

By Swaraj I mean the government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male or female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State and who have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters. I hope to demonstrate that real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused.

M. K. Gandhi



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Swaraj OR THE MASSES

J.C.KUMARAPPA

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A.B. SARVA-SEVA-SANGH-PRAKASHAN



**INDIAN INSTITUTE OF
ADVANCED STUDY
SIMLA**

SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES

By
J. C. KUMARAPPA

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**A. B. SARVA-SEVA-SANGH-PRAKASHAN
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PREFACE

This little book is made up of a collection of articles which appeared at various times in the periodicals *Harijan* and *Gram Udyog Patrika* over a period of two and a half years. Those who read the articles as they appeared may not have obtained a coherent conception of the ideology behind them because of the long intervals between their publication. Hence they have been here brought together under five broad divisions. The first section deals critically with conditions as they are. The second section suggests the principles that should be borne in mind in evolving an economy that will benefit the masses. The third section carries constructive ideas in relation to agriculture, the primary occupation of the people. The fourth deals with our cattle wealth, the chief source of power in our rural economy; and the fifth seeks to tackle the industries relating to our prime necessities and ends with certain recommendations in regard to the course that should be followed if the present change-over in the political sphere is to bring solace to the village dweller.

In a collection of articles separated by time and circumstance some repetition and a certain lack of

continuity is inevitable, for which the indulgence of the reader is solicited. In spite of these defects it is hoped that the booklet will be found useful; and if it serves to throw some light on the problems of the day its publication will not have been in vain.

4th January, 1948
Maganvadi,
Wardha }

J. K. Kinnarappa

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SECTION ONE

1. FREEDOM FOR THE MILLIONS

Though the splitting of India took place only on 15th August, most of those who hold the reins of office, both at the Centre and in the provinces, have been in the saddle for a year or more. This is a long enough period for us to take stock of their achievements. Our measuring rod will be the good bestowed on the masses.

In whichever direction we turn, the conditions in respect of food, clothing, and shelter are definitely worse today than they were a year ago. Starvation and death face many people. The problem of communal disturbances has, of course, enhanced the evil, as millions have been dislodged from their productive occupations and, even when they are resettled, it will be a long time before conditions are normal again.

Leaving this more recent factor out, the public is entitled to know what has been done to relieve the food situation. Rationing and controls have played havoc and have only helped to create black markets which are getting blacker every day. Money crops are being increasingly cultivated at the expense of food crops for the lure of gain. We should like to know how much fresh land has been brought under food

crops and what the position is in regard to cash crops. Have efforts been made to conserve available food grains from damage by faulty storage and loss by milling, and with what results ?

Our Government has been blindly following the methods adopted by countries like Great Britain, and that too indifferently. They export manufactures and import food materials. All food coming into the country is known and that divided by the population figures gives the ration per head. Thus rationing and control of prices serve to alleviate shortages in Great Britain.

Ours is an agricultural country that should produce most of the food we need. At best, the stock available is but an estimate. In the absence of an intensive production drive, the rationing of existing stocks among an illiterate population places an undue strain on the distribution machinery and encourages blackmarketing. Our approach to the problem should be from the other end. We have to afford facilities for increasing production to meet the country's needs. This indicates licensing and regulating production rather than rationing and doling out available stocks. Government has not explored this avenue to meet the food situation, nor do they seem to be even conscious of it. While the character of the problem in Great Britain admits of solution through the administrative machinery, the situation in our

country, on the other hand, can be tackled only by technical experts from the Agricultural Department. What have they done up to now ?

Cereals : We are extending the beggar's bowl to the already overtaxed producers abroad. They, when they can sell or part with their stock, do so only at extortionate prices. Because of the time and distance involved these grains have to be polished of much of their nutritive elements before they are shipped to our land. Our diet is largely based on cereals. When we take polished grains we lay ourselves open to various diseases of malnutrition, as we cannot all fall back on other protective foods such as meat, fish, eggs or milk. Our rationing and control does not reckon with these factors.

Fats : In a vegetarian diet milk plays a very important part. Owing to indiscriminate slaughter of milch cattle in our cities as also by the military, the country is being depleted of its cattle wealth. Government has hardly moved to arrest this disastrous tendency. The only other source of fat for most of the masses is vegetable oils. This source is also being exhausted by inroads made by the industrial demand for soaps, lubricants, etc. Even that which is available is being reduced nutritively by the encouragement given to Vanaspati factories which lessen the nutritive value of fresh pressed oils. Some Provincial Governments have even gone to the extent

of proposing to run their own Vanaspati factories, thus showing their utter callousness to the needs of the masses.

Sugar : We get part of our energy from this source. But along with energy we also get vitamins and mineral salts from *gur*, which is nutritively much superior to white sugar. Yet, Provincial Governments have encouraged sugar as against *gur* because of urban demand and the vested interests of sugar factories.

We have already noticed the shortage of cereals. In spite of this, good cereal-producing irrigated lands are being put under sugar-cane, while palm trees, from which good *gur* and sugar can be obtained, are allowed to run to waste. What have the Provincial Governments done to implement the prohibition programme and to tackle the problem of displaced tappers by encouraging palm *gur* making ?

Clothing : When we buy an article we have to part with some of our goods. When villagers buy cloth they have to give up a part of their grain or other produce. Instead, if they can make their own cloth during idle hours, they could retain their products which they now have to part with in exchange for cloth. Our Governments do not seem to be aware of the special features of our economy and practically all of them are supporting textile mills.

Leather : Crores of rupees worth of raw hides are exported every year which could afford employment to lakhs of tanners if leather is manufactured in our own land. Hardly anything is being done to train our village *chamars* in this industry.

Lighting : Our villages are giving up crores of rupees worth of their produce again to obtain kerosene oil for lighting. If jungle oil-seeds can be crushed locally and the oil used in vegetable oil burning lamps, it will enrich the country-side to the extent of several crores. Kerosene oil should be banned in the villages and its use should be licensed and controlled in towns.

Paper : The country has been through a severe shortage of paper owing to our dependence on European countries for its supply. Paper making has been a time-honoured occupation in our land. We have the raw material for all types of paper and the traditional skill for hand-made paper is still there if only a little encouragement is forthcoming from Government. This again seems a forlorn hope today.

Deduction : It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of all that can and should be done. These instances have been cited only to indicate roughly how far the present Government is from serving the masses. It seems to be drifting without any well-defined policy, leaving the initiative in the hands of unscrupulous vested interests who are feathering

their nests while they can. Where public considerations do have some influence, they are generally of a political nature and are dictated by the exigencies of the moment.

The Result : The result of it all is the mess we are in today. Even the communal disturbances may not have arisen if Government had given due thought to the economic welfare of the masses. But Government is all at sea; and a few people are reaping a rich harvest by exploiting the situation.

The Remedy : In a democracy the way out is simple. Man is neither omniscient nor omnipotent. A good fighter is not necessarily a good administrator, nor is a capable politician always an able social builder. Great Britain threw out its wartime leader, Churchill, without shedding a tear when the need for him was past. The people too have their duty by their leaders. They owe it to their leaders that they do not place them in a false position. If the present Government is not discharging its duty properly it is in a large measure the fault of the people in not playing their part in a democracy.

The Method : We picked up the threads dropped by the British. An empire needs distant sources of raw material and foreign markets. Hence, Finance and Foreign Affairs loomed large in their administration. But in an agricultural economy, Agriculture and Industries, followed by the masses ought to be

the premier portfolios. At present, we seem to be giving priority to the appointment of Ambassadors and the equipment of embassies rather than to the problem of feeding the masses. Thus the set-up of the Cabinet is out of alignment with the need of the masses. We urge that the most important and powerful person in the administration should be one who is possessed with a zeal for the betterment of the masses and he should be entrusted with the portfolios of Agriculture and Industries. All other portfolios should be subsidiary to this main objective of Government. It is futile criticizing the present Government as it is not so composed as to carry out the functions we expect of it. It can do no better as long as it remains what it is. The individual members are doing their level best. What more can they do? It is the primary duty of the public to see that they put into the saddle a Cabinet so organized as to execute the wishes of the people and satisfy their pressing needs.

We may have shaken off the yoke of the foreigner but until the masses are free from the yoke of poverty, we cannot be said to have attained Poorna Swaraj. Until the distinction between man and man and the forces that make for it are eradicated, we cannot lay claim to a Democratic State. The first step towards that is the economic emancipation of the villager. Until we ensure this there can be no prospect of peace and plenty.

Gandhiji is being hailed throughout the land as the 'Father of Independence'. What is this independence that we see around us ? The freedom to kill one another ? It is blasphemy to call a divided country, where communal riots abound, a child of the apostle of nonviolence. No Government in our country has accepted Gandhiji's ideals for the country. It will be time enough to confer such fatherhood on him when the country whole-heartedly adopts his programme based on the welfare of the masses.

2. PLANNING FOR INDIA

Various plans have been put before the public recently for the economic development of our country. Each one has its merits and short-comings. None of them presumes to be a comprehensive blue-print and, therefore, it would not be fair to pick out particular points and criticize them. All that these plans claim is that they present a bird's-eye-view from a definite standpoint showing the directions in which steps should be taken to improve the lot of the people. Owing to lack of dependable information and reliable statistics, none of them can lay claim to infallibility. If we are out to find fault, no scheme can be immune from our onslaught. Even in plans prepared by experts, like the Bombay Plan, there are glaring omissions of vital items like the development and exploitation of forests, river conservancy, especially the construction of navigable canals and water-ways and wrongly placed emphasis on foreign trade in raw materials, misconceived ideas of road transport, and so on. But these are open to discussion and modification and, therefore, not matters to quarrel about.

There is one point, however, on which everybody should have liked a clearer statement, and that is about the goal. While directing all their energies towards economic betterment, practically all these

plans ignore the higher life of man; nothing is said of the destiny of the human race. Are we only aiming at a well-managed dairy standard of life ? Proper food, drink, shelter, exercise and good yield of milk ! Is man to be placed on an equal footing with a well-cared-for animal ? Has man no personality that can be affected by economic activity ?

Besides, any detailed planning within a definite time limit will require coercion that will ultimately end in violence. The Gita says that attachment leads to anger. Any material-centred planning will require violence to implement it. Which is more desirable—a complex standard of life with many created wants supplied by a regimented labour force whipped up to a fever heat of activity, or a comparatively well-regulated simple life possessing all the necessities for the cultural development of man, produced under an economy of freedom ? Russia and Germany experimented with the former type, and with what dire consequences ! Shall India too go the way of Europe and of Japan ?

It cannot be over-emphasized that any plan for our country must be based on the fact of unlimited labour being available. This will naturally minimize the use of centralized methods of production, and such plans as we devise should centre round forms of production where labour plays the major part. Centralized forms of production will be labelled

'POISON' and used sparingly, in minute well-regulated doses, for key industries, public utilities and national monopolies. In an economy of this nature, production will follow demand and consumption will not be forced. Distribution will be part and parcel of the process of production and consumption, and will not call for further coercion to ensure distributive justice.

When our plan is labour-centred, money will recede to its proper place as a means of exchange and will not dominate or colour the whole economic organization, and we need not worry about 'created money' and like problems.

Much is made in several of the plans about increasing the per capita income. The guidance which the per capita income gives is very deceptive and undependable. Though the per capita income is stated to be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 65 per annum, field labour hardly gets 2 or 3 annas per day, which is often all that the family obtains. This will work out to barely Rs. 15 to 20 per head. Even this is on the high side.

Then there is the insistence on increase of production, particularly in the field of industry. The advice to follow a comparatively advanced country like England is pure propaganda. In one breath those who offer this advice will tell you that England is destined to be an industrialized country as it can

produce better that way than our country. In the next breath they will boast of the higher yield per acre they obtain in England as compared to India. If agricultural production even under the stress of war conditions is higher in England, by their own logic does it not follow that England should concentrate on agriculture and India on iron and steel ? This type of specious reasoning has to give way to a rational allocation of production. All supplies of necessities must be local if we would minimize the chances of war. World trade must be in surpluses and luxuries. Money cost is not the only determining factor in these matters.

Many seem to labour under the belief that this is the first time that planning is contemplated for and by India. Planning, however, is not new to India at all. It may be that product-centred planning was brought to the forefront by Russia, Germany and the U.S.A. But personality-centred planning is as old as Hindu civilization itself. The Varnashram Dharma is a form of cultural planning far more advanced than material-based planning.

There is in some quarters much curiosity about the ideas of planning entertained by Gandhiji. Those desirous of getting an insight into his mind on the subject cannot do better than to study the genesis, the structure and the methods of working of the national organization which are intended by him to

attend to various aspects of the Constructive Programme he has placed before the nation. These bodies are the A. I.S.A., the A. I.V.I.A., the Basic Education Scheme, etc., which virtually represent Gandhiji's plan in action. They ultimately aim at bettering the worker by enlisting the educative faculty of work in the development of human personality. Man does not live by bread alone. Very often man deteriorates when there is an over-emphasis on material production. Under the present political conditions in India, it has not been possible to tackle centralized industries under the guidance of Gandhiji. But his line of attack shows that it is not necessary to cool our heels waiting for a National Government to come into being. We can proceed with such items as can be handled by private individuals and bodies, restricting our needs to the consumption of articles produced locally until such time when we shall be in the happy position of being able to supply all we require for a full and satisfactory life based not on the exploitation of others but on an environment conducive to human progress.

3. COST OF PLANNING

There have been plans and blue-prints galore as to how to organize the life of the people but there were two considerations that kept the flood in check. The funds estimated as necessary to execute these somewhat nebulous schemes were so enormous that people were dubious as to the soundness of such investments, even granting that the fabulous capital required could be found. The second impediment was the lack of political power necessary to put through schemes of such magnitude.

With the dawn of a National Government we may be pardoned for hoping that the second of these difficulties will vanish as the morning mist. Furthermore, if the schemes are such as to be within the capacity of the average citizen and if the wisdom of the plans is made so evident that the man in the street can comprehend it, they would not call for much Governmental action to put them through. Therefore, one essential factor is that the plans should be simple and also inexpensive.

As regards the cost, plans that call for the investment of thousands of crores of rupees, in a country where even getting one square meal a day is a problem for the majority of the people, are destined mostly to remain on paper. If we wish to be prac-

tical, the cost must be capable of being distributed amongst the people in such small amounts as to fall within their meagre means. The conception itself should be such as to catch their imagination. If this can be done then the people's co-operation can be obtained without any compulsion.

To adjust our schemes accordingly, it is of the first importance to remember that ours is an agricultural country where over 70 per cent of the people are occupied in tilling the soil and an additional 18 per cent in industries connected with it. Hence it would obviously be foolish to ignore this vast section of the public in our plans. Indeed, any plan worth the name should start by planning the life of this section first. This means that we have to initiate systematic and efficient production through a careful reorganization of our village industries.

In the nature of things, these will not call for much capital; and if the people concerned are convinced they will take to the schemes of their own accord. Of course, certain functions of Government, ancillary to these occupations, such as irrigation, forest conservation, etc. will need funds, but these would be modest in comparison with the requirements of the schemes put forward to 'industrialize' the country.

In tackling this sector first we would have effected the gainful occupation of nearly 90 per cent of the population without much difficulty. Having done

this Government could turn its attention to public utilities, key industries and communications. It ought not to be a herculean task to find the capital needed for this job if the first part of the plan (for the rehabilitation of 90 per cent of the population) has resulted in increased productivity.

We trust that the Government that will now assume power will put first things first and go about their work in a systematic manner so as to reduce both the money cost and the human cost of ushering in a planned economy.

4. SPONGING ON THE VOICELESS MILLIONS

Now that popular Governments are assuming responsibility, it has become necessary to formulate the principles that should govern their actions. The order of the day has been to make the comfortable residents of the cities still more comfortable. Government at present is city-centred.

Everywhere in New Delhi you find the boards : No bullock carts allowed. Who paid for these roads on which bullock carts are not allowed ? They are built not out of moneys contributed by the motorist but out of the taxes that the poor people pay—the very people who are not allowed to use these roads.

Are such expensively built roads necessary ? The motorist needs them to save his tyre and petrol bill as well as to reduce the wear and tear on his car. They are essential to keep down the dust that the motorist raises. Such even-surfaced roads enable the motorist to speed along comfortably. Hence they are quite necessary for the motorist. Therefore the motorist should be called upon to foot the bill for such roads.

Do animal-driven carts require such roads ? No. The animals slip and fall ; besides, they are hard on

the hoofs of unshod bullocks, as most cart animals are. Therefore, no contribution from non-motorists is called for. Even should such roads be built solely out of funds contributed by the motorists, the general public is entitled to the free use of them.

Hence it follows that all roads needed by motorists must be paid for by the class that needs them. They should not be allowed to use roads other than their own. Charging these special benefits to general revenue is in effect shifting the incidence of taxation from the motorist, who belongs to the wealthier section of the public, to the masses, who are financially much weaker. If this policy is given effect to every motorist will be a self-respecting person. But not so now when crores are being spent on roads for the motorist's benefit, neglecting the health and education of those who really bear the cost of this expensive luxury, at least in our country.

Such is the case in most activities of Government. Even the so-called scientific bodies, like the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, are but adjuncts to commercial concerns. They spend the bulk of their money, energy and talent in researching on cotton, sugar-cane, etc. for the mills, and on encouraging the growth of tobacco for the Imperial Tobacco Company etc. Apart from these, even the Agricultural Colleges train young men for jobs in mills and factories and not to enable them to cultivate their own lands as

independent farmers. It may even be said that these Colleges wean young men away from village life. Again, all this is done out of the revenues collected from the masses. If the mill-owners were honest, the expenses of the whole of the Department should be borne out of contributions made by textile mills, sugar mills, tobacco companies, etc. They prefer to sponge on the poor instead.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research is likewise directing its activities to investigating problems the solution of which will be helpful to industrial and commercial concerns. They are now taking out patents on their findings on the reduction of nitro-compounds for dyes, etc. which will benefit the textile mills.

We may understand a small percentage of the work of these bodies overflowing into such activities while the core of their programme is mainly concerned with research that will put life into the various industries on which millions depend for their livelihood. The irony of it is they do not even by mistake look into the problems facing village industries. The scientists on the staff of these bodies have been told, in season and out of season, that these simple industries are out-moded and that is enough for these men to leave them alone.

A popular ministry will have to scrap these departments or turn them over to the mills, or alternatively,

insist that they should concern themselves with problems referred to them and sanctioned by the Village Industries Ministry or Department.

We find rich municipalities using their influence with Government to obtain grants for their schemes. Wherefrom does Government get the money to give them grants ? Not from Great Britain but from the masses, out of funds which should have been spent on their needs.

Public expenditure will have to be conscientiously scrutinized to see that not a pie coming from the poor is spent in a way which exclusively serves the interests of the rich and that every item of expenditure that benefits the rich comes out of adequate contributions made by that class. If this policy is strictly followed it will soon be apparent to what extent the well-to-do classes have been sponging on the voiceless millions, as the former will find that they can no longer live as comfortably as they have done so far. If the methods of the present Government are continued by the popular ministries, even if the Britishers quit India to a man, yet poverty will inevitably increase. One class cannot ride on the shoulders of another in a free country.

5. NERO FIDDLES

Under the Presidentship of Sir Herbert Stewart (Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research), the Indian Central Tobacco Committee have adopted a scheme for the development of Virginia cigarette tobacco in Bihar. They have decided to open a number of tobacco research stations at Rajamahendry, Anand, Bil ar, Guntur, etc. They are to publish pamphlets in the provincial languages for the dissemination of information about improved methods of cultivating tobacco and they are arranging for demonstration by cinematograph films. The Imperial Tobacco Co., (India) Ltd., has given two studentships of £ 500 per annum for training in tobacco cultivation abroad.

When people are dying of starvation on the pavements of Calcutta and the country is facing a famine, should this tobacco cultivation in the interests of the Tobacco Companies be the preoccupation of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research ? A Government pledged to the welfare of the people should reclaim all such land for raising food crops. It should transfer the services of Sir Herbert Stewart and officers of his ilk to the Tobacco Companies and not waste the taxpayer's money in subsidizing British firms masquerading in India as '(India) Ltd.'.

Almost the entire programme of work of this I. C. A.R. is of this nature. If it is not tobacco it is long-staple cotton or thick-rind sugar-cane for the mills or groundnuts for export. This is the secret of the so-called efficiency of the mills—misappropriation of the taxpayer's money through the public services. Such activities, especially in these critical times, remind one of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning !

6. THESE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

It is nothing short of a scandal that crores of rupees should have been spent on the researches carried on by the so-called 'Agricultural Colleges' and yet the production of rice per acre is 939 lbs. in India as against 3909 lbs. in Japan. Similarly, the production of wheat is 774 lbs. in India as against 2010 lbs. in Japan. Is it any wonder that India is subject to recurrent famines ? Does not the situation call for an enquiry into the working of these Agricultural Colleges ? Crores of public money have been sunk in these Colleges and in their researches. Why then is our production a mere fraction of that of other countries ?

The answer is fairly obvious. A great deal of first-class research work has been done by these institutions but not on food crops. They have concentrated mainly on long-staple cotton suitable for use in textile mills, juicy but thick-rind sugar-cane for the sugar mills, tobacco for the tobacco companies, etc. If they have done any research on food grains it has been only to fill show-windows at Exhibitions as an excuse to justify their existence.

Under these circumstances is it not right that the cost of running these institutions should be charged to these beneficiaries instead of being saddled on the impecunious farmers ? To be honest they should call these colleges 'Mill Raw Material

Research Institutes'. It is no use masquerading under false names only to sponge on public money.

The real agricultural colleges must be situated in rural areas; their buildings, etc., should be in consonance with their surroundings and in keeping with the standards prevailing among the people they profess to serve. The Principals and Professors must themselves be cultivating farmers. They may well be allotted a certain acreage out of the produce of which to support themselves. Their activities must be confined to the needs of the people, and chiefly limited to food production, short-staple cotton and such other materials in demand in the villages. They should take the lead in the supply of selected seeds and in grain storage. The medium of instruction should be the language of the locality. The students themselves would then be prospective farmers instead of job-seeking city young men whose one aim is a degree of some kind. The whole policy needs to be reoriented if famine prevention is our goal.

We would suggest that an enquiry committee be set up to investigate the working of all existing institutions from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research downwards and to recommend the reorganization of these institutions so that they may concentrate their efforts of fighting famine. Money spent on such research will then be true and effective famine insurance.

7. THE CART BEFORE HORSE

A news item says that a new Agricultural College is to be started to afford facilities for training in scientific agriculture. The Anand Parbat Estate has been leased by the Central Government for the purpose. Commodious buildings for lecture rooms, laboratories, hostels and residential staff quarters are to be provided. All that is needed is an agricultural farm ! In the near future they will arrange to secure one to be 'attached to the College'. Should not agricultural colleges be located in chosen farms in typical rural parts rather than that agricultural farms be attached to the colleges ? The latter is the way of the Government. When will it mend its ways ?

8. RACE HORSES AND WHITE ELEPHANTS

Time was when the horse was the mainstay of the economic activity of Great Britain. In those days improvement of the breed was in the interests of the masses. Racing as 'the sport of kings' was then directly related to the well-being of the people. Now racing has become the sport of gamblers and wastrels. The newspapers state that a Maharajah is spending fortunes on race horses and that too in England ! Is there no way to stop this criminal extravagance ?

In our country, dutiful potentates like Tippu Sultan had adopted as their hobby cattle-breeding. Even today the Mysore cattle owe their superiority to Tippu's munificence. The one absorbing interest of the present Maharajah of Morvi is his cattle farm.

Now that power is vested in popular Governments, is it too much to hope that Turf Clubs will be made illegal and race courses maintained at tremendous cost will be ploughed up to grow food for the people, while cattle breeding will be given its due share of attention ?

People have been breathlessly waiting to know how the popular Governments are going to solve

the problems of food, clothing, housing, education and medical relief. While the Ministers are slowly learning the ropes, the vested interests are forestalling them by bringing into existence all kinds of 'white elephants' injurious to the welfare of the masses.

It is announced that ten and a half crores of rupees are being spent on establishing a fertilizer factory at Sindri in Bihar and crores of rupees worth of plant is being imported from abroad for the purpose.

With the blessings of some of the Provincial Governments, again, crores worth of tractors are also being imported.

With the support of the Provincial Governments, textile mills, Vanaspati factories, sugar mills, etc. are shooting up like mushrooms. It is not an adequate excuse to say that the granting of licenses to start certain of these factories was agreed to by their predecessors of the Advisers' regime. It would be up to the popular Governments to reopen the entire question. What efforts have they made to do so? On the other hand we find popular Ministers performing the opening ceremony of these mills. Are these not straws that indicate the direction of the wind? Is it not time that policies of popular Ministries were laid down definitely so that we may know the worst that is in store for us?

If the Ministers are not clear in their own minds as to the social philosophy they are expected to represent, it will be only fair to themselves and to the people to lay down the reins of office. It is no use flirting with rural reconstruction in spare moments and joining in unholy wedlock with exploiters who will not hesitate to ruin the country-side in order to gain a little profit for their miserable selves.

SECTION TWO

9. A VILLAGE-CENTRED PLAN

The advent of popular Ministries at a time when the country is facing famine and shortages in primary consumption goods may prove a blessing provided advantage is taken of the situation to launch a country-wide programme to increase the productivity of the people in selected sectors so as to make good the deficiencies. To be effective such a programme has to be uniform and well-co-ordinated in all the provinces throughout the land. Patchwork schemes and isolated, desultory attempts will not carry us far. In order to facilitate consultation and discussion between the Cabinets of the various provinces a conference of Ministers was held at Poona on 31st July and 1st August, 1946.

Gandhiji's Address : This Conference opened with an address by Gandhiji who, in the course of his speech, pointed out that as the world is organized today, "the mighty alone can survive to the exclusion at the cost of the weak. True independence demands that there should be room even for the weakest. The base and foundation of economic activity was agriculture. Years ago I read a poem in which the peasant is described as the father of

the world. If God is the Provider, the cultivator is His hand. What are we going to do to discharge the debt we owe him? We have lived so long only by the sweat of his brow.

"There are people who say that no basic reform in agriculture is possible without political power. They dream in terms of industrialization of agriculture by large-scale application of steam or electricity. I warn them that trading on soil fertility for the sake of quick returns will prove to be a disastrous, short-sighted policy. It will result in virtual depletion of the soil. Good earth called for the sweat of one's brow to yield the bread of life.

"People may criticize this approach as being slow and unprogressive. It does not hold out promise of dramatic results. Nevertheless it holds the key to the prosperity of both the soil and the inhabitants living on it. Healthy, nourishing food is the alpha and the omega of rural economy. The bulk of a peasant's family budget goes to feed him and his family. All other things come afterwards. Let the tiller of the soil be well-fed. Let him have a sufficiency of fresh, pure milk, ghee and oil, and fish, eggs and meat if he is a non-vegetarian. What would fine clothes, for instance, avail him if he is ill-nourished and underfed? The question of drinking-water supply and other things would come next.

"A consideration of these questions would naturally involve such issues as the place of plough cattle in the economy of agriculture as against the tractor-plough and power-irrigation, etc. and thus, bit by bit, the whole picture of rural economy would emerge before them. In this picture cities would take their natural place and not appear as unnatural, congested spots or boils on the body politics as they are at present. We stand today in danger of forgetting the use of our hands. To forget how to dig the earth and tend the soil is to forget ourselves. To think that your occupation of the ministerial chair will be vindicated if you serve the cities only, would be to forget that India really resides in her 7,00,000 villages. What would it profit a man if he gained the whole world but lost his soul in the bargain ?

"If you feel in your hearts that you have taken office as custodians and representatives of the interests of the masses, everything that you do, your legislation, your executive orders, the instructions that you issue, will breathe concern for the villager. To protect his interests, you do not need the Viceroy's sanction. Supposing you want to protect the hand-spinner and the hand-weaver against the competition of textile mills and solve the problem of cloth shortage for the masses, you will put aside ~~report~~ ^{report} and send for the mill-owners and tell them that unless they want you to

go out of office, they must make their production policy conform to the requirements of the masses whose custodian and representative you are. You will tell them not to send mill cloth to certain areas which are put under hand production and not to produce a certain range of textiles which comes with in the hand-loom weaver's domain. If you are in earnest your word will go home and they will willingly give their co-operation as they did recently when they provided the required textiles for export to Indonesia in return for Indonesian surplus rice for the relief of the Indian famine. But there must be that inner conviction first; everything else will then be all right'."

The Resolution : The Memorandum on Governmental Functions submitted by the All-India Village Industries Association was then discussed and the following resolution was passed :

"Having considered the policy that should govern the economic development to be initiated by popular Ministries, this Conference of Ministers, assembled from various provinces at Poona, hereby resolves :

- (1) That in view of the acute scarcity prevailing in the country with respect to the primary requirements of the people, especially food and clothing, plans for economic development should centre around the farmer and agriculture, and should be motivated with

- the object of providing a balanced diet, adequate clothing and other articles of primary human need for every citizen in the land; and that for this purpose steps be taken to ensure that the land available for cultivation is distributed by proper regulation, such as licensing, between various crops needed by the community and in the required proportion;
- (2) That in order to achieve real democracy it is necessary to organize contiguous areas—villages or a group of villages—on a self-sufficient and self-governing basis, through multi-purpose co-operative societies and grain banks which will plan their economic life on a decentralized basis, reducing the need for money economy to a minimum and restricting external trade to proved surpluses.”

Now that the Central Government also will function under the direction of our national leaders, may we hope that this resolve to plan for the economic development, starting with an attempt to strengthen the body with a balanced diet and to provide all the primary needs of the people, will materialize in no distant future ?

This approach to planning is both simple and inexpensive. Being broad-based it is calculated to bring relief to the masses in the shortest possible time. This can be the surest method of combating black-

marketeering, inflation and the ration muddle. The conditions in the country brook no delay. We trust the popular Ministries will take immediate steps to implement their resolution and thus fulfil the promises made to their electorates.

10. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Now that the political turmoil consequent on the British leaving India is dying down, the Governments are thinking in terms of Rural Development once again. Therefore, it is necessary for us to consider the lines on which this work could be done. In the main there are three ways in which this programme may be approached :

1. The villages may be looked upon as possible sources of raw material for supplying the mills situated in the towns.
2. The rural population may be regarded as the main consumers (or markets) for the goods produced in towns.
3. The village may be looked upon as an entity in itself, affording complete facilities for the development of the individuals dwelling in the village.

1. Village as Source of Raw Materials : When the village is looked upon as a producer of raw material for the town and the city, the whole economic order is shaped to suit the needs of the town dwellers. The villagers are too often exploited and do not enjoy all the fruits of their labour. The fields are utilized for growing crops which are not directly connected with the needs of the villagers. The regulation of

crop-growing is effected by the price mechanism in which money plays the leading role. Under the pretext of placing more purchasing power in the hands of the villager, the town makes the villager do what the town wants even though it may ultimately prove to be inimical to his own interests. Raw material crops, such as long-staple cotton, thickrind sugarcane and tobacco drive out food crops and the people are left to face starvation in spite of having more purchasing power in their hands, though it may only be in the form of inflated currency tokens.

Under this system of Rural Development the villages cannot flourish. Their interests are secondary to the requirements of mills and town dwellers. Unfortunately, the present-day economic order encourages people to proceed on these lines.

2. Village as Market : Parallel to the aforementioned type of Rural Development, attempts are being made to convert the villagers into consumers of the manufactures from towns. Here again the price mechanism is allowed free play and the villagers are driven to buy townmade goods as being cheaper. Apart from our own city industrialists, foreign manufacturers also are interested in making our enormous population into an insatiable market for their products. Articles such as polished rice, mill-ground flour, tea, coffee, sugar, preserved foods, Vanaspati, canvas shoes, mill cloth, etc. are being dumped on the

villagers against their own interests. In this way again the villagers are being deprived of the opportunity of employing themselves in various industries and in the processing of food. Thus their field of work is restricted and the pressure on land is increased.

In the above two patterns of Rural Development, the needs of the villagers are not the deciding factors, much less the consideration of opportunities for the development of the citizen's personality.

3. Personality-Centred Village : Let us now consider whether the material interests of towns and cities are more important than the interests of the villager himself. If they are not, the first two methods of Rural Development will have to yield place to a system that will be centred not on the production and distribution of material goods alone but on making the villager into a worthy citizen of a Democratic State. We look upon work as a medium of education, though, of course, in the process the individual will also be producing articles for his own consumption. The villager is and must remain an entity in himself. To this end the whole social, economic and political structure will have to be adapted to enable the citizen to develop himself from childhood to old age. The village economy ought to be a training ground in the various phases of human development.

Social : The needs of society in the form of water-supply, communications, health and hygiene,

disposal of waste, satisfactory housing, etc. will have to be looked after by the people themselves. Education of the children through a craft, to train them in the art of living, in logical method and good conduct, with a moral background, will also be a duty falling on the people.

Economic : The people will have to organize themselves in such a way as to enable them to produce all their requirements in food, clothing and shelter. For this purpose, the land available may have to be apportioned according to the needs of a balanced diet, taking into consideration the quality of land and availability of water. They should raise cereals, pulses, oil-seeds, fruits and vegetables and dairy products to supply, as far as possible, the whole needs of the village ; and where there is a surplus that surplus could be exchanged with neighbouring localities for articles which they require.

The processing of this agricultural produce will provide a considerable amount of occupation to persons who are not required on the land. Pottery, tanning, oil pressing, *gur* making, spinning and weaving, carpentry and metal-work will not only provide for people's requirements but also provide outlets for a fuller expression of their emotional personality and artistic skills. Fairs and festivities should also be organized to enable them not only to market their goods but also produce a culture based on village life.

Political : The regulation of all these aspects of life will have to be done on a democratic basis by the organization of village panchayats which will not only control the social and economic life but also mete out justice and, to some extent, raise the funds necessary for the administration and execution of an overall plan for all the activities of the village or locality.

Conclusion : Unless we take to this third order of Rural Development with our interests centred on the villagers, it will be futile for us to hope to be able to solve our problems in a democracy, as the people will not be sufficiently educated to bear this heavy responsibility. While plans are being prepared for the future, it is necessary for us to bear these different aspects of Rural Development in mind, so that the plans made now will bear fruit according to our requirements, in due time, without creating further complications not only in our country but also in our relations with other peoples of the world. Our pattern of Rural Development, therefore, will in the main be based on self-sufficiency. So long as every member of the community ultimately aims at this, there should be no shortage of goods, especially of primary necessities, and there should be no commerce and trade in such articles if we wish to establish peace amongst nations.

Such a scheme of Rural Development will not be a patch-work project made by Government

officials according to the whims of the various departments, but being based on selfhelp and local contributions in labour and in kind it will be an ideal training- ground in the art of living which is an end in itself.

11. FAMINE PREVENTION MEASURES

A great deal has been said and written about immediate action to grapple with the menace of starvation that is facing us. This is as it should be. At the same time it is incumbent on us to take such long-range steps as will make a repetition of these conditions difficult. With this end in view it would be useful to consider the causes of the famine and devise ways and means of preventing its recurrence.

General: There are certain general factors which are at work at all times and some special factors which have come into play in this famine. The most potent factor amongst the former has been the undue emphasis that has been placed in recent years on money and the price mechanism as a regulating force.

Money : As a medium of exchange money has a great part to play in our economic life but it is by no means perfect even for this purpose. When compared with consumable commodities money is not perishable. A fruit-seller is at the mercy of the owner of money because fruits are perishable and he cannot refuse indefinitely to part with them as they go bad by keeping while the buyer can hold out. This quality of money leads to the possibility of using money as a lever of exploitation which in turn

makes it more attractive. Short-sighted farmers part with their life-giving grains for unsustaining money. Therefore, in an agricultural country like ours we have to restrict the use of money and encourage exchange in commodities.

Money as a Trap : The situation becomes worse when we come to fiduciary money which has no intrinsic value. The greed for money is the bait used by financiers to make village folk carry out their mandates. If the sugar-millowner wants farmers to cultivate sugar-cane for him rather than cereals for themselves, he offers good prices for cane. Attracted by the money returns the farmers cultivate this crop in competition amongst themselves and so in the end produce more than the millowner needs. Then the latter promptly lowers his prices. In this way the money owner dictates terms and the commodity producers play into his hands and dance to his tune. Money economy has thus been used as a trap for the unsuspecting, unwary farmers.

Government by resorting to inflation during war-time has drained the country of valuable food grains, intensifying the deficit in food. Even after the war was over Government has continued its policy of inflation and has increased circulation by over 200 crores of rupees during the last year. Black-marketeering is also a product of inflation. This expansion of money without a corresponding increase in

commodities is a direct cause of the famine. As Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar in his speech at the U.N.O Assembly brazenly claims, Government was exporting food grains to Russia and other countries while people were dying of starvation on the pavements of Calcutta. We have to contract our currency by methods which will not harm the producers.

Export of Raw Materials : Money economy has made it possible for industries situated far away to draw raw materials from all parts of the world. This system is greatly responsible for increasing the poverty of the people who produce raw materials. For instance, when instead of selling finished leather goods or even fully tanned leather we export raw hides, we hardly realize a fraction of what we ought to get. This reduced purchasing power makes the masses who live below the subsistence level lead a precarious life and succumb to the first onslaught of food shortage.

To remedy this we must insist on placing a ban on all export of raw materials which can be processed into finished consumable articles in our own land by our village craftsmen.

Cultivation : We have noted that millowners tend to restrict food crops by alluring farmers with high prices for industrial crops like longstaple cotton, cultured sugar-cane, tobacco, etc. This takes away fertile land available for growing more important

food grains. We have to place a restriction of such commercial crops as long as there is a food deficiency in the land.

Industries : Even if all exports in raw materials are stopped, it is necessary to see that no food products are converted into non-food articles, like milk into casein, wheat and rice into starch, and so on. The use of starch in laundries should be banned.

Special : In times of war large numbers of people who would otherwise be producers have to be maintained in the military—a destructive and non-producing organization. This makes a heavy draught on the country's reserves. Apart from the mere maintenance of these men their consumption standards are higher because they lead a very active physical life for which their diet has to be adequate. Hence these military men are a double drain on the food stocks of the country. In addition to these there are lakhs of foreign troops brought into our country.

The remedy for this is simple. The foreigners should be supported purely on food stocks imported for them. Our men must be made to work on the land and produce for themselves. Export of all food materials must be stopped. In fact, foreign trade must be banned in primary requirements and should be strictly limited to proved surpluses only.

Reckless cutting down of timber for military purposes has denuded our forests which cannot be replenished for decades. This will mean not only failure of rains now but for years to come. We have to undertake a rigorous campaign of tree planting if we are to remedy this evil. Wherever possible, in villages, on road sides, etc. people should plant trees—neem, tamarind, mango and other useful trees. We have also to launch a programme of sinking wells and digging tanks and canals. Denuding of forests reduces the fertility of the land by hastening soil erosion. This must be countered by constructing contour bunds, etc. to conserve the soil.

Unless we take immediate steps to do all this we shall be faced famine every year. We know dependence on Government is not going to help us. If they had possessed that much solicitude for the masses these famine conditions would never have arisen. The situation calls for popular action and that right now.

12. MARKETING

The Marketing Departments organized by Government have shown no solicitude for the real welfare of the people. Even organizations run by Christian Missions have shown a lack of grasp of the fundamental principles that should govern such economic devices.

Marketing is a means of exchanging products. If in the process of marketing the values fall, the device is defective and may even be harmful. In judging such values money cannot form the sole criterion. Especially in necessities, values can only be judged by the purpose an article serves. If a farmer has cows that produce good milk the value of that milk is the nutrition it is capable of providing which cannot be measured by money alone. If a marketing organization is so designed as to draw out every drop of milk, perhaps even without leaving any for the calf or the children of the farmer, it is doing a great disservice to the community however much money it may put into the pockets of the farmer. An ounce of milk is an ounce of milk, whether it be consumed by the farmer's child or by the Governor of a province. Merely because the latter is able to pay more money, to deprive the calf or the farmer's child of that nutrition is criminal.

Money economy here can only confuse values and we have to be on guard. In many places, famines and deficits have been caused by such mixing up of values. In such instances it will be a national service to disband the marketing organizations.

Properly utilized marketing departments should serve to retain nourishment for the producer and his neighbours and help in the exchange of any surplus for other values that satisfy felt wants without being dominated solely by money considerations.

13. CHILDREN'S BREAD TO THE DOGS

The Secretary of a Co-operative Marketing Society was boasting the other day about the wonderful work they were doing in organizing the production and marketing of honey. He was proudly showing to visitors the house of a farmer who had thirty colonies round about the farm house. Just then a little child, the daughter of the farmer, came running up to the hives. One of the visitors asked the child what the bees were doing. She replied, 'They are collecting honey.' To the next question, 'Do you like honey?' she could offer no reply. On enquiry it was found that that child had not tasted any honey. When the father was asked how it was that he did not let his child have honey, he gave what he thought was a convincing answer. 'How can I afford to use honey in my house when I get Re. 1 per pound at the Co-operative Society?' This state of affairs damned the whole work of the Society. In effect the Society was instrumental in snatching the honey from the mouth of the child and giving it to the rich with their overladen tables. Similar was the case with the marketing of eggs by this Society. The children of the actual producers were deprived of wholesome nutritive food so that those

with money might have them. Such societies are doing a grave disservice to the masses.

With the growth of mills and capitalists this state of affairs is fast spreading in our country. About a month ago, in Kaira District, the milk producers were banned from making what use they liked of their products. The District Magistrate issued licenses to buy and sell milk only to the representatives of one particular firm in Bombay, and this under the Defence of India Rules ! Such *firman*s were unheard of even during the days of the Grand Mughuls.

Now comes the news that the Governments of Madras, Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces have banned the use of sugar-cane for making *gur* in the sugar mill areas. It is the birthright of the owners or producers of raw materials, whether they be minerals or agricultural or industrial products, to process them into finished products. To deprive them of this is to deny them the privilege of wholesome employment and thus usher in poverty. Government by passing such orders is taking the children's bread and casting it to the dogs.

Last November we voiced our protest against the closing down of the Handmade Paper Centre at Poona by the Bombay Government. Is this a foretaste of Government plans for Post-war

Reconstruction ? If so they spell nothing but ruin for the people. This alien government is enable to view things in their proper perspective. The mills, be they British or Indian, are fast becoming a menace to the welfare of the masses.

14. CONTROLS

Speaking at the Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalāchari stated : 'Life is now so developed and so complicated that I am fairly convinced that almost all controls will continue to exist in this world.' He added that 'controls will not be a temporary but a permanent affair.' To an ordinary mortal this seems a paradox.

Though the war has been over for nearly two years wartime conditions still prevail in the country in regard to the necessities of life. No doubt the scarcity in commodities calls for regulation of some kind to ensure a certain measure of social justice. Rationing is still with us. Black-marketing is rampant. Profiteering seems to be flourishing and Government is still busy with controls. To an onlooker there seems to be something 'rotten in the State of Denmark'. What that is, many people are not able to tell.

The mechanism of price has as its mainspring the law of supply and demand. Therefore, any control of commodities and their prices must take the form of regulating the supply and demand. Rationing attempts to regulate the demand but there is hardly any attempt to regulate supply. The present method adopted by Government to control the

prices is like setting the clock going by constantly turning the minute hand. What we ought to do is to set the mechanism in order and then the clock will work of itself. This artificial regulation of prices has been largely responsible for black-marketing. The prices have to be regulated automatically, not by a fiat of the Government. Government has been playing King Canute trying to stop the rising tide of black market and profiteering; but the method adopted has been a total failure. In fact most of the dealers in commodities desire to have the controls on a permanent basis because they provide them the opportunity for black-marketing. Corruption in high places is also interested in perpetuating controls. It is high time these matters are set right by the popular Ministries now functioning.

If we wish to prevent black-marketing and to control the supply and demand in the natural way, rationing will take care of the demand but the supply will be regulated not merely by setting up the prices artificially but by controlling the supply. Government can do this by stocking a fair amount of the articles that are sought to be controlled and holding them in reserve, to be sold at fixed, regulated prices in case the dealers in the market attempt to sell their articles at a higher price. Of course, Government will not enter the market as a seller until the merchants themselves by their actions invite Government to

take drastic steps. The Government stocks will be held in godowns merely as a stand-by, to ensure that the merchants do not advance the prices unduly. The moment the market prices tend to go up, the Government godowns will be opened and the stock dumped on the market to bring down the prices. Government holdings need not be more than 10 to 15 per cent of the entire stock required for them to be able effectively to influence the market.

This is not a novel measure. It has been tried out successfully in the working of the Bihar Central Relief Committee under private agencies without the aid of law or other governmental sanctions but basing our appeal purely on persuasion. Again, in finance, this is the method adopted by the Central Banks to regulate interest rates which are but market prices for money. For some unknown reason Government have not followed this well-tried remedy but have taken to the King Canute method of fixing prices arbitrarily and by so doing driving the commodities underground. It is not too late even now for Government to change their policy and gradually decontrol the commodities as the market resumes normal conditions. We trust Government will take immediate action to relieve the distress caused to the people by the present methods of control.

15. CONTROLS AND CONTROLS

Controls are the order of the day, but how many of the 'controllers' understand the principles underlying controls? Controls are being used indiscriminately and their very purpose frustrated.

Where return on capital and profits is the objective of a business—as in centralized industries—price control checks accumulation of wealth and profiteering. On the other hand, in decentralized industries where the return the artisan gets is a wage, such price control will act as an impediment to the distribution of wealth. The latter is harmful in a poor country like ours.

Where certain articles are produced both by centralized methods and by decentralized, as in the case of cloth or oil, price controls should be applied to mill products but not to hand-made goods, if we are to follow the fundamental principles of public finance and abstain from hampering the much desired distribution of wealth.

Many Provincial Governments are killing village industries by their indiscriminate use of price controls. Practically they have brought *ghani* oil-pressing to the brink of ruin by their control of prices of oil-seeds, *ghani* oil-cakes and oils. Is it too much to ask our representative Governments to remedy this state of affairs by an intelligent use of controls?

SECTION THREE

16. BALANCED CULTIVATION

The basic cause of food shortage is the departure from the village economy of self-sufficiency. "Our custom has been to grow in every village enough material to meet all its needs and to afford a reserve for a year or two in cereals. The advent of money economy broke down this rampart of safety. Even the growing of cereals became a money crop. Farmers sold their food material and hoarded their notes which could not command the foreign market in grains, with the result that now we face famine every year. The only remedy is to resort to balanced cultivation of land.

Every village should determine what food materials, fodder and other necessities, like cotton and oilseeds, it requires and concentrate its production on those, not for the exchange market but for its own use. Every plot of ground must be earmarked for growing a particular crop, not according to the whims of the farmer but according to the dictates of the needs of the village as determined by its council or administration which will authorize the proper use of land by a system of careful licensing.

The food question which has now assumed serious proportions does not admit of any immediate solution. The problem is twofold. There is an immediate shortage of calories and there is also the long-standing shortage of protective foods. The first problem may find a solution but the second is going to present difficulties.

It is generally assumed that an acre of land provides more calories through the production of cereals and pulses than through any other food. But apart from the question of calories, cereals and pulses are very poor suppliers of protective food factors. Therefore, if we aim at getting these factors from cereals alone, huge quantities of grain would be required. On the other hand, if these grains are substituted and supplemented by foods like fruits and vegetables, milk and its products, *gurr*, nuts, oil-seeds, etc., the protective food factors required to make up a balanced diet may be obtained through lesser quantities of these types of food than through grains alone. Even the supply of calories per acre is greater in the case of *gurr* and root vegetables and tubers than in the case of cereals. Thus a balanced diet may prove a double blessing and offer the solution to our problem. It reduces the per capita requirement of land and, at the same time, it supplies the body with all its requirements in the correct proportions to keep it fit and healthy. It is calculated that the per

capita land available in India at present for food cultivation is about 0.7 acre. This very land, which is found to be inadequate to meet our food requirements according to the present distribution of cultivation, becomes sufficient in the re-ordered system of agriculture. In this manner the land of the locality should be so distributed for the purposes of growing crops as to provide its population with all the needed materials for a balanced diet, clothing and all other primary necessities. This aspect of the question should be thoroughly investigated and a definite plan chalked out and enforced through licensing farmers to grow only certain crops on their lands. The table overleaf shows land distribution for balanced cultivation for a population of one lakh.

This table provides for a balanced vegetarian diet yielding 2,860 calories per day for the average person and allows for the growing of cotton for 25 yards of cloth per annum per head. For non-vegetarian diet 6 ozs. of milk may be substituted by 4 ozs. of meat or fish and one egg.

In addition to food and fodder, balanced cultivation must try to produce raw materials suitable for village industries rather than for city factories. For example, instead of growing thick-rind sugar-cane or long-staple cotton as demanded by the factories, soft-rind sugarcane which can be crushed by village *kolhus* for *gur*-making and short-staple cotton required

Diet	Ozs. per day	Calories	Lbs. per annum	per Lakh of Population			Percent- age of Land Distri- bution
				Land required in acres	For seed and waste 15 per cent extra	Total	
I							
Cereals ...	16	1600	36.500	43.400	6.510	49.910	65.2
Pulses ...	2	200	45.60	5.400	0.810	6.210	8.0
Gur ...	2	200	45.60	1.200	0.180	1.380	1.8
Nuts ...	1	145	22.80	2.600	0.390	2.990	8.4
Oil ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	255	11.40	3.000	0.450	3.450	...
Ghee ...	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	11.40	...	...	...	...
Milk ...	12	210	273.75	...	...	...	...
Vegetables ...	8	48	182.50	1.600	0.240	1.840	2.4
Roots, Tubers ...	4	100	91.25	1.000	0.150	1.150	1.5
Fruits ...	4	52	91.25	0.900	0.135	1.035	1.4
II							
Cotton ...	...	...	12.50	7.500	1.125	8.625	11.3
Total ...	...	2860	...	66.600	9.990	76.590	100.0

for hand-spinning should be grown. The surplus land can be utilized to supplement crops needed by surrounding districts. Land utilized for sugar-cane for the factory, tobacco, jute and other money crops should be reduced to the minimum or even eliminated altogether.

There should be differential land taxes, etc. to regulate the price of agricultural products as between themselves and in relation to industrial products.

Commercial crops such as tobacco, jute, sugar-cane, etc. are doubly wasteful. They reduce the food production for man as well as for animals which would otherwise have got their fodder from food crops.

Primary products like cereals and milk should not be allowed to be used for commercial purposes for making starch and casein.

Unless we tackle, in all earnestness, this question of balanced cultivation with a view to self-sufficiency, all pious plans to avoid food and cloth famine will be in vain.

It may be mentioned here that what has been outlined above is the right end of planning to begin with. From there we have to proceed, step by step, to public utilities, key industries and large-scale production. To commence with the last-mentioned is to build the pyramid from the apex.

17. IS IT NARROW AND SELF-CENTRED ?

One of the criticisms commonly levelled against the 'Balanced Cultivation' that has been suggested as a means of meeting our deficits in primary necessities is that such a plan is narrow and self-centred. The critics say that the world has shrunk and we cannot live unto ourselves. They suggest that we should have a world outlook which would enable us to take advantage of production methods evolved in other parts of the world and that we must look upon the whole human race as one family.

We fully endorse the sentiment and the final goal of the critics and our methods are calculated to lead to that very destination. If a person wants to fly from Delhi to Madras he has to get up from his chair, walk on foot to the car at the steps of his house and drive to the aerodrome and again walk on foot to the gangway and climb up the steps into the plane before he can start flying. It would be childish to argue that walking is primitive, motoring is slow and therefore these should not form part of your journey at all and that you must fly from start to finish. The critics referred to above are in a similar position.

If we wish to avoid global wars and live in a friendly atmosphere the scramble for primary

necessities should cease. Every nation should produce its principal articles of food and clothing. Trade there can be, but only in surpluses in exchange for such articles as cannot be locally produced. This is the very first step towards world brotherhood. It may appear as primitive as walking, but it is a condition precedent to flying and so is neither narrow nor self-centred nor a step backwards.

If each nation is to be self-sufficient in primary needs, then, as far as practicable, self-sufficiency like charity should begin at home. Every unit, big or small, should strive to become self-sufficient in such articles, This is the only way to assure the world of all its needs. When we fail to do this, we give rise to deficit areas that occasion famines and cause distress not only to themselves but to their neighbours also.

About three decades ago, a torpedo fired into the hull of an ocean liner would send it diving into the depths. To safeguard against this they have now divided the hull into several watertight compartments. If one of them springs a leak, the ship as a whole may take on a list but it will not sink. It is no use arguing that we must keep the hull one whole and not divide it into so many compartments. The safety of the whole and its interests lie in subdividing it into several watertight compartments. Likewise, the peace of the world can only be ensured

by the removal of the cause of dissension—the scramble for more and yet more trade—from its several component units. Such a course is not self-centred but is the result of a world-wide outlook.

As yet the human race has not developed that far-sightedness which alone will entitle it to be treated as one family. Does Great Britain, for instance, look upon the expansion of Germany with the fraternal love of an elder brother? This foraging for necessities has impregnated the international atmosphere with hatred and suspicion and we have yet to travel a long way before the world can be looked upon as one unit economically. Mere reduction in the time taken to go from one end of the world to the other does not reduce its size. The world will shrink only when men feel closer to one another drawn by love and fellow-feeling which are lacking today.

18. RYOTS OR TENANTS

Many of the popular Ministries have been attempting to regulate the relationship of the zamindar and the cultivator. Generally speaking, the zamindars are merely *rentiers* or absentee landlords. They have no immediate contact with the land, neither do they concern themselves with the actual cultivation of crops. The methods suggested to habilitate the cultivating farmer on the land have often taken the form of either Government buying the land, compensating the zamindar and giving it to the cultivating ryot, or confiscation to the State of large estates and splitting them up into small private holdings.

It seems to us that it is not necessary in the first instance to confiscate the land nor is it essential to compensate the zamindar. The proper course would be to place the cultivable lands in the villages, to whomsoever they may belong, under a system of balanced cultivation by which the requirements of the village for a balanced diet and other primary necessities will be produced in the required quantities. Under this scheme the land will be licensed for growing the products that are necessary to ensure the needs of a group of villages with population of about 50,000. Such lands when licensed should

be cultivated by the actual owner. If any of the lands so licensed remain uncultivated for a period of 2 or 3 years without adequate reason, such lands should revert to the State and the State can then redistribute them amongst the villagers who are willing to utilize the land to produce commodities according to plan through balanced cultivation.

This method would ensure that no land lies idle and at the same time it would also, in the course of a few years, bring back the holdings from absentee landlords to the cultivating peasants and ensure that commodities are forthcoming to meet the needs of the people and that land is not allowed to lie uncultivated merely because of absentee landlordism.

Legislation in regard to this might not meet with as much opposition as attempts to confiscate lands might. The latter savours of violence, while the former is *ahimsa*. We commend this suggestion to those provinces which are seriously thinking of meeting the shortage in commodities by increased production.

SECTION FOUR

19. THE COW ECONOMY

There is a great deal of talk today about protecting the cow from the slaughter-house. It is good that people are becoming conscious of the great evil that indiscriminate slaughter of cattle has brought on our country. On a purely short-sighted view, the need for milk in a vegetarian country like ours makes us give a premier place to the cow as a feeder of the nation. Apart from this it also provides the bullock which is the motive power with which the farmer cultivates the land. The importance of this aspect of the question has been fully recognised by attributing sanctity to the cow and raising cow protection to the level of a religious obligation. However, because of fanaticism, zeal on the one side has created cussedness on the other, and we often find conflict between different sections of the population about cow slaughter. Therefore, it now becomes necessary to ascertain exactly the place of the cow in India and give it a national recognition and status.

With an artisan the tool that he uses becomes almost an object of worship. In fact, in India we have a definite festival, 'Sastra Pooja', devoted

to this ceremony. Man has thus acknowledged his economic dependence on the means of production. Just as an artisan depends on his tools the farmer depends on the cow, and if we may extend the economic sphere we may say that the cow, being the means of producing food, becomes the centre of the economic organization of man, especially in an agricultural country like India.

Apart from this aspect, when we look upon the cow as the producer of the bullock, its importance is enhanced. She now becomes the pivot of our economy. We may call our economic organization, where the cow contributes motive power, transport, food production, etc., a 'cow-centred economy', in the same manner as England and other European countries had, not so long ago, horse-centred economies.

During the last century England drifted from a horse-centred economy to a coal-centred economy and from a coal-centred economy she is fast moving to an oil-centred economy. It is very important to mark these stages as the fate of the world itself depends on the source from which we obtain our power.

In the cow and the horse-centred economies we have unlimited sources as we could breed as many bullocks and horses as we needed, and there being no restriction on the amount available, it

does not arouse anybody's greed or envy ; but coal and petrol being limited in their supply and quantity, the use of such sources of power leads to friction amongst nations as the sources of supply dry up. It is now well recognized that these global wars are in no small measure due to different nations seeking to get control over oil-fields. Hence the coal and oil economies lead to conflict amongst nations. Unlike them the cow and horse economies are comparatively peaceful economies. Therefore, in a wider sense we may say that when we break up a cowcentred economy we are really causing cow-slaughter ; in other words when our actions are inimical to the existence of the cow-centred economy, we are not on the side of the protectors of the cow. For example, when we use coal and oil as our sources of motive power we are really banishing the cow from our economy. When we are making asphalted roads, which are not in the interest of animal traction, we are also guilty of breaking up the cow-centred organization. This aspect of the question is much more vital to us than the mere slaughter of the four-legged and two-horned animal.

We wonder how many of our friends who abhor cow-slaughter have their hands clean of bovine blood according to this higher interpretation of cow protection. The 'Cow', like Khadi, is symbolic of a way of life. 'Cow-slaughter', therefore, would

signify making impossible that way of life. We hope that those who stand for cow protection will realize the extensiveness of the cause which they champion and will whole-heartedly support this wider application of the principle.

20. THE COW

The Cow Conference held at Amritsar recently laid great stress on the place the cow occupies in our rural economy. Apart from the programme for the preservation of the cow as an animal, we have also to consider the steps to be taken to build up the economy symbolized by the cow. We cannot take up isolated items and concentrate on those without at the same time attempting to consolidate village life on all fronts.

From this broader approach any encouragement given to the cultivation of long-staple cotton for mills is tantamount to the destruction of the cow, as the seeds of long-staple cotton are not available as cattle-feed because of the fuzzy short-staple cotton being left unlinted on the seed. Owing to this the bullocks are deprived of their protein diet, and our villages are dependent on these animals for the satisfactory working of their economy.

The opening of Vanaspati factories, again, cuts across this economy. It deprives people of a wholesome article of diet—vegetable oil—and replaces it by indigestible hydrogenated oils, and sets up unfair competition with the *teli*.

The building of expensive roads surfaced with asphalt, cement, etc., while being wholly unnece-

ssary for the village economy, takes away the part-time transportation employment of the bullocks. Such roads encourage draining the villages of their products. They are harmful to the unshod animals and dislocate the self-sufficient village economy.

It is not necessary to multiply instances. The cow symbolizes one way of economic life just as much as the internal combustion engine and the motor lorry typify quite another way of economic life. The choice is before us. We may choose the one or the other but we cannot make a hotchpotch of it. If we decide in favour of the cow we have to take up that economy in all its aspects.

It is imperative that the provincial governments that are now seriously thinking of rural development should clarify the issues and announce a definite line of action. No haphazard attack will solve the problem.

21. MILK SUPPLY

The supply of milk in our country has suffered greatly because of the War. A great many animals of good extraction have been slaughtered to supply the needs of the army and others are still being destroyed. We have to increase the meagre milk supply of the country. For this it is necessary to increase the number of milk-yielding animals as well as to improve the breed of our cattle. Up to now, in many places, Government have been developing the breed with a view to supplying the needs of the army. For this they have been breeding bulls which would give large-sized bullocks for draught purposes. These large bullocks, however useful they may be to the military to whom cost is no consideration, are beyond the means of the millions of small farmers who cannot afford to feed these huge animals. The farmer needs compact and strong bullocks for his work. Now to increase the milk supply Government have been providing bulls from cattle farms which are run for a different purpose, with the result that the milk yielding quality of the progeny in the country-side is being decreased in favour of producing large bullocks. This again discloses an ill-conceived plan of action. Government should immediately take the necessary steps to put their

cattle breeding farms to breeding animals which will meet the requirements of the people.

Again, the Milk Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture are recommending the establishment of milk collecting and processing centres and special cold storage and railway transport facilities. This may imply scouring the country-side for the benefit of the towns. Many of the cities today depend on such milk taken away from the mouths of the children of milk producers. Due care must be taken that the milk collected is a proved surplus over and above the dietary needs of the producers and their families. Otherwise this programme will effect adversely the health of the people in the country-side.

Plans and schemes got up haphazardly are likely to do more harm than good and our last state may be worse than the first.

SECTION FIVE

22. KHADI IN OUR LIFE

For nearly three decades Gandhiji has been preaching khadi. Thousands of our national workers have taken to wearing handspun and handwoven cloth as a result. But few of them realize the full implications of this symbolic apparel. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in one of his oratorical flourishes once called khadi 'the livery of freedom'. Others look upon the wearing of khadi as a matter of discipline. But how many realize that khadi is the way of life which aims to make our practical everyday relationship with our fellow-men conform to the ideal of non-violence and truth which is the basis of this programme ?

Khadi is not merely the wearing of handspun and handwoven cloth. Khadi stands for an economic order based on self-sufficiency and co-operation wherein production is for use or consumption and not for exchange. This is in contrast to the present economic order which is based on competitive production for exchange. The rules and regulations as well as the principles which govern co-operative life greatly differ from those which regulate competitive life. The competitive order, when pushed to

its logical end, brings us to the jungle law of the survival of the fittest and the weakest to the wall. But under co-operation, if anything, the weak get greater care and consideration; and the satisfaction of our primary needs is given priority over production for exchange. Trade takes place only in surplus goods and not in those which supply the necessities of our existence. Co-operation ultimately leads to goodwill and peace in society, while competition spells hatred, jealousy and strife.

Hence, if we appreciate properly the place of khadi in our life, we should extend it to include all goods produced by our own efforts for our own consumption. In such an order, importation or buying of articles produced by competitive organizations would be avoided and encouragement of production by mutual co-operation and understanding be the order of the day.

Our Congressmen and public-spirited citizens who are wedded to khadi will therefore support village industries and will not be guided purely by money considerations and prices. The price mechanism is a distinctive device of the competitive economy.

In a household, when the mother prepares food for her child she does not take money values into consideration. She delights in her service as a labour of love, not as an imposed duty. She lives and moves

and has her being in the happiness of her child. She finds her satisfaction in attending to the needs of those who are helpless and dependent on her.

The guiding factors in a social order governed by the ideals of khadi are our cultural tradition, the equitable distribution of goods and such other considerations which bring us into closer relationship with our fellow-men. These will be determined by the actual needs and not by the idea of creating and accumulating wealth. If there is land available, it will be utilized first for producing the food needed by the community and not for growing tobacco. long-staple cotton and such other raw materials for mills which may bring in more money. When land is diverted from food to raw materials for the sake of the return the owner gets, society suffers from maladjustment of its economic organization.

The message of khadi, therefore, includes producing enough food to supply all our needs by our own efforts, looking after those in need of help and bringing about human relationships based on non-violence and truth, not only with our immediate neighbours but also with our neighbouring nations.

23. CONSUMER'S DUTY

Our national culture and tradition enjoins on the spender to so direct his purchases as to advance the cause of art, literature and craftsmanship. In the ancient days, no doubt, princes and wealthy men spent freely and lavishly ; but their extravagance did not impoverish the country as it contributed to the wider distribution of wealth. Their palaces were built by skilled labour with bricks or locally available stone. The internal decorations were carried out by artists of repute. The members of the family were clothed in the best of fabrics the local artisans could design. Everything was made to specifications. Such furniture as they had was beautifully carved with special designs. The pictures on the walls and the mural paintings were works of art executed by renowned artists. They used conveyances built by local carriage builders out of materials at hand and fashioned to suit individual tastes. All their food material, however rich, was of local origin. Every rich man's establishment was a home of employment for many an artisan and craftsman and the centre of culture.

Today the position is different. One who steps into a wealthy man's house in Bombay, for instance, would find that the house itself was built of cement

concrete to a standard pattern and equipped with laminated wood furniture made of veneers and plywood tables with plate-glass tops. His bath-rooms will be fitted with sanitary equipment imported from London. He will be using an American or British car run on imported petrol. He may be using fashionable silks from Belgium or France for clothes and curtains. The pictures on the walls will be copies of paintings at the Louvre in Paris or the picture galleries of London. Even his table will be laden with imported foodstuffs like corn flakes, rolled oats, shredded wheat, etc. from the U. S. A., jams and preserves from Australia, fruits from California, and so on. Very little of his budget will be spent on things that are made locally. Such a mode of living helps the foreigner more than our own countrymen. If the spender receives his income from the people of the land and spends it in the above manner, he impoverishes the country and is a veritable parasite.

Unfortunately this type of spending is on the increase, what with the philosophy of indulgence preached by the interested foreigner who sets the fashion in acquiring a multiplicity of wants and supplies such wants.

Even where a certain amount of patriotism has permeated through and influenced the consumer to patronize Swadeshi, such Swadeshi articles are invariably cheap mill manufactures. Erecting these

mills and buying machinery for them leads to sending our wealth abroad. Then when consumers buy goods manufactured by these Indian mills, the profits etc. go to that class of millowner whose personal expenditure we have described above and which only draws away the wealth of our country to foreign lands through consumption goods. In this manner we are impoverishing the country even when we buy Swadeshi mill goods.

The only way to increase the wealth of the country is to use articles locally made by cottagers and villagers who use little or no machinery. This will help to distribute wealth amongst the masses and incidentally the foreigners will have no incentive to stay in our country and will naturally quit India without the use of violence to expel them. Thus by careful and discriminate buying consumers can help to bring Swaraj but it calls for the exercise of considerable self-discipline and self-control. Shall we rise to the occasion or be for ever under the foreign yoke ?

24. OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Food :

(A) *Balanced Cultivation* : With a view to providing a balanced diet for all citizens it would be imperative to make a group of villages jointly produce in sufficient quantity all the items of such diet, including cereals, pulses, oil-seeds, vegetables, fruit and milk. To that end provincial Governments should regulate the cultivation of land so as to ensure the production of all necessary items of diet, and where land is inadequate for food crops, should discourage crops which have a mere money value, such as tobacco, long-staple cotton and thick-rind sugar-cane.

(B) *Marketing and Grading* : Individual farmers should not be allowed to sell their produce to middlemen. Provincial Governments should organize Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies which will function in the villages or groups of villages under their charge for receiving, grading and storing the different crops produced by the farmer. They should supply selected seed to all local farmers for the various crops they cultivate and each villager should receive from the balance the different items he needs for his consumption against the items he has produced and contributed to the common pool.

The Co-operative Society should also supply all Government employees in their jurisdiction with whatever they need out of the products stored by the Society and the equivalent amount should be debited against the land revenue payable to government.

The inter-village trade in surpluses should be carried on through the Co-operative Societies and not by individuals.

(C) *Industries* : Since under the suggested scheme the movement of all food products will be more or less restricted to the consuming areas, the processing of these products, i.e. flour-grinding, paddy-husking, oil pressing, *gur* making, will have to be done locally thus eliminating the use of large mills. In any case, in villages and towns with a population of less than 5,000 the setting up of new or the expansion of existing power-driven flour, rice, oil and sugar-mills should not be permitted, and manufactured products which have been deprived of nutritive value, such as mill flour, polished rice, hydrogenated oil and refined sugar, should not be allowed to be imported into such rural areas.

To encourage the local *telis* Government should help the storage of oil-seeds at harvest time where no co-operative society exists to perform this function and should supply the *telis* with the needed quantity of oil-seeds during the year.

In areas where a provincial Government is launching a programme* of prohibition and where, consequently, the tappers are thrown out of employment, it is incumbent on Government to provide them with some alternative occupation. One constructive way of utilizing their skill would be to train them to make *gur* from palm juice. To this end palm trees may be allotted to the tappers free of rent by Government, who may requisition such trees from private owners after paying due compensation. Government must also make available the fuel needed by *gur-makers*.

II. Other Requirements :

(A) *Cloth* : The Board of the A.I.V.I.A. endorses the scheme put forward by the A.I.S.A. in this connexion.

(B) *Housing Material* :

(a) Brick and Tile-Making— Village potters are experiencing difficulty in getting access to suitable clay-fields without payment of uneconomic royalties to the owners. Provincial Governments should arrange for proper facilities to enable potters to quarry their clay from public tank beds, old mounds in private fields and other sources. Government should make suitable arrangements for the supply of cheap fuel to village potters.

(b) Building material such as bamboo, wooden *ballis* and other forest products needed for village housing, should be made available to carpenters.

(C) *Leather*: With a view to improving, in these hard times, the purchasing power of the rural population by the encouragement of a widespread village industry like tanning and manufacture of leather goods, for which raw materials, skill and tradition are existent, provincial Governments should stop the drain from rural areas of hides, skins and other raw materials of the leather industry and provide adequate facilities in regard to the supply of water, tanning materials and finance to the village tanners.

III. Removal of Impediments :

Many of our village industries are struggling for existence. Government should take action to ameliorate the conditions under which the village artisan has to function, and to this end government should study the existing system of octroi duties, municipal dues and market fees which may act as a handicap for many village industries. Government should also facilitate the transport and the marketing of surplus village products by introducing favourable railway freight rates, removing unfair competition from power-driven vehicles and disseminating information in regard to suitable markets.

IV. Research, Demonstration and Training :

The present emphasis on research work on raw materials for centralized industries should be shifted to research work on improving the methods of production and manufacture in the villages of articles needed for food, clothing and other primary necessities. Agricultural colleges located in or near large towns do not possess a congenial environment for solving the problems which face the village cultivator. To provide the proper atmosphere, therefore, agricultural colleges should be situated in typical rural parts of the country and housed in buildings which in appearance and construction are in keeping with the conditions around them. The medium of teaching should be the local language. Research projects successfully completed should be brought more extensively and effectively than at present to the knowledge and within the reach of the farmer.

Government should also set up institutions where research work in regard to methods of production and manufacture may be carried out to increase the efficiency of rural industries. Such institutions may also undertake the training of artisans in improved methods, give them facilities in regard to access to raw materials and implements and, in the early stages, guide and improve their work.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Sri J. C. Kumarappa comes of devout Christian stock from South India. He was born on 4th January 1892, being the fifth son and ninth child of Mr. and Mrs. S.D. Cornelius of Tanjore, where Mr. Cornelius was an Officer in the Department of Public Works, Madras. The simple and pious faith of his mother left an indelible mark on the young boy. Sri Kumarappa in his book, *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*, has borne testimony to the influence of his mother in the following words : 'Her life and actions made an impression on my child mind much greater than many volumes of theology could have done. Her ways of inculcating religion were simple and unique.'

In his younger days Sri Kumarappa was known as Joseph Chelladurai Cornelius. He received his early education at Doveton College, Madras, and went for higher studies to the United States of America, where he took the M. A. degree in Economics at Columbia University and the B. Sc. degree in Business Administration at Syracuse University. After five years of apprenticeship in London he qualified as an Incorporated Accountant and was enrolled as a F.S.A.A. He returned to India in 1919 and set up practice as an Auditor in Bombay. His firm was

known as Cornelius and Davar. He was also Vice-Principal and part-time Professor in Davar's College of Commerce.

Joseph Chelladurai in those days was a staunch loyalist and very much the Westernized Indian. After ten years of practice he went back to America for further studies in Economics at Columbia, which marked the turning-point in his life. His intensive study of Indian Finance revolutionized his whole mental outlook, and the loyalist became a patriot. He returned to his motherland an ardent Indian full of feeling for the culture, tradition, art and crafts of his native land which was under the heel of an alien imperialism. His old profession, however lucrative, lost all its attraction for him. He heard the call of the country and the Christian in him responded to it with alacrity.

He began his new life under the name of Joseph Cornelius Kumarappa, and it was then that he first came into contact with Mahatma Gandhi. On the conclusion of his studies in Indian Economics in America, Sri Kumarappa had written a revolutionary thesis on Indian Finance which he wanted to publish in India. A friend of his suggested that he should first submit it to Gandhiji, and, accordingly, he waited on Gandhiji in Sabarmati with his thesis. Gandhiji was so impressed by it that he published it in his *Young India* in weekly instalments. Gandhiji,

with his unerring instinct for personalities, was even more attracted towards the author whom he decided there and then to enlist in the service of the country. Gandhiji then initiated him into national work by commissioning him to survey the economic condition of a group of about fifty villages in Matar Taluka in Gujerat. (*A Survey of matar Taluka* is a milestone in Indian economic studies). And when Gandhiji was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment while leading the Salt Satyagraha campaign, it was to Kumarappaji that he entrusted the onerous task of editing *Young India*. From that time Sri Kumarappa became a full-fledged national servant devoting all his time and his talents to the betterment of the down-trodden masses of his motherland.

Sri Kumarappa today is our leading authority on Gandhian Economics, and the most distinguished exponent of the Swaraj of Gandhiji's dreams, which is also Swaraj for the masses. Sri Kumarappa has been the General Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association since its inception, and also Editor of *Gram Udyog Patrika*. He has served with distinction on various Committees such as the National Planning Committee and its Subcommittees and the Economic Programme Committee of the A.I.C.C. Currently he is on the Agrarian Reforms Committee. All in all, he is exceptionally qualified to interpret Gandhiji's economic and social ideology.

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