhbhai to lay the foundation-stone of the University Buildings we all have undertaken a serious responsibility. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves that we must always bear in mind this fact while carrying on the work of the University. The Sardar has been connected with the Gujarat Vidyapith since its inception. The ideals of the Vidyapith are his ideals. On this occasion of laying the foundation-stone we must bear in mind that Bombay has now six Universities. The growth and development of these will be in accordance with the ideals we will cherish. Babu has left us an ideal — as laid down for the Gujarat Vidyapith. Let us hope that that ideal will spread in us all through this University and the administration of the University will be carried on in accordance with it.

In our new university education must be given through the medium of the mother-tongue and we should see that this takes place at the earliest opportunity. The national language should also be given its proper place here. That both these languages — the mother-tongue and the national language — should be given due importance should never be lost sight of. Knowledge is very good for man no doubt; but material prosperity also is necessary. Prosperity alone is not desirable. We in Gujarat — especially in Ahmedabad — have known how to attain prosperity; but we have made no name as the votaries of knowledge. I hope we shall win that name in the future. Prosperity without knowledge leads to man's fall. I hope we shall

attain to right knowledge; no doubt the Sardar's guidance will always be there for us. Let us always beware and do our work thus in the future.

Sardar Vallabhbhai's Address

Thirty years ago the same *Shastri* who performed the religious ceremony today at the time of laying the foundation-stone, performed the religious ceremony when I laid the foundation-stone of the Gujarat Vidyapith. So many changes have taken place in India and the world during this period of thirty years.

Our wish and dream of establishing Gujarat University has now been fulfilled. It was the desire of Gandhiji when the foundation-stone of the Vidyapith was laid that there should be no Government control in the field of education. At the same time education should be of such a type that all those who imbibe it become themselves, and make their country also, self-reliant. Now, we can shape the destiny of our country as we like. It is in our own hands. No one can put any obstacles. Today this institution is coming into existence due to many years' ceaseless efforts and planning of Dadasaheb Mavalankar. Sheth Kasturbhai and Amritlal Hargovinddas gave him support and co-operation. This institution is the outcome of all these efforts.

The difference between the old and new Ahmedabad is great. It should be so. It is indicative of the development of the City. This appears to be a new city. Many big buildings are being built, and the roads are well laid out. Those who pursue their education here are fortunate. Still the real purpose of the University lies in the achievement of the economic freedom of our country. Ahmedabad is primarily an industrial city. How did the industry come here? How was it developed? You must know where those who brought and developed this industry took their degrees and acquired their knowledge. They were not those who obtained degrees but were those who knew how to utilize the hidden resources of this land.

If you will glance over the history of rich families, you will notice that they were very hard workers. The first generation works and earns. The second one increases the wealth earned. The third generally wastes the money on luxuries. We should see that this does not happen here.

The main goal of the university is that this disparity between the city and the village should be removed. Today in the world there is a great conflict on one principle: equal opportunities for all and equal distribution of wealth. There should be no disparity between the rich and the poor. Today, the rich countries try to increase their wealth or at least see that it is not reduced; some do not hesitate to resort to destructive tactics to protect their wealth. Our culture is of a different type. We will not be able to preserve what we receive as a result of this education if the benefit and light of that education do not

reach the villages. I, therefore, earnestly appeal to you all to see that the benefits of this institution reach the poor and backward villages surrounding us. Thereby we can remove the poverty that is prevailing there.

After achieving independence Government tried to have separate universities. There is some difference in the cultures of the various parts. Our culture as a whole is one but in different parts there are some variations. It is a good thing if all can progress according to their inclinations and natures. Then only can we progress. The medium of instruction in the Gujarat University should be the mother-tongue, i.e. Gujarati. The foreign language prevents our mental development and puts a great strain on our energy from very childhood. If we impart education through the mother-tongue, as has been said by Shri Morarji Desai, we can get better knowledge.

Today, the distance between the various parts of the world is getting shorter because of the easy communications throughout the world. It will be necessary for a few to have the knowledge of foreign languages so that we can participate in the affairs of the world. But it is not necessary for all to do so. Efforts should be made to impart education through the mother-tongue in this University, as soon as possible. At the same time, the national language should have its proper place. I have to make one request to you all. I would like to tell you one thing. This University is not for the whole of Gujarat. Saurashtra and Cutch are out of it. But this is for a short time. They cannot be separate for a long time, because it is unnatural. It is our desire to have a unified Maha Gujarat. But it will take some time. Till then, however, there need not be separate universities. In Baroda they want to have a separate University. My own feeling is that there should be only one University for Maha Gujarat under whose guidance and direction all should get their proper place. We should do our work in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill so that the whole of Gujarat can be proud of it.

I miss Dadasaheb Mavlankar very much today. I believe that no one else has put in as much effort as Dadasaheb Mavlankar has done in bringing the University into existence. He treated it as his own child. However, his co-operation will be forthcoming from wherever he is.

We have seen the consequences of election struggles in academic institutions in certain places. Whatever the constitution of this University may be, I hope that such consequences will not be seen here and I wish the same may be the case in other parts also. Gujarat has the unique reputation of having no troubles whatsoever in the Congress. A friend of mine has written an article after a great deal of personal experience that no complaints from Gujarat reach the head office of the Congress and that it is

due to Gandhiji and Sardar. The fact is different. We have all imbibed the lessons of Gandhiji's teachings and do not believe in mutual quarrels.

The prestige of Gujarat will depend on this University. I, therefore, appeal to the staff and Directors of the University and the students and the people of Gujarat to do nothing that will spoil its good name.

(Translated from Gujarati)

TO THE MERCANTILE COMMUNITY OF GUJARAT

[Speech delivered by the Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at the Millowners' Association Meeting, Navroji Hall, on 1-11-'50.]

President of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, President of the Gujarat Mahamandal and Members,

I am really grateful to you all, the citizens of Ahmedabad, for the care which you have taken to ensure that I am put to the minimum possible strain in my indifferent health. It was my desire to meet many people here. That was natural, because I do not have so many friends and relations anywhere else. I have lived here for many years and started my public career in this city. I served the city as much as I could for a number of years. I have friends in other provinces also but it was only natural that this city should have the largest number. I am sorry I could not meet all whom I wanted to. I am also not in a position to attend to the numerous letters that I am receiving but I fully appreciate the love and affection that you all bear to me. I crave the indulgence of those whom I have not been able to meet.

I thank you for your warm welcome. But I hardly needed it. I am one of you : you and I are one. Yours and mine should be one goal — namely, to consolidate the hard-won freedom of our country. That should be our duty and ideal. In this religious country wealth has never acquired a prominent place. It has produced wealthy people and rulers and will produce them in future also but sacrifice and abnegation are things which we have always held in high esteem. Religion and sacrifice have got a predominant place and every one's mind turns in that direction. No amount of wealth is worth having if it is not accompanied by prestige and honour. Wealth is always transitory. Goddess Lakshmi does not stay for long where she is not properly cared for. Similarly, wealth stays only where a good use is made of it. By the grace of God, you have earned wealth even though the industry here was started in difficult conditions. You have also done good business but now the times are changed. The world is changing. We have to move with the times. It is not necessary for me to say how we have to adjust because you all know it much better. You are all clever and intelligent persons. You know that today the industrialists have unfortunately lost their prestige. I do not say that you are at fault. But we have all to face facts. You must think over

what is to be done to regain this lost prestige and to increase it in the present changing conditions of the world. There is no reason for being angry at or annoyed with any one. Thoughtful people should always try to steer clear of the gusts of wind that prevail in the current atmosphere. Regarding the controls, if someone is prepared to take the responsibility of removing controls and honestly try to help the Government to relieve them of this burden, they will gladly consider it. It is a sad thing that there is such a mental estrangement between you and the Government. Your work will not be done by being angry with the Government. Those who are entrusted with the task of administration today have never done any business or conducted any industry. They have neither the capacity nor the experience to solve all kinds of problems. A sort of pride and authority are inevitable concomitants of power. Some of them realize this but we have to make allowance for it and try to explain things to them. But first you should think about your own defects. When you are welcoming me here it will be improper for me as well as for you if I count your defects. Moreover, I do not know anything more than you do. Now there are sons in your own house who believe that the wealth you have earned is not yours and has been earned by wrong methods, and that they should follow a different path. These sons of yours have to go to jails. The jail-going is also nowadays different from what it was during the non-co-operation movement. For any such son the best corrective is to let him try and run the mill in his own way. He will soon realize his mistake and if his intentions are honest it will not take him long to change to the right lines. We should stop the friction by which labourers will be put to loss or the industry suffer.

Gujaratis have a reputation for being farsighted and wise. They have their own defects no doubt. They keep Pathans, Bhaiyas, Gurkhas, etc to protect their property. If you have to keep a *chowkidar* to protect your property, I wonder who is the owner of that property — the *chowkidar* or you? The cream of Ahmedabad is here. I therefore put this to you. Ponder over it. It is your duty to take our country on the right lines after freedom. But what is independence? The Britishers have gone and the outer crust has been removed; but real independence will come only when we remove the poverty of the country and stabilize its economic condition. That is our duty. We do not know when the world will be enveloped by another catastrophe. Of course, every one hopes that it will not come. The greatest organization of the world — the UNO — where representatives of all countries meet is also making efforts for world peace. We wish it may get sufficient strength to establish peace in the world. We are also trying but it is not in

our hands. We are not so powerful. Many say that Indian foreign policy should be one of non-alignment with power blocs and following the path of morality. It is all right. But no one is confident that those who have no material power will be able to make themselves sufficiently effective. Saints and priests preach the path of morality but it is difficult to follow it in practice. It is probable that while following this policy we may hear abuses from both the sides. Nevertheless, our ultimate goal is to contribute our best towards the world peace. Tibet is a country which has not picked quarrel with any country. What is its condition today? It is being attacked by China. It has no strength to withstand the attack. If it had, nobody would have dared attack it. We tried our best for it. We wanted to secure a settlement of this problem by peaceful means. But China decided otherwise. In spite of our efforts we could not prevent the situation in Tibet. China also says that it has noted what we have said but that it is an internal matter. We do not know where else such things will crop up. If the conditions are such that peace can be established only by the force of arms, many kinds of difficulties will arise. Our country is old. Our culture is ancient. That may not help us. Of course many foreigners who visit India appreciate our culture and monuments. There are certain things also which they criticize. We know our own shortcomings. But one thing we must understand. If the present economic condition of our country does not improve, we shall cease to be really free. We should make every effort towards this end. If there is peace for five years we can do much work. But who can guarantee peace for five years, why even five months?

A few days ago, H. E. the Ambassador for America in India, Loy Henderson, gave a Press interview at Bombay. He said his country was alive to our economic condition, was sympathetic towards us and they would try to help us. We should be grateful to him for this offer of assistance. If you feel that because of pride or suspicion, or of the fear of criticism, that it will be considered alignment with one bloc, you should not avail yourself of the offer, it would be a mistake. If any country desires to extend assistance to us with a view to help us we should accept it and should not view it with suspicion. India has attained freedom by its own efforts and by the grace of God. It does not have to fear any one. Other countries fully understand this. If with good intentions, any country offers its assistance to enable us to stand on our legs, infant India should not refuse the offer. Many people say that we should not take the help of America because we will lose our prestige and we will be blamed for joining one bloc. We are not so ignorant as not to realize our own position and know our interest. Throughout its history America has never had any desire for

colonial power. To extend help to strengthen us as a nation is their desire. If we have faith in ourselves, we should not mind if any other country is jealous of us. Today unfortunately, the UNO is not so powerful as to follow or commend all Gandhiji's principles. We ourselves lack the moral authority. We quarrelled among ourselves and partitioned the country. We lost our prestige and authority in the world through the bloodshed that followed the partition. That prestige will return if we try for it. We can do it and succeed. When both the countries will realize that we have followed a wrong path, when they will feel that though India is partitioned, there is community of outlook and interest, when people of both the countries can safely go from one to the other, when they realize that their friends and relations live in each other's domain and they are economically united, their business inter-connected, then only that condition can come which will bring about real unity of heart. One thing is, however, always true. One who tries to help others when his own house is not in order will not be able to achieve much. I therefore frankly tell you today — and who will tell you if not I? — that the prestige of the capitalists and industrialists has deteriorated. Businessmen are arrested. Of course, every thing in the world is not proved. Even when it is proved, it is not always true. When Bapu and I were in jail there was one Irishman as jailor. We used to ask him his opinion about the prisoners. He used to reply that these are all thieves who have been caught while we are thieves who are not caught. Such things go on in the world. If you lose your prestige it would be difficult to work in the present times. I therefore advise you all to do one thing. There will be opportunities in future for you to earn. This is the time to make some sacrifice for the country. I do not mean that you should work without profits. If you can do it so much the better. But if you put your heart in helping others your work will be appreciated even though you may make some profit. Otherwise the people will say that even in the difficult times for the country you showed the same selfishness.

Today businessmen are charged with black-marketing and it is common talk. The black market should be ended. It is not possible for the Government to do it single-handed. When the Government is criticized they find some one who is to be blamed. Government have their own difficulties but we should understand each other's difficulties and instead of criticizing should try to find ways and means to help each other. I also wish that the Government may take the lead in this matter.

Many people talk of nationalization of industries. When I went to Madras 1½ years ago, I said — though some did not like it — that there could be no nationalization in our country

during our lifetime. Our country has not got sufficient resources, sufficient manpower or sufficient talents to do this. These talks are moonshine. When I said this some people were upset. But you see today that we are where we were at that time. The reason is that we have not got the means to do this.

The strength of the previous Government was in the Civil Service. Today there are only a few of them left. They are doing the work as best as they can. But just like a train in motion which goes on moving for some time even after the engine stops, this will go on for some time. You should not worry about the slogan of nationalization. After all, even if it happens, what are you going to lose? You will have your own proper place in it if it is for the welfare of the country. If the Government also utilizes your intelligence and experience it will benefit. I shall be happy, others also will be happy, if we can find out some way by mutual consultation to improve the economic condition of the country. Businessmen have lost their trade; the middle classes are suffering untold hardships; industrialists have also suffered. It is our duty to find out some way. Day and night I think of only one thing — How to improve the economic condition of our country? I pray to God that Ahmedabad may devise a solution and give a lead to the country.

(Translated from Gujarati)

Unscientific Control

The price of two maunds of paddy of a certain variety is fixed, say, at Rs 15-4-0 in the beginning of the season and this same price rules throughout the year. When a new crop is harvested and gathered, the grains weigh more and measure more. There is a certain amount of moisture in the grains and some grains which will turn out to be useless afterwards pass current during the first few weeks after harvest.

Paddy is generally harvested in these parts in December and when it is stored in pits, or godowns, there is a shrinkage in the size and weight of the grain. Apart from the damage done by rats, squirrels etc. the deficit caused by the natural elements is considerable and every producer knows that it works out at 2½ or 3 per cent.

In ordinary times, the price of old paddy, i.e. paddy sold in October and November is higher than that of new paddy disposed off in December. But under the Control System devised by our intelligentsia, there is a flat rate for whole year. It causes unnecessary loss to the cultivator, the landlord and even to the merchants storing paddy. This defect has to be remedied. If it is not openly done, it will be surreptitiously done by the producer or merchant. For nobody will enter into dealings that eat away the original capital, whether it is grain or coin.

Vinayashram, 3-11-'50

SITARAM

HARIJAN

Nov. 18

1950

THE PLACE OF VIOLENCE IN A DEMOCRACY

Commenting in *Harijanbandhu* (7-10-'50) on the recent Bombay Textile Labour Strike, I regretted hooliganism and acts of violence on the part of the strikers. This has brought me a letter asking me to explain why I had blamed only the strikers for hooliganism and acts of violence on their part, while I was completely silent over the use of unrestrained and unnecessary violence by the Government.

Let me explain my attitude. We are still taking the first lesson in democracy. Neither the party in power nor the rival political parties and the people, and still less the police and the members of the services, have quite clear ideas about the code of rules and discipline, which should be observed in conducting their respective activities or carrying out their duties for the successful working of a democracy. The services, which the British Government handed over to us, were trained in bureaucratic methods, responsible only to their immediate masters. The Congress too, however pure its motives and however great its admiration for democratic forms, was born, nourished and developed in the bureaucratic atmosphere of the British regime. The bureaucracy had its own ideas and methods of maintaining peace, silencing opposition, and enforcing order. It had some salient features of its own. Though the Congress suffered repression at its hands, the only other form of Government which it knew was the rule of the Indian princes. Between the two, the former was certainly better. These impressions, the Congress regime cannot shake off. It therefore tends to believe, in spite of its ideals and inclinations towards non-violence, that there are occasions when in order to carry on the civil administration of the country, the Government has no choice but to resort to force and violence. There is, however, one feature which distinguishes the Congress from the other political parties in India. It has, at least as an intellectual concept, for its ultimate aim the ideals of pure democracy, progressive advance towards non-violence and equal rights for all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and colour. These are the three *San Min I* (Three National Principles) of the Congress. I do not see any other party, which accepts *all* the three principles.

I, therefore, admit that with all my criticism of the shortcomings and failings of the Congress Government, I have a soft corner for it, and my reproofs are those of a friend and well-wisher and not as of a member of a rival political party.

The machinery through which the Congress has to run the administration is one which was

left to us by the British. That Government had followed a definite policy of recruiting persons with pro-British or anti-Congress inclinations. In the atmosphere then prevailing, friends and sympathizers of the Congress preferred not to join Government services. The non-violent method of winning Independence and the constitutional manner of transfer of power made it impossible for the Congress to replace completely the old bureaucratic servants by a new personnel imbued with the spirit of the Congress. Even if it had tried to do it, it is possible that, for some years at least, it might have resulted in a greater moral downfall of the Congress and a graver initial dislocation of work and inefficiency in the administrative machinery. Brought up and trained as it is in an atmosphere in which promotions in services depended upon flattery, favour and good opinion of the heads rather than on the amount of happiness and prosperity secured to the people, the service is trained to particular notions and ways of executing work. It is dilatory, expensive, showy and constantly transferring duties from hand to hand and to servants of the lowest rank, regardless of the comforts and conveniences of the people. Its estimates and statistics are inaccurate and misleading. Often the ignorance of its 'very able and experienced officers' is amazing. Ministers have to act and run the Government with this instrument. Hence it often happens that the administrative machinery defeats new policies and resists all attempts to change the established routine.

On the other hand, agitators and organizers of popular movements seem to forget that now that a democratic type of a responsible Government has been established in India, the method of educating public opinion on one's party lines in order to secure a majority at elections and to oust the Congress from power has also to be democratic, constitutional and entirely free from acts of hooliganism. They continue to follow the old patterns of resisting the Government of the day, such as organizing strikes, agitations and demonstrations for political ends. When in agitations of this kind there is absence of insistence on non-violence, the police force also uses the same old methods of establishing law and order and dealing with hazardous situations. Though this is regrettable it is not to be wondered at. For, in such a situation, if the Government is not pledged to abjure violence under any circumstances, and if there is not one who can venture forth into the storm alone, the minister has no alternative but to give a free hand to the Police Chief.

The Congress did not accept non-violence in the running of Government. There is also no other party, which promises to do so, if invested with power. If there were an attempt on my part or that of my friends to bring into existence a political party pledged to meet all disturbances with non-violence only, I would be

justified in severely criticizing Congress Governments for resorting to violence in the way they do. But I make no such attempt, nor see others doing it. I do not even see its possibility in the immediate future. Under these circumstances, it is futile to protest too much against the present Government in the name of non-violence. I have to take it for granted that whatever be the party in power it will not hesitate to resort to force and violence for quelling disturbances and hooliganism on the part of the people.

But even if I am a friend of the Government, I am more interested in the happiness, prosperity and proper development and training of the people than in pleasing the Government. I belong to no political party. My sympathy towards any party is conditioned by my insistence on the observance of moral principles. I measure the value of the party not from its manifestoes but from the way in which it seeks to consolidate its power, the sort of people it gathers together, the way in which it tries to clean itself of its impurities and the methods it employs at elections. I judge the merits of a party not from what showy success it achieves, but from what sort of training the people get through it, what moral progress it brings about and what qualities and virtues it develops among the people for the successful working of the Indian democracy. Consequently, I regard acts of violence by the people and their encouragement by the leaders more injurious to the cause of the people than the use of force by the State. Of course, it is proper and legitimate to condemn police excesses or repressive measures in the severest language and to ask for an impartial inquiry where such cases are made out. But that the people should give an opportunity to the Government to resort to violence, or attempt to answer it with counter-violence is a matter of graver concern. If a government resorts to violence frequently, excessively, tyrannically, or vindictively, it will weaken itself in a democracy. If the people or a rival party does so it will injure both itself and the cause of democracy, and make room for Fascism and dictatorship.

I wish to impress upon the people and the various political parties that if the people are properly trained and led along non-violent lines to resist Government repression and injustice with the faith that by a scrupulous regard for non-violence and self-suffering they strengthen their own cause and build up their own strength, it is easier to overthrow a party in power or force it to surrender even while it commands an overwhelming majority in the legislatures and runs the Government through force and repression. This is possible only when every rival political party and the people in general believe in democracy, self-sacrifice, purity of means and the value of discipline. If the people are instigated to acts of violence to defeat or paralyse the Government of the day, the only result will be

incalculable destruction of life and property, and the breakdown of civil administration and of the social and economic life of the people, particularly in the cities. If a mere change of hands in the Government is the end in view, the first effect will be the establishment of military rule in place of civil rule; for instance, in Bombay the first person to take power from Shri Kher would be Sardar Baldevsingh or General Kariappa. Only if these military heads are in collusion with the revolting party, the latter can stage a show of revolution. But if they are loyal to the party in power, the revolting party would be repressed with a heavy hand, bringing also suffering to the general population. In either case the initial result will be the establishment of a military government and the proclamation of Martial Law. It can lead only to the repetition of the events, which followed the murders *en masse* of the members of the Burma Cabinet.

Hence I lay more emphasis on the observance of perfect non-violence by the people than by the State. Let the people be organized as well as you will for resisting maladministration and injustice and for good self-government, but they must be organized with the strictest emphasis on non-violence and pure means.

Wardha, 6-11-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

NECESSITY OF IMPARTIAL NEWSPAPERS

Incidentally I wish to call attention to a great necessity in journalism. Sitting in a secluded place like Wardha, I have no sources to have authentic information for forming an opinion on whether a particular firing was justified or whether more force than necessary was resorted to. We have few newspapers in our country which have the reputation of representing correct facts and information in an impartial manner. Every newspaper gives its own political colour to events. Thus the same news appear in one form in a Congress paper and quite another in a Socialist one. It is, therefore, difficult for me to arrive at a correct appraisal of facts. Ordinary people do not read many papers. They read usually the same paper to which they are accustomed and base their views on the presentation of facts therein. Thus even without reading the editorials, the readers come to look upon the same event from different angles, because each presents the facts in a particular political fashion.

Therefore, if I read in a newspaper or in a private letter, a serious protest against allegedly unjustifiable measures by a government I am not sure of the correctness of it and hesitate to criticize the Government on its basis. It is not possible for me to make an independent enquiry. Sometimes I refer to the Government concerned a complaint brought to my notice in a compelling manner. More often than not, I get a plausible explanation. I cannot have means to test its truth, and I cannot dismiss it

as false. Moreover, this necessarily entails a great delay, and then it becomes too stale for comment.

We can hope for the conditions to improve only if our newspapers — at least a few of them — build up a reputation of impartial representation of facts, and if correspondents also write not on hearsay reports but what they have themselves seen or after careful inquiry ascertained. Every province should have a few such papers. The papers which will build such a reputation for themselves will raise the standard of Indian journalism and contribute their mite in shaping Bharat. If it happens to be the organ of any party, it will also strengthen the power of that party to a greater extent than a party organ dedicated to carry on propaganda on its behalf with scant regard for truth.

Wardha, 6-11-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

DEATH-BLOW TO A GREAT COTTAGE INDUSTRY

The *Indian Republic* of Madras of 26th October publishes a Delhi message of the 25th *idem*, regarding the ceiling prices of *gur* in the several States in the Indian Union. The price ranges from Rs 18 per maund in U. P., Bihar and Madras to Rs 22 in Assam, Coorg etc. Last year there was no such order. The price of sugar is fixed at Rs. 28-8 per maund, but this is the same rate as that fixed for last year.

The same paper, in its issue of the 25th, quoted portions of the speech delivered at Bombay on the 24th instant by Shri K. Sooraiya, Chairman of the Deccan Sugar Factories Association. While deploring therein that the price of sugar had not been increased by the Government he was gratified to note that "the Government had decided to control the production of *khandsari* sugar and *gur* by a system of control and licence."

These two bits of news have to be put together and studied.

Jaggery is now selling at Re 1-8-0 or 1-10-0 per *viss* of 3 lb. and at that rate the cost of a maund would be roughly Rs 40 to Rs 45. If the present stocks in the possession of growers, owners and middlemen have to be disposed of at the proposed rates, they will be completely ruined. The rate of Rs 18 per maund of *gur* cannot cover the cost of production, taking into consideration the cost of cane and labour and transport charges incurred in the process of production.

The clear effect of the new Order will be that *gur* production will dwindle down to an insignificant quantity. The cane will be diverted to sugar factories and sugar production will proportionately increase. The village *kolhus* will become idle, village labour will lose its job and the thousands of merchants engaged in the trade

will have to close down their business and seek fresh fields.

A direct effect of this Order will be that the price of *gur* in the market will jump up, stocks will be hoarded and will go under-ground; and the poor consumer for no fault of his will have to purchase for his scanty festival days at black-market rates.

An indirect effect will be that the manufacturers of *Ayurvedic* medicines will be adversely affected by the scarcity of *gur* and will be compelled to push up the prices of *asavas*, *arishtas* and other preparations wherein *gur* is an essential ingredient. Another effect will be that the consumers will be compelled to use devitalized sugar devoid of all minerals and vitamins which are so abundant in *gur*.

The effect on the general public will be demoralization. Everybody who uses *gur* will be driven to the black market. When the consumers in general go to the black market, it ceases to be such and will transform itself into the open white market. In other words, it means that the new Order will cease to be effective and come into contempt, a result which should not be contemplated or courted by any decent and self-respecting Government. Otherwise, they shall have to resort to ruthless repression on a large scale.

Last year sugar control had created a critical situation, if not a scandal, and the Government was compelled by force of public criticism and circumstances to appoint an Enquiry Committee. But its terms of reference were unfortunately so restricted that the high-placed officers, both in the States and at the Centre who may have been involved in the matter were kept out of the picture.

This year's *Gur* Order will, I am afraid, be attended by consequences no less tragical both to the cottage industry and the country.

It is passing strange that a somewhat flourishing village industry should be sacrificed in the interests of a centralized mill industry producing a harmful substance which, in spite of protection extending over a quarter of a century, cannot compete with the foreign article.

What with controls, current inflation, ever-mounting prices of food-stuffs, corruption, black-marketing, increasing expenditure on the Civil administration and the Military and the Sales and other new taxes, the situation is daily becoming more and more unbearable and demands an effective and immediate redress.

In 1942, Bapu found the *mantra* "Quit India" for the British after 30 years of patient search, untold suffering and intelligent research. Now after 3 years of our national rule, involuntarily bursts out the old *mantra* in the new form: "Quit Congress" and "Quit Office". That alone will relieve the acute distress of the *les miserales* of poor India. It may be recalled that one of the Supreme Court Judges recently advised

the M. P. Government to quit office if they cannot rule except with the aid of tyrannous and extraordinary legislation. That was a timely utterance and with necessary modification will be a sure remedy in the political field.

The general public may study the implications of the *mantra* "Quit Congress — Quit Office" and, if satisfied, apply it immediately for retrieving an almost hopeless situation. I am driven to the painful conclusion that with the sacred *mantra* on the lips and grim determination in the hearts, the people should organize themselves and offer effective Satyagraha till they succeed or perish in the struggle.

Vinayashram, 3-11-'50

SITARAM

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Freedom is an old idea. We all know what is political freedom, individual freedom, and freedom of speech and association. We also know freedom of the Press. India had lost her freedom in several of these spheres for some centuries. It has regained much of it. But we have not recovered one of the most important of it, namely, economic freedom. What do we mean by economic freedom? Bernard Shaw in his famous book *An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* has regarded it as equivalent to the right to average per capita income. But this right is associated with duties. A man cannot establish his rights unless he performs the part he is capable of. But in the present age of industrialization many people are continually being thrown out of employment for one reason or another, for instance, innovations in machinery, deadlocks, or 'shyness' of capital etc. So even if a man seeks work, he is unable to get the work of the type he is fitted for. The ills and miseries of the present world are to a great extent due to lack of proper cognizance of the human material. So, in any planning, the first aim of the planners should be how best to utilize the existing man power so that the vast human energy may not be dissipated. If it is not so done, it will burst itself in destructive forms. Planners must examine each trade and see that people are not made compulsorily idle due either to dumping of goods by foreign countries or any industry creating unemployment.

Economic provision must, therefore, mean provision of full employment — security from hunger, and self-earned saving against sickness and old age.

Political freedom is dependent upon economic freedom and not vice versa. Political freedom cannot be enjoyed by people who are economically dependent upon others. A boss can control the votes of the men under him. Because the number of the unemployed is far greater than that of the employed, a voter cannot afford to displease his boss, by voting against his wishes. But if the voter were a master of his economic living, or assured of an employ-

ment somewhere else, he would exercise his political freedom as he chose.

It is true that we do not now have slavery as in the old days. Nevertheless a labourer has to sell his labour to an employer. Like any other commodity, the purchaser of labour tries to purchase it as cheaply as possible. There is always a tug-of-war going on between the employer and the employed. The law of supply and demand has been working in every field. Should it embrace the human world? Is the law of supply and demand of universal application? Will a pound of rice if bought at a higher price give more calorific value than that bought at a lower price? If an M.A. be paid less than a B.A. will the M.A. become less qualified? But this is a commercial age. People's outlook on life has become commercial. A man of wealth is more respected than a man of learning or a social worker.

This age must yield place to a newer age, when people's minds will be free from commercialism, when they will learn to pay attention to the intrinsic values of men and things.

To get a proper perspective of the intrinsic qualities of a man as well as to assess his worth, the existing vast differences in incomes among the people of India must be minimized. Even though India has become a Republic, a Rajapramukh's remuneration goes in some thousand rupees a month, whereas that of a nation-builder, like the primary school-teacher, is less than Rs 25 a month. This is so, because he belongs to the class of employment seekers — unemployed men. Besides the employed — there is a vast army of the unemployed who have no income at all. Our President Dr Rajendraprasad had enquired into the incomes of the workers in collieries. He found that their income was so meagre that it was not possible for them to have two square meals a day. Things have improved since. But what is he going to do to reduce the heavy expenditure incurred on the civil administration at the centre?

The beautiful words incorporated in the Charter of Human Rights in U.N.O. and in our Constitution of the Republic of India will only adorn the pages of the Constitution without being translated into practice unless the National Wealth is distributed with an eye to the needs of all the members of society. People cannot be useful members of society unless they have economic freedom.

To provide full-scale employment to the people of India, industrialization should be adjusted and subordinated to the Gandhian programme, i.e. full utilization of human power before the introduction of mechanical power. The Father of the Nation foresaw the destructive features and the ruinous future of industrialization and so he chalked out a different course for his country.

JAGATJYOTI PAL

A WARNING FOR ALL

I call attention of the Governments and the people to the article "Death-blow to a Great Cottage Industry", printed elsewhere in these columns. The septuagenarian Swami Sitaram Sastry will not be considered a hot-headed rash politician. When he is driven to write an article such as that, the Governments concerned should understand how desperate the situation is and how indignant the people feel about Government policies and administration. Will they take timely notice? Or will they allow their rivals to exploit the situation and provoke the people to acts of direct action which might burst into violence at any stage, for want of leaders capable of effectively enforcing discipline and controlling the masses?

To Shri Sitaramji and to correspondents from U. P., Bihar and other provinces, who also think on parallel lines, I make a request not to speak of Satyagraha without serious thinking. Satyagraha cannot be launched unless there is perfect control over the masses and a non-violent atmosphere. The Satyagrahis must be perfectly disciplined, and the leader must have sufficient prestige with the people to enable him to successfully direct, restrict or withdraw a movement in such manner as he might deem proper at any moment. Moreover, before a Satyagraha can be launched, all other peaceful methods must have been also tried and exhausted. For instance, they can organize a country-wide protest against policies hostile to the well-being of the masses; responsible people can contact Ministers and the Congress President, press upon them the popular demands and bring home to them the seriousness of the situation. If the Ministers, or any of them are stubborn, corrupt, or inefficient, or if they plead helplessness against their officers, they might demand a change in their personnel. In doing so, they must be ready with a list of other worthy names. These names should be of people of dependable character and efficiency, capable of undertaking the responsibilities of office and prepared, if necessary, to bring even a new set of officers to carry out the right policies.

At one period we nourished the thought that "Good government is no substitute for self-government." That thought has borne its fruit; we have got self-government. We did not then think much of good government, and so we need not blame any one but ourselves, if the Government is bad or not good enough. Let us now nourish the thought of self-cum good-government, and work hard for that end and, God willing, we shall have that, too, in due course.

While we might firmly agitate for revision of policies, change of Ministers, or introduction of better men in the services, let us also realize the factual situation, which Sardar Vallabhbhai has often placed before us along with his wise counsel. His latest speech at Ahmedabad in reply to birthday congratulations deserves to be

carefully read.* Let me also quote from his speech at Indore a few days ago:

"We are all children. We make mistakes and learn from experience. We are still infants in the realm of democracy. We shall, I hope, be able to run after tumbling down now and then, and will not lag behind other countries."

Wardha, 6-11-'50

K. G. MASHRUWALA

FELICITATIONS TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI

[Three of the numerous messages of birthday greetings received on the occasion of the welcome that Gujarat gave to Sardar Vallabhbhai at Ahmedabad on 31st October, 1950 are reproduced below:]

(1)

New Delhi, 29-10-'50

Sardar Vallabhbhai is one of those great men whose name will for ever be engraved in the history of modern India. He was called the right hand of Mahatma Gandhi and few can equal him in the number of arduous and important tasks he has been able to achieve.

In the half a dozen places where India saw the concrete form of Satyagraha during Gandhiji's lifetime Sardar Vallabhbhai played an important role; and the Satyagraha of Bardoli not only awakened the whole country, but also prepared it for the final fight for Swaraj. It was after the successful termination of the Bardoli struggle that the countrywide Satyagraha campaign was launched upon in 1930, and came to a successful end in 1947 with the attainment of Swaraj. His success after he joined the Government has been equally marvellous. And where formerly countless tiny States were scattered all over the land, he joined and unified all of them in such a way that today we find a uniform type of administration under the same Constitution all over the country—from the North to the South, from the East to the West. Whatever deficiencies there still are in this will be made good in course of time. There was hardly at any time in the past such a unified State under one government. And though India has been sundered in twain—one piece on the north-west and another on the north-east have been cut off and separated—still the area and the population of the country that has remained one unit are so large that there was never before in Bharat so large an area and population under one sovereign government and administration. The Sardar's tact, determined will, sacrifice and service of the country are well known. Those who do not know him well call him the man of iron. But in reality he is as soft and tender as a flower; and those who have been fortunate to taste his love know how sweet it is. His humour and laughter are well known to those who have come in contact with him. The Sardar's leadership and guidance are very necessary in the present condition of India and it is my prayer to God that He may grant him a long and healthy life for the welfare of us all and the country.

RAJENDRAPRASAD

* The speech referred to will be given in the next issue.

(2)

New Delhi, 24-10-'50

I should like to pay my homage of respect and affection to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the occasion of his completing his 75th year. Few persons can have such a long and notable record of service to their credit as Sardar Patel has had. Even so, he is at the helm of affairs, vital to the nation, and carrying a great responsibility, and we all hope that he will have many long years of health and service before him.

I look back to the thirty years of comradeship and intimate contact with him in national activities. It has been a period full of ups and downs and great happenings and all of us have been tested to the utmost. Sardar Patel has emerged from these ordeals as a dominating figure on the Indian scene, to whom vast numbers look for guidance. May he be spared long to us and to the country.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(3)

Poona, 24-10-'50

My dear Kanjibhai,

I thank you for your letter, dated the 21st October, 1950, inviting me to the celebration of Sardar *Jayanti* on the 31st October at Ahmedabad. I greatly regret that owing to work in connection with the Session of the Bombay Legislature here I am unable to leave Poona.

On behalf of myself and the people of Bombay I send most respectful and heartiest congratulations and greetings to the Sardar on this happy occasion. A merciful Providence has restored him to health after the serious illness he recently had. He was one of the ablest lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi in our struggle for freedom and it was his extremely well-directed campaign at Bardoli that showed the possibilities of Mahatma's unique weapon of non-violent non-co-operation which ultimately brought us Swaraj. It was at Bardoli that I had the privilege of first meeting him and making his close acquaintance. His advice and guidance have been of invaluable help on many difficult problems. I came to discover the softer and genial side of his nature and he looked after and kept us all in good cheer in prison.

Since independence was attained he has been a pillar of strength to the country. In his handling of the problems of Hyderabad and Junagadh, in bringing, as if by a miracle, all the States in the country in line with the rest of it under a uniform system of administration and in the great contribution he made to our Constitution, particularly as regards the problem of minorities, he has shown rare qualities of statesmanship and courage for which our countrymen can never be too grateful to him.

May he be spared for many more years so that the country may benefit by his ripe experience and sound advice.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. KHER

NOTES

Food, Jute and Sugar-Cane

The people and Government always complain of the critical food situation in the country. Strangely enough, both of them contribute to the continuance of the crisis and to the increase of its deepening gloom.

The latest figures published in the Press in the State of Madras show that there is an increase of over 6,000 acres under sugar-cane as compared with last year. Further, there is a news item which gleefully tells us that one *lakh* acres of land have been changed over to jute cultivation in the four districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapore. The total acreage under jute for the whole State is not yet known.

This increase in sugar-cane and change-over to jute must be at the expense of the food crops. Sugar-cane is not a primary article of food either as cane to be chewed or as jaggery or as sugar. It is an article of luxury to the crores of ill-fed or under-fed people. Jute in none of its forms can fill the human stomach. It can only help the big-scale industrialists and earn dollars for imports for their own benefit.

Avaricious people may cultivate cash-paying crops. But a Government permitting such a deplorable change-over cannot be credited with far-sightedness or wisdom. They cannot justify their claim that their Grow More Food Campaign has succeeded or benefitted the people or has even a remote chance of success. For new lands are brought under the plough for Grow More Food, while good lands known for their fertility and crop-yielding capacity are utilized for these money crops. Nor can the Government equitably claim the right to control or ration the food-stuffs raised by innocent persons.

If the Government cannot remedy this state of things it cannot be credited with efficiency, and necessarily forfeits the confidence of the people.

Vinayashram, 3-11-'50

SITARAM

What An Extravagance!

The *Sarasvati*, a Hindi monthly, in its issue of July 1950, published a table of monthly emoluments and total hours of work of twenty of the leading Indian cinema stars.

The first in the list works four hours in a month and gets a remuneration of Rs 1 lakh. The second one gets Rs 80,000 for the same number of hours of work.

The maximum number of hours of work which four stars are required to put in is 10 per month; the rest of them work 7 or 8 hours in a month and the minimum remuneration is not less than Rs 20,000 per month.

This shows how thoughtlessly and grossly extravagant we are as a people. The Film Production Houses could not afford to pay such fabulous emoluments in a nation which loved thrift and simplicity. In a country where sufficient capital is not available for nation-building

activities, such as education, health, agriculture, etc., it is tragic that people spend so much after pastimes which spoil the moral standard of the nation. Should people spend crores of rupees on such things and invite moral ruin?

Wardha

H. M. V.

Vivisection

The All India Humanitarian Conference recently held in Bombay under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr Justice Bhagwati of the Bombay High Court has, among others, passed a resolution against exporting unfortunate monkeys and other animals from India to Europe and America for experiments in medical vivisection laboratories there.

In this connection, I invite the attention of readers to the following pamphlets, which will convince them of the sinfulness and uselessness of cruel animal vivisection. They can be obtained free of charge from the addresses, noted below them:

1. *Iniquity of Vivisection.*

2. *Case against Vaccination,*

These two from the United Lodge of Theosophists, 51, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1.

3. *Nature Cure Treatment of Diseases without medicine and without filthy vaccines,*

From Dr. J. Jasawala, 140, Cumbala Hill, Bombay 26.

4. *Excellence of Vegetarian Food,*

From the Bombay Humanitarian League, 149, Shroff Bazar, Bombay 2.

J. N. MANKAR,
Secretary,

Bombay Humanitarian League

ANTI-LEPROSY WORK IN INDIA

[The third annual Conference of Leprosy Workers met at Madras in the first week of October last under the presidentship of Dr E. Muir, one of the great living authorities on leprosy work. He is eighty years of age now, and has served this cause in India for thirty years. His ripe experience is thus very valuable.

The sentiments, which he is reported to have expressed in his concluding remarks at the end of the Conference are worthy of remembrance. He was old, he said, and there was hardly any chance of his coming to India once again. But he would love to be reborn in some poor Indian village for serving the cause of leprosy. He knew that the Indian village could not give him motors, electrified houses and modern comforts. But he would not miss God there, and that was all that he needed.

It is by the love and service of selfless persons such as these, that a people becomes "Blessed".

The following is the full text of his speech.

— K. G. M. J

I count it a great honour to be asked to give the presidential address at this Conference; and it is a particularly kind thought, as it is just 30 years this month since I began work on leprosy at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine.

In summing up the results of anti-leprosy work in India since 1920, we can say two things: we now know a good deal more about the disease than we did then; but it is questionable if that knowledge has to any extent caused a diminution of leprosy in the country.

Advances in Knowledge

Let us look shortly first of all at the advances in our knowledge, and then consider the methods of control at present in use and judge if there is any way in which they come short and should be modified or replaced.

Much study has been made of the clinical picture of leprosy. Early and mild cases which 30 years ago were

passed over or misdiagnosed are now familiar to all leprosy workers.

We recognize the diffuse lepromatous case with little or no clinical sign, but bacteriologically strongly positive and, as he passes unrecognized, a particular danger to the public.

We know more of the pathology of leprosy and of its co-ordination with the clinical types, though in this field there are still problems awaiting solution.

Much labour has been spent on attempts to cultivate and inoculate Hansen's bacillus, but without any positive results that have been confirmed or met with general acceptance.

The Lepromin Test, first described by Mitsuda round about 1920, has been of great value in the treatment and prognosis of leprosy. It has more than anything else clarified our ideas regarding the essential distinction between the two main types of leprosy, showing that this distinction depends on the degree of resistance to the infection. The nature and cause of this resistance still await elucidation.

Considerable progress has been made in the treatment of leprosy, first by the injection of hydncarpus oil and its derivatives, and in the last few years by the use of sulphones. Though the latter are gradually coming into general use, investigation is still necessary regarding concentration, toxicity, the minimum effective dose and other matters. In fact these new forms of treatment have opened up a large fresh field for research.

The importance of general treatment in leprosy has also been stressed, and especially the care and improvement of physical and mental health by carefully planned and graded employment and suitable diet. Deformities are prevented and healed by various forms of physiotherapy and with the aid of plastic surgery. Whether or not it will become possible with the use of new drugs to heal every case of leprosy, it should at least be practicable to arrest the progress of the disease in all moderately early cases, and the grosser deformities should be prevented.

In the last 30 years leprosy has been raised from the status of an 'infirmity' like blindness and deaf-mutism to a remediable and curable disease, and is more and more being accepted as such by the medical profession.

During these years considerable surveys have been made in India and we now know far more about the extent of leprosy. The former estimate based on census reports of a little more than one *lakh* has now been revised to well over 10 *lakhs*. In addition to this, many other epidemiological factors have been elucidated, though much still waits to be done in this field.

But with all this addition to our knowledge there is little sign of any diminution in the amount of the disease.

Let us therefore study critically the present measures in use for prevention and control to find out wherein they come short and what practicable changes or improvements can be made. In such a study there are certain accepted principles regarding leprosy which should help to guide us.

Useful Postulates Regarding Leprosy

1. Leprosy is in the great majority of cases spread by more or less close contact with an open case.
2. Children are more susceptible than adults.
3. A small minority of individuals (adults or children) are more susceptible than others and tend to develop the more severe form of the disease.
4. Leprosy can be prevented by taking a few simple personal, family, or communal precautions.
5. Leprosy is *primarily* a disease of villages, spreads principally among the poorer and less sanitary communities, but not infrequently attacks the upper classes when they employ members of the former communities as servants and in other capacities.
6. Leprosy is *secondarily* a disease of industrial centres where a floating population composed of many types and grades mixes together freely, often in crowded circumstances and without the moral and sanitary sanctions

which safeguard the more closed communities in the village.

7. Leprosy is often infectious long before it is conspicuous, and patients in their first few years before they are recognized as having the disease are a peculiar danger to contacts in the family and the village, and in various forms of employment.

8. The prevalent habit of driving out a leprosy patient from the family and village, so that he is compelled to take refuge where he can, or wander about as a vagrant, is one which is likely to broadcast the disease to other as yet unaffected communities.

These peculiarities of leprosy should be kept in mind as we proceed to study the question of control.

Methods of Control

At present there are two main methods in force in India for the control of leprosy, one is the residential institution (known as asylum, colony, settlement or sanatorium), and the other is the out-patient clinic. To what extent are these two methods of control meeting the situation?

Supposing that of the estimated 10 lakhs of victims of leprosy in India only one-fifth are open cases (and this is a low estimate), then there are 2 lakhs of potential spreaders of infection of which only some 14 thousand (about 1 in 15) can find accommodation in residential institutions. Noble work is being done in many of these institutions, but they can have little effect in diminishing the disease as a whole. In fact some of the most popular and best-run colonies and sanatoria, though unable to admit more patients for lack of funds and capacity, yet attract patients from a distance, with the result that neighbouring towns become infiltrated with open cases, or small uncontrolled colonies are formed in their neighbourhood the inhabitants of which are treated in the institutions as out-patients.

So that an establishment one of whose main objects is the control or eradication of leprosy, may unwittingly become the indirect cause of further dissemination of the disease.

The other main means of leprosy control is the out-patient clinic. Clinics were begun on a large scale in the middle 1920's largely as the result of visits of a survey party under Dr Isaac Santra to most of the provinces and States of India. The object of these visits was threefold: the establishment of *treatment* centres, from which cases would be followed up to their villages, contacts examined and a gradual *survey* made, at the same time the villagers being *educated* in the nature of leprosy and persuaded to isolate their open cases at home or in communal isolation centres. This method, popularly known as 'Propaganda, Treatment, Survey (P. T. S.)', was on the lines of the well-known tuberculosis clinics begun by Sir Robert Phillip in Edinburgh which have proved so fruitful in controlling that disease.

It was easy to begin clinics and give injections to large numbers of patients who crowded to them. But the other, more difficult, but all-essential part of the programme was unfortunately, for want of staff or lack of sufficient interest, seldom carried out effectively. No doubt these clinics have done some good work, especially to patients with the milder forms of the disease, but here again this good has been counter-balanced by open cases travelling from long distances in public vehicles to attend the clinic, and sometimes even spending the night among unsuspecting contacts on the way.

Summing up the results of the last thirty years of anti-leprosy campaign in India, we can say that our knowledge, though still very limited, has increased considerably. In fact we can say that, although there is still urgent need for further research, we already have sufficient knowledge to control leprosy if only that knowledge were translated into action, and until that is done there is not likely to be much progress in control.

Recommended Method of Control

In what way should the present measures against leprosy be modified or replaced?

India being largely a land of villages, and leprosy primarily a village disease, it seems clear that if leprosy is to be controlled it must be by work in the villages. The present residential institutions, or such of them as are doing good and effective work, should be maintained, but they should as far as possible be further developed as centres from which the villages round about them are visited, surveys undertaken and prevention and education carried out. Work in villages requires energy and initiative, as well as devotion and patience. Additional staff of the right kind would be necessary, but if the right approach were made much free help should be available from within the villages themselves.

When starting work in new areas, instead of erecting extensive buildings at great expense, I suggest building a treatment centre with hospital beds sufficient for those requiring temporary hospitalization, and accommodation suitable for members of the staff. From this centre, work of the P. T. S. type which I have already mentioned would be conducted in the surrounding villages, beginning with the nearer ones and gradually extending in a widening circle to those further away.

The central aim should be to get each village or group of villages to isolate effectively its own open cases in such a way that they will not spread disease.

How this central aim can best be accomplished will depend on different local circumstances and vary according to the staff available. The size and nature of the village isolation centre will be subject to the number of cases and the land available. Whether complete isolation would be necessary or feasible, or some partial method such as night isolation, as suggested by Dr Cochrane, would be sufficient is a matter for local study.

If properly carried out, the advantages of the village method as compared with those in force at present are threefold:

(1) patients would be less likely to wander about and infect outsiders; (2) the village would become aware of leprosy (leprosy-conscious), and that is a large step forward in the control of the disease; (3) contacts would be examined and open cases isolated and treated from the beginning without waiting till they had become conspicuous and could no longer remain hidden.

The running of such a scheme would of course require a specialized staff and would generally require, at least at first, some outside financial aid, but expenditure would be small as compared with that required for a large residential colony. One medical man could with the aid of trained lay workers conduct a considerable number of village or joint village centres.

There would also be a large scope for honorary village workers who, once the scheme in one centre was well under way, could be entrusted with running it with a minimum of outside help and supervision. As a side issue the leprosy centre would teach village co-operation and welfare which could gradually be extended to other forms of responsible village improvement.

To what extent such a scheme could be quickly expanded I am unable to say. I ask that it be given a thorough try-out in different parts of India in preference to founding more large colonies of the present type. Success would depend largely on the staff available and the altruistic spirit in which they undertook their work. Those out to make money or to better their position would certainly not make a success of it.

This scheme for controlling leprosy is not a new one. It has been advocated for the last 25 years. And, now that I have spent nearly two years in India after an absence of 14 years engaged in anti-leprosy work in Africa, the West Indies and elsewhere, I not only advocate it more strongly than ever, but make bold to say that till some such scheme is generally adopted little or no advance is likely to be made in the control of leprosy.

The discovery and use of more effective drugs will certainly help, but we must not delude ourselves into thinking that drugs alone without this kind of village work will control leprosy.

Leprosy is a *social disease* and no scheme will succeed which simply aims at treating individuals with drugs, unless the social citadel of leprosy in the village is attacked.

I am in general agreement with the tentative scheme of Dr C. G. Pandit for the testing out of drugs in the control of leprosy by treating patients in their own homes. But I question if it would be possible to carry this out effectively except in areas where village centres of the type I have mentioned have already been successfully established.

The treatment of those afflicted with leprosy has in the past been quite inadequate. Though good and practical schemes have been put forward and initiated, they have not been followed through; and ill-thought-out, vacillating policies have often negated whatever good had begun to be accomplished.

There is no section of the community which deserves by *right* more thoughtful care and consideration than those afflicted with leprosy; and, now that we have knowledge, if this care and consideration are withheld, judgement will surely fall upon those responsible.

As I plan to leave India in a few months' time and shall probably never have an opportunity of speaking on this subject in India again I would appeal to all concerned — Governments, District Authorities, Doctors, lay workers, and all those interested in the welfare of sufferers from leprosy in this country — to give this matter their careful consideration.

DIVINE NAME AS A CURE FOR ALCOHOLISM

Shri H. M. Manjrekar sends the following from an old article "Therapeutic Utility of Divine Name" by Prof. Batuknath Sharma in *Kalyan-Kalpataru*, published in 1938 :

"My friend, Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, tells me of a case. There is an old Munshiji still alive, who was addicted to wine from his early life. He often wished to give up the habit, but he could not. It had really become a second nature with him. Once a *sadhu* advised him to utter *Ramanama* regularly. He followed the advice and soon found that his drinking propensity was slowly and gradually becoming less and less strong. Now he says he never feels any desire for drinking. He is perfectly all right even at the ripe age of 70.

"I came across a similar case some years ago. There was a *Sethji* who approached a *sannyasi* for some spiritual guidance; but the *sannyasi*, when he came to know that the *Sethji* used to smoke *ganja* worth Re 1-4-0 a day, he turned him out unceremoniously. The *Sethji* went to him again the next day and told him with tears in his eyes, that he had tried his best but could not get rid of the habit. The *sannyasi* said that if such was the case he should repeat 10,000 *Ramanama* every night before he went to bed. The *Sethji* literally followed his advice, and after a month or so he was totally cured of this pernicious habit. This we heard from the *sannyasi* himself who was now immensely pleased with the *Sethji*. The *Sethji* was also present when we heard this.

"I know a similar case of another Munshiji. He was a high-stationed officer, but he was all along a declared drunkard. By the advice of the late revered Lahiri Mahashaya, he began to repeat *Ramanama* and soon overcame the infatuation of the bottle."

As Shri Manjrekar says in his forwarding note, it reminds one of Gandhiji's advocacy of *Ramanama* as an infallible remedy for our ailments and failings.

But the modern man will ask: There are hundreds of people who take Divine Name regularly and continuously. You never see them without a rosary of beads in their hands. And yet their life stands in a tragic contrast to the Name. Is not this advice, even though supported by so great an authority as Gandhiji, a mere superstition? Is this remedy scientific enough for being recommended in this age of reason and science?

The answer is that this depends upon the approach of the subject to the Name. If he is a mere mechanical repeater of the Name, it can have neither therapeutic nor spiritual value. My humble opinion is that its efficacy depends upon a triple perfect faith: perfect faith that the repetition of the Name gives the desired result; perfect faith of the disciple in the *guru*, upon whose suggestion the practice is undertaken, and earnestness to get rid of an evil; and perfect faith of the *guru* himself in the suggested remedy. If there is a defect in any of the three faiths, the desired result may not take place. The faith of the disciple is the most important of the three. I use the words *guru* and *disciple* loosely. A *guru* does not mean one accepted as such or professing to be so. Gandhiji found his *guru* for this purpose in his domestic female servant. He never gave her the formal recognition of *guruship*; nor did she ever think of Gandhiji as her disciple.

K. G. MASHRUWALA

CONTENTS	PAGE
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	321
ASSAM EARTHQUAKE	
RELIEF FUND ...	322
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH	
CONVOCAION	322
THE GUJARAT UNIVERSITY :	
FOUNDATION-STONE LAYING	
CEREMONY	324
TO THE MERCANTILE COMMUNITY	
OF GUJARAT ... VALLABHBHAI PATEL	325
THE PLACE OF VIOLENCE	
IN A DEMOCRACY ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	328
NECESSITY OF IMPARTIAL	
NEWSPAPERS ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	329
DEATH-BLOW TO A GREAT	
COTTAGE INDUSTRY ... SITARAM	330
ECONOMIC FREEDOM ... JAGATJYOTI PAL	331
A WARNING FOR ALL ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	332
FELICITATIONS TO	
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI ...	332
ANTI-LEPROSY WORK	
IN INDIA ... Dr. E. MUIR	334
DIVINE NAME AS A	
CURE FOR ALCOHOLISM ... K. G. MASHRUWALA	336
NOTES:	
G. B. S. ... M. D.	322
UNSCIENTIFIC CONTROL ... SITARAM	327
FOOD, JUTE AND SUGAR-CANE ... SITARAM	333
WHAT AN EXTRAVAGANCE! ... H. M. V.	333
VIVISECTION ... J. N. MANKAR	334