The Jaipur Congress

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

I have been asked:

"How is it that Harijan papers have not written or published appeals and information regarding this fund oftener, and that Vinobaji, Pyarelalji, Kaka Kalelkar, yourself and others who are Gandhiji's old associates have not issued appeals for the collection of this fund? Is there any cause for your silence?

"2. Do you agree that the efforts for its collection and the response of the people is very meagre? That Bombay, known for its munificence, has not subscribed as much as 21 lakhs till now, though in the past it has been known to have far exceeded this amount for lesser causes than this, at a time when the rupee was nearly four times more valuable than now? The same is the case in other parts of India.

"3. Should not legislation be resorted to assist this fund, since it is not subscribed to voluntarily?"

ANSWERS

It is a surprise to me and I doubt not that it will be so to the colleagues mentioned by the questioner that such a doubt should have been entertained. But since it has been, and as it is possible that several others may also have been harbouring similar doubts, let me say it at once that there should be no room for such doubt. The fund is marked out for Gandhiji's Constructive Programme, for the cause to which our personal lives are dedicated. We are intensely interested in its collection, as we shall be in its proper application. It is in our personal interest, that is for the sake of the causes to which we are pledged that the fund collection should be entirely successful. Those who issued the appeal for the fund and have been working for its collection have been our trusted leaders and elderly colleagues, and its secretaries are active members of constructive work associations. Their appeal did not need any reinforcement from us, who have all along our life worked more or less outside of too much public gaze, and are fully occupied in discharging the duties falling to our respective shares.

The Harijan papers generally come out too late for publishing such appeals which are usually forwarded to the various Press Agencies, and are published far in advance in the dailies all over India. Their republication after their wide publication elsewhere is hardly necessary.

Let it be understood clearly that we all wish the people to subscribe to the fund magnificently and generously.

2. That the collection and the response are very meagre is but too true. It is difficult for me to assess the cause accurately. It is for every man who has not paid his contribution already to say why he does not feel inclined to pay.

3. Howsoever poor the collection may be nothing should be done by legislation. It will be an insult to Gandhiji's memory. If the people have no inclination to pay let them rather not pay a pie, than pay anything compulsorily. I do not like that Government machinery should at all have been employed for this purpose. Some legislation has already been passed to induce people to be charitable. This is hardly creditable to the donor or the donee and certainly not to one whom we have voluntarily accepted as our Bapu.

Bhartrihari has said, "There are three ways open to a property holder: to donate it in charity, consume it for his own comforts or to lose it by destruction, robbery etc. He who does not donate or consume it will ultimately lose it in the third manner." We have seen the truth of this several times over during recent times. An Indian proverb says, "The Bania steals pies, God picks up his rupees." Another wise sage has said, "What you donate you save, what you consume for yourself you spend, what you hoard you assign to the lord of destruction."

Bombay, 29-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

To Lovers of Gandhian Literature

Arrangements have been made to have a Navajivan Stall in the 'Sarvodaya Exhibition' which is being organized at Jaipur on the occasion of the Congress Session. The Stall will open from 14th December. Books by Gandhiji and others will be available there. They will be in English, Gujarati, Hindustani and Marathi.

Current issues of the Harijan papers will also be for sale at the Navajivan Stall No. 73.

All interested in Gandhian literature are requested to pay a visit to the Stall.

JIVANJI DESAI

SPURIOUS MEDICINES

Referring to the article *False and Obscene Advertisements*. a doctor sends for my information a copy of the following resolution passed by the Newspapers Proprietors' Association in Great Britain:

"1. No advertisement will be accepted which is claimed to be effective in Bright's disease, Cancer, Tuberculosis, Diabetes, Epilepsy, Fits, Locomotor ataxia, Disseminated sclerosis, Osteo-arthritis, Spinal, Cerebral and Veneral diseases, Lupus, Paralysis, or for the cure of Amenorrhoea, Hernia, Blindness, Rheumatoid arthritis and for procuring miscarriage, or for the treatment of habits associated with sexual indulgence or for any ailment connected with these habits.

"2. No advertisement will be accepted from any advertiser, who by printed matter, orally or in his advertisement undertakes to diagnose any condition or to receive a statement of any person's symptoms, with a view to advising or providing treatments by correspondence.

"3. No advertisement will be accepted by containing a testimonial, other than limited to the actual views of the writer or any testimonial given by a doctor other than a recognized British Medical Practitioner.

"4. No advertisement will be accepted, containing illustrations which are distorted or exaggerated to convey false impressions.

"5. No advertisement will be accepted which may lead persons to believe that the medicine emanated from any hospital or official source or is any other than the proprietory medicine advertised by the manufacturer for the purpose specified, unless the advertising agent submitting the copy declares that the authority of such hospital or official source has been duly obtained.

"These rules are now in operation in all the newspapers in Great Britain. Also an advertisement will be submitted to medical scrutiny and products advertised to chemical analysis if this is considered necessary."

The doctor adds:

"If proprietors of newspapers follow a similar policy or if our Government pass an act to give effect to it our poor and ignorant people would be saved millions of rupees which they waste by becoming victims of fraudulent advertisements. Swindlers who exploit the ignorance of our credulous masses through advertisements not only deprive them of their money but often harm their health beyond measure.

"I am a Chief Medical Officer of a T. B. hospital. I have come across many such cases during eleven years of my experience. Many a T. B. patient approach these advertisers lured by their advertisements or buy their costly medicines. After spending in six or eight months' time all their resources, they repair to the public hospital in a pitiable plight. These cheats often bribe some money and secure bogus testimonials dressed up attractively. If the newspapers refuse to advertise such stuff they would help in stopping their nefarious trade."

With the doctor, I too hope that proprietors of Indian newspapers will follow the precedent set by their British co-professionals. Government also can and should interest itself in this matter and take necessary measures to stop fraudulent and harmful advertisements.

Bombay, 16-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

GANDHIJI'S TEACHINGS IN TAMILNAD

[Shri Satyan of Wardha sends the following report of an Ashram visited by him in Tamilnad. I take the report on trust. —K. G. M.]

"There are many institutions in Tamilnad where workers are endeavouring to implement Gandhiji's teachings. Gandhiniketan in Kallupatti is one among them. Kallupatti is a small village having a population of two and a half thousand. It is nearly twenty five miles away from Madura on the Madura-Saptur bus route. Buses to Srivilliputtur also ply on the same road. The place is far away from the railway line and is aloof from urban influence.

"Gandhiniketan Ashram was founded in 1940 by a silent and untiring worker, Shri Venkatachalapathy, to whose efforts the institution owes much for its success. From the very beginning the institution is independent without expecting much financial assistance from outside. Some workers who have faith in Gandhiji and who really wish to carry out his constructive programme in their life joined him in his work. He himself settled down in the Ashram keeping aloof from power politics. His family also co-operated with him in his venture. Today because of other works he is not able to stay there, but all the same he is giving his thought and attention to the development of the institution. Shri R. Guruswami, who is an ardent follower of the Mahatma, was the first to join him. On account of his capacity of organization and management he has been made the Ashram manager. There is another Guruswami from Koilpatti who is a tanning expert. His brother Shri Rudrappaswami is also a member of the Ashram. Now the Ashram is a congregation of good workers. Workers are trained for different items of constructive work and assigned to different places. One is impressed with the ability of Shri Venkatachalapathy to organize good workers, give training and make them dedicate to silent service to the country. A visit to the Ashram will reveal this fact.

"The first work the Ashram has undertaken is *khadi*. Ginning, carding, spinning, and weaving are included in the daily programme of the institution. There is visible poverty in the villages round the Ashram. Charkha was in vogue even before the advent of Gandhiji. It is Shri Venkatachalapathy and his colleagues who are responsible for its resurrection. Ammapatti village, four miles from the Ashram, is supposed to be one of the best production centres belonging to the A. I. S. A.

"The Ashram is also running a good workshop on a small scale for producing spinning equipment. Charkhas, *taklis*, carding bows and other implements are manufactured here.

"The villagers with the assistance of the Ashram are managing a dairy on co-operative lines. Through it cow's milk, butter and *ghee* are made available in plenty to the villagers. Distant villages have also taken up similar dairy work.

"There is a tannery maintained on Gandhian lines, like the Goseva Charmalaya at Wardha. Raw hide is tanned (chrome tanning) and the leather is used for makig slippers, suit cases, purses, wallets, bags etc. in the institution itself. This is the only one of its kind in Tamilnad.

"The Ashram has its own basic school and Shri Srinivasan, a trained basic teacher, is in charge of it. He is efficient and capable. The school is three years old. There are three grades and the strength in each grade exceeds 25. In the third grade there are fifty students and hence it is divided into two sections with two teachers. From the strength of the school one can easily imagine how popular the school and the new education are. Though the students are poorly clad and ill-fed, they look healthy, clean, cheerful and smart. Students take home whatever they grow in the school garden. The students of all grades are very inquisitive and put questions to people who visit the school with a view to gaining more knowledge and the school is unique in this respect. The first grade students do craft work for 2 hours while the others devote 2½ hours. They produce single or double twist yarn according to need. From July to September the income for the three months for the third grade is Rs. 101-12-6. Last year the same students earned Rs. 190. in the 2nd grade. This goes to prove that a basic school can be selfsupporting if the craft is taken up with seriousness and earnestness.

"The Ashram has also its bee-keeping industry and there is scope for its full development. Only hand-pounded rice is being used in the Ashram. Shri Guruswami, the manager, is editing a Tamil monthly *Gram Rajya* specially for villagers explaining the various aspects of constructive work. Tamilnad's best workers who follow Gandhiji in their life are its main contributors.

"The Ashram atmosphere is excellent; the basic school children and the trainees are much influenced by the environment. All do manual work ranging from cooking to scavenging. Punctuality and discipline are well maintained and there is orderliness in every programme of the Ashram. The order is self-evolved and not imposed from above. There is no paid servant in the camp.

"The institution has a good prospect of becoming a leading Gandhian Ashram in Tamilnad giving facilities to many youths of the country to be initiated into Gandhism."

Gandhi City

I have received suggestions to support a demand for renaming New Delhi after Gandhiji. I regret I am unable to do so. Not that there is anything wrong by itself in naming the Capital of India after Gandhiji, but if a place named after him was to be made the Capital of India, I should think that the Capital itself should be shifted from New Delhi to a city to be built after Gandhiji's ideas, which New Delhi is not.

Bombay, 29-11-'48 K. G. M.

INTOXICATION OF OFFICE

Apropos of the intoxication of office, to which not a few among the recently-raised-to-authority in our Central as well as Provincial Secretariats have succumbed, I would like to recall what Gandhiji said to me several years back. It was the 18th February, 1940. Gandhiji had come to Shantiniketan on a two-day visit. In the evening, while out for his usual walk, I had the privilege of accompanying him. No sooner had we returned to "Shyamali", where Gurudeva Rabindranath had lodged him, than all of a sudden, as he got ready for the evening prayers, he exclaimed, "Had I known that assumption of office would demoralize so many of our good workers I would never have advised it." And I watched his face. It was tense with acute, inner travail.

I have no idea of the mental background to his observation. But during the walk he had been absolutely silent. From this, I concluded that he must have been undergoing some sort of crucial churning within.

Be that as it may, what intrigues one, however, is the phenomenon or process, which transforms, as it were overnight, a voluntary server of yesterday into a "tin-god" of today. It would appear that the moment such a server occupies a seat of authority, he cannot resist the temptation, unless he has spiritual stamina, of identifying his ego with his office so that the former may fatten on what is fed on. Consequently, his angle of vision and apparatus of attitude are at once changed. And henceforward, whoever comes into his ken or contact with him becomes mere grist for his will-to-power. And then begins the interminable, insidious battle between his own personality and those of others.

Now personality is only a mark of the *real* man. The latter, therefore, disappears out of the picture as the battle of personality *versus* personality rages hot and hard. In other words, the occupant of office becomes more of a chair or a quill, which he uses, than a sensitive, sympathetic human being.

What is the cure for this "corruption"? It is the cultivation of the *real* man, as against that of the illusory, ephemeral entity called the personality. This will enable him to look upon his office as an opportunity for greater service rather than, as unfortunately happens so often, as an opportunity for feathering his own nest. Only if he would impress his consciousness with the truth that "the worker dies, but the work remains" he will be saved from many a pitfall, which his power-feeding personality invariably opens up for him. Then the common adage, "All power corrupts" will be replaced by the to-be-devised ideal, "All power elevates". For, after all power, too, like peace, is an aspect of the Divine.

G. M.

HARIJAN

December 12 1948

THE JAIPUR CONGRESS

The Fiftyfifth Indian National Congress will have begun and completed its deliberations during the next week. I do not know what ideas or programmes are on the notebook of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

The Congress meets for the first time after Gandhiji's death. No doubt sincere and generous tributes will be paid to him. It is likely to be a touching scene. Perhaps Hindi-Hindustani will raise a warm controversy. There might also be hot debates on the question of linguistic provinces and the relations between the parliamentary and non-parliamentary Congress bodies, as also between office-holding and non-office-holding Congressmen. It is possible to enumerate about half a dozen other controversial subjects.

But in my humble opinion, unless the Congress earnestly realizes and resolves to remedy the fundamental maladies which have attacked the national life and the Congress organization, the discussions may not succeed in finding solution to any problem. The maladies are:

1. We have discarded God from our life, and allowed influences of political, commercial, electoral and other considerations and various academic isms to prevail over truth, honesty, service and actual happiness of fellow beings and other virtues of essential human culture. The result is that we have discarded simplicity and become lavishly fond of luxuries and comforts provided by modern science, and in our hurry to enjoy them have lost consideration of our present means, and have sacrificed even primary essentials of life. The neglect of villages and villagers follows directly from this.

2. The present diarchy in the Congress is a great handicap in all its activities. Either the name "Congress" should be restricted to the parliamentary organizatian, or to the non-official organization of the people. The latter should be an independent body not competing for or holding government offices as an organization. It should control government only through the force of public opinion it builds up and represents. This can be done only through working directly and unofficially among the people through constructive activities. This does not mean attitude of non-co-operation with or permanent opposition to government. There might be and except rarely should be full and free co-operation without subservience. A great many of the evils which have crept into the Congress organization will disappear if the two functions become separate. Gandhiji suggested that the non-parliamentary organization might adopt the name Lok Sevak Sangha. It deserves to be seriously reconsidered.

Setting ourselves right on these two points will modify our outlook on various controversial subjects and enable us to find their correct solutions.

Bombay, 4-12-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA
(II)

The need and implication of a common language for India being established, the question that arises next is what language can be that common language. It is suggested in some quarters that English has already acquired that position and there is no reason why it should not be continued and why it should be displaced by any Indian language. It is true that English is at the present moment doing what such a common language is expected and intended to do. It has also the advantage of having a rich and flexible vocabulary and it is understood over a large part of the world and has acquired an international status and utility which, it would be difficult for an Indian language to acquire. With all this advantage, however English has not taken root in this country and once the State patronage which it has been enjoying is withdrawn, it will cease to make that widespread appeal which it does today. Besides, any foreign language will be exotic in all parts of the country and no part of the country as a whole can acquire it in a way in which it knows its own language. So English will have to be studied and its study kept up by an artificial State help, it will never take root and will never be the language of the masses of any part of this country whereas any Indian language will be the language of, at any rate, some part of the country and will be the language of all the classes and masses of that part of the country. It will also have affinity with a number of other provincial languages and thus easily assimilable by the people in those provinces also. Our choice must, therefore, be confined to an Indian languag It does not mean that we shall have to cease learning English altogether. For all international purposes English will have to be studied. It will also have to be studied for the rich heritage it has got in the shape of its vast stock of literature—scientific, philosophic and literary. But then it will have to be studied by a few and the intensity of its study will also depend upon its utility for the particular use to which it has to be put. Even today many Indians learn other foreign languages for enabling them to study scientific and research journals and for other similar purposes.

Among the Indian languages the choice will naturally fall on the language which is most widely known and understood and Hindi or Hindustani, by whatever name we may call it, is the obvious choice. It has a good literature, it has capacity for development and it is allied to all the languages of Northern India and can be easily learnt by people speaking and knowing any of them. Even the South Indian languages have a large admixture

of words of Sanskrit origin, particularly Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. It must, however, be recognized that the vocabulary of Hindi or Hindustani will have to be greatly enriched to make it a vehicle for expressing all kinds of modern thought — scientific, legal, administrative, political, engineering, industrial etc. This is the case with all the other Indian languages. Further the common language of India has to be made as easy as possible for regions where it is not known and understood. It is therefore necessary that Hindi or Hindustani cannot afford to adopt a policy of boycott of words which a purist will consider to be of foreign or doubtful origin. Before trying to coin a new expression the first attempt must naturally be to find out an existing word which has become or can easily become assimilated. The provincial languages are also developed languages and have much to contribute to Hindi or Hindustani from their vocabulary and there is no reason why an expression which is common in one or more of these provincial languages should not be acceptable to Hindi or Hindustani. Not only words in use in literary forms of expression but even the dialects can contribute a great deal. As has been pointed out by Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi, the village dialects are living languages and have been constantly coining very expressive words to meet new requirements. I may mention as an illustration how verbs are made out of nouns in dialects of Hindi-speaking parts where literary Hindi would express the same idea by bringing in or adding another verb. Thus from *mati* (earth) the verb *matiana* has been derived which means both washing a pot after besmearing it with earth or covering something with earth. Similarly from *hath* (hands) we have *hathiana* (take in hand) but usually expressing — taking in hand unlawfully or grabbing. From *lat* (foot) we have *latiana* which means kicking. From *pith* (back) the verb is *pithiana* which means pushing from behind, etc. A language does not lose but gains by addition to its vocabulary whatever the source of the additional word may be and any growing language is bound to have considerable additions to its vocabulary from year to year. If we examine the various editions of a common popular English dictionary like Chamber's Dictionary which have been brought out during the last 50 years, we shall see what a tremendous difference there is between an edition 50 years ago and one published today. As a matter of fact, apart from the additional words incorporated in the body, every edition has an appendix or supplement containing a large number of words which are in the process of gaining currency and have not become altogether assimilated. Hindi or Hindustani, therefore, will have to adopt a most liberal policy of taking words which can be assimilated whatever their origin may be. In course of time words will acquire different shades of meaning and the language will become more and more expressive. It is therefore necessary to lay down as a fundamental rule of growth of the common language that it shall not boycott but keep its door open for words of foreign origin, 'foreign' meaning 'words not belonging to it but in use in other languages either in India or outside'.

It would, therefore, seem that the dispute whether the language should be Hindi or Hindustani is futile. The grammar and structure, which give to a language a speciality, are the same both for Hindi and Hindustani except perhaps for some minor differences which can be ignored. The only difference is in vocabulary and if we make it a point not to exclude but to include whatever is available, the controversy would cease to have any meaning and content.

With all this, however, there will still remain the necessity for coining a great number of words having technical significance. They will not be found in any of the current languages of India and taking them from non-Indian languages may become difficult and burdensome whereas a coined Indian word may soon get assimilated. What is to be the source from which this addition has to come? So far as I can see, there is only one source which is common to all Indian languages from which they all have borrowed freely in the past and are doing that today except perhaps Urdu and that source is Sanskrit. It cannot, therefore, be denied that whenever a new expression has to be coined to express an idea for which there is no word current in any other Indian language, it must be derived from the very rich source of Sanskrit. There is no escape from this. This will have to be done by Hindustani no less than by Hindi. Even Hindustani cannot afford to go to Arabic or Persian for this purpose.

So the conclusions that we arrive at are these:

1. A common language for all India purposes is necessary.

2. That common language will have to be studied on a fairly extensive scale by people all over the country whatever their own language may be.

3. That language cannot be English but will have to be an Indian language.

4. Of Indian languages Hindi or Hindustani is best fitted for this purpose.

5. But Hindi or Hindustani will have to give up the policy of boycott of words of foreign origin and to make its door open for entry of words from other languages.

6. These additional words must come in the first place from the various provincial languages and from dialects. Even words of purely foreign origin may not be altogether excluded.

7. In view of the above, the controversy between Hindi and Hindustani is futile.

8. With all the additions to the vocabulary that can be made with the help of other languages, there will still remain the need for coining a large number of words to express modern ideas very largely of a technical nature and the source from which these additional words have to be derived is Sanskrit.

2-12-'48 RAJENDRA PRASAD

(Concluded)

VARIOUS DOUBTS ANSWERED

[In 1932-33, I had the fortune of visiting Bapuji in Yeravda Jail, in company of Shri Manibehn, Lady Thackarsey and Meerabehn. The following undated letter Bapu wrote to me on my return to Sabarmati. — Prof. P. G. Mathew]

"Unrevised

"My dear Mathew,

"I have your three letters. Reason has its place, only it must not usurp the heart. If you will go through any twentyfour hours of the life of the most reasoning man you know, you will find that most of his acts done during that time are done by feeling, not by reasoning. The moral is that reason once developed acts automatically and rejects what is superstitious or immoral if the heart is sound. Reason is a corrective and is in its place when it remains at the door ever watchful, never moving. And this function, I claim, it does perform at the Ashram. Life is duty i. e. action. When this is reasoned away, reason has become a usurper and must be dethroned.

"Now for your second letter. I do not say that vocation should be, I say that it is, regulated by birth even as our colour and many things are. I have stated a fact in *nature*, not opinion. It is conservation of energy and necessary for an ethical man. But the law means only this that we are born with the tendencies both physical and mental inherited from our forefathers immediate and remote. The tendencies can be changed and ought to be when the inherited ones are evil or when necessity of service, not self, requires the change.

"Either partner at any time has the right to abstain. Mating must be an absolutely voluntary act. When therefore, either party definitely desires to abstain for life, the other is free to seek another partner, if he or she cannot restrain the carnal appetite. But this happens only when marriage is not a matter of real love i. e. has never been a marriage in its true sense — marriage is a permanent friendship between persons of opposite sexes and therefore though it allows physical connections between them it has an ever increasing tendency to subjugate their animal passions. When there is such friendship, there is no breaking of the knot when voluntary physical satisfaction is unobtainable. There is no question of superiority or inferiority. What is lawful for one is not always so for all. But this I know that a man of God has no time for satisfying animal passions and thus loses all taste for them. In this sense celibacy is a superior state.

"There can be no question of my or anybody else's allowing or disallowing marriages. I can only say that it is wise to restrict the field of choice — subject to this, this form of friendship like any other has no limitation. But since in this form there can be only one friend for life, search becomes easier and less attended with risk if the field is restricted and familiar and yet not too familiar.

"Suicide is generally a sin even in Jainism. It is obligatory when a man has to make his choice between at and perdition as when he is about to violate the chastity of a woman and has left reason enough to know that he can escape the inferno by putting an end to the physical frame. Fasting has been somewhat abused at the Ashram but the abuse can never become infective since it is not easy to abuse it. Hunger is a peremptory taskmaster.

"You cannot have too much of real *ahimsa* but the average Jain has made of it as of fasting a travesty. The average Jain only knows the husk of *ahimsa* and misses the kernel. *Ahimsa* is endless love for all life and therefore an eternal readiness to give up one's life for saving others.

"I hope this will find you in peace. But you will not get the real peace till you find full satisfaction in some permanent act of service.

Love
BAPU."

FONDNESS FOR ENGLISH

A correspondent writes:

> "The fondness for English does not seem to abate still in government and semi-government administration. For instance, the other day I had an occasion to go to the Secretariat. I found that most of the sign-boards meant for the guidance of the pubic were in English only. Similarly, I saw an English sign-board in the local police office. It purports to give information for the public of the municipal rates and taxes in force locally. But it is all in English! I humbly feel that immediately on the attainment of independence, all sign-boards ought to have been rendered in Nagari and Urdu characters (and not in the local scripts), and all information meant for the local public put up in the local language and script. Let it be done even now.
>
> "The word 'Home Guard' has been translated as '*Griha Samrakshak Dala*'. This literal translation is so long and clumsy that most people cling to the English word. If it had been called simply '*Rakshak Dala*', it could have easily sat in the mouth. But apart from the difficulty of the word, the fondness for English above referred to is also responsible for the prevalence of the English name."

The fondness is not confined to government and semi-government administration. Non-official and purely 'national' organizations are also not free from it. So many institutions, organizers of public meetings, and even individuals celebrating domestic functions like marriage etc. issue their invitations in English. The other day I was surprised to receive a letter (in an Indian language) from the office of the Reception Committee of the forthcoming Congress at Jaipur with a letterhead printed in English. Mind, it was not in the Roman script but in English language and in that only.

But I am patient. I am sure this is going, and will disappear, though it might be necessary to remind the people about it now and then as this correspondent has done.

Bombay, 23-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

BAPU MANDAP

It has been proposed to organize an Art Gallery of the photographs of Mahatma Gandhi in the *BAPU MANDAP* which will occupy the most prominent place in the Sarvodaya Exhibition. The Art Gallery is intended to present Gandhiji's photographs in the different stages and phases of his whole life amid his multifarious activities. Friends are requested to send such of those photos as are in their possession to the Sarvodaya Exhibition. These photographs will be returned to the owners, if they so desire after taking copies of them.

It is well known that there is a huge volume of literature on Gandhiji and his work in the different languages, both Indian and foreign. We intend to collect and exhibit in the Mandap as much such literature as is available. All publishers and authors are kindly requested to send a copy of each of their publications with a slip attached mentioning the title of the book in Hindi or English. It may not be possible to return the copies to owners.

All these valuable collections of photos and books at the Sarvodaya Exhibition will be presented to the Gandhi Memorial Museum which is being contemplated under the Gandhi Memorial Trust.

All photos and books intended for *BAPU MANDAP* should be carefully packed and sent by registered post addressed to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Pradarshini, Gandhi Nagar, Jaipur.

KRISHNADAS GANDHI
Secretary,
Sarvodaya Pradarshini

RESOURCELESS SUBJECTS

Referring to *Lands for Politicals* in the *Harijan* of October 31st, a political sufferer from U. P. writes:

> "It is very necessary for the Government to help those who are destroyed root and branch by the ruthless measures of the Government and are physically unfit as a result of imprisonment and tortures and have a responsibility of maintaining minor and aged dependents. The help should not be in the form of any compensation for their political sufferings but as the resourceless subjects of a free country.
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> "I fully know many cases of demoralization for want of such help. Of course, those should not get help who discredit the Congress by exploiting the occasion, but those who deserve should not be ignored. Your comment, therefore, does not justify those cases who staked their all in 1942 and previous to that. To come to their rescue is the moral duty of the present Government."

I have my full sympathy for the political sufferers. I know several who have come to a miserable plight for having taken part in political movements from time to time. The Congress owes a duty towards them. But the Congress should be distinguished from the Congress Governments. The correspondent has made self-contradictory arguments. But I shall not try to refute them. It is sufficient that he concedes that "the help should not be in the form of any compensation for their political sufferings but as the resourceless subjects of a free country."

If this is conceded, then the field of help becomes extremely wide and is not confined to victims of political repression. Their number in our country will be a legion. Happy would be the day when the Government, that is the people, of India attain the strength of taking care of all their resourceless fellow-beings. It would be possible only when the great gulf between the highest income and personal property is brought within narrow limits, and the people adopt a scheme of life and training and civilization quite different from the current one. With the present civilization and its trends, it does not seem possible that indigency could be abolished. It will mark the establishment of *Rama Rajya* and the dawn of *Sarvodaya*.

Bombay, 17-11-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

SELF-CONTROL vs. GOVERNMENT-CONTROL

Your excellent article in *Harijan* dated 21st November *Controls for Sarvodaya* and the sentence "To remove Government-control let us resolve to exercise self-control", prompt me to inform you of the system of "voluntary price control" which was tried by me when I worked as a Director of Civil Supplies under Government of Bombay. The essential features of this system are:

1. Maintenance of fair price shops at which prices are fixed jointly by a representative each of trade, the consumer and the Government and certified from day to day;
2. The prices are published;
3. The number of fair price shops are increased as the demand and facilities increase. As long as goods are in short supply, owing to either shortage in production or transport or distribution, such price control becomes difficult, but the necessity of such control is all the greater. The remedy is not an elaborate control in distribution through Government Departments which tends to become more expensive and arbitrary, but co-operation in making available the existing stock at a price which is fair. A strong and reliable committee, with large powers in matter of fixing the prices, consisting of only three representatives, one of the trade, one of the consumer, and one of Government should fix the price of each of the commodities in universal demand. If it is given facilities for overcoming difficulties of transport, it can do greater service than detailed control in distribution. There should be a committee for fixing prices of food grains, foodstuffs like ghee, milk, suger etc., cloth and other articles of daily necessities like firewood, charcoal, footwears etc. Public opinion should mark out those traders who do not bring down prices to the level so fixed. The existence of such committees in local areas, and the publicity given to these fair prices in the local newspapers, and the maintenance of fair price shops by the combined efforts of representatives of trade, consumer, and Government, would go a great way in control

of prices. No elaborate regulations or legal enactments are necessary when the citizens combine by voluntary self-control to eradicate high prices, and take practical steps to supply the goods at the prices which are reasonable and fair.

26-11-'48 "HOPE"

QUESTION BOX

GANDHIJI'S INSTITUTIONS

Q. Would you please give a list of the institutions founded by Gandhiji or inspired by his teachings?

A. It is possible to give a list of such institutions only as were founded by Gandhiji or if not actually founded by him, those which worked more or less directly under his guidance. It is difficult to give a list of all those independent institutions which are inspired by his teachings. Probably there are scores of such institutions, both small and big. Subject to correction, I list below institutions of the first two types, on such information as I could gather with the help of my colleagues.

1. *Satyagrahashram*, Sabarmati. Founded on 15-5-1915 in a rented bungalow at Kochrab, a small village near Ahmedabad. It came to the present site on about 25-6-1917. Its name was changed by Gandhiji into *Udyog Mandir* in November 1928. In July 1933, Gandhiji disbanded the *Udyog Mandir*, handed over its movable property to public use and offered land, buildings and crops to Government. On Government declining to accept the offer, he made them over to the Harijan Sevak Sangha, New Delhi, in September 1933. Since then the Ashram is known as the *Harijan Ashram*.

2. *Rashtriya Gujarati Shala*, (National Gujarati School) Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, (1915), now defunct.

3. *Harijan Ashram*, Godhra, (1918).

4. *Dakshina Bharat Hindi (Hindustani) Prachar Sabha*, (1918), Tyagaraja Nagar, Madras 17;

5. *Navajivan Press*, P. O. Box No. 105, Ahmedabad (1919). Gandhiji took over the *Young India*, a bi-weekly of Bombay in April 1919. After the establishment of the *Navajivan Press* in October 1919, the *Young India* began to be published as a weekly from Ahmedabad. The Gujarati weekly *Navajivan* began in September. Later on the Hindi edition too was added.

The press and the weeklies had a chequered career. They are a faithful record of the National Movement of that period. All the weeklies stopped in the beginning of 1932.

6. *Majur Mahajan* or the Labour Union, Mirzapur Road, Ahmedabad (1920).

7. *Satyagrahashram*, Wardha (1920), under the guidance of Shri Vinoba Bhave. The enthusiasm of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj and the guidance of Shri Vinoba backed by the always available advice of Gandhiji were responsible for the founding, closing or re-shaping of the following institutions at Wardha and its suburbs:

a. *Kanya Ashram*, Wardha closed in 1935.
b. *Mahila Ashram*, Wardha 1935.
c. *Gram-Seva Mandal*, Nalwadi (Wardha).
d. *Goseva Charmalaya*, Nalwadi (Wardha).
e. *Maharogi (Leper) Ashram*, Dattapur (Wardha).
f. *Goseva Sangha*, Gopuri, Wardha, 1941.
g. *Gram Seva Mandal*, Wardha.
h. *Swaraj Bhandar*, Wardha.
i. *Paramdham*, Pavnar, (Wardha), headquarters of Shri Vinoba for some years past.

8. *Gujarat Vidyapeeth*, Ahmedabad (1920).

9. *Swaraj Ashram*, Bardoli, Dist. Surat, (1922).

10. *Gandhi Seva Sangha*, Wardha (1923), founded by Shri Jamnalal Bajaj, its first president.

11. *All India Spinners' Association*, Sevagram (Wardha) (1925). It was started by a resolution of the All India Congress Committee, at Patna on 22-9-1925: under its auspices, *Khadi Vidyalaya*, Sevagram.

12. *Akhil Bharat Goseva Sangha*, Sabarmati (1928), now at Wardha.

13. *All India Harijan Sevak Sangha*, Kingsway, New Delhi, (1933).

14. The *Harijan* — English, (1933).
The *Harijanbandhu* — Gujarati, (1933).
The *Harijansevak* — Hindustani (1933). The English *Harijan* was the first to be published under Gandhiji's all but nominal editorship from the Yeravda Central Prison, Poona. Translations followed a little later. They continued with a suspension of more than a year till August 1942. They have been resumed since 10-2-1946 with the addition of the *Harijansevak* in the Urdu script.

Besides these four weeklies, the Navajivan publishes books in Gujarati, English, Hindustani, Marathi and Urdu.

15. *All India Village Industries Association*, Maganwadi, Wardha (1934). This was started by a resolution of the Indian National Congress. Under its auspices.

a. *Gramsevak Vidyalaya*, Wardha.
b. *Magan Sangrahalaya*, Wardha (1938).

16. *Sevagram Ashram* (1936). Gandhiji began to stay at Segaon since 30-4-1936. On 5-3-1940 the village was named by Gandhiji as Sevagram.

17. *Hindustani Talimi Sangha*, Sevagram, (Wardha) (1938). This was started by a resolution of the Indian National Congress.

18. *Hindustani Prachar Sabha*, Wardha (1942).

19. *Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust*, Bajajwadi, Wardha (1944).

20. *All India Nature Cure Foundation*, Poona (1946).

21. *Nisargopachar Ashram*, Uruli-Kanchan, Dist. Poona (1946).

K. G. Mashruwala

CONTENTS

		PAGE
GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	341
SPURIOUS MEDICINES	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	342
GANDHIJI'S TEACHINGS IN TAMILNAD	...	342
INTOXICATION OF OFFICE	... G. M.	343
THE JAIPUR CONGRESS	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	344
A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA—II	... RAJENDRA PRASAD	344
VARIOUS DOUBTS ANSWERED	... M. K. GANDHI	346
FONDNESS FOR ENGLISH	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	346
BAPU MANDAP	... KRISHNADAS GANDHI	347
RESOURCELESS SUBJECTS	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	347
SELF-CONTROL VS. GOVERNMENT CONTROL	... "HOPE"	347
QUESTION BOX	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	348
NOTES:		
TO LOVERS OF GANDHIAN LITERATURE	... JIVANJI DESAI	341
GANDHI CITY	... K. G. M.	343

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