

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII. No. 47

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1954

TWO ANNAS

WALKING TOURS AND BHOODAN*

(By Vinoba)

We live in an age of speed, though nobody cares to examine the question—speed for what? They use such fast-moving means of conveyance as the aeroplane or the railway train or the motor car and travel across the country or round the world in a few hours or at the most days. No one thinks of going on foot.

But in olden days they travelled on foot especially if the destination was a sacred place and the purpose a spiritual gain. And so they travelled trudging long distances on foot to Kashi, to Kedarnath, to Jagannathpuri and many other places. But it did not make them feel fatigued. There was on the other hand a sense of joy and liberation which comes naturally to an individual when he puts aside his petty cares and worries and dedicates himself to a holy purpose. They went in groups singing devotional hymns and sharing what knowledge and experience they had with one another, thus enriching their minds and purifying their hearts.

Now, however, they travel by railway trains or aeroplanes which transport them to their destinations very much as they transport a parcel of goods. And since they do not try to acquire the proper frame of the mind or the inner vision to which alone the Lord reveals Himself, instead of His *darshan* they merely have the *darshan* of the priests of the temple. And it is again the priests who receive their worship, not He. It does them no good at all. Their lives remain as they were steeped in ignorance and attachment to worldly things.

I have seen people going to Vaidyanathdham (Deoghar). They raise cries of 'Jay' to Lord Shiva, but it does not occur to them that they should first throw away the *bidi* from their mouth. Such is their mental laziness. How can Lord Shiva give them any knowledge which alone can purify their hearts?

People ask me why I move about on foot. They argue, had I been travelling by train, I could have easily toured the whole of India

during the fifteen months that I have been in Bihar. I say to these friends that I live and have my being in the old world when people lived long and peaceful lives depending for the regulation of their mutual relations not on laws as at present, but on love.

Then they ask me, if my ceaseless wanderings are part of a religious pilgrimage, what is the God that I worship and why do I not go to the particular place where I may find Him? But I say that my God does not reside at any one place or point. He does not reside in Kshirasagar or on Mount Kailas. My God resides in every human heart; He pervades the entire space and every object however small or big. How foolish that people should disregard the sufferings of their hungry neighbours and offer sweets to the image in the temple!

The Bhoodan Yajna is intended to rescue our villages from all this ignorance and mental sloth and want of fellow-feeling which are the cause of their present degradation and misery. When there is enough land to go round, why should there be anyone without land? The landless have to live the permanently insecure life of wage-earners. The day he does not get work, he has to go without food. I would not consider a village, where some of the residents have to go hungry, to be inhabited by human beings. They are not human beings if they do not care for the sufferings of their neighbours.

When we live in one and the same village, we must see that all get enough to eat. Then facilities for education must be provided to all without distinction. God has brought you together in the same village. He means that you should strive to form one community and live as one community, each contributing his mite to the common prosperity.

(Abridged from the original in Hindi)

BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land-gifts Mission]

By Vinoba Bhave

Pages viii + 134 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 6

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD - 9

* From a speech at Manaharpatti on 20-12-53.

ADVERTISING CIGARETTES

(By Kshitindra Kumar Nag)

It appears that tobacco companies have stopped at nothing to popularize their products, especially cigarette. Now, we see these days a new type of development in their advertising campaigns. This type of development comprises mixed group pictures of Indian youths portrayed in a series of cigarette advertisements appearing in our big influential English dailies. There have been in vogue the figures of Western girls in such advertisements, to glorify the baneful product in the interest of the advertiser and not of the consumer. But the pity is that the time has come to such a pass for Indian girls as not to be spared from being dragged into the advertisements; our boys and girls in general who resist the temptation may now be induced to accept the shackles of a drug and compelled to contribute to the coffers of the tobacco companies for the rest of their lives, because few smokers have the will-power to quit their habits, no matter how harmful they know it to be to their health and happiness, how much unnecessary expense they incur on this account, and what a bad example they set. In other words, our women and young people in their hundreds of thousands are to be looked upon as "untapped markets" for the greater profit for free enterprises!

Of the illustrations in these advertisements that have come to our notice one is a dining-hall in a hotel where a girl sitting face to face with a young man at a dining-table, is watching with all attention the young companion smoking with no qualms whatsoever, and thus exalting the Western style. Another is a drawing-room in a home where a girl standing by two young boys sitting together, is in an appreciative mood, while watching one of them smoking and offering cigarettes to another "to make friends" and thus making inroad on the serenity of the home.

Who knows the idea of this development is not aimed at whipping up an appetite or interest for smoking in the minds of the fair sex? The picture of a lady in the presence of a smoker as depicted in the advertisements is most unnatural and exotic and thus inartistic too, as it is derogatory to the dignity of the Indian womanhood which instead stands as a check to the waywardness of a man, be he a husband, brother, son or friend. Unfortunately, modern advertising is on the side of the money-maker. If the money-maker is running a socially harmful business, advertising is bad, and the more the skilful he is, the worse it is.

It is too bad that the pictures of Western girls in smoking style are having plain sailing in the advertisements. At the same time, they are often seen in increasing numbers—in action—smoking hither and thither—seemingly in

"monarch of all" spirit, disregarding Indian manners and customs, especially feminine grace and modesty so peculiar to India's womanhood. The enlightened women of the West are consequently called upon to make a bold stand against this sort of pernicious advertising, disparaging the fair sex, if they are to escape the charge that during their stay in India they have found no lesson to learn from the women of India but instead leave a heritage to lead them astray for the benefit of the few tobacco interests having no limit to which their avarice will lower human self-respect and dignity.

We would be decidedly remiss in our duty if we remain indifferent to such advertisements through which the tentacles of the tobacco octopus would be reaching our young boys and girls.

HANDLOOMS IN INDIA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

"There are 23,51,705 handlooms in India which require roughly 68.5 crore lbs. of yarn annually.

"The following is the province-wise distribution of the handlooms:

State	Handlooms	Yarn needed annually (lakh lbs.)
1. Madras	8,41,140	2,019
2. Uttar Pradesh	2,53,311	607
3. Bihar	1,96,218	471
4. Bombay	1,61,255	387
5. Hyderabad	1,49,000	358
6. Orissa	1,29,686	311
7. Madhya Pradesh	1,05,000	252
8. West Bengal	97,151	233
9. Travancore-Cochin	80,157	192
10. East Punjab	46,357	111
11. Mysore	35,000	84
12. Rajasthan	26,000	62
13. Saurashtra	20,000	48
14. Madhya Bharat	18,500	37
15. Others	1,92,930	1,671
Total	23,51,705	6,843

"All these 23,51,705 handlooms and in addition 23,800 power-looms use mill-yarn. There are besides 50,000 handlooms which use hand-spun yarn."

The above figures are reproduced here from the *Katki Mandal Patrika* (December 10, 1953). They show that we need more than 68 crore lbs. of yarn annually to keep our 24 lakh handlooms working. Since this is not available in the required quantity, the handloom workers and their families have to face recurring spells of unemployment and starvation. Is it not a problem which should engage the attention of our economic planners? What do they think about it?

Where are we to get all this yarn from? It would be no problem at all, if people would take to spinning. Moreover, it would constitute a big step forwards towards the social and economic revolution which Gandhiji dreamt of. But we lack the necessary faith and so does the Government.

Failing this, the only other alternative is that of procuring mill-yarn from the mills. This is being done at present. But the mills do not supply as much as the handlooms need, perhaps because they are afraid that handlooms working to their full capacity will be an expanding economic proposition and thus be a grave threat to their own security. There is also an impression that the power-looms in the mills are more efficient as they produce far more than the handlooms, etc. And so we remain apathetic to the distress of the handloom workers who are in consequence driven to starvation.

A little thought will convince anyone who cares to see the truth that the handlooms can also produce as much as or even more than the power-looms, if only the people would take to it in sufficiently large numbers. We have only got to multiply the producing unit — in this case, the worker either as a spinner or as a weaver; and nobody would say that there is any dearth of workers in our country. However, there is a notable difference between the two systems of production, and it is that while in the first capital accumulates in the hands of a few mill-owners and there is unemployment for handlooms, the other makes for a wide distribution of both work and wealth produced thereby. This means that if the latter is adopted, mill-owners will stand to lose their profits, shareholders their dividends, and the Government its taxes. Are we ready for this change taking place?

However, it is not yet necessary to go so far as that. All that is needed is to see that handlooms get enough yarn. For that it is necessary to impose on the mills just enough restrictions to compel them to produce all the yarn required by handlooms for removing unemployment among the handloom workers and to restrain the mills from manufacturing such varieties of piece goods as might be produced by the handlooms. It is just planning a common production programme both for the large-scale and the small-scale industries in cloth. Indeed, this should be regarded as one of our national needs and the Government planners must set about planning for it. It is greatly to be regretted, however, that both the Government and the factory-owners are more interested in providing work to the machines and seem to be quite indifferent to the living human machines remaining unemployed. Really, this apathy in high places of authority and responsibility is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of achieving a social and economic revolution on the basis of equality.

The readers will see in this issue an article by Shri Vithaldas Kothari which shows how we can at once help raise our villages by means of Khadi. That is also worth our serious consideration.

20-12-'53

(From the original in Hindi)

THE WORLD PEACE FRONT

[This concludes the Declaration, the first part of which was given in the previous issue.]

Concretely, this means that :

We believe in the fullest possible extension of democracy and individual freedom.

We believe unequivocally in the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control, whether military, political, economic or cultural. We support movements by which they seek equal status as members of an interdependent world of free and peaceful peoples.

We believe in the abolition of exploitation, segregation and discrimination wherever these exist. We repudiate high living standards, special opportunities or favoured status based on the tyranny of one group over another, whether that tyranny is expressed through force of arms or through the more subtle means of economic exploitation.

We believe that the economic problem is a global one and requires a world approach for its solution. Any solution must guarantee to all peoples the basis for equal status, opportunity and personal dignity.

We believe that feudalism, landlordism, imperialism and control of the materials and means of production in basic industries by privately owned corporations must end.

We believe that the natural and productive resources and key instruments of distribution and communication belong to all and should be socially owned and democratically administered through the people's own co-operative, community and other instrumentalities.

We believe that technology must be the servant and not the master of the human race. Irrational support of technological efficiency for its own sake, and the centralization of power entailing the growth of bureaucracy and statism, which go with such a policy, violate our democratic faith and threaten to destroy any possibility of a self-governing society.

We believe that the attempt to achieve basic social change by violence is self-defeating, that non-violence is the essential means for achieving a democratic, mature society.

If freedom is to be preserved and enriched, it can only be done by the people everywhere rising and asserting their resistance to tyranny and injustice. And they can be successful only if they recognize the global nature of the struggle and commit themselves to non-violence, since violence involves the use of man himself as a means to an end in the hand of the State.

The preservation of democracy and its extension, in our own and other lands, depend on our ability to join in those efforts to create an international non-violent revolutionary movement affirming its loyalty to the concept of a Third Camp. Such a movement will necessarily have to take account

of existing conditions and possibilities in various countries. It may sometimes proceed slowly, sometimes make rapid strides. It may use ordinary democratic instrumentalities where these are available, or resort to non-violent direct action.

The issue is between modern organized violence and enlightened co-operative control. The negative act of civil disobedience and other forms of resistance to war and exploitation, and the positive act of developing and applying a "constructive programme" are merely two sides to the same banner which free peoples must now raise.

HARIJAN

Jan. 23

1954

THE CONGRESS AND THE GANDHIAN PROGRAMME

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri J. M. Ganguli from Calcutta writes about 'Congress Ideals and Congress Work' from which I reproduce below :

"There is going to be another session of the Congress this month, and on the eve of it one's mind naturally turns to the Gandhian ideas which once glorified the Congress, but which stand in pitiable contrast to what one sees all around under the Congress regime.

"Where is Gandhian programme gone?" is a question which is vibrating and echoing from all sectors, but is not answered. If item by item charges of negligence and corruption hurled by the public against the Government were to be framed the list would be long, but a few of them may be mentioned :

(a) Administration, instead of being simplified, is becoming unbearably top-heavy and side-heavy. There are so many Ministers, State Ministers, Deputy Ministers and perhaps otherwise named ministers, as well, that many of us do not know their number much less their duties and functions. Any possible mischief-maker against the Government, who can influence a few votes, is won over by being taken within the Government fold.

(b) Administration of justice through courts is such that poor simple and conscientious people can hardly get justice.

(c) Food adulteration is perhaps on the increase. The agitation for the colouration of vegetable ghee so that its mixing with pure ghee might become impossible was ignored by the Government under the influence of manufacturers. Adulteration of other products for such or similar reasons has not been effectively stopped.

(d) Third-class railway passengers' lot is as pitiable as ever. The Gandhian doctrine that officials are to consider themselves servants and not rulers of the public has no appeal to the officials today.

(e) Not only in the matter of prohibition, but in all matters affecting public morality there is callous indifference. If not indirect patronage, from the Government side. Film industry can go to any extremes for making money, unchecked. Road-side-film posters are, obscene and seriously detrimental to public morality. Young boys and girls at least should be given some protection from such evil influences. 'Smoke for health'—advertisements all over cities do not concern

the Government, but are dangerously spreading smoking among even school boys and girls."

Naturally, what is given above might be as a result of what Shri Ganguli might have observed particularly in his home province. A reader from Bombay also repeatedly draws my attention to various mistakes of omission and commission on the part of Government, though they are of a different sort from the above ones. All of which goes to show that the Congress must seriously apply itself to set its own house in order. Its responsibility is greater because, as Pandit Nehru said, it alone among the various political parties can deliver the goods in India at least at the present juncture of its history. Will Congressmen rise to the occasion and fulfil the role that history has placed on them?

12-1-54

AN IMPORTANT RESOLUTION

[The 6th Annual Session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress which met at Jalgaon on 1-1-54 passed the following resolution on the grave situation of un- and under-employment in our country.

The INTUC can directly help the situation by propagating among labour, through its constituent unions all over the country, use of Swadeshi and hand-made goods, Khadi, etc. Like God, Government also will help those who help themselves. This is specially true in regard to village industries which have not till now caught the eye of our rulers and their planners.

We hope the Planning Commission and the Government of India will heed to this important resolution of the INTUC.

13-1-54

—M. P. J

1. The INTUC expresses its satisfaction at the fact that the Government and the people have become conscious of the large volume of urban and rural unemployment and efforts are made to provide employment to an increasing number of persons and give full employment to those who are under-employed. It is gratifying to note that the Planning Commission has recognized the need of revising their plan with a view to give employment to more people. The problem before the country is of such dimensions that unless very prompt and drastic measures are taken, the employment position is likely to deteriorate progressively, creating risks for the socio-economic structure of the country.

2. The solution of the problem of unemployment rests largely on the pace of economic progress of the country, and this should, therefore, be greatly accelerated and all sections of the population should make their utmost contribution towards this end. It is, however, of the greatest importance that methods of production should be adopted which while supplying the needs of the people, provide full employment to all able-bodied men and women of the country, whether in the urban or rural areas. With regard to industrialization of large scale type, therefore, efforts in the country should be concentrated on basic industries, while all processing of food and other essential consumer goods should be left to village and small scale industries. No addition or expansion of such consumer goods industries

should be permitted and even existing plants may have to be closed where there is a net advantage in following the course for the purpose of extending the scope of employment. With the same end in view, it is necessary to regulate the introduction of new labour-saving devices and rationalization, so that no unemployment results therefrom.

3. The INTUC is firmly of the opinion that if India has to solve its unemployment problem and provide gainful occupation to its large population, it shall have to adopt an integrated policy of village and small scale industries supplemented by the large scale industries which are already installed. Means will have to be found to afford protection to products of village and small scale industries, so that they may not be killed in competition with large scale industries. This object may be achieved by demarcation of spheres of production, or measures to equalize the prices of the products from the two sources by positive assistance and subsidies on one side and levy of a cess or excise duty on the larger establishments. In addition, the Central Government will have to revise its import policy and ruthlessly cut out all imports of food and materials which can be produced in this country by the existing or new industries.

4. To secure the support of the general public and to develop and strengthen the faith in the capacity of indigenous products to meet the requirements of the people intensive propaganda will have to be carried on throughout the country in favour of use of Swadeshi goods, and the Central Government and State Governments shall set the example by using only goods and materials made in the country and that too as far as possible, through village and small scale industries.

5. Polytechnics should be opened in a large number throughout the country and sufficient encouragement should be provided for young men and women in order that they may take to vocational training.

6. The INTUC is glad to note that by setting up Boards for Khadi and village industries as also for handloom industry the Central Government has taken an initial step for the protection and development of cottage and small scale industries. The problem before the country is however, so big that these limited efforts will bear no appreciable results. It is high time, therefore, that the Government should decide and announce future policy in this connection and take vigorous action for its implementation without the least delay. The INTUC offers its fullest support to the Government in the implementation of its policy.

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages xii + 164 Price Rs. 2 Postage etc. As. 10

NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

NOTES

Gandhi Gyan Mandir

Late Shri Jammalalji's dream materialized a few days back when the Prime Minister opened the building for housing a centre for Gandhian studies and research at Wardha. Shri Bajaj, with the blessing of Gandhiji, had desired, as far back as 1937, to have such a centre. Unfortunately he passed away in 1942. However, his successors deserve congratulations for pushing on the project to success. The building will have a Gandhi library and students and scholars will have a centre for Gandhian studies. We hope this institution will thrive and develop into a real Gandhi Academy soon. We wish it all success in its noble mission.

15-1-'54

M. P.

Abolition of Titles

Many were very happy and glad that the Constitution of India abolished the system of conferring titles etc. But unfortunately the lure for them seems to be getting an upper hand and we have the misfortune to hear that the Government of India is going to make awards of titles or medals for service of some order or nature. The Constitution in Art. 18 specifically says that 'no title, not being a military or academic distinction, shall be conferred by the State'. Is the announcement by the Government that there will be 'Bharat Ratnas' and 'Padma Vibhushans' among us and they can be Government servants as well, not in contravention of the Constitution? Apart from this the question remains whether we should create such bad and unnecessary differentiations among us who choose to live in a democratic order. New India should better shun this odious practice of making distinctions among its civil population.

14-1-'54

M. P.

Optional English in Standard VII

The Government of Bombay has declared that teaching of English will henceforth begin from Standard VIII in all the schools, primary or secondary. The language policy applies to English teaching schools also; and its observance also will be strictly enforced from June 1954. Similarly the policy of removing English from Standard VII, should also begin from June 1954, and instructions should be given to schools that from that date optional English in Standard VII should be discontinued. It is necessary to do so, if Government wants to be consistent and clear in implementing its language policy as decided by the Legislature and accepted by it.

14-1-'54

M. P.

English Teaching and the State

Certain people in Bombay have been raising a question in the name of their fundamental right: If some parents wish to educate their children in English, does the Government have the right to deny them such a facility?

The answer is quite apparent: Parents may wish what they think good for their children; they are free to do so. But it is a different matter to ask of the State, as a right, facilities of its fulfilment. The State can only move for a public cause and on principles and policies that it may hold fundamental for the public good. It may be, a wish of some parents might be against them. However if it is not against law and public morals, the parents might well have the luxury of indulging in it, but that cannot be at public cost.

To speak about the instance in point, parents cannot expect Government to give facilities for English teaching, if it is against the fundamental policy of State education.

The argument will be more clear by citing an instance of another type. Suppose there are parents who wish to see that their children are taught not along with the so-called untouchable children. Surely the State will not provide them with such facilities. The parents, if they are keen, can have their own private arrangements, which will not be aided nor recognized by the State. Some parents might want their children to be given religious education of a denominational kind, which facility they won't have from the State, i.e. in public schools.

14-1-'54

M. P.

Prohibition — A Welfare Activity

How Prohibition has been responsible for the people in the countryside taking to constructive activities is provided by the Harijans of Prantij in Sabarkantha District. They have built a temple of learning, "Gandhi Gyan Mandir", which will undertake welfare and cultural activities among Harijans.

The building was constructed at a cost of Rs 15,000 out of which Rs 7,000 formed the contributions made by them out of the savings they had been able to make following the introduction of Total Prohibition in the State and prohibiting extravagant and unnecessary expenditure that they were formerly incurring on social and caste functions.

"Anglo-Indian" Education

Dr. Keskar, speaking from All India Radio, Delhi, in the series of talks on "The Future of Education in India", said that,

"One glaring defect of the present set-up which had to be removed was that it did not possess any national character or individuality. The present curricula were a hotchpotch of items taken from various countries and sources, mainly from the West and more especially from England and the U. S. A. In fact, it would not be far wrong to say that it was a copy, and not a very good one, of some British and U. S. institutions.

"The most remarkable thing about the present system, Dr. Keskar said, was that anyone taking his education in an Indian educational institution certainly did not imbibe Indian cul-

ture or tradition, nor did he fully absorb either British or American culture. A student educated in India can best be called a kind of 'Anglo-Indian' who, though not completely unacquainted with the country in which he was living, was more versed in the life and culture of Great Britain and the U. S. A. His knowledge of his own country was distant and woefully inadequate. Any foreign student passing a number of years here was hardly likely to go back having absorbed something of India's magnificent traditions, unless he made a special effort for it. The educational institutions here taught more about the history, culture, literature and society of the West than that of India."

(From *The Hindustan Times*, 8-1-'54)

An Objectionable Government Advertisement

The Air-India International is now a Central Government Corporation. There is to be found an advertisement of that body in official and non-official papers, which has some queer things to say. For example, it says a trip to London now will save Rs 1,512/- and then it advises what one can do with the savings with apt illustrations. This is what it says:

'Take your mother-in-law with you.....and leave her there.'

'Dictate for a week in London'—illustrated by a stenogirl sitting on the lap of the boss.

'Spend an afternoon at the races'—illustrated by a man blowing out his brains with a pistol, apparently as he lost at the races.

To advertise in this manner is really a wonderful thing for the Government to do. The mother-in-law as illustrated in the advertisement is an odd Indian woman, though the son-in-law is shown to be a thorough-bred European-attired young man. The idea of having to maintain the mother of one's wife is unknown in our society, though we know about it through European and American novel stories. How is it relevant to say it in India?

Again, if one needs a stenog, one may well have her; but to show that she will be sitting in your lap is unbecoming and bad. And so also is the idea of blowing out the brains with a pistol. Does Government wish race-goers to do so?

Why does Government not realize even a simple thing as to how foreigners will judge us from such Government advertisements? or does it believe that these are good for the new age of air-mindedness? Surely the Air Service Corporation is not meant for such propaganda

G. J. PATEL

(From the original in Gujarati)

TOWARDS NEW EDUCATION

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages vi + 90 Price Re. 1-4-0 Postage etc. As. 5

A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

By K. G. Mashruwala

Pages v + 69 Price Re. 1 Postage etc. As. 5

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ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF THE VILLAGE

(By Viithaldas Kothari)

The reader is referred to Shri M. P. Desai's article "Annual Expenditure of a Village", (*Harijan*, 19-12-'53, p. 335). At the end Shri Desai referred to Shertha (village in North Gujarat) inquiry and another of a village in South India. The Shertha inquiry was done about 20 years back. Its figures are worth comparison with those approximately arrived at for Upleta as they are today.

The figures for Shertha twenty years back were as follows:

Article	Annual Expenditure	Per Cent
Cereals & pulses	25,000	22.5
Cloth	22,042	20.
Ghee	5,922	5.3
Milk	1,325	1.2
Tea	1,175	1.
Gur & Sugar	9,284	8.3
Tobacco, intoxicants etc.	6,387	5.7
Travelling	5,582	5.
Oil	4,959	4.4
Charities etc.	2,619	2.3
Miscellaneous	27,115	24.3
Total	1,11,500	100.

Per capita, annual expenditure for the village thus comes to Rs 47-9-7.

The per capita national income in 1931-32 was calculated to be Rs 62. In 1948 it was Rs 228. The figures given above might be proportionately calculated today.

The reader will note that cloth takes up 20 per cent of the village bill. The village can easily save it. There were shown as a result of that inquiry that certain other expenses also might be saved and the village can increase its production also in some ways. If this was done, it was shown by the inquiry that about 40 per cent increase in income might be secured. This can be repeated by other villages also, to their own advantage.

A similar approach was recently made to the problem in the village Kolor in Andhra. The result of the inquiry was sent to the *Harijan* which is noteworthy. I reproduce the following from it:

The village population is 9,000. Annual income is shown as Rs 22,91,780 i.e. Rs 254 per capita; expenditure is Rs 31,49,860, i.e. Rs 349 per capita—which shows an annual drain of Rs 95 per head. The figures are working approximations; however, on the whole, they show one thing that the village economy is running at a dreadful loss.

The inquiry report shows how this loss can be made good and the village economy made self-sufficient. The following are the suggestions for new sources of work and income thereby:

New Work	Estimated Income
1. Self-sufficiency in cloth	4,50,000
2. Paddy-pounding	98,440
3. Compost manure	70,000
4. Oil-Ghani	51,000
5. Cow-protection and dairying	1,50,000
6. Kitchen gardening	24,000
7. Liquidating litigation through arbitration	14,000
8. Removing superfluous middle men by reasonable bartering	70,000
9. Introducing Basic Education — Income from craft work	40,000
10. Saving from village medical bill by healthy hygienic living	21,000
11. Manufacturing ink, soap and colours etc. in the village	29,000
Total	10,17,440

These are the suggestions for improving village income, which are worth noting by our villages.

The reader will see that the cloth bill forms an important part of the annual expense. This clearly shows that Khadi provides our villages with a very sure and unflinching basis for the economic rehabilitation of our villages.

(From the original in Gujarati)

SUCCESS IS INEVITABLE*

(By Vinoba)

The people are like the irresistible flow of the Ganga. When they resolve to do a thing and launch out for that purpose on an appropriate course of action, no impediment in the way can delay them for long from marching ahead to their goal. We had a mighty demonstration of this truth in 1942 when Gandhiji pronounced the 'Quit India' *mantra*.

People took it up from him and voiced it from every village and every house with all their strength. Thousands lost their lives, many more thousands were shut up behind the prison-bars.

Then there followed a long period,—so it seemed to us then,—of waiting and trial. I remember friends in the jail used to discuss the situation as it was developing from month to month. Some of them would say despairingly, 'In spite of our *mantra* and our sacrifices it does not seem we are anywhere nearer the victory. It is rather the other way about, for our rulers are as well entrenched in their position as ever.'

I used to assure them on such occasions that this seeming accession of strength to our English rulers was like the lamp's last flare up before its finally going out. When every child was repeating the 'Quit India' *mantra*, there could be no doubt whatsoever that they would be forced to quit India. And so it happened after five years.

It will be the same with our Bhodan movement. Bihar is now resounding with the cry—'Give land to the landless' from end to end. Even illiterate villagers and innocent children are repeating it. Such a great resolve charged with the strength of the soul can never fail in its purpose.

* From a speech at Supaul on 19-12-'53.

I am at times asked why the workers are collecting land from the poor, if the movement is aimed at restoring it to them. My reply is that the poor by donating their lands in large numbers add to the volume of their voice and elevate it to a high pitch. It strikes at the indifference of big landholders and moves them to goodness. It tends to awaken the indwelling Lord in their hearts. It creates a twofold power: Firstly, it rouses the rich to a sense of their duty and secondly, the very fact of the poor uniting among themselves by coming forward to donate their lands makes it plain to the Zamindars that they cannot do without the help and co-operation of the former. It brings about a material change in the objective conditions, which compels the richer section of the community to understand that they can best serve their interests by casting in their lot with all the rest and by working for the common good.

There is another question — Could not this same purpose be achieved through violence? My answer is — No, surely no. There was a time when stray violence was resorted to for purposes of this nature and it at times met with success. But we are now living in an age which practises violence on a big scale. Society consists of, besides the youths, children and women and the old who cannot practise violence. It cannot therefore resort to violence without endangering its own existence. Violence can never bring power to the people in the mass, it can only result in raising a few individuals or a group of individuals to a position of authority and control. That would not be democracy, that is, an order of society in which people have a controlling voice. A democracy properly so called can be brought into being only through the characteristic power of the people which is non-violence. In a democracy brought about by non-violent means even a child would have the courage to say No to what he considers wrong.

(Abridged from the original in Hindi)

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TWO WORLDS INSTEAD OF ONE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A wise American statesman, Wendell Wilkie had said during the last world war that we want 'one world'; and it was acclaimed by the war-torn world as a great message. But, unhappily what the present American foreign policy is driving at is to have two worlds and not one, — one, the 'free world' made up of the friends of America, and the other consisting of the rest who may not be with it and are therefore considered against it.

This is what can be gathered from President Eisenhower's message to the Congress on the occasion of his second year in office. The message promises more military and economic aid to friendly nations and offers more concessions and increased facilities in trade and commerce in the 'free world'.

Obviously this will help to keep the U. S. A. economically strong also, a much needed thing in face of slump forecasts. And the creation of a friendly world bloc will help keep up the tempo of the American people and maintain the whip of anti-communist war-psychosis which is necessary to step up production.

Apparently, however, such a policy will not make of mankind 'one world', but will surely make of it two warring worlds.

India ardently desires to bring this point to the notice of the two world blocs; and to do this effectively it hopes to remain aloof from both the warring blocs, although she holds neither of them as her enemy but means well of both of them and wishes to befriend them in the cause of one world — one human family.

Will they listen to this voice of peace? That depends on our efforts to build up a really peaceful and non-violent community of ourselves in our own country. Only then will the voice of peace be irresistible and imperative in the whole world.

12-1-'54

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