

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor : PYARELAL

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TWO ANNAS

GANDHIJ'S BROADCAST TO THE KURUKSHETRA CAMP

I do not know if it is only you or whether others too are listening in to me today. Though I am speaking from the Broadcasting House, I am not interested in such talks. To suffer with the afflicted and try to relieve their suffering has been my life's work. I hope, therefore, that you will accept this talk in that light.

SUFFERINGS OF THE REFUGEES

I was distressed when I heard that over two lakhs of refugees had arrived at Kurukshetra and more were pouring in. The moment the news came to me, I longed to be with you but I could not get away at once from Delhi because the Congress Working Committee meetings were being held and my presence was required. Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla suggested that I should broadcast a message to you and hence this talk.

Quite by accident, General Nathusingh who has organized the Kurukshetra Camp came to see me two days ago and told me about your sufferings. The Central Government asked the military to take over the organization of your Camp, not because they wanted to coerce you in any way, but simply because the military are used to doing such organization and know how to do so efficiently.

Those who suffer know their sufferings best of all. Yours is not an ordinary camp where it is possible for everyone to know each other. Yours is really a city and your only bond with your co-refugees is your suffering.

CO-OPERATION WITH AUTHORITY

I was sorry to learn that there is not that co-operation with authority or with your neighbours that there ought to be in order to make the camp a success. I can serve you best by drawing attention to your shortcomings. That has been my life's motto, for therein lies true friendship and my service is not only for you or India; it extends to the world for I know no barriers of race or creed. If you can rid yourselves of your failings, you will benefit not only yourselves but the whole of India.

It hurts me to know that many of you are without shelter. This is a real hardship, particularly in the cold weather which is severe in the Punjab and increasing daily. Your Government is trying to do everything it can for you. The burden is heaviest, of course, on your Prime Minister. The Health Department which is served by Rajkumari

and Dr. Jivraj Mehta is also working very hard to lighten your sufferings. No other government could have done better in this crisis. The calamity is immense and the Government too has its limitations. But it is up to you to face your sufferings with as much fortitude and patience as you can summon to your aid and as cheerfully as you can.

Today is *Diwali*. But there can be no lighting of *chirags* for you or for anyone. Our *Diwali* will be best celebrated by service of you and you will celebrate it by living in your camp as brothers and looking upon everyone as your own. If you will do that you will come through victorious.

General Saheb told me of all that still needed to be done in Kurukshetra. He told me that no more refugees should be sent there. It seems as if there is no proper screening of refugees and it is hard to understand why they come and are dumped in various places without proper intimation to the local authority. In my post-prayer speech last evening I criticized the East Punjab Government for this state of affairs. I have just had a letter from one of their ministers to say that the fault is not theirs but the Central Government is responsible.

Now that all Governments, whether Central or Provincial, belong to the people, it does not befit one to throw the blame on the other. All must work together for the general good. I tell you this in order that you may realize your own responsibility also.

MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE

You must help in the maintenance of discipline in the Camp. You must take the sanitation of the place in your hands. I have known the Punjab well since the Martial Law days. I know the qualities and failings of the Punjabees. One of them, and that is not confined to the Punjab alone, is the utter lack of knowledge of social hygiene and sanitation. Therefore it is that I have often said that we must all become Harijans. If we do, we shall grow in stature. I ask you, therefore, to help your doctors and your camp officials—everyone of you, men, women and even children to keep Kurukshetra clean.

SHARE YOUR RATIONS

The next thing I want to ask you to do is to share your rations. Be content with what you get. Do not take or demand more than your share. Community kitchens are a thing which should be cultivated. In this way too you can serve each other.

GET OVER IDLENESS

I must also draw your attention to the danger of refugees getting accustomed to eat the bread of idleness. They are apt to think that it is Government's duty to do everything for them. Government's duty is certainly there but that does not mean that your own ceases. You must live for others and not only for yourselves. Idleness is demoralizing for everyone and it will certainly not help us successfully to get over this crisis.

BE SELF-SUPPORTING

A sister from Goa came to see me the other day and I was delighted to learn from her that many women in your Camp were anxious to spin. It is good to have the desire to do creative work which helps. You must all refuse to be a burden on the State. You must be as sugar is to milk. You will become one with your surroundings and thus help to share with your Government the burden that has fallen on them. All camps should really be self-supporting but perhaps that may be too high an ideal to place before you today. All the same I do ask you not to despise any work but rejoice at doing anything that comes your way in order to serve and thus make Kurukshetra an ideal place.

The response to my appeal for warm clothing and quilts and blankets has been very good. People have responded well to the Sardar's appeal too. Your share of these is also there. But if you quarrel among yourselves and some take more than their due, it will not go well with you. Your suffering is great even now but wrong action will make it even greater.

REINSTATEMENT OF REFUGEES

Finally, I am not one of those who believe that you who have left your lands and homes in Pakistan have been uprooted from there for all time. Nor do I believe that such will be the case with the thousands of Muslims who have been obliged to leave India. I for one shall not rest content and will do all that lies in my power to see that all are reinstated and are able to return with honour and safety from where they have today been driven out. I shall continue as long as I live to work for this end. The dead cannot be brought back to life, but we can work for those who are alive. If we do not do so then it will be an eternal blot on both India and Pakistan and therein will lie ruin for both of us.
12-11-'47

SELF-RESTRAINT *v.* SELF-INDULGENCE

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IN PRAISE OF DECONTROL

[The following extracts are taken from a very long thesis sent by a correspondent in favour of decontrol at least so far as food is concerned. —M. K. G.]

* * *

"By reducing rations from $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs to $\frac{3}{4}$ lb the Government has further created a bigger vicious circle. The more the ration is reduced, the more the secret hoarding by the agriculturist. He knows that the lesser is the ration the greater is the demand of the blackmarket and the more his earnings. He will hoard secretly and the correct figures of food grain production will not come to the Government. The lower production figures will cause a stir in the Government Department and they will contemplate a further reduction in the ration! The Government thus put themselves in anxiety and also plunge the whole country in it. The vicious circle thus goes on!

* * *

"If we think over what we import and what is being spoiled and thrown away at storage places, it will be realized that our wastage is greater than the imports! Hence we must not import. We must reduce wastage.

* * *

"If grain is sold freely as in normal times, will a house-wife allow a single grain to be spoiled and wasted? She will look after it, clean it, store it very carefully, will again look after it at intervals and make such arrangements that not a single grain has to be thrown away on account of its being spoiled. If we compare this with the Government policy and their arrangement for storing food grains, we fail to understand how the leaders at the helm of affairs and now governing us, coming as they do from the public, do not know the practice followed all over the country and how they do not follow the simple and practical procedure instead of carrying on as they are doing today. Why have our leaders kept themselves entangled in the net created for us for specific reasons by their predecessors, the British? How is it that things do not become clear to them? Why are they guided by the figures put before them by the officers which in some cases are neither complete nor accurate?

* * *

"Food crop production is not less today than what it was six years back. The corresponding increase in population is not also excessive. In rationed areas false increase in population is seen to a certain extent by issue of fictitious ration cards. During the war period a large quantity was supplied to the military with certain unavoidable wastages. Foodgrains were also supplied to the Middle East. These conditions do not obtain today. The public was then given $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs daily ration. Thus, it seems more stock was then available for the purpose than today. Six years back, in every house people stored their requirements for a period of a fortnight or more up to two years according to their capacity. In every village, grain was stored according to old customs in underground stores.

Every merchant whether in village, urban area or city, had big stocks of grain. Wherever we went, godowns full of grains were seen. There were heaps of foodgrains. Where has all that gone? Why has it disappeared from all over the country? Why do everywhere people talk of famine? Today, neither the consumer nor the businessman nor the Government has any stock. If the production is less, naturally there cannot be any export. It must be lying somewhere. How can it be brought out? The public is showing a critical tendency towards the Congress. There must be some good reason for their doing so, and this change in their attitude should not be ignored. The Congress, which is in power, is not able, owing to defects in the present procedure, to give to the public what as a matter of fact is really available in the country and the public is displeased and interested parties are taking advantage of this situation to make the Congress unpopular. It is only the Congress which can maintain peace in the country and if it once loses its hold over the public, which may happen if the situation does not show signs of improvement and is allowed to deteriorate from day to day as it is doing, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for it to avoid the storm that may come."

ACT AS YOU THINK

(By M. K. Gandhi)

From a letter received by Rajkumari from Dr. Maude Roydon and which she has given to me for reading, I have extracted the following relevant passages :

"I marvel that the best Christian in the world should not be a Christian! I have been reading these last two or three weeks a new biography of Albert Schweitzer and there again I have this same paradox. I don't know if the name of Schweitzer is known in India but to my mind he is perhaps alone in the world in his greatness And as you may perhaps know, Schweitzer is regarded with suspicion by the "orthodox" because it is held that he has not a sufficiently exalted view of our Saviour. And yet there is not a Christian in the entire world who has followed Christ with the same heroic faith and utterly selfless devotion. And when I read of his philosophy, his "reverence for life", and how he constantly refers himself to Jesus of Nazareth, I know that no one has ever exalted Jesus to such a height in the minds of those who read Schweitzer. He differs from most philosophers only in the fact that he must live all that he thinks, writes or says. I realize now why his thought strikes one as having such stark and terrifying honesty. *If you are engaged in thinking without thought of action, it is easy to think all sorts of untrue things. If you know that you are going to live everything that you think, with what a searching eye and with what profound sincerity you are going to think!*"

New Delhi, 8-11-'47

WASTEFUL EXPENDITURE

Most respected Mahatmaji,

Mahatmaji is face to face with the deadliest evil and worst tragedy in the history of our country. Here is another—the tragedy of ever soaring prices of commodities essential to meet the very elementary needs of the people. Too much currency (paper, nickel, and the other useless stuff) and short supply of commodities (real money) have given rise to this phenomenon, call it what you will, inflation or rise of price level. This is the root cause of all evils in society: strikes, black-market, corruption, starvation of crores of people less rich and misery to all. Ask a worker why he strikes and he says his wage is not enough to pull him through one quarter of the days in the month. Ask a servant of the Government why he is corrupt and the reply is the same. Ask a blackmarketeer why he does an unsocial act and he retorts that he has to pay several times more for the things he needs.

What then is the remedy? The simplest remedy is that the price level should be brought down to manageable limits which could only be done by the withdrawal of this useless currency from circulation. Spending less and saving more are essential for the reduction of currency. The Government of the country is the worst and most wasteful spender and the primary responsibility for this useless currency is its own. Hence, the Governments of England and France have adopted austerity budgets and are slashing all useless expenditure right and left. But exactly the opposite is taking place in our country. The terrible waste of absolutely unproductive new departments coming into existence and the expansion of the old ones are staggering to think of. For example, taking one of the several instances, there are two fire engines stationed in Anantpur, whose personnel of twelve gets a monthly salary of Rs. 120 each and over them is an officer with a pay of Rs. 300 p. m. There is not even a single second's work in the year for these people. There is no telephone and by the time the fire station is got into contact by the runner messenger, the hut on fire would have been reduced to cinders. The other day Mahatmaji gave the wisest advice to the Governors when he pointed out that they should live in a hut accessible to all people like Caliph Omar and to be less extravagant and serve the people. In many cases Mahatmaji's advice is bypassed, but still I am sure that his voice should prevail as it is the only truth. I, therefore, make a fervent appeal to Mahatmaji to save the fast crumbling economic edifice so that the destruction of both the soul and the body of millions of our people may be staved off. Mahatmaji has solutions correct for many problems and he would certainly find one for this.

I am etc.

G. SOMI REDDI, BAR-AT-LAW

Anantpur, 14-10-'47

HARIJAN

November 23

1947

A PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following is from Mr. Richard B. Gregg, whom many readers of the *Harijan* know as an American friend who used to live in Shantiniketan as also with me in Sabarmati years ago:

"Though because of my ignorance I am hesitant, yet I venture to send you an idea that seems to me not only to explain with perhaps less moral blame a part of the recent communal violence in India but also to offer hope for the future.

"It seems to me probable that much of this violence is an expression not so much of inter-communal suspicion and hatred, but rather, and more deeply and originally, of the long pent-up resentments of the masses because of their oppression. The oppression was not only by foreign political rule but by foreign modern social, economic and financial ways which are contrary to the ancient habits of *dharma* which were a very part of the nature of the masses. By foreign ways I mean such things as the English land-holding system, usurious money lending, heavy taxes payable not in kind but in money, and other interferences with long established village life common to all Indian communities.

"Psychological studies have shown clearly that severe frustrations suffered during the childhood of an individual generate resentments which are suppressed and remain suppressed long after the person who caused the original frustration has died, but later some occasion pulls a trigger, as it were, and releases the pent up energy of the old resentment which then pours forth in violence upon some perfectly innocent person. This explains many crimes of violence, and perhaps some of the cruelties against the Jews in Europe. In India the establishment of religious electorates created a channel into which it was easy for this energy to flow, but I believe the fearful energy of the explosion of wrath comes from the older cause I have mentioned. Such an idea as this would help explain why in all countries all through history a major change of political power results in more or less violence and disorder. The masses always suffer some oppression and, therefore, have resentments which flare up upon a shift of control or may be exploited by selfish leaders.

"If this surmise is true, it suggests that the suspicion and hatred of one community towards another is not so deep as now appears. It also means that as soon as the masses can be guided back into their ancient ways of life with the chief emphasis on religion and small organizations—village *panchayats* and communal family systems—the energy of the people will be turned from violence into creative channels. I would expect that *khadi*

work among the refugees might help start such a diversion of energy into sound channels. In such a development I see hope.

"Forgive me if this seems to be presumptuous. I write it only in the hope that an humble outsider, just because he is outside, may see a gleam of encouragement that is not so easy to see in the dust and distraction of the struggle. Anyhow, I love you and India."

Though many psychologists have recommended a study of psychology, I am sorry, I have not been able, for want of time, to study the subject. Mr. Gregg's letter does not mend matters for me. It does not fill me with any impelling enthusiasm for undertaking the study. Mr. Gregg gives an explanation which mystifies the mind instead of clearing it. "Hope for the future" I have never lost and never will, because it is embedded in my undying faith in non-violence. What has, however, clearly happened in my case is the discovery that in all probability there is a vital defect in my technique of the working of non-violence. There was no real appreciation of non-violence in the thirty years' struggle against British *Raj*. Therefore, the peace, the masses maintained during that struggle of a generation with exemplary patience, had not come from within. The pent up fury found an outlet when British *Raj* was gone. It naturally vented itself in communal violence which was never fully absent and which was kept under suppression by the British bayonet. This explanation seems to me to be all-sufficing and convincing. In it there is no room for failure of any hope. Failure of my technique of non-violence causes no loss of faith in non-violence itself. On the contrary, that faith is, if possible, strengthened by the discovery of a possible flaw in the technique. New Delhi, 11-11-'47

WHEN BLESSING BECOMES A CURSE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In declining to give a blessing I said the following to a friend:

"No one who wants to start a worthy enterprise should ever wish to have anybody's blessings, not even of the highest in the land. A worthy enterprise carries its own blessing. On the other hand, if an unworthy project receives any blessing from outside, it becomes, as it should become, a curse. Indeed, I have come to the conclusion that a blessing from outside interferes with the even progress of one's enterprise, because it very often induces a false hope and turns one away from the industry and watchfulness required for the success of a cause."

Though I have often said some such thing to many persons, it is best that this considered opinion is reproduced for the benefit of those who continue to ask for a blessings for their enterprises. Thus, I have been asked to bless memorials about great men and I have been felt compelled to give much the same answer as the above.

New Delhi, 11-11-'47

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 10-11-'47

BECOME SERVANTS OF GOD

Referring to the *bhajan* of the evening Gandhiji said that all their ills would be over if like Mirabai they became servants of God and God alone. They would understand the reference when they heard what was to follow. They had seen in the papers all about Junagadh. From two telegrams received by him from Rajkot he was satisfied that the newspaper report was fairly accurate. The Prime Minister, Bhattu Saheb was in Karachi; so was the Nawab Saheb. The Deputy Prime Minister, Major Harvey Jones was in Junagadh. They all were party to Junagadh acceding to the Union. The audience had a right to infer that Quid-e-Azam Jinnah was party to this transaction. If he was, they were justified in inferring that the Kashmir and Hyderabad troubles would also be over. And if he could go further, he would say, things would take a happy turn and that the two Dominions would become friends and do everything in co-operation. He was thinking of the Qaid-e-Azam not as Governor-General. As a Governor-General he had no legal right to interfere with the affairs of Pakistan. As such he occupied the same position as Lord Mountbatten, who was merely a constitutional Governor-General. He could go to the wedding of one who was more than a son to him and who was to be married to the heir-presumptive to the British throne only with the permission of his Cabinet and was to return on the 24th of this month. He, therefore, thought of Jinnah Saheb as the maker of the present day Muslim League and without whose knowledge and permission nothing regarding Pakistan could be done. Therefore it was that Gandhiji thought that if Jinnah Saheb was behind the Junagadh accession, it was a happy augury.

VISIT TO PANIPAT

What, however, he wanted to tell the audience was about his visit to Panipat. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was with him. The Rajkumari was also to be with him, but she was at the Government House and he could not afford to wait beyond 10-30 a. m. by his watch. He was glad that he went to Panipat. He saw the Muslim patients in the hospital. Some of them had suffered ghastly wounds but they were receiving all the attention possible because the Rajkumari had sent four doctors, nurses and medical accessories. They then met the leader of the Muslims, the local Hindus and the representatives of the refugees who were reported to be over 20,000. They were told that more were coming in daily to the dismay of the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, both of whom, he was glad to report to the audience, were highly talked of by the Hindus as well as the Muslims, not to mention the refugees. They were also able to see the refugees, who were assembled near the Municipal House. He was glad to find that in spite of the ferrible hardships the refugees had to

go through in Pakistan and also in Panipat, where there was no settled life—some of them had to live on the station platform and many absolutely in the open without adequate covering—he did not see any irritation in them and they were glad that we had gone there. It seemed to him cruel that the refugees were dumped on in Panipat without any previous notice to the Deputy Commissioner or anybody else. They came to know how many were coming only when the trains drew up at the station platform. This was most unfortunate. There were among the refugees women and children, also old men. He was told that there were women refugees who delivered on the station platforms.

DR. GOPICHAND

All this was in East Punjab, whose Prime Minister was Dr. Gopichand. Dr. Gopichand was a valued associate of his. He had known him for years as an able organizer with great influence over the Punjabees. He worked for the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the All India Spinners' Association as also the All India Village Industries Association. The speaker said that he should not have thought that the task of East Punjab would be beyond him, but if Panipat was a sample of his workmanship, it was a sad reflection upon his Government. Why were the refugees dumped down anywhere without notice? Why were there inadequate arrangements for their reception? Why should the officers not know beforehand who and how many were coming? Added to this was the information he had received the day before that there were three lakhs of Muslims in the Gurgaon District who were frightened into leaving their homes. They were living in the open, alongside the public road with the expectation that they, with their wives, children and cattle were to undertake a march of 300 miles in the severe winter weather of the Punjab. He did not believe the story. He thought that there was some mistake in the narrative given to him by his friends, and still hoped that it was altogether wrong or exaggerated. But after what he had seen in Panipat, he was shaken in his disbelief. Anyway, he hoped that Dr. Gopichand and his Cabinet would wake up betimes and not rest till all the refugees were well looked after. This could only be done by foresight and extreme vigilance.

Birla House, New Delhi, 11-11-'47

JUNAGADH

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji said that the previous day he had given them the news about the entry into the Junagadh State of the Provisional Government in answer to the request of the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Junagadh. He did so partly in astonishment and partly in joy for he was not prepared for what appeared to be such a happy ending of the struggle of, and on behalf of, the Junagadh people. Gandhiji expressed also the fear that the joy would be premature if the request made by the Junagadh authorities had not the *imprimatur* of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. They could not, therefore, but feel painfully

surprised to find that the Pakistan authorities resented this occupation of Junagadh by the Provisional Government on behalf of its ryots and demanded "the withdrawal of Indian troops from the State territory and relinquishment of the administration to the rightful Government and stoppage of violence and invasion of the State by people from the Indian Union." They further contended that neither the Ruler nor the Dewan was legally entitled to negotiate any settlement, temporary or permanent, with the Dominion of India, and that the action of the Government of India was "a clear violation of the Pakistan territory and a breach of international law."

ACCESSION TO THE UNION

According to the statements in the Press the day before, he could see no breach of international law and no occupation by the Union Government. So far as he could see there was no unlawfulness about the whole of the movement of the Provisional Government on behalf of the people of Junagadh. The Union Government had certainly lent the use of its troops at the request of the Kathiawad princes for the safety of Kathiawad as a whole. Therefore, he detected no unlawfulness about the whole transaction, nor did he see any justification for what appeared to him to be a *volte face* on the part of the Prime Minister of Junagadh. The way he looked at the whole thing was this—the Nawab Saheb of Junagadh had no authority to accede to Pakistan without the consent of his people, of whom 85%, he was told, were Hindus. The sacred hill of Girnar with all its temples was part of Junagadh on which the Hindus had spent a lot of money and which was visited by thousands of pilgrims from all over India. In Azad Hind the whole of it belonged to the people. Nothing of it belonged to the princes as individuals. Their claim could only be sustained by their being trustees of the people and, therefore, producing the authority of the people for every transaction. That they had not realized their representative capacity and that the ryots in the States, with honourable exceptions, had not yet realized their capacity as true owners, in the aggregate, of the States they inhabited, derogated nothing from the doctrine he had enunciated. If, therefore, anybody had the legal right to accede to one or the other of the two Dominions, it was the ryots belonging to a particular State and if the Provisional Government did not at any stage represent the ryots of Junagadh, they became usurpers to be driven out by both the Dominions and neither Dominion could stand before the world to justify accession by a Prince in his individual capacity. In that sense he held that the accession by the Nawab Saheb of Junagadh was *ab initio* void, unless the ryots of Junagadh could be proved to have set the seal upon the accession by the Nawab Saheb. To which Dominion Junagadh would finally accede could only be decided, in case of dispute, by a properly conducted referendum without the use of violence or show of it, accompanying the process.

The attitude taken by the Pakistan Government and now also by the Prime Minister of Junagadh created a curious situation. Who was to decide upon the right or the wrong of the case for Pakistan and the Union Government? Appeal to the sword was not to be thought of. The only honourable way out was the ancient method of arbitration in the usual manner. There were enough men and women in India who could shoulder the burden. If, however, the parties could not agree upon arbitration by Indians, he for one had no objection to any impartial person from any part of the world.

KASHMIR AND HYDERABAD

Finally, what Gandhiji said about Junagadh equally applied to Kashmir and Hyderabad. Neither the Maharaja Saheb in Kashmir nor His Exalted Highness the Nizam had any authority to accede to either Dominion, without the known consent of their people. This was, so far as he knew, made clear in the case of Kashmir. If the Maharaja alone had wanted to accede, Gandhiji could not defend such accession. The accession was provisionally agreed to by the Union Government because both the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdulla, speaking for the people of Kashmir and Jammu, wanted it. Sheikh Abdulla came on the scene because he claimed to represent the people of Kashmir and Jammu, not merely the Muslims but the whole of the people.

DIVISION OF KASHMIR?

He had heard whispers that Kashmir could be divided into two parts, Jammu going to the Hindus and Kashmir to the Muslims. He could not think of such divided loyalties and splitting up Indian States into so many parts. He hoped, therefore, that wisdom would rule all India and an ugly situation would be avoided without delay if only for the sake of the lakhs of Indians who felt compelled to become helpless refugees.

Birla House, New Delhi, 12-11-47

DIWALI FELICITATIONS

As that day was *Diwali*, Gandhiji began by saying that he ought to congratulate them on the occasion. It was a great day in their calendar year. New year according to the *Vikrama Samvat* would begin from Thursday. They should understand why it was always celebrated by illuminations. In the great battle between Rama and Ravana, the former, representative of the forces of good, overcame the latter who represented the forces of evil. This victory established *Rama Rajya*.

REAL ILLUMINATION

Today alas! there was no *Rama Rajya* in India; therefore, how could they celebrate *Diwali*? He alone could celebrate victory who had Rama in his heart for it was God alone who could illumine their souls and such illumination alone was worth while. The *bhajan* emphasized the writer's desire to see God. Crowds went to see man-made illuminations but the light they needed today was the light of love in their hearts. Then alone would they be worthy of receiving congratulations. Today thousands were in the most dire suffering. Could

everyone in the audience lay his hand on his heart and say that everyone of these sufferers, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, was as his own brother or sister? That was the test for them. Rama and Ravana represented the eternal duel going on between the forces of good and evil. The real illumination came from within.

MARRIED KASHMIR

Gandhiji then went on to relate how Pandit Jawaharlal had just returned from seeing wounded Kashmir. He had been unable to attend the Working Committee meetings either the day before or that day in the afternoon. He had brought Gandhiji some flowers from Baramula. These gifts of nature were always beautiful. But the beauty of that lovely country was that day marred by the shedding of blood and loot. He had gone to Jammu, too, where all was not well.

The Sardar had had to go to Junagadh at the request of Shri Samaldas Gandhi and Dhebarbhai, who wanted his guidance. Both Jinnah Saheb and Bhutto Saheb were angry because they felt that the Indian Government had practised a deception on them and were forcing Junagadh to accede to the Union.

BANISH HATRED AND SUSPICION

In order to bring about peace and goodwill throughout the land, it was the duty of everyone to banish hatred and suspicion from their hearts. No victory in Kashmir or in Junagadh would avail if they did not feel the existence of God within them and forget all their petty internal differences. *Diwali* could never be properly celebrated until they had brought back to India all those Muslims who had fled from here out of fear. Nor could Pakistan live unless it did likewise for the Hindus and the Sikhs.

He then referred to his visit to Broadcasting House from where he spoke to the refugees in Kurukshetra.

Regarding the Working Committee meetings Gandhiji said that he would tell them the next day what was possible for him to tell. He concluded by hoping that all would go well with them and with India during the next year that was to begin from Thursday and that God would illumine their hearts so that they might be enabled to serve not only each other and India, but through it the whole world.

Birla House, New Delhi, 13-11-'47

VIKRAMA SAMVAT

In his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji referred to the New Year's day as he had also referred to the *Diwali* Day.

He drew the attention of the audience to the universal custom that on their New Year's Day they read sacred resolutions to do better than before so as to justify their celebration of the next *Diwali*. That celebration should mean that the participants had successfully carried out their resolutions.

CONQUER EVIL FORCES

He hoped that his listeners would make one supreme resolution, namely that whatever others

did or did not do, whether in Pakistan or in the Indian Union, they would carry out their resolution to be good friends of the Muslims. That meant that throughout the year they would conquer the evil forces within themselves and establish the supremacy of Rama, the God of good. Incidentally, Gandhiji said that he would like to refer to the fact that whereas every year that day had magnificent illuminations, in the opinion of his informants, the day before there was only an apology for illuminations just to satisfy the superstition that if there was no illumination at all, it would be an ill omen following them throughout the year. He called this superstition because no amount of outward illumination, however brilliant it might be, could possibly serve any good purpose when it was not a visible sign of the light within.

NO GOING BACK

The speaker then began to redeem of his promise of the previous evening that he would give them what he could of the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee during its three sittings. He was glad to inform them that although the Working Committee had passed no definite resolution to be put before the forthcoming A. I. C. C., the members and the special invitees were unanimously of the opinion that the Congress, which had stood from its inception for over sixty years for perfect communal harmony, was not to go back upon that unbroken record of perfect harmony persisted often in the face of heavy odds. They were quiet clear that even though the Congress might for a time find itself in a minority, they should cheerfully face that ordeal rather than succumb to the prevalent insanity.

RELIGION ADMITS OF NO COERCION

Freedom, without equality for all irrespective of race or religion, was not worth having for the Congress. In other words, the Congress and any government representative of the Congress must remain a purely democratic, popular body leaving every individual to follow that form of religion which best appealed to him without any interference from the State. There was so much in common between people living in the same State under the same flag owing undivided allegiance to it. There was so much in common between man and man that it was a marvel that there could be any quarrel on the ground of religion. Any creed or dogma which coerced others into following one uniform practice was a religion only in name, for a religion worth the name did not admit of any coercion. Anything that was done under coercion had only a short lease of life. It was bound to die. It must be a matter of pride to them whether they were four anna Congress members or not that they had in their midst an institution without a rival which disdained to become a theocratic State and which always believed and lived up to the belief that the State of their conception must be a secular, democratic State having perfect harmony between the different units composing the State. When he, the speaker, thought of the plight of the Muslims in the Union, how in many places ordinary life had

become difficult for them and how there was a continuing exodus of the Muslims from the Union, he wondered whether the people who were responsible for creating such a state of things could ever become a credit to the Congress. He, therefore, hoped that during the year that had just commenced, the Hindus and the Sikhs would so behave as to enable every Muslim, whether a boy or a girl, to feel that he or she was as safe and free as the tallest Sikh or Hindu.

A. I. C. C. MEETING

The A. I. C. C. meeting would be held on next Saturday. He hoped that the members would pass resolutions that would be up to the best traditions of the Congress and that they would tend to promote the welfare of the whole of the people, the poor as well as the rich, the prince and the peasant. Then and then only would the Congress be able to keep up the prestige of India for which it had become responsible, a prestige that would make India a custodian of the rights and dignity of all the exploited nations of the earth.

Birla House, New Delhi, 14-11-'47

RAMANAMA EXCELS EVERYTHING

Gandhiji took the *bhajan* of the evening as his text for his discourse. When he was fasting in the Aga Khan Palace which was converted into a prison to accommodate Devi Sarojini Naidu, Mirabehn, Mahadevbai and him, this *bhajan* had gripped him. He did not wish to go into the causes of the fast. Its relevance simply was that he was sustained throughout the twentyone days not by the quantity of water he drank or for some days by the quantity of orange juice he took, or by the extraordinary medical care and attention he was receiving, but by enthroning in his heart God whom he knew as Rama. He was so much enamoured of the lines of the *bhajan*, but whose words he had then forgotten, that he asked his associates to send a telegram for the exact words of the *bhajan*. To his joy he received the full text of the *bhajan* in the reply telegram. Its refrain was that *Ramanama* was everything, and that before it the other Gods were of no consequence. He wished to recall this instructive episode from his life in order to emphasize to the audience the fact that the momentous session of the A. I. C. C. which was to meet in New Delhi on the day following, i. e. Saturday, should carry on their deliberations with God in their hearts. This they were bound to do as they were representatives of Congressmen and as such they would not be worth their salt if their chiefs, the Congressmen, had God in their hearts instead of Satan.

RETURN OF THE REFUGEES

The Working Committee gave full three hours to a discussion of the resolutions to be put before the A. I. C. C. It turned upon the question as to how best to bring about an atmosphere whereby all the refugees, the Hindus and the Sikhs could be returned with honour and in safety to their homes in West Pakistan. They contended that the wrong commenced in Pakistan, but they realized also that the question of commencement dwindled into insignificance when

the wrong was copied on a large enough scale by the Hindus and the Sikhs, who took terrible reprisals in the East Punjab and the adjacent parts of the Union. If the A. I. C. C. could with confidence say that so far as the Union was concerned the days of madness were over and that sanity reigned from one end of the Union to the other, the Committee could say with perfect assurance that the Pakistan Dominion would feel obliged to invite the refugees to return to their homes with honour and in perfect safety. This condition would be brought about if only the audience and the other Hindus and Sikhs could install *Ramanama*, i. e. God in their hearts instead of Ravana or Satan. For, when they had displaced Satan and shed the present madness, every Muslim child would roam about as freely as a Hindu or a Sikh child. Then he had no doubt that the Muslim refugees who had left their homes under pressure would gladly return to their homes and the way would then be cleared for safe and honourable return of every Hindu and Sikh refugee.

Would that his word could find an echo in the hearts of his audience and the A. I. C. C. would be able to come to a wise and just decision!

Birla House, New Delhi, 15-11-'47

FATHER OF THE NATION ?

Gandhiji felt the audience would naturally expect him to tell them something of what he had said at the A. I. C. C. meeting in the afternoon but he did not feel like repeating himself. As a matter of fact it was what he had been saying to them all these days. If he was called, in all sincerity, the Father of the Nation, it was true only in the sense that he had had a great hand in making the Congress what it had become after his return from South Africa in 1915. That meant that he influenced the nation greatly. But today he could no longer claim such influence. This fact, however, did not, at least should not, worry him. All had but to do their duty and leave the result in God's hands. Nothing happened without God's will. Theirs was only to strive. So he had gone to the A. I. C. C. meeting as a matter of duty, to tell the members what he believed to be the truth if he got the permission to speak to the members before they commenced the business of the meeting.

CONTROLS HARMFUL

What he wanted to tell the audience, however, was about controls. He could no more than just touch upon the subject in the A. I. C. C. meeting as he had taken a long time over the other matters of moment.

He felt that it was criminal to have controls. The control system might have been good during war time. It might be good also for a military nation. It was harmful for India. He was sure that there was no scarcity of foodstuffs or cloth in the land. Rains had not failed them. They had enough cotton in the land and enough hands to work at the spinning wheel and the loom. Moreover, they had mills. He felt, therefore, that the two controls

were bad. There were other controls too as for instance on petroleum, sugar etc. He could see no justification for them. They tended to make people lazy and dependent. Laziness and dependence were any day bad for the nation. He had daily complaints about these controls. He hoped that the nation's representatives would come to a wise decision and advise the Government to remove these controls which promoted corruption, hypocrisy and black-marketing.

Birla House, New Delhi, 16-11-'47

FINDING GOD

The *bhajan* of the evening said that man's highest endeavour lay in trying to find God, said Gandhiji. He could not be found in temples or idols or places of worship built by man's hands, nor could He be found by abstinences. God could be found only through love, not earthly, but divine. That love was lived by Mirabai who saw God in everything. He was all in all to her.

RAMPUR STATE—THEN AND NOW

Applying the refrain of the *bhajan* in daily life he (Gandhiji) went on to talk of the Rampur State. Its ruler was a Muslim but that did not mean that it was necessarily a Muslim State. Many years ago Gandhiji had been taken there by the late Ali Brothers and had stayed there in their house. He had the pleasure of meeting the then Nawab Saheb also for he was a friend of the wellknown nationalist Muslims of the day, the late Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and the late Dr. Ansari. The Hindus and the Muslims used to live in comparative peace and amity then. But the Hindu friends from there who came to see him on Sunday told him a different story. They said that though the State had acceded to the Indian Union, the insidious influence of the Muslim League was there. If that were the only obstacle they might have overcome it easily. But there was the Hindu Mahasabha assisted by the Rashtriya Savak Sangh men whose ambition was to rid the Union of all Muslims.

SATYAGRAHA—MIGHTIEST WEAPON

The question was how the Congressmen, who were true to their Congress objective, were to make their position good. Could they offer *satyagraha* with hope of success? It gladdened their heart that the A. I. C. C. was staunch to the Congress objective and refused to envisage an India in which only the Hindus could live as masters. The Congress creed was broad-based enough to include all communities. There was no room in it for narrow communalism. It was the oldest of all political organizations. Its motto was service of the people. All that was happening in the A. I. C. C. nerved them for the struggle. Nevertheless, they wanted a word from him. Gandhiji said that he could not lay down the law for them as he had no knowledge of the local circumstances. Nor had he the time for any such study. But he could say with confidence that *satyagraha* was the mightiest force in the world before which the hostile combination which his

visitors had mentioned could not stand for any length of time.

IMPLICATIONS

It was the fashion nowadays to use the word *satyagraha* for any kind of resistance, armed or otherwise. This looseness harmed the community and degraded *satyagraha*. If, therefore, they understood all the implications of *satyagraha* and knew that the living God of Truth and Love was with the *satyagrahi*, they would have no hesitation in believing that it was invincible. Gandhiji said that he was sorry to say what he did about the Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Savak Sangh. He would be glad to find that he was wrong. He had seen the chief of the Rashtriya Savak Sangh. He had attended a meeting of the members of the R. S. S. Since then he had been upbraided for having gone to the meeting and had many letters of complaints about the organization.

HINDU-MUSLIM SOLIDARITY ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA

Gandhiji then said that while they were all engaged in trying to quench the fire of communal strife in their own country, they must not forget their countrymen abroad. He referred to the Indian case which was being fought with such unity and gallantry by the Indian delegation before U. N. O. They all knew Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. She was not there because she was Pandit Jawaharlal's sister but because she was able and did her work efficiently. She had a good team with her and they were all speaking with one voice. What had pleased him immensely, Gandhiji said, was Ispahani Saheb's and Zaffarulla Saheb's speeches reported in the Press that day. They told their audiences in plain language how Indians were being discriminated against in South Africa and treated as outcastes. True, Indians in South Africa were not penniless, they were not hungry but man could not live by bread alone and money was nothing as compared with human rights which were denied them by the South African Government. The Hindus and the Muslims in India had no different opinions on the question of the Indians overseas which went to prove that the two-nation theory was incorrect. The lesson Gandhiji had learnt from this and what he wanted the audience also to learn from what he had said was that love was the highest thing. If the Hindus and the Muslims could speak with one voice abroad, they could certainly do so here if they had love in their hearts. To err was human. It was also human to mend one's ways. To forgive and forget was always possible. If they could do that today and speak with one voice here as they did abroad, they would surely win through. So far as South Africa was concerned, he hoped that the Government, and the Whites of South Africa would profit by what was being said in this matter by the distinguished Hindus and Muslims and that with one voice.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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

1. We may look upon the villages as possible sources of raw material supply to the mills situated in the towns.

2. The rural population may be regarded as the main consumers or markets for the production of towns.

3. The village may be looked upon as an entity in itself affording complete facilities for the development of the individuals composing the population of the village.

AS SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS

When the village is looked upon as producer of raw materials for the towns and cities, the whole economic order is shaped according to the needs of the town-dwellers. Often the villagers are 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 done by the price mechanism in which money plays the leading role. Under the pretext of placing more purchasing power in the hands of the villagers the towns make the villager do what the town wants even though it may ultimately prove to be inimical to the interests of the villager. Raw material crops such as long staple cotton, sugar-cane and tobacco, drive out food crops and the people are left to face starvation in spite of having much purchasing power in their hands, which latter also may be represented by 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.

AS MARKETS

Similar to the type of rural development that we saw in the first instance, attempts are being made to convert the villagers into consumers of the production from towns. Here again the price mechanism is allowed free play and the villagers are driven to buy town-made goods as being cheap. Apart from our own towns, this outlook is one in which foreigners 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* oil, rubber shoes, mill cloth, etc. are being dumped on the villagers against their own interests. Here again the villagers are being deprived of their opportunities 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 methods of rural development the needs of the villagers are not the deciding

factors and much less the consideration of opportunities for the development of the citizen's personality.

PERSONALITY-CENTERED

We have to consider whether the material interests of the towns and the cities are more important than the interests of the villager himself. If so, the first two methods of rural development will have to yield place to a system that will centre, not on the material production and distribution alone, but on making the villager into a worthy citizen of a democratic State. We look upon work as a means through which an individual could be educated. Of course, in the process the individual will also be producing articles for his own consumption. The villager has to be an entity in himself. To this end the whole social, economic and political structure will have to be moulded 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 for the art of living, in logical method and good conduct with moral considerations as 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, and with reference to 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 other neighbouring localities for articles which they require.

The processing of this agricultural production 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 blacksmithy will provide outlets for people's requirements in art and for a fuller expression of their emotional personality. Fairs and festivities should also be organized to enable them not only to market their goods, but also to produce a culture based on village life.

POLITICAL

The control 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 will also mete out justice and to some extent raise 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 the third method of rural development with our interests centered on the

villages, 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 great responsibility. While our country is preparing plans for our future, it is necessary for us to bear these different aspects of rural development in mind so that the plans that are made out now will bear fruit according to our requirements in due time without creating further complications not only in our country but also in relationship with other peoples of the world. Our form of rural development, therefore, will, in the main, be based on self-sufficiency. So long as every member of the society aims at this ultimately, there could be no shortage of goods, especially in primary necessities; and there should be no commerce and trade in such articles if we wish to establish peace among the nations.

Such a scheme of rural development will not be a patchwork made by government officials according to the whims of the various departments, but being based on self-help and local contribution in labour and in kind, it will be an ideal training ground in the art of living which is a laudable end in itself.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

HOW TO GROW MORE FOOD

II

For those who have taken interest in what I wrote last week, I am giving this week, a few practical hints and suggestions. The season is advanced and no time should be lost, so those of you who mean business should already be digging the soil. I address first the private individuals. After the soil has been dug (once, if cultivated soil, twice—once each way—if new ground) the clods of earth should not be broken up and smoothed out. The soil should be left just as it is, all lumpy, so that the sun and the air can penetrate under the surface. In this state it should be left for about a week. If it were not for the short time at our disposal, the soil could be left open with advantage for 3 or 4 weeks. In the meantime if any well-rotted manure is available, this should be collected and reduced to a fine texture. At the end of the week the manure should be scattered evenly on the dug soil, which will then be broken up, well mixed with the manure, and smoothed out. After that, give it a good watering and leave it until it is only slightly damp, with no stickiness about it. Now you can prepare the beds for sowing. A good size for each bed would be about 5' x 6'. This can be varied to suit circumstances. There should be a little bank all round the bed about 5" broad and about 4" high. According to the space available you will have one bed after another, and if you have a pump or tap, or other convenience for irrigation, you will make a small water channel running along the side of the beds at a slightly higher level, so that when you make an opening in the bank of a bed, and block up the water channel immediately beyond, the water will flow naturally into the vegetable plot

This week we will consider the sowing of four excellent winter vegetables viz., 1. Carrots (*gajar*), 2. Turnips (*saljam*), 3. Radish (*muli*) and 4. Spinach (*palak*).

1. Carrots: Prepare the bed as mentioned above. Mix up and smooth out the surface of the earth, then sow the carrot seeds broadcast. Take care to scatter them as evenly as possible. Not very thick, but at the same time no bare spaces. After sowing, the earth should be very lightly raked, or brushed with a hard brush made of twigs. The plot may then be watered very lightly with a fine watering pot. The irrigation channels should not be used until the seeds have sprouted and taken firm root in the soil, otherwise you will get a dense mass of growth at the lower end of the plot, and a desert near the upper end where the water enters. In the early stages the soil should be lightly watered from time to time so as to keep it slightly damp. When the plants grow big they may be more heavily watered at longer intervals. When the little carrots come up, if they are very dense in any part of the plot, they may be thinned out, otherwise their roots will not have space to swell and grow freely.

2. Turnips: The beds can be prepared the same as for carrots, but instead of sowing broadcast, the seeds should be lightly placed about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch below the ground and covered over (the soil should not be pressed down) at an all round distance of about 5" from one another. Watering will be the same as for carrots. Here, of course, no thinning will be required.

3. Radishes: These should be sown in the same way as turnips. But they are best sown on ridges, the banks round the edges of the plots in which the other vegetables are grown can, therefore, be utilized. Take care to water the ridges also with the watering pot, and when the watering is done by flooding, the water should be sufficient to soak the banks properly.

4. Spinach: This should be sown broadcast like carrots. The sowing should be as even as possible and closer than carrots. No thinning need be done. It should be kept well watered, and three to four cuttings may be obtained from the same crop.

All this should not alarm you, as being difficult. On the contrary, it is most fascinating. Much more fascinating and health-giving than sitting in an office or working in a factory! How much richer life becomes when we associate with Nature! If we will but approach her with a loving heart, we find her ever ready to respond. So much so, that even with half an inch of earth in an old *thali* she will give us salads in a few days!

I will explain this in more detail.

Take any broad, shallow vessel—a *thali* or tray—and spread in it half an inch of finely powdered soil. Then flood it with water, and shake the vessel gently so that the watery earth settles down perfectly level. Immediately sow in it *sarson* or *rai* (mustards), so thickly that seeds are practically

touching one another, but not overlapping. Keep the vessel in a temperate place where the soil will not dry quickly, at the same time where the warmth will be enough to germinate the seeds. The soil should never be allowed to dry up. When the dampness begins to go out of it, water should be given very gently so as not to disturb the seeds in the soil. No flooding now, only a little soft sprinkling with the hand, often enough to keep the earth slightly damp. The mustard seeds should germinate within two or three days, and within 10 days the growth should be 1 to 1½ inches high, and ready for cutting. The pace of growth varies with the season of the year. The vessel should be kept indoors in a shady place, but may be put out in the sun for half an hour or so once a day, as this strengthens the colour of the leaves. Always feel the soil after bringing it in from the sun to make sure that it is still damp.

There is another plant called cress, which can be treated in the same way, but, whereas mustard seed can be obtained everywhere, cress is available only at big horticultural seed merchants. Those of you who can, should certainly obtain it. Sow the two in separate vessels, and when cutting, take a little from both and mix them together as a salad.

You may say, "What is the good of taking all this trouble just for a little salad? What nourishment is there in this?" Well, food is not only a matter of bulk. It has to be balanced. A little salad, added to a meal of *roti* and *dal*, helps much to give it that balance. It strengthens the digestion and enables the system to extract more nourishment out of the wheat and pulse. A man who eats four *rotis* would get more nourishment and better health out of his meal if he ate three *rotis* along with a little raw salad or cooked green vegetables. Hence, the cultivation of salads and vegetables, even in *thalis* and pots or boxes, means a very real addition to the nourishment at our disposal.

To the Municipalities I would say:

Have you yet called meetings and discussed what grounds to cultivate? The decision should not be delayed, because digging must begin at once. You must also have meetings of your citizens, and call upon them to lend a free hand in this urgent national work.

To the Governments I would say:

Though the remodelling of the administration machinery is essential before the successful development of any schemes, day-to-day efforts must be made to put the existing machinery to better use. The Government Seed Stores should be looked into. There should be frequent and surprise tours of inspection, and every effort should be made to see that the seed supplied by the Stores is of the kind the *kisans* need, that it is of good quality and that it is tested properly before being distributed. I have had shocking experiences of these Stores. There should be a nation-wide drive for compost making. Today, the outskirts of villages are covered with disorderly rubbish heaps and the village lanes themselves are all littered with rubbish. If the Agricultural

Departments made a concentrated drive for teaching the villagers how to turn all this rubbish into valuable compost, it would not only result in a substantial increase of the crops, but it would at the same time clean up the villages and reduce disease.

I reproduce below an appeal I have addressed to *kisans* in U. P. in the form of a little pamphlet regarding compost making.

"Brother *Kisans*,

We do not treat our Mother Earth properly. She does her best to feed us all, but we do not feed her in return. How can she sustain us, her children, if we do not serve her as dutiful children should serve a revered Mother? Year after year we plough, sow and reap harvests from the fields, but very rarely do we give any manure to the soil, and even what we give is usually half-*kachcha* rubbish. Just as we need well-cooked food, so does the soil need well-prepared manure.

Unfortunately half the cattle-dung in our villages is used for fuel. To prevent this loss of manure for the fields we have got to grow more trees. All of us should save keekar (*babool*) and other seedlings in our lands. Keekar does not harm the crops, in fact growth is often better under a keekar tree. If we look about carefully after the rains we can easily choose out a few good seedlings each year, that have sown themselves, clean the earth round them and protect them from harm by placing thorns around. Once we have plenty of trees we shall be able to save much more cattle-dung for manure.

Now I will explain how to make the best use of the cattle-dung left over from household needs. We must gather it all up, both that which is left out on the grazing lands and that which is under the feet of the cattle in our homes. It is most precious stuff and none of it should be wasted. We must also collect up all the old fodder, grass and other rubbish lying about our yards and in the village lanes. We will no longer throw the cattle-dung down in basketfuls on heaps of rubbish, but we will dig a pit 10 ft. broad, 20 ft. long and 3 ft. deep. Each day we will collect two heaps on the edge of the pit, one of cattle-dung and one of rubbish. After it is all collected we will daily spread it out in the pit, leaving four feet empty at one end. First a thin layer of rubbish (about 3 inches) and then a thin layer of cattle-dung (about 1 inch) one after another, finishing each day with a layer of rubbish to protect the cow-dung from sun and wind. Every third day we will soak the layers with water. When half the pit is filled right up to the top in this way, we will cover it over with 2 or 3 inches of earth and leave it for 7 or 8 weeks. Another pit must now be dug alongside the first one, and we will begin filling half of it in the same fashion. If this half pit is filled in less than 7 weeks, then we will dig a third pit, and start filling that. When the manure in the first pit has been lying covered up with earth for 7 or 8 weeks we will take *phavaras*, step down into the four feet open end, and turn over the compost so that it fills up at this end, and finally leaves four feet open at the

opposite end. While carrying out this operation we will take care thoroughly to mix up the layers and break up any solid lumps. We will then pour plenty of water on it, cover it up again with earth, and leave it for another 7 or 8 weeks. When we open it up at the end of this time we shall find good, well-mixed and rotted manure. This is given the special name of Compost. There are various methods. Most of them are rather complicated. The method I have described is the method I employ in the Kisan Ashram. It is quite simple work and, therefore, possible for all of us to do. I have given it the name of Kisan Compost.

You can see from the above description that Kisan Compost needs turning only once, and takes not more than 3 to 4 months to ripen. The breadth and length of the pits can be increased if necessary. The rotting process is hastened if a sprinkling of old compost is added at the time of spreading the fresh layers. Ash, finely sprinkled, is also helpful. Thick or hard matter like *bajri* stalks, sugar-cane refuse, etc. should not be put straight into the compost. It should either be soaked in water until rotted, or burnt to ash. If the compost in the pits is ready before it is needed in the fields, it can be removed from the pits, piled in a long heap on the ground, and then covered over with 2 or 3 inches of earth. If necessary, it can be lightly plastered to keep out sun and air.

If we will take the trouble to collect all the available cattle-dung and rubbish, and treat it as I have described, we shall be able to nourish our poor famished Mother Earth, and she in return will nourish us and our starving cattle with bumper crops."

(This Kisan Compost can be prepared on a smaller scale in private gardens. Good sizes for pits would be :

1. 14 ft. long, 7 ft. broad, 3 ft. deep.
2. 10 ft. long, 5 ft. broad, 3 ft. deep.
3. 8 ft. long, 4 ft. broad, 2½ ft. deep.

If dung is not available on the premises, a small amount of cow-dung may perhaps be available from outside—from some *goshala* or grazing ground. To make this go as far as possible it should be mixed with water in a bucket and then sprinkled over the rubbish.)

The Agricultural Departments in each province can also help private individuals, anxious to grow vegetables, by immediately publishing small pamphlets giving lists of suitable vegetable seeds for each season along with directions regarding sowing and cultivation. At the same time their local Departmental Staff should offer advice and guidance to the city and town public, and distribute free seeds, in the first instance, on the understanding that people will save seed for themselves from their own gardens. Something of this sort has been attempted here and there, but there has been no concerted and concentrated effort such as is needed in the present crisis.

New Delhi, 3-11-'47

III

By the time this reaches you—I address individual growers—your vegetable seeds will be in the ground, and you will be looking anxiously each day,

for some sign of their sprouting. It is so tempting just to scrape away the earth and see what is going on underneath, but resist the temptation; it spoils the little seeds. Keep patient for at least ten to fifteen days. After that, if nothing has come up to the surface, examine carefully in one place. If you find the seeds lying in the soil ungerminated, the plot may be dug up and resown. Causes for failure may be bad seed, or badly prepared soil, or again under- or over-watering. As I explained last week the soil should never be allowed to get bone-dry, nor should it be kept sodden. Another possible reason might be the situation. Vegetable plots should not be right alongside a hedge, or surrounded by thick bushes. The strong roots of these woody shrubs draw away the nourishment from the soil. Under big shady trees is, of course, also bad, except for a few special types of vegetables.

When the seeds first sprout they will put forth two little succulent roundish leaves (cotyledons)—their "milk teeth". After some days two more leaves will appear between these baby ones, which will now gradually dry up and drop off. The new leaves will bear the shape and style of the plant to come. *Palak* and carrots are such: they put up first, two tiny long-shaped baby leaves. I may mention here, that the mustard salad to be grown in a *thali*, which I described last week, is cut during the "milk teeth" stage, and that is why it is so succulent and crisp to eat.

When your vegetables have grown up a little bit, and become well rooted in the soil, you must look to the weeding of the plots. All grass and other weeds which may make their appearance, must be pulled out by the roots. Do not weed just after watering, when the ground is wet, otherwise much soil will come up with the weeds, and this will disturb the roots of the young vegetables. Whatever thinning has to be done should be carried out at this time.

The next stage will be when the plants are getting well grown. The soil should now be lightly dug and loosened, with a *khurpi*, all around the plants. Great care must be taken not to cut or disturb their roots. This job should be done between two waterings. That is to say, the soil should not be wet, and after it has been loosened it should be left for a day or two to let the sun and air penetrate the earth, before the next watering.

If you have sufficient space, you can have one more sowing each of carrots, turnips and spinach. This will give you a prolonged supply. Radish (*muli*) you can go on sowing in small quantities every 10 days till the end of January.

I hope those of you who have room in your gardens, have made compost pits, and started filling them. Remember, that everything that is put into a compost pit must be scattered freely. No lumps or heaps must be allowed. This means fighting against the easy, lazy habit of throwing things lump into the pit, and leaving them there all in a heap. Taking just a little trouble makes all the difference.

In the next article I will close the series with a comprehensive list of useful vegetables for all seasons.

New Delhi, 8-11-'47

MIRABEHN

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

(1) RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

15-11-'47

The All India Congress Committee welcomes the elimination of foreign rule in India and the establishment of a free and independent State and a government responsible to the people of the country. The achievement of freedom is the culmination of the long struggle of the Indian National Congress and outcome of the sufferings and tribulations of the Indian people. Freedom brings responsibility and new burdens and problems.

The freedom achieved was not the kind that the Congress had envisaged during its long history. It has been accompanied by secession of parts of the country and disasters of unparalleled magnitude. Hardly was free India born when grave crisis overtook it and events happened which have besmirched her fair name and brought death and desolation to vast numbers of innocent people in circumstances too tragic for words. There have been arson and loot and murder on a mass scale in West Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Baluchistan, East Punjab and adjoining areas. The Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn these inhuman acts by whatever community perpetrated. It extends its sympathy to all those who have been the innocent victims of this colossal tragedy.

At this moment of crisis, it is necessary that the Congress should declare, its faith and policy in clear terms and that the people as well as the Government should follow that policy unswervingly. Even though the Congress agreed to a division of the country in the hope, which has thus far proved vain, that thereby internal conflicts might cease, it has never accepted the theory that there are two or more nations in India. It has firmly believed in the whole of India as a nation bound together by indissoluble cultural and historical links which had been further strengthened in the course of the national struggle for freedom. It was on the basis of this faith that the Congress grew up as a national institution open to all Indians without difference of creed or religion. India is a land of many religions and many races, and must remain so. Nevertheless India has been and is a country with a fundamental unity and the aim of the Congress has been to develop this great country as a whole as a democratic secular State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong. The Constituent Assembly has accepted this as the basic principle of the constitution. This lays on every Indian the obligation to honour it.

The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizen rights against aggression. The Central Government, as well as the Provincial Governments must accordingly make every effort to create conditions wherein all minorities and all citizens have security and opportunity for progress. All citizens have also on their part not only share in the benefits of freedom but also shoulder the burdens and responsibility which accompany it, and must above all be loyal to India.

The All India Congress Committee calls upon all Congressmen and the people of India to adhere strictly

to these well established principles of the Congress and not to allow themselves to be diverted into wrong channels by passion or prejudice or by the tragic events that have happened. Real good and progress of India have yet to be achieved and this can only be done by adhering to the ideals and policy of the Congress and discarding and opposing all false doctrines which have done so much mischief to India and her people.

(2) REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

15-11-'47

The tragic events that have taken place in recent months in the Punjab and elsewhere have resulted in vast migrations of populations, and consequently in tremendous suffering to millions of people. New problems of relief and rehabilitation have arisen of a magnitude which is unparalleled in history. The Government of India have faced these problems with courage and determination. Nevertheless it is necessary to state clearly what the national policy should be in dealing with these problems.

The A. I. C. C. has looked with disfavour on this large scale migration which brings suffering to millions, upsets the nation's economy, and does violence to the ideal which the Congress has held since its inception. It is of opinion that these migrations should be discouraged and conditions should be created both in the Indian Dominion and in Pakistan for minorities to live in peace and security. If such conditions are created the desire to migrate to another part of the country will disappear. In the opinion of the Committee, it is wrong to coerce Hindu and Sikh inhabitants of Pakistan into leaving their homes and migrating to the Indian Union, and Muslims of the Indian Union into migrating to Pakistan.

While it is impossible to undo all that has been done, every effort should be made to enable the evacuees and refugees from either Dominion ultimately to return to their homes and to their original occupations under conditions of safety and security. Those who have not left their homes already should be encouraged to stay there unless they themselves desire to migrate, in which case facilities for migrating should be made available. It is the duty of the Central Government of the Indian Union and the Government of Pakistan to negotiate on this basis and to create conditions which would enable the evacuees and refugees to return with safety.

In any event the policy to be followed in the Indian Union is to protect the minorities still residing there and to prevent their removal by force or by creating circumstances which compel evacuation.

During these disorders large numbers of women have been abducted on either side and there have been forcible conversions on a large scale. No civilized people can recognize such conversions, and there is nothing more heinous than abduction of women. Every effort, therefore, must be made to restore women to their original homes with the co-operation of the Governments concerned.

The A. I. C. C. has noted with satisfaction the declarations made on behalf of the Governments of the two Dominions and East and West Punjab that forcible conversions will not be recognized and that they would co-operate in the recovery of abducted women.

Such being the policy of the Congress, the refugees in the Indian Union are entitled to every care and attention from the authorities and the people within the Union as long as they have to remain there. They are not to be regarded as interlopers grudgingly placed upon charity. They will have the same rights and be under the same obligations as any other citizen. Where they are living in camps they will be expected to render some social service in co-operation with fellow-refugees, subject to the rules framed for the good government of the camp. Sanitary and other services should be performed by the inmates of the camps under instructions from those fitted for the work and who will themselves take part in these services. Refugees should be engaged in productive work as far as possible on a co-operative basis.

Refugees from West Punjab shall as a rule be accommodated in East Punjab. Those from the other parts of Pakistan shall be accommodated in places that the Central Government, in co-operation with the Provincial Governments, may consider more suitable. Those from a particular locality should, as far as possible, be kept together.

In this task the Provincial Governments should offer their full co-operation and should take in and make suitable arrangements for as many refugees as they can.

No house, not vacated willingly by a Muslim, shall be used for the accommodation of refugees, except by proper legal authority.

The movements of refugees, which are already taking place by train, convoy or otherwise, should be regulated in accordance with the policy laid down above and no one should be sent away unless he expresses his desire to migrate.

This principle should apply also to the States which have acceded to the Indian Union and from which large number of Muslims have been evacuated or driven out.

The A. I. C. C. trusts that the Central Government of the Indian Union, the East Punjab and West Bengal Governments, and the Governments of the States affected by these migrations, will give effect to the policy indicated above and will issue directions to all their officers to act strictly in accordance with it.

(3) STATES

15-11-'47

In view of the fact that in a number of States people's organizations, instead of rising in power and influence as a result of freedom, are being suppressed and prevented from functioning; and further in view of the fact that Rulers in Punjab and some parts of Rajputana and Central India and in the South Indian States have shown an unpatriotic attitude and have betrayed a woeful lack of imagination and have been party to the liquidation of the Muslim and Hindu population by inhuman means, it becomes necessary to reiterate in unequivocal language the policy of the Congress in regard to the States.

Whatever may be the legal implications of accession and lapse of British Paramountcy, the moral result of the independence of India was undoubtedly the establishment and recognition of the power of the people as distinguished from that of Princes and feudal or other interests hostile to natural popular aspirations. This

power, the Congress is determined to uphold at any cost. Therefore, all such interests and specially the Princes should know that the Congress cannot uphold them unless they are demonstrably in favour of regarding the voice of the people as the supreme law. In such a democratic State the individual who wants to assert himself against the popular will cannot count, no matter how powerful he may be.

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. therefore hopes that the Princes will read the signs of the times and co-operate with the people, and those who have acted in a contrary spirit should retrace their steps and revise their undemocratic conduct and function through democratic organizations expressing the people's will. This they can best do by seeking the association and advice of the A. I. S. P. C. which has been endeavouring to act on behalf of the people of the States.

(4) COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS

16-11-'47

The A. I. C. C. has noted with regret that communal organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, and the Akali Party have sought to promote their respective interests based on so-called religious considerations in conflict with the national interest. The national interest must mean and include a healthy synthesis of all interests based not on religious but political, social, material and moral grounds. Political activities must accordingly be conducted by political organizations which are based on political and economic policies and which are open to members of all communities.

(5) PRIVATE ARMIES

16-11-'47

The All India Congress Committee has noted with regret that there is a growing desire on the part of some organizations to build up private armies. Any such development is dangerous for the safety of the State and for the growth of corporate life in the nation. The State alone should have its defence forces or police or home guards or recognized armed volunteer force. The activities of the Muslim National Guards, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the Akali Volunteers and such other organizations, in so far as they represent an endeavour to bring into being private armies, must be regarded as a menace to the hard-won freedom of the country. The A. I. C. C. therefore appeals to all these organizations to discontinue such activities and the Central and Provincial Governments to take necessary steps in this behalf.

(6) CONTROLS

16-11-'47

The A. I. C. C. has been alarmed at the disturbance of normal life by the various controls, specially in regard to foodstuffs and clothing. These have promoted blackmarketing, hoarding, corruption and other evils. They have interfered with the process of self-reliance and arrested the incentive to production specially in the matter of growing more foodstuffs and the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *khadi* in the thousands of villages in India. The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the Central and Provincial Governments should give urgent consideration to the problem of decontrol as early as possible without detriment to the public good.

(7) THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

16-11-'47

As the goal of complete independence from foreign domination has been achieved and in view of the new role the Congress organization will have to play under the changed circumstances, the A. I. C. C. appoints the following committee to revise the present Congress Constitution, including the objective as contained in Article I and to submit the draft revised Constitution prepared by it to a special session of this All India Congress Committee, convened for the purpose, not later than the end of January, 1948 and pending the final approval of such a Constitution by the A. I. C. C. to postpone all Congress elections under the present constitution.

Shri R. R. Diwaker, Shri P. D. Tandon, Acharya Narendra Deo, Shri S. K. Patil, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Acharya Jugal Kishore.

(8) CONGRESS OBJECTIVES

16-11-'47

Political independence having been achieved, the Congress must address itself to the next great task, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality. Such a society must provide every man and woman with equality of opportunity and freedom to work for the unfettered development of his or her personality. This can only be realized when democracy extends from the political to the social and the economic spheres.

Democracy in the modern age necessitates planned central direction as well as decentralization of political and economic power, insofar as this is compatible with the safety of the State, with efficient production and the cultural progress of the community as a whole. The smallest territorial unit should be able to exercise effective control over its corporate life by means of a popularly elected *Panchayat*. Insofar as it is possible, national and regional economic self-sufficiency in the essentials of life should be aimed at. In the case of industries, which in their nature must be run on a large-scale and on centralized basis, they should belong to the community, and they should be so organized that workers become not only co-sharers in the profits but are also increasingly associated with the management and administration of the industry.

Land, with its mineral resources, and all other means of production as well as distribution and exchange must belong to and be regulated by the community in its own interest.

Our aim should be to evolve a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with individual liberty and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without the creation of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth and which will create a proper balance between urban and rural economies. Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a Totalitarian State.

With a view to drawing up the economic programme for the Congress in accordance with the above-mentioned principles, and the election manifesto of

the Congress dated December 19th, 1945, the following Committee is appointed:

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Jai Prakash Narain, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Shri Achyut Patwardhan, Shri Shankarrao Deo — with powers to co-opt.

(9)

17-11-'47

This Committee would have liked Acharya J. B. Kripalani to continue as President of the Indian National Congress till the next elections in the normal course but as he has expressed his inability to reconsider his resignation, it regretfully accepts it.

The Committee places on record its appreciation of the services rendered by him both before and during the time he has held the office as President.

NO INCONSISTENCY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A subscriber to the *Harijan* presents as follows what appears to him to be a conundrum to which I have sent the following reply:

CONUNDRUM

"The other day you admitted that you had not seen God face to face. In the preface to *My Experiments with Truth* you have stated that you have seen God in the embodiment of Truth from a far distance. The two statements appear to be incompatible. Kindly elucidate for proper understanding."

REPLY

"There is a big gulf between 'seeing God face to face' and 'seeing Him in the embodiment of Truth from a far distance'. In my opinion the two statements are not only not incompatible but each explains the other. We see the Himalayas from a very great distance and when we are on the top we have seen the Himalayas face to face. Millions can see them from hundreds of miles if they are within the range of that seeing distance, but few having arrived at the top after years of travel see them face to face. This does not seem to need elucidation in the columns of the *Harijan*. Nevertheless, I send your letter and my reply for publication in the *Harijan* lest there may be some like you who think that there is any inconsistency between the two statements quoted by you."

New Delhi, 13-11-'47

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