

HARIJAN

16 Pages

Editor : PYARELAL

VOL. XI. No. 44

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1947

TWO ANNAS

HOW TO GROW MORE FOOD

IV

Are your little seedlings coming up well — are those of you, with no land, growing mustard and cress salads, and improving your health by eating them? These thoughts pass through my mind. And this big question is also always there: *How many of you are really doing the thing?* May God inspire you with energy and faith.

Here is the promised list of vegetables. As it takes up a lot of space, the hot weather list will be carried over into the next issue of the *Harijan*.

New Delhi, 15-11-47

MIRABEHN

[Mirabehn's is an apposite question. It will be interesting to know how many are profiting by her hints. Will such please send their names to the editor of the *Harijan*, Ahmedabad?

New Delhi, 17-11-47

M. K. G.]

GROWING OF COLD WEATHER VEGETABLES

Name of vegetable	Seed rate per acre	Time of sowing (P. Plains H. Hills)	Depth of sowing	Period of germination	Distance apart after sowing, thinning or transplanting	Period of availability of vegetable in plains
Rows Plants						
Beans (Lobia)	60 Lbs	P. mid-Oct. to mid-Nov. H. March to end May	3"	20 days	2' 1'5'	Feb. to March

Remarks: Seed sown in trenches 2' wide, 3" deep and 5' apart. In each trench plant two rows 1' apart. Seed is sown 3" deep and 5" to 6" apart. Flood the channel to obtain good germination. When the plants are 15" high, fill the trenches. Pinch off growing points when plants are in flower.

Beans (French)	P. mid-Aug. to mid-Oct. H. April to mid-June	1'5"	12 days	1'5'	1'5'	Feb. to March
(a) Tall 20 lbs						
(b) Dwarf 40 lbs (Frans-bean)						

Remarks: Thrives better at hill stations than in the plains. The situation selected in the plains should be sheltered by arboreal growth. Seed is sown on ridges or flat in rows 1'5' apart.

Beet-root 4-6 (Chukandar) lbs	P. Aug. to end Oct. H. March to end May	25"	12 days	15"	4"-6"	Nov. to March
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Remarks: The seed is sown thickly in rows 15" apart. Seedlings are thinned out to 4" to 6" apart. The

seed requires continuous supply of moisture for germination.

Brussels' 12 oz	P. Sept. to end Oct. H. March to mid-May	1/8"	6 days	3'	1'5'	Feb.
Sprouts						

Remarks: Seed is sown broadcast in raised beds made in the open. Seedlings are transplanted when 4" to 5" high.

Cabbage 8 oz (Bund-gobhi)	P. mid-Aug. to end Oct. H. March to end July	1/8"	6 days	2'5'	2'5'	Jan. to March
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Remarks: Manure the field @ 20 tons of well-rotted farmyard manure and apply ammonium sulphate @ 2 Mds. per acre as top dressing. Raise seedlings as in case of Brussels' Sprouts. Transplant when 4 to 5 inches high.

Carrot 6-8 (Gajar) lbs	P. mid-Aug. to end Nov. H. March to end May	5"	15-20 days	1'5'	2"-3"	Dec. to March
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Remarks: Acclimatized varieties can be sown early in autumn and imported varieties sown late. Use 10 tons of well-rotted farmyard manure per acre. The percentage of germination of carrot seed being low, it should be sown thickly. Transplant when 4 to 5 inches high.

Cauliflower 8 oz (Phool gobi)	P. mid-June to end Oct. H. March to end April	5"	7 days	2'5'	1'5'	Oct. to March
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Remarks: Sow seed of early varieties from mid-June to end of August. The late variety (Snow Ball) is sown in October. Seed beds should be shaded during the hottest part of the day. Transplant when 4 to 5 inches high.

Coriander 20 (Dhaniya) lbs	P. Sept. to Nov. H. March to end May	5"	10 days	1'	1'	Seed in June. Leaves all the year.
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Remarks: Break the fruit well by rubbing before sowing. For seed purposes, thinning is necessary. For leaves it can be grown throughout the year.

Egg-plant 8-10 (Bengan) oz	P. 1 end Feb. 2. June 3. end Oct.	1/8"	6 days	2'5'	1'5'	March to Dec.
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Remarks: Seed is sown broadcast in nursery, using 1.5 to 2 oz. seed per marla. The seedlings of 1st and 2nd sowings are usually attacked by *Hadda* beetles, the grubs and eggs of which should be hand-picked. Protect seedlings of 3rd sowing from frost and transplant when the danger of frost is over. Third crop is most popular.

Garlic (Lahsan)	6-7 mds.	P. Oct. to H. Feb. to March	5"	7-12 days	1'	3"-4"	May onwards
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Remarks: When the tops of leaves begin to turn yellow in the beginning of May, the plants are pulled out, dried, and stored for future use.

Lettuce (Salad)	1-5 lbs	P. Oct. to Nov. H. March to mid-June	1/8"	6-8 days	15"	12"	Jan. to Feb.
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Remarks: If the seed is to be sown direct in the field, it should be sown on both sides of raised beds about 2' wide, with furrows in between for irrigation. Furrows must be 18" wide and 9" deep. Irrigate immediately after sowing. Water must reach the seeds only by seepage.

Knol-Khol (Phool gobi)	1 lb	P. mid-Aug. to end Oct. H. Feb. to end May	5"	4-6 days	1-5'	9"	Dec. to March
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Remarks: Harvest when the turnip-like stem is about 2" to 3" in diameter.

Onion (Piyaz)	7-9 lbs	P. mid-Oct. to mid-Nov. H. March to end May	5"	15-20 days	12"	3"-4"	May onwards
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Remarks: Irrigate the seed-bed till the plants are well established. Irrigate immediately after transplanting and then after every 12 to 15 days, till the tops begin to fall over. Dig out the bulbs when the leaves turn yellow. Cut off the tops and spread the bulbs over the floor.

Peas (Matar)	40 lbs	P. Oct. to mid-Nov. H. March to end May	1"	7 days	3'-4'	2"	Feb. and March
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Remarks: Frost does not affect the plants, but it kills flowers and pods. The width of the raised seed-beds varies from 3 to 5 feet depending upon the growth character of the variety. Irrigation is given immediately after sowing. When the seedlings are 5" to 6" tall, a single row of stakes in the middle of each bed is provided.

Potato (Aloo)	8-12 Mds.	P. mid-Sept. to mid-Dec. H. mid-Feb. to mid-April	3"	7-10 days	2-5'	9"-12"	Dec. to March
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Remarks: Fresh tubers require two months rest period before they can be sown. Plants are earthed up before tuber formation starts. For canal irrigation the tubers are planted on 6" to 9" high ridges and for well irrigation on 4" to 5" high ridges. Irrigate immediately after planting to avoid rotting of tubers. While irrigating the ridges must not be submerged. 8 to 10 irrigations are required to mature the crop.

Radish (Mooli)	3-4 lbs	P. mid-Aug. to end Jan. H. March to end Aug.	1"	3-6 days	15"	2"-4"	Sept. to Feb.
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Remarks: If grown during hot weather the roots would be very tough and pungent. Sow on ridges 1½' apart and 9" high and irrigate immediately afterwards. Do sowings after intervals of 15 to 20 days to get a regular supply of tender roots.

Spinach (Palak)	20-25 lbs	P. Oct. to Nov. H. March to end April	5"	5-7 days ...	2"-3"	Nov. to Feb.
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Remarks: Seed is sown broadcast and is lightly covered by a rake. Irrigate immediately after sowing and then after every 8 to 10 days. 3 to 4 cuttings are taken before the plants begin to develop seed-stalks in spring.

Turnip (Shaljam)	1-2 lbs.	P. Local in Sept. to Nov. H. Feb. to mid-June	5"	7 days	1-5'	4-5"	Oct. to March
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Remarks: It is better to sow on ridges for better development of roots. Ridges are of the same specifications as for radish. When the plants are 2" to 3" tall, thinning should be done.

Tomato	1. Early crop 8 oz. 2. Main crop 4-5 oz.	P. 1. mid-July to mid-Aug. 2. mid-Aug. to mid-Sept. 3. mid-Oct. to mid-Nov. (Main crop) H. mid-March to end May	25"	7-10 days	3'	2-5"	1. Oct. to Nov. 2. Dec. to March 3. May to July
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Remarks: Transplant seedlings of main crop in February when danger of frost is over. The fruit ripens when the weather warms up and is sunny. Seedlings are protected from sun by shading and are transplanted when 6 weeks old. If allowed to remain longer in the nursery they become laggy and do not transplant well. Staking should be done when the plants are 9" to 12" high. The plants must be protected fully from frost.

THE BLESSINGS OF DISCIPLINE

When I was a small child I lived in my maternal grand-father's home: a big country house with extensive gardens, a big stable, some grass fields and a cowshed. I knew every corner of the garden, the different flowers, the vegetables, the fruit. I knew the handsome horses in the stable, and the beautiful sweet smelling cows in the farmyard. I got the fullest joy out of all these things, and can remember them today as if I were still six years old. But I did not enjoy it all because I could run wild there, and do what I liked. I enjoyed it because I had been taught to respect the things about me. That respect led me, from a very early age, to study my surroundings.

I was not allowed to pick the flowers myself, except from one little rose tree by the side of the garden door. The flowers—and there were masses of all kinds—I could look at, I could smell, but not pick or damage. This restriction never chafed me. I took it as quite reasonable, and I am sure that it increased my happiness. I can remember to this day the joy I felt in picking those pink, very sweet smelling roses, from the bush by the garden door, and the admiration with which I looked at the special blooms in my grandmother's rose garden, where every plant was labelled. I studied their qualities, and the special smells associated with the different colours. If I had been allowed to tear the blossoms and do what I liked, I should never have learnt to enjoy them as I did. It was the same thing with the fruits. I could pick them for myself, only after taking permission. Naturally,

they tasted all the sweeter, and at the same time, I was saved from spoiling my stomach by over-eating.

The animals I was taught to look at, and later on to handle, with intelligent interest. I learnt how to milk the cows and groom the horses. I knew how to feed the chickens, how to set a broody hen on a clutch of eggs, and how to tend the chicks when they were hatched. I remember once making up my mind to see a hen lay an egg. I sat for ages in the chicken-house, watching one of the hens sitting waiting for her egg to come down. I kept as quiet as a mouse, so as not to disturb her. At last she rose gently on to her legs, the soft feathers between them puffed out, and gradually a beautiful brown egg descended on to the hay on the floor of the box. She gave one look at it, and then rushed out of the chicken-house, clucking joyously. And I followed after not less delighted!

I was brought up to regard the teasing of animals, birds, or any live creatures, as a despicable thing. This, coupled with my own natural love of animals, led me to find in them companions, in whose joys and sorrows I shared with intimate interest and sympathy.

Let us now enter the house, and see the discipline I enjoyed there. There was no sitting up late at night, or eating all kinds of food. No getting in the way of my elders or chipping in when they were talking. When I was between 4 and 7 years old, I used to go to bed every night at seven. The hour for rising would vary between 6 and 7-30 a. m. according to the season. Everyday, in the afternoon, I would be put to rest on my bed for an hour. My food was strictly regulated — plain, nourishing, measured and punctually to time. There was no question of having the same food as the grown-ups. I do not remember ever asking for it, and certainly I never cried for it. Children do not cry for things they know there is not the slightest hope of getting. I thoroughly enjoyed my wholesome food and never developed a taste for fancy dishes. The result was I grew up to be strong and healthy.

I was fond enough of running about and playing heartily, but the fact that I could not rush about and make a noise just anywhere and at any time I liked, made play all the more enjoyable. I never thought of disturbing the conversation of my elders, or of pushing my way through a door in front of them. Life had a quiet background of order and good manners, on which childhood's joys and games stood out all the more happily.

To this childhood I owe the ease with which I was able to enter into the discipline of Sabarmati. I rejoiced in it, whereas people who pass through an undisciplined childhood, naturally find it almost impossible to discipline themselves in later life. Until we can control and lovingly discipline the children, there is no hope of the nation becoming disciplined.

This childhood training must be given by the parents and if the parents have not got that back-

ground themselves, how are they to give it? It is a vicious circle like so many other tragedies of today. To break through it, the grown-ups must strive to discipline themselves in order to bless their children with a disciplined life.

New Delhi, 8-11-'47

MIRABEHN

WANTED A PHILOSOPHY

The 15th of August last saw our leaders in the saddle. The equipage is all set and well caparisoned but we appear to have no destination to make for. We do not seem to have any definite idea as to the nature of the State and social organization we need. Constantly we hear the slogans, "We want to raise the standard of living", "We want to increase production", "We want to bring about freedom from want", but what are the means to be adopted and what will be the concomitance of our working towards the needs we wish to attain and whether by leading this life on earth we wish to achieve some objective and what should be the functions to be performed by the Government and what functions by the people? All these are not very clear before us. As a result of this foggy situation we are constantly coming up against all kinds of incongruities which lead us into quixotic situations.

The Finance Member of the Government of India, Mr. Shanmugam Chettiar, has shared with the public a few of the problems he is faced with. He says that he has been requested to furnish the Moscow Embassy with Swedish furniture etc. costing Rs. 25,000. Another request, he says, is for him to purchase for another Minister Persian carpets for Rs. 40,000. Similarly various Embassies, according to the last budget, have cost over Rs. 18,00,000 of foreign exchange. These are causing our Finance Member a headache, and rightly so.

Whether poor India should be asked to support her expensive Embassies and princely Ministers or not, depends on our objective. It is no good criticizing this expensive programme if our aim is to follow suit in industrialization the programmes of Great Britain and America. Industrialization accompanied by international conflict, wars and atom bombs require such expensive pomp and show. If we want to take up this course, we must say that the above demands are even modest!

On the other hand, if we accept the simple life and a peaceful environment with plenty of primary needs for the people and a guarantee of full occupation to the unemployed, the way that would lie before us would be totally different and will call for curtailing our budget considerably. Therefore, before we can say whether Rs. 25,000 is a modest sum for furnishing a house or whether Rs. 40,000 for carpets are not compensated by the privilege of supporting the skilful artisans is a question to be decided only when we have a clear conception of the political and economic philosophy. At the present time the country seems to be just drifting. It is well for us to sit down and make up our minds as to the kind of India we want to build up and the place she should occupy in the Council of Nations.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

HARIJAN

November 30

1947

LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Acharya Sreeman Narayan Agarwal writes to me a letter published in the columns of the *Harijan*sevak. Its purport is that new universities should not be established before the proposed linguistic redistribution of provinces. The following is the rendering of his argument:

"I have read your remarks in the *Harijan* about 'New Universities'. I believe that such a project will present great difficulties, if it comes into being before linguistic redistribution. I cannot understand why the Congress should take any time in accomplishing this linguistic redistribution. The Congress has held since 1920 that this is necessary for the good government of India. And now that we are free to have this redistribution, efforts are being made in some quarters to defeat the purpose. In the Constituent Assembly too, the matter seems to have been shelved. Without redistribution, it would be very difficult to enforce all teaching through provincial languages in our schools and colleges and it would not be easy to oust English from the position it unlawfully occupies today. Bombay, Madras and C. P. will bear out my contention. Any delay would but increase inter-provincial jealousy. We see the danger of tinkering in the terrible form that the Hindu-Muslim quarrel has assumed. If partition had to be accepted on any account whatsoever, how nice it would have been if we had accepted it sooner? Shall we not learn the lesson from these disturbances that if linguistic redistribution is good, delay in carrying it out is fraught with evil consequences?"

I entirely endorse the suggestion underlying the foregoing letter, viz. that what is proper to be done should not be delayed without just cause, and that what is improper should not be conceded under any circumstances whatsoever. There can be no compromise with evil and since linguistic redistribution is desirable from almost every point of view, all delay in carrying out the project should be avoided.

But the reluctance to enforce linguistic redistribution is perhaps justifiable in the present depressing atmosphere. The exclusive spirit is ever uppermost. Everyone thinks of himself and his family. No one thinks of the whole of India. The centripetal force is undoubtedly there, but it is not vocal, never boisterous; whereas the centrifugal is on the surface, and in its very nature makes the loudest noise, demanding the attention of all. It manifests itself most in matters communal. This has given rise to fear in other fields. The history of the quarrel between Orissa and Andhra, Orissa and Bihar and Orissa and Bengal is fresh in our minds. The whole

of it has not died out even now. This is but an illustration of an almost accomplished fact. The other provinces were never redistributed in law though they were in 1920 when the Congress had a brand new constitution enabling it to put up a life and death struggle with perhaps the greatest empire that has ever been. How will Madras, though divided by the Congress divide itself into four provinces, and Bombay do likewise in law? Many other claimants have come to the fore. They are not recognized by the Congress, but they are not less vocal or less insistent. The Congress does not command the prestige and authority it found itself in possession of in 1920. Despair has given place to hope. Now, when we have freedom, we seem not to know what to do with it. It is almost mistaken for suicidal anarchy. Even zealous reformers would postpone controversial issues to a more hopeful time when, in the interest of the country, the virtue of 'give and take' would be freely recognized and all sectional interests would be subordinate to the one interest of the good of India, which will include the good of all. Therefore, those who, like me, want constructive suggestions to come into play at this very moment, have to work to bring about a healthy atmosphere, promoting concord in the place of discord, peace in the place of strife, progress in the place of retrogression and life in the place of death. That happy day will be most manifest when the communal strife has died out. Meanwhile, will the Southern linguistic groups settle their disputes and boundaries, will Bombay produce an agreed scheme of redistribution according to language, and will the new candidates withdraw their claims at least for the time being? Then linguistic redistribution can come into being today without the slightest difficulty or fuss.

Let there be no undue strain upon the Congress, whose foundations have been shaken to their roots. It is ill-equipped today either for arbitrating between rival claimants or imposing its will upon recalcitrants.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

Unbelievable

"Those who advocate the policy of undivided Bengal shall be punishable with death is the gazetted Order of the East Bengal Government," writes a correspondent. I should like to see the text of the Order before I can believe it. I feel sure that even if there is any Order to some such effect, the exact wording would bear a different meaning. I can understand the criminality of such action. There are very few Hindus and certainly not many Muslims who believe in the advisability or justice of the step. But only a madman would advocate any forcible measure to upset the settled fact. The partition can be undone only by the willing consent of both the parties. But even that consent will be impossible, if no one is allowed to convert public opinion to the side of unity.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

M. K. G.

DEATH—COURAGEOUS OR COWARDLY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bengali friend writes a long letter in Bengali on the exodus from East Pakistan. Its purport is that though workers like him understand and appreciate my argument and distinction between death—courageous and cowardly—the common man detects in my statement a not too hidden advice in favour of migration. "If death is to be the lot in any case, courage becomes of no count; for man lives but to escape death," he says.

This argument seems to beg the question. Man does not live but to escape death. If he does so, he is advised not to do so. He is advised to learn to love death as well as life, if not more so. A hard saying, harder to act up to, one may say. Every worthy act is difficult. Ascent is always difficult. Descent is easy and often slippery. Life becomes livable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy. To conquer life's temptations, summon death to your aid. In order to postpone death a coward surrenders honour, wife, daughter and all. A courageous man prefers death to the surrender of self-respect. When the time comes, as it conceivably can, I would not leave my advice to be inferred, but it will be given in precise language. That today my advice might be followed only by one or none does not detract from its value. A beginning is always made by a few, even one.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

RAYS OF HOPE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Although there is from all sides so much debris of hope, now and then one sees a few rays of hope penetrating through this debris. This reflection is due to a study of my correspondence file for the *Harijan* which has been carefully kept for reading during moments of leisure.

One such letter is from Shri Shivabhai Patel of Bochasan Residential School. He has sent me a few unvarnished facts and figures of the work done during the annual celebrations. He is ably assisted by Gangabehn of the late Satyagraha Ashram of Sabarmati, now known as the Harijan Ashram and the ever indefatigable Ravishankar Maharaj, with his two sons who have not deserted him. A speciality of the recent celebration was that instead of the usual mechanical contrivance for carding, they resorted exclusively to the *tunai* process. This time the management was induced to begin a boarding house for the children of those who, in that part of India, are considered to be a backward race. The beginning has been made with only ten inmates. After seven years of suspension, they have recommenced the day school for boys who have finished four years course in ordinary schools. They expect to have a further six years, bringing the boys up to the matriculation standard minus English

and plus a good grounding in *khadi* work, carpentry or agriculture. Unlike past years, during the year under observation, the parents have become interested in the upright conduct of their children. The result is that during the four months preceding the celebration of October last, the boys who were given to hard smoking and drinking strong tanning tea, have shed the habit which was ruining them. The earnestness of the boys has affected their parents who have also given up these evil habits that make chimneys of their mouths and ruin their digestive apparatus. When the boys were admitted, they could not sit still or hold their tongues for five minutes. They have now learnt to enjoy hand-spinning in perfect silence for one hour. Gangabehn who is in complete charge of the dairy of the institution takes good care to provide pure cow's milk.

During the celebration days the students' recitations consisted of useful dialogues which were largely attended. They had also an unpretentious exhibition of all the processes that cotton undergoes before it comes out as *khadi*. Twentythree students took part in a competition for neat calligraphy, a subject about which there is so much indifference as if neatness of handwriting was no part of good training.

New Delhi, 22-11-'47

MEN WHO HAVE SUFFERED FOR PEACE

Some months ago I was talking with Gandhiji about pacifists, who had proved themselves ready to face suffering, imprisonment and death rather than compromise their principles. He asked me whether there were any who had in fact been put to death for their pacifist convictions in our time. Of Quakers and others who suffered unto death in the late eighteenth century and in the Southern States of U. S. A. during the American Civil War of 1861-5, he had heard; but he asked me to find out if there were more recent examples.

I wrote to the *War Resisters' International* in London, an organization which links together the war resisters in many lands, and in whose periodical, year by year, remarkable stories appear of the courageous action of men who suffer long imprisonments in many lands because they refuse to be conscripted for military training. The *War Resisters' International* has sent me a pamphlet called *Modern Martyrs*, which seems to have been published in about 1930. This contains some inspiring stories of devotion to principle through harsh prison sentences; but its title is hardly justified. If martyrdom implies suffering unto death, then only one of these pacifist heroes qualifies; if it is interpreted as meaning suffering for conscience, however, then these are a small selection from a much larger number.

The single case of death refers to a young Russian, Vassilij Egorovitch Tarakin, who was shot in July 1919 because he refused to join the army

and to go to the front on account of his religious convictions. This expression is used in the report of the Tribunal that carried out the trial and the execution. The soldiers refused to shoot him, and the execution had to be carried out by the President of the Commission himself, one Gromoff. His last words, as recorded by witnesses, were: "Know it, brethren, and always remember that by killing my body you are killing your own soul. My body shall perish, but my spirit will live, because I die for love and brotherhood." His last letter to his parents contains the words: "The true life: we can only know it through love."

Among other sufferings recorded in this pamphlet is a story of one J. P. in Lithuania, who is reported in the year 1927 as suffering "the tortures of the Inquisition". "They bound military weapons to his shoulders, and forced him to perform military exercises. He refused to do this, and they beat him, tied him to a cart and dragged him through the fields." Afterwards he was thrown into a dark, cold, damp hole or cell, and kept there for eight or ten days, with only bread and water and a little soup for food.

Some of the sect of *Nazarenes*, in Jugoslavia, were condemned to sentences of over five years imprisonment and then, after a brief period at home, were called up for military training again, and re-sentenced (in 1927) to eleven years and six months further imprisonment.

It is not only Eastern Europe that has done such things to its pacifists. Even democratic Switzerland gives repeated jail sentences to those who refuse to be conscripted for military training; and, as Martha Steinitz writes in her introduction to this pamphlet, "In Italy, Spain, and even in France the man who refuses military service is punished by such prolonged and terrible tortures, mostly in disciplinary battalions, that many of those who cannot reconcile it with their conscience to serve, leave their home country or hide themselves from the military." Others, however, face the prolonged terms of imprisonment, and a few Frenchmen have undergone long years of harsh imprisonment in the *Devil's Island* Guiana, a place to which the most dangerous criminals are sent.

Readers of J. W. Graham's book, *Conscription and Conscience*, will know that in England, between 1914 and 1918, a number of conscientious objectors were refused the exemption from military service that they claimed, were drafted into the army and cruelly punished in an effort to break their spirit, and several died in prison after rough treatment.

When all is known, it will probably be found that men were shot for refusal to serve in several countries of Europe during the last war.

So long as there is military conscription in any land, such things will happen. "How can we believe in the sincerity of governments," asks Martha Steinitz, "who profess to be out for peace, while they keep those prepared to suffer for peace behind iron bars like wild beasts?"

New Delhi, 23-11-'47 HORACE ALEXANDER

THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT

In many museums we find mummys of ancient Egyptian kings who were styled Pharaohs. About 3,300 years ago when these mummys were walking the earth as living human beings in Egypt, certain events took place. During my recent visit to Europe I was reminded forcibly of the way history repeats itself and how God's mills grind slowly but that they grind exceedingly small.

In those ancient days Egypt was a world power. It had organized its economic organization so that the children of Israel were exploited as slaves. The Israelites were the workers and the Egyptians were the imperialists. The glory of the Egypt of those days, when the pyramids were built, is yet to be excelled.

It is recorded in Exodus, the second book of the Bible, that God raised Moses as a deliverer to set free the oppressed people of Israel from the bondage of Egypt. As always the top-dogs are unwilling to let go their grip on the under-dogs, the then Pharaoh of Egypt was unwilling to let the Israelites leave the land. God sent Moses to Pharaoh to tell him, "Let My people go that they may serve Me." Up to now the Israelites were serving the Egyptians. They produced material things and lived on what they were paid. God and higher things of life were not in the picture. Therefore, God wanted to give the oppressed a chance to develop their spiritual side and lead a higher form of human existence, but the vested interest, as represented by the Pharaoh, was not willing to let them go. This conflict between the material and the spiritual in society led to a series of visitations. God afflicted the Egyptians with ten plagues.

Water was turned into blood. Thus one of the prime necessities of life, along with the fish in water, was put beyond the reach of the Egyptians.

The frogs bred so profusely as to fill the land which became a nuisance to the people.

Then vermin spread all over the country making it a torture for the people and the cattle to lead a normal existence.

The fourth plague of flies not only affected the common people of Egypt, but also entered the palaces of the powers that be.

The fifth plague was the spread of diseases of the cattle which died in great numbers.

Then the country was visited with boils and blains and the people suffered terrible agonies.

The seventh plague was one of thunder and hail and fire which destroyed property and vegetation.

Then the locusts came and laid waste the fertile "gift of the Nile".

Then came darkness which engulfed the world.

After that came the terrible slaughter of the first born.

After each one of these plagues Moses went to Pharaoh and renewed the request of God, "Let My people go that they may serve Me." When Pharaoh was tired of each plague, he promised delivery, but the moment the plague was taken out on the strength of his promise, it is recorded that Pharaoh hardened his heart and went his old way.

And after the tenth plague—the slaying of the first born—the Israelites were allowed to go, but even then he changed his mind and pursued them and was drowned in the Red Sea which the Israelites were able to cross just before he did.

MODERN VERSION

The whole of this history is being repeated in Europe today. Europe has been the exploiter of the world like the Egyptians and the people of other lands have groaned under their yoke. Even in their own lands the "haves" have exploited the "have-nots", but because of the material gains the "haves" have not been willing to let the workers have a chance of leading a normal life. God has been forgotten, higher moral values had no place in society. Greed, hatred, suspicion and large-scale murder has been the order of the day. God has been calling the common people to serve Him rather than serve Mammon, to live so that they may realize the higher things of life rather than merely for producing material goods and this is the modern request of God, "Let My people go that they may serve Me." The vested interests, like Pharaoh, have been hit hard by various plagues. Every time they made up their minds to loosen their grip, but immediately the tribulation passed away they have hardened their hearts to go the same way again.

We have seen countries which were rich with food materials, countries which were exporting grain and were considered the granaries of the world facing famine. Diseases and desolation have been stalking the land. Millions have died of flu and typhus. Snow, fire and floods have destroyed property and vegetation. London itself, like the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, has had a rain of fire about six years ago, destroying much property. Even as the locust, the pilotless bombs have been the terror of the people, sending them into the bowels of earth for safety. Darkness encompassed the world. Shortage of coal and electricity added to their discomforts. Millions died like the first-born of Egypt. The nurseries of the "haves", such as Oxford and Cambridge, were emptied during the wars to send their erstwhile inhabitants as lambs to the slaughter-house and Europe today is desolate. But yet they have not the heart to abandon their old way of life and let go their grasp on material things. One wonders whether they would still go on and pursue the plan of exploiting the physically weak until, as Pharaoh was engulfed by the waters of the Red Sea, they are themselves overwhelmed and consumed by the atom bomb. Europe has not yet realized that their sins are following them and unless they repent they would be no more.

THE PICTURE

It would not be possible to give a detailed picture of the whole of Europe but the most we can do is to draw rough sketches of the life in England at the present time. The last two wars have left scars which may be ineradicable for centuries to come.

During the battle of Great Britain thousands died and have been buried uncommemorated in common graves. There are huge gaps amongst the buildings in London. St. Paul's Cathedral itself, which was hedged in by towering business houses, today stands amongst vast acres of devastated land. Ludgate hill, Cheapside Queen Victoria Street and all that area has been razed to the ground. Mercifully the public authorities have boarded up the roadside so that the public may not gaze on these mortal wounds. These boarded up walls of wood carry today picturesque advertisements to make the people forget their experiences and pursue pleasure as their goal! Great many churches in London are mere shells today. Only the towers and spires remain to mark their site. This seems a parable to declare to mankind that the aisles which accommodated comfortable seats for the worshippers to doze while the services were going on have been consumed by the flames, and the spires which represented man's aspiration towards the higher and nobler aspects of life have been left untouched. In fashionable London, in restaurants there is no cloth to cover the tables and even if they had, there is not enough soap to keep the cloth washed and clean. Hence, they have to resort to paper table-cloths and napkins. During the siege of Great Britain that country was faced with starvation. The prime necessity of life, food was not to be had. Even today there is considerable shortage in food and clothing and other consumer goods. The pre-war uniformed taxi-drivers are nowhere to be seen. Today these taxi-cabs are being driven by men in civilian clothes and with soft felt hats. In many places the food shortage is so great that tourists are not allowed. Railway travel is a torture. The third class in England is as expensive as the first class in India. Yet one had to make long journeys often standing in the corridors.

Are these not the modern plagues of Egypt to a land that was overflowing with material good things of the world, but which represent ultimately the ill-gotten profits of an Empire maintained with the aid of armaments and resorting to violence and wars? Profits and money have been objects of worship rather than God and those higher things of life resulting in love to our fellowmen.

LESSONS

Unfortunately, all these tribulations have left Europe to harden her heart. She is not willing to change her mode of life. She is not willing to adjust her economic organization so that men may live in peace. She is not willing to let her trade go. Though it has been smashed to bits, yet she clings pathetically to the hope of building it up again on the same old foundations.

THE VAIN EFFORT

One who would look at Europe today will not fail to realize that about 150 years of mass-scale production, on a standardized basis, with a centralized organization, at a feverish rate, has ultimately led to the sorry spectacle that Europe presents today. There is dire distress, shortage of commodities,

strained human relations, fear and hatred surcharging the atmosphere and with little hope for the future. If this is the result of the methods of production that have been pursued in the past, is it not time that we take stock of our ways of life and mend them, laying emphasis more on the human relations than on material production?

WARS Destructive

Our experience has proved to the hilt that the terrible wars, that are necessary concomitants of the present economic organization of the West, are ferocious consumers. They destroy at a rate at which people can never hope to have all they need. This being so, we have to eliminate the destructive part of the present economic structure. That would mean a readjustment of the basis of social existence. Are we prepared to face the realities as they are presented by the picture of Europe today?

DANGEROUS DOCTRINES

Their high priests of worldly wisdom are promulgating dangerous doctrines. Public leaders, like Lord Halifax, are expounding the theory that it is not possible to combine Christian ideals in public affairs. According to him public life would follow the development of the masses and, therefore, would have much lower moral standards than the values which could be practised by the leading individuals. It is stated that it is impossible to hope to organize society on Christian principles. Christian principles are kept aloof for individuals to aspire to and not to be permeated into the everyday life of the nation.

Are these not signs that the lessons of the last two wars have not gone home and that the people are treading again on the dangerous paths which have brought about the conflagration of not only Europe but also most parts of the world? Are we still hankering for the "flesh-pots of Egypt"? Do we wish to lay emphasis on a complicated standard of life entailing the exploitation of the masses so that we may live in luxury or are we willing to "let them go so that they may serve God" through living a life that will bring peace and plenty to our fellowmen?

India stands at the threshold of a new era. Shall we learn from the plagues of Egypt, the evils of serving Mammon, forsaking the higher things of life? What shall our future be? Let the experience of Europe teach us that there is no salvation in production for production's sake, in heaping up material goods. Peace and goodwill among men are far more important. Will India give the lead and point the way of self-sufficiency as the high road to freedom from want and oppression?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

SELF-RESTRAINT v. SELF-INDULGENCE

[Revised one volume Edition]

By Gandhiji

Price Rs. Two

Postage etc. As. Seven

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

LIGHT OR DARKNESS?

Twentytwo years ago I, a lost wanderer, refound my spirit's home in India—India, whose aeons of history were again repeating themselves in epics of spiritual grandeur. With what boundless inspiration and enthusiasm I plunged into the great drama of Light and Hope, unfolding itself before the war-torn, sinking world. In Babu I found the Guiding Star; in Hinduism, the word of Truth; in India, the Mother. Little did I know that twenty-two years later I should have to see the Mother's breasts torn and bleeding with the gashes inflicted by her own children, and the word of Truth trampled under foot by the very people who call themselves Hindus.

Is it for this that we have taken our Freedom? Not to be the Land of Light, but to be the Land of Darkness?

Let us have a look at what this Land of Darkness would be like, to which the Popular Will, at least in North India, is at present perhaps heading.

It would be peopled by a race of self-styled, Superior Beings, whose spiritual intolerance would be the very negation of true Hinduism. All Muslims would be ruthlessly uprooted from their ancestral homes and driven out, and in this state of affairs it would be surprising if the other non-Hindus did not share the same fate. Would the so-called untouchables be then as much Hindu as the tallest? Or would free India then relapse into caste-ridden India?

The 'Hindus', having settled matters in this way, would then look around and find that things were not quite so pleasant as they had expected. True, they would have achieved *India for the Hindus*, but they would also have achieved *Hindus for India*—that is to say, Hindus would be shunned throughout the rest of the world. No longer would India be able to raise the cry of Racial Equality. No longer would she have any grounds for expecting fair, much less equal, treatment anywhere else. Instead of being the honoured leader of Asia, she would become the Untouchable of the Earth!

The intoxicated orthodox Hindu mind today forgets that the only Hindu country is India. Once they had achieved their immediate object, they would find themselves imprisoned by their own 'superiority', and stewing helplessly in their own juice.

But my heart and mind refuse to accept this repulsive picture as inevitable. The Hindu nature will first regain its balance, and realize that it has been led into the darkness by a fanatical group of people who have become poisoned by the very thing they detest. It is no remedy for an evil to try and outdo it in its own line. The public must call a halt and think for themselves what is happening to them. Under the influence of fanatical propaganda they are blindly reviling the great leaders who brought them out of the Slough of Despond on to the dizzy heights of Freedom. If they heed not those men today, they will slip over the precipice into the dark abyss.

New Delhi, 29-10-'47

MIRABEHN

THE C. O.s, PACIFISTS AND NON-VIOLENCE

Thinking people the world over are much agitated over the trend of events. They see threatening clouds gathering on the horizon. They are uncertain of the turn world affairs may take and quake before the thought of another world war. These forebodings are indicated by the many conventions and conferences held by these various groups. The Montreux Convention seeks to establish peace by a World Federal Government. The War-Resister International suggests other ways. The conscientious objectors would keep out of active participation in the fight, while others pin their faith to disarmament. All are agreed that war is barbarous and must be banished from civilized society.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The conscientious objectors represent the first awakening of the individual to the immorality of war. It is a personal affair. The C. O. sees that soldiering is murderous, personally he is not willing to take up arms against his fellow-man. For this conviction he is willing to suffer whatever punishment society inflicts on such.

The C. O. does not carry his investigations any farther. He deals with his immediate problem but does not follow up to ferret out the cause that leads to this situation. His is a short-sighted view. He deals with the symptom and not with the disease. He does not realize that perhaps his daily life is causing that situation to arise and that it may be necessary for him to readjust his mode of living. He resembles the individual who preaches prevention of cruelty to animals but insists on having his bacon for his breakfast, not realizing that his eating of bacon will call for the slaughter of the pig. He himself is not willing to do the cruel killing but his course of action brings into existence and sustains the butcher.

This is either due to want of clear thinking or due to being unprepared to face the logical consequences. In the former case it calls for further study and thought. The latter case is unworthy of a social being. If he is a willing member of a society and partakes of the common life that ultimately leads to wars, then his keeping out of participation in war is shirking his duty. If he disapproves of war, he must take to a mode of life in which war has no place. If he wants to prevent cruelty to animals he must give up eating bacon!

PACIFISM

With the pacifist the question is not purely a personal affair. To him the problem assumes social or national dimensions. He wants peace among men. He seeks to attain it by controlling immediate contributory causes — by devising means of settling disputes and claims, by disarmament, by a Federated World Government etc. He rests his faith on curative methods.

He forgets that the parties to the dispute may be greater than the judge who will not be able to enforce his judgments; nay, the disputants may constitute themselves as judges of their own cases!

These were the drawbacks of the League of Nations.

When two persons are intent on fighting disarmament does not prevent the conflict. You ban the atom bomb, the "big Berthas" will be there. You remove the "big Berthas", the rifles will be there. Failing these you have the bow and arrow, the dagger or the stick. Did disarmament of Germany after World War I prevent World War II?

Neither can we place our faith on man-made law. It is as efficacious as its sanctions, which need to be effectively implemented to be of any practical use. World governments will carry us no further.

The fever may be abated by restraining the patient according to the physician's orders and confining him to bed or by applying ice bags to his head. The main thing is to diagnose the disease and treat the cause of the fever and take precaution to order the life of the patient in such a way that the fever may not be occasioned again.

NON-VIOLENCE

We have to examine carefully to locate the causes of totalitarian wars of the type we have gone through on the last two occasions. Once we trace the cause we should have the courage of our convictions to face boldly the consequences of the treatment necessary to banish war from society, reorganize society and its mode of life on a basis that will not require periodical wars to set right its equilibrium. This means that we have to build up our daily life on the basis of non-violence. A society based on such a formation will eschew war for all time.

If we are honest to ourselves, we shall find that these wars are caused by a lop-sided development of our economic life. The quest for raw materials and fuel and the need for control of markets are the hot beds where international wars are bred. We need to adapt our modes of living to fit our capacity to satisfy our needs. If there is a discrepancy between these two, we come into conflict with our neighbours. The immensity or the form of conflict does not matter. We have to avoid occasions that give rise to competition, greed and jealousy. Are we prepared to recast our lives on these lines? The non-violent way of life will count nothing too dear a price to pay for goodwill and peace among men.

Our own analysis leads us to believe that self-sufficiency in primary needs is a *sine qua non* to the establishment of peace. No amount of ardent desire will help us unless we are prepared to remodel our national economic activity on these lines. Merely tampering with the symptoms will be of no avail as long as the provocative causes are left untouched.

Europe is sick unto death of war but it has no time to think of ways of avoiding it. Its leaders are rushing the nations headlong into so-called "Recovery Programmes" which are heading them direct to the precipice. But for the voice of Gandhiji, India seems inclined to follow suit. Shall we wake up in time to be saved or shall we too be consumed in the approaching conflagration?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

New Delhi, 17-11-'47

INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

Yesterday I spoke about Rampur and our countrymen in South Africa. Today I feel I must deal more fully with the latter subject. I have lived in South Africa for twenty years from 1893 to 1914 with a break probably of one year. During that long and formative period of my life I came naturally in closest contact with all kinds of Indians as also with the White settlers of that sub-continent almost as big as ours. Between then and now if South Africa has risen, India has made giant strides. What seemed to be impossible only the other day has happened. We need not go into the causes. The fact is that India has come into the British Commonwealth, i. e. she has exactly the same status as the Union of South Africa. Should members of one Dominion be helots in another Dominion? An Asiatic nation enters the Commonwealth for the first time in its history with the willing consent of all the members of the Commonwealth.

INDIA IN THE COMMONWEALTH

Mark now the following message that the administrator Dr. S. P. Barnard of Orangia sent to the Natal Indian Congress of Durban five days after the entry of India in the Commonwealth:

"As you are celebrating Independence of the new Dominions which you consider a great day in the annals of Indian history, I hope all Indians in South Africa will now emigrate voluntarily to the new Dominions to act as missionaries of the gospel they have been taught in South Africa, namely to live in peace and order and not fight in communal riots in which hundreds are being killed in India."

COLOUR PREJUDICE

It is worthy of note that Dr. Barnard evidently doubts whether the entry was a great day. And then he treats the Natal Indian Congress with the gratuitous advice that the Indians of South Africa should emigrate to India and become 'missionaries of the gospel' they have been taught in South Africa, namely, to live in peace and order and not fight in communal riots. I very much fear that this message is typical of the average White man's mind in the South African Dominion. Hence the series of disabilities on our countrymen for the crime of being Asiatics and having a coloured pigment. I appeal to the best Western mind of South Africa to revise this anti-Asiatic and anti-colour prejudice. They have an overwhelming African population in their midst. They are worse treated in some respects than the Asiatics. I urge the European settlers to read the signs of the times. Either this prejudice is wrong from every point of view or the British people and their fellow members of the great Commonwealth have made an unpardonable mistake in admitting Asiatic countries as members. Burma is about to get her independence, Ceylon will presently become a member of the Commonwealth. What does it mean? Membership of the Commonwealth is, I am taught, as good as independence, if not superior to it. Responsible men and women of these independent States need to ponder well as to what they will do with their independence. Is all this movement towards

multiplying independent States, though proper and healthy in itself to result in another war more deadly, if possible, than the last two or is it to end, as it should, in the promotion of universal brotherhood?

THOUGHTS MAKE THE MAN

"A man becomes what he thinks," says an *upnishad mantra*. Experience of wise men testifies to the truth of the aphorism. The world will thus become what its wise men think. An idle thought is no thought. It would be a serious mistake to say that it (the world) will become as the unthinking multitude act. They will not think. Independence should mean democracy. Democracy demands that every citizen has the opportunity of receiving wisdom as distinguished from a knowledge of facts so-called. South Africa has many wise men and women as it has also many able soldiers who are equally able farmers. It will be a tragedy for the world if they do not rise superior to their debilitating surroundings and give a proper lead to their country on this vexed and vexing problem of White supremacy. Is it not by this time a played out game?

PEOPLE'S VOICE

I must keep you for a moment over the much debated question of control. Must the voice of the people be drowned by the noise of the *pandits* who claim to know all about the virtue of controls? Would that our ministers who are drawn from the people and are of the people listened to the voice of the people rather than of the controllers of the red-tape which, they know, did them infinite harm when they were in the wilderness! The *pandits* then ruled with a vengeance. Must they do so even now? Will not the people have any opportunity of committing mistakes and learning by them? Do the ministers not know that they have the power to resume control wherever necessary, if decontrol is found to have been harmful to the people, in any instance out of the samples, by no means exhaustive, that I am giving below? The list before me confounds my simple mind. There may be virtue in some of them. All I contend is that the science if it is one, of controls requires a dispassionate examination and then education of the people in the secret of controls in general or specified controls. Without examining the merits of the list I have received I pick out the few out of the samples given to me: Control on Exchange, Investment, Capital Issues, Opening branches of Banks and their investments, Insurance investments, all Import and Export of every kind of commodity, Cereals, Sugar, *Gur*, Cane, and Syrup, *Vanaspati*, Textile including Woollens, Power Alcohols, Petrol and Kerosene, Paper, Cement, Steel, Mica, Manganese, Coal, Transport, Installation of Plant, Machinery, Factories, Distribution of cars in certain provinces and Tea plantation.

Birla House, New Delhi, 18-11-'47

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji referred to the resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C. He said that they were most of them such as expected some duty to be performed by the public, as also something to be done by the Central Government and the Provincial Governments.

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Thus, the main resolution expected every non-Muslim citizen to be fair to every Muslim citizen so as to enable him to feel perfectly secure in any part of India as to his person and property. The resolution equally demanded from the Governments, so far as it lay in their power, to afford such protection. It also expected that the Governments and the public would so act as to enable all the Muslim evacuees who had left their homes under pressure to return and take up their usual avocations. The real test was that the columns who were marching on foot towards Pakistan would feel such a change in the atmosphere as to make them turn towards their homes. He was glad to be able to say that some persons of the column that was moving from the Gurgaon District were turning homeward. If they (the public) acted correctly, he was quite sure that the whole column would follow suit.

PANIPAT MUSLIMS' CASE

Gandhiji said that he was informed that the case of the Panipat Muslims was somewhat of the style of the Gurgaon column. If railway conveyance was available, the Muslims might go to Pakistan under pressure. When he went to Panipat the other day, he was told that no Hindu inhabitant of Panipat wanted the Muslims to leave their homes, if only because each was helpful to the other. The Muslims were accomplished artisans, the Hindus were traders for the most part depending upon the Muslim neighbours for the supply of wares to deal in. But the advent of a large number of refugees disturbed the even tenor of their lives. The speaker could not understand the change of attitude, which the occupation of Muslim houses by the refugees after his visit to Panipat signified, and the proposed exodus of the Muslims from that place. That was all contrary to the letter and spirit of the resolution he referred to. He almost felt like going to Panipat and living there and studying for himself the condition as it was reported to have developed.

EXPECTATIONS UNDER DECONTROL

Similarly, Gandhiji took the resolution on several controls. Every citizen, Gandhiji said, whether rich or poor, was expected not to use more foodstuff than was necessary whilst the feeling of scarcity of food lasted. When control was lifted, naturally, the expectation would be that the growers would willingly give up hoarding and make available for the public, on fair returns, the cereals and pulses they were holding and the grain-dealers would think more of selling the grain at the cheapest rate possible consistently with a reasonable profit for themselves and the Government would be expected to loosen and finally give up the control at the earliest possible moment.

The same thing, only more forcibly, applied to cloth. The most disturbing factor, however, was the information that was given to him, viz. that the members of the A. I. C. C. who voted for the resolutions were not sincere in their professions. He hoped that the information was wholly baseless and if it was so, he had no doubt that so many representatives of the people could not but bring about a healthy change in the conduct of the public, so as to restore the credit that India enjoyed on the 15th of August and for a few days after.

Birla House, New Delhi, 19-11-'47

A DISGRACEFUL SCENE

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji said that the previous evening he had referred to the main resolution of the A.I.C.C. regarding Hindu-Muslim relations. It was his misfortune, he remarked, to refer on Wednesday evening to an illustration of how it was being defeated in Delhi. Little did he know that the very evening that he was expressing his misgivings, the truth would be illustrated in the heart of Old Delhi. He was told last night that there was a large crowd of Hindus and the Sikhs collected in Chandni Chowk in front of a shop that belonged to a Muslim, but which was given to a refugee on condition that the shop would have to be returned to the owner when the latter came back. Happily, the owner turned up having never wished to leave his business for ever. The officer-in-charge went to the occupant and asked him to vacate it in favour of the owner. The occupant hesitated and then promised to vacate on the officer returning in the evening for possession. He (the officer) found that the occupant instead of delivering possession had evidently informed his friends who, it was reported, collected in a threatening mood demonstrating against the shop being vacated. The few police in Chandni Chowk were unable to cope with the crowd. So they summoned more assistance. It came and the military or the police, as the case may be, fired in the air. The frightened crowd dispersed not however without stabbing a passer-by. Happily the wound was not fatal. The result of the rowdy demonstration was, however, curious. The shop in question was not vacated. Whether the authority was finally defied or whether at the time of speaking the shop had been vacated, he (the speaker) did not know. He hoped, however, that authority to be authority would never be defied with impunity under the state of the precious freedom India had attained. All he could say was that the whole thing was disgraceful. The crowd, he was told, must have numbered not less than 2,000.

In giving the version as it had come to him, Gandhiji said, he had underrated it. If, however, there was still room for correction and if it was brought to his notice, he would gladly share it with the audience.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SIKHS

Nor was this all. In another part, an attempt was being made to force the Muslim occupants out of their places so as to make room for the Hindu and the Sikh refugees. The technique was that the Sikhs brandished their swords and terrified the Muslims threatening dire vengeance if they did not vacate their homes. He was also told that the Sikhs were given to drinking with the results which could easily be surmised. They danced with naked swords to the terror of the passers-by. He was further told that whereas in Chandni Chowk it was the custom for the Muslims not to sell *kababs* or other flesh foods in that vicinity, the Sikhs and also probably other refugees freely sold these forbidden foods in Chandni Chowk much to the annoyance of the Hindus in that locality. The nuisance had become so great that men found it difficult to pass through the crowds in Chandni Chowk for fear of receiving unwelcome attention. He wished to appeal to his refugee friends

to desist from the practices he had described for the sake of themselves and the country.

CARRYING OF KIRPANS

As to the *kirpans*, Gandhiji continued, whilst there was for a short time a ban on the carrying of *kirpans* beyond a certain size, during the ban he was approached by many Sikh friends to use his influence for the removal of the ban and the prescription of a particular size. They quoted a judgement of the Privy Council which was given some years ago ruling that the *kirpan* could be carried by any Sikh without any limitation as to size. He had not read the judgement. He (Gandhiji) understood that the judges interpreted the word *kirpan* to mean a 'sword' of any size. The then Punjab Government met the Privy Council judgement by declaring that it was open to anyone to possess a sword. And so, in the Punjab any citizen could carry a sword of any size he liked.

He (the speaker) said that he had no sympathy either for the Sikhs or the Punjab Government. Some Sikh friends had come to him producing texts from the *Grantha Saheb* in favour of the speaker's view that the *kirpan* was never meant to be a weapon of offence or to be used anyhow. Only a Sikh who carried but the injunctions of the *Grantha Saheb* could use a *kirpan* on rare occasions of having to defend innocent women, children, old people and others against heavy odds. It was for that reason that one Sikh was supposed to be equal to one and a quarter lakh opponents. Therefore, a Sikh who was given to drink and indulged in other vices, forfeited the right to carry a *kirpan* as a religious symbol of purity and restraint, which is meant to be used only in the strict prescribed manner.

Gandhiji was of opinion that it was idle, even harmful, to invoke the aid of the past judgements of the Privy Council in order to justify licence. We had just got out of what the speaker had described as a state of bondage. It was wholly improper in a state of liberty to break up all healthy restraints under which alone a society could grow. He would ask the Sikh friends, therefore, not to sully the great *Sikh Panth* by using the *kirpan* in favour of any questionable conduct or behaviour. Let them not unmake what was made by arrays of martyrs of whose bravery the whole humanity was proud.

THE MILITARY AND THE POLICE

Gandhiji then asked the audience to have a peep into another scene. He had a description given to him of a camp in which rude behaviour was imputed to the military. All camp life should be a model of cleanliness within and without, of which the military and the police should become jealous guardians. He hoped, therefore, that the information given to him was by no means applicable to these guardians of law and order in general, but that it was an exception. The military and the police should really be the first to feel the glow of freedom. Let it not be said of them that they could only be well-behaved under terrible restraint superimposed upon them. Let them show by their correct conduct that they could be as worthy and model citizens of India as any in the world. If these guardians of law disregarded the law itself, running the government might become an impossibility. And it would be most difficult to carry out the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. as they should be.

SHERWANI'S MARTYRDOM

Having given them the gloomy side of the picture, Gandhiji said that he would fain give them the bright side also. He quoted from a note given to him by an eyewitness of the story of exemplary bravery:

"Mir Maqbool Sherwani was a young brave leader of the National Conference [in Baramula. He was in the early thirties.

"On learning that he was an important leader of the National Conference, the invaders tied him up to two posts in a place near the Nishat Talkies. They beat him first and then asked him to repudiate the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and its leader Sher-e-Kashmir Sheikh Abdulla. They asked him to swear allegiance to the so-called Azad Kashmir provisional government which had its headquarters in Palandari.

"Sherwani stoutly refused to repudiate his national organization and told the invaders to their face that the Sher-e-Kashmir was at the head of affairs now, that Indian Union troops had arrived and that the invaders would be driven out in a few days.

"This enraged and frightened the invader gangs who riddled him with fourteen bullets. They cut off his nose and disfigured his face and stuck a notice on his body with the words:

'This is a traitor.

His name is Sherwani.

This is the fate all traitors will get.'

"But within 48 hours of this cold-blooded murder and sadistic terror Sherwani's prophecy came true and the invaders ran pell-mell out of Baramula, with Indian Union troops hot in pursuit."

This was a martyrdom, said Gandhiji, of which anyone, be he a Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or any other, would be proud.

PRIDE AND FRIENDSHIP

In his concluding remarks Gandhiji said that a friend had related an instance of pride which would not be humbled even under distressing circumstances and of friendship which would stand any strain. This was the story of Narayan Singh who was an officer of long standing. He had lost his extensive property in the West Punjab. He was now in Delhi, disdained to beg or to go under because of loss of possessions. He met an old friend whom he would not allow to condole with him as he thought nothing of the adversity that had overtaken him. The Sikh officer was glad beyond measure to meet in Ali Shah, a brother officer and common friend. Ali Shah had lost his all. Some misfortune had overtaken him though it was not due to communal frenzy. He was as brave as Narayan Singh and each was proud of the other's friendship. They forgot their misfortunes in that they met each other after twentyfive years' separation.

Birla House, New Delhi, 20-11-'47

NO LONGER NON-CO-OPERATION

Addressing the prayer gathering this evening Gandhiji said that he had received two chits from the same writer in one of which he said that he had given up his job and would like to work under him (Gandhiji) and the other suggested that he should sing a *bhajan* at the prayer. As to the first, he could not help saying that it was wrong

of him to have given up his job. It was true that during the British regime he had advised non-co-operation, but now there was no such thing. A man could, if he liked, even while serving somewhere for the sake of earning his livelihood, render service to his country. Every bread-winner did so if he earned his livelihood honestly and without partaking in any violence. The writer should also realize that Gandhiji had nothing for him. If, however, he wanted to do some service he should offer himself to the *goshala* to which he was about to refer.

As to singing a *bhajan* at the prayer meeting it was not everybody who could be allowed to sing. Only those persons could sing by previous permission who were known to be servants of God.

VISIT TO OKHLA

The speaker then referred to his visit to the refugee camp at Okhla in the company of Sucheta Devi and some of her co-workers. He was glad to notice the praiseworthy cleanliness about the camp. It was dotted with *dharmshalas* meant for pilgrims who visited the place at the time of fairs which, he understood, took place periodically at the place. These buildings were now utilized for the refugees. There was some difficulty about proper water supply, which the management was striving to overcome. He had no doubt that if the water supply could be guaranteed for a much larger number of refugees than the present occupants, the place was capable of giving shelter to many more.

OF OFFICIALS

While he was speaking on the subject of refugees, Gandhiji said that he would like to draw attention to some of the shortcomings which had been mentioned to him. He was told that there was black marketing going on among the refugees themselves. The officials who were concerned in the work of looking after the refugees were not reported to be above reproach. He was told that it was not possible to get accommodation without having to bribe the officer-in-charge nor was their conduct supposed to be otherwise above reproach. Naturally, no charge could be universal, but even if there was one black-sheep among many, the many suffered in the consequence.

MALPRACTICES AMONG THE REFUGEES

Then he was told that the refugees themselves were not above resorting to petty thefts. He expected perfect straightforwardness from them. It was reported to him that the *rezais* that were distributed among the refugees were in some cases torn up, the cotton was thrown away and the calico was turned into shirts etc. He was told of several other things of a like nature, but he must not detain the audience over a recitation of all the misdeeds attributed to the refugees. He wanted to hasten to the subject of the evening.

INDIA'S CATTLE WEALTH

There was the usual annual function in connection with a *goshala* that was going on at Kishanganj in Delhi. Acharya Kripalani was to preside at the function the next day and he (Gandhiji) was pressed to go there even if it was only for ten minutes. The speaker felt that he must not go to any function by way of ornament. He could do nothing in ten minutes, see nothing. And he was much too occupied with communal matters to be able to do justice to any other thing. The management realizing his helplessness excused him

and were satisfied if he said his say at the prayer meeting about the service of the cow, especially regard being had to *goshalas*. This he gladly consented to do. He had not hesitated to say that the preservation and development of the cattle wealth of India and the proper treatment of the cow and her progeny was a far more difficult task than the winning of political freedom. He claimed to be a devoted worker in the cause and to possess true knowledge of how the cow could be saved. But he confessed that somehow or other he had hitherto failed to impress the general public, i. e. the masses, with the necessity of giving proper care and attention to the problem. Those who were responsible for the management of *goshalas* knew how to finance them, but they were too ignorant to know the science of dealing with the cattle wealth of India. They did not know how to bring up the cow so as to increase her milk yield and improve the stock of bulls that she gave.

MANAGEMENT OF GOSHALAS

Therefore, *goshalas* throughout India, instead of being institutions where one could learn the art of properly breeding up the cattle of India and being model dairies and places where one could buy good milk, good cows, equally good breeding bulls and strong oxen, were merely places where cattle were kept somehow. The result was that instead of being the premier country in the world for exhibiting splendid cattle and where abundant pure milk could be had at the cheapest rate possible, it probably occupied the lowest rank in the matter. They did not even know how to make the best use of cattle-dung and -urine, nor did they know how to make use of dead cattle, with the result that through their ignorance they lost crores of rupees. Some experts contended that the cattle wealth was a burden on the land, fit only to be destroyed. He did not share the opinion, but if the general ignorance prevailed for any length of time he would not be surprised to find that cattle had become a burden on the land. He hoped, therefore, that the management of the *goshala* in question would apply themselves to making it a model institution from every point of view.

Birla House, New Delhi, 21-11-'47

DAIRIES IN INDIA

Referring to the question of the protection and development of the cow in his post-prayer speech this evening Gandhiji said that probably at the time he was speaking to the audience, the annual function at the *goshala* of which he spoke the previous evening, was still going on. He would like to mention one thing. He did not during his speech of the previous evening mention the various dairies conducted in India in the interest of soldiers. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had told him that the dairies were still going on. He had visited the Central Dairy in Bangalore years ago when Colonel Smith was in charge. He saw there some beautiful cattle. One was a prize cow supposed to be the best in all Asia, yielding 75 lbs. of milk per day or at a time, he was not sure which. That cow was free to roam about without restriction and here and there was to be found fodder for the cow to which she was free to help herself. That was the bright side of the picture.

SLAUGHTER OF CALVES

The other side he did not see but he was authentically told that most of the male calves were destroyed as they could not all be turned into draft cattle. These dairies occupied hundreds of acres of land, if not much more. It was all in the interest mainly of the European soldiers. These dairies cost several crores. He considered it to be no longer necessary now that the British tommy was no more in India. The Indian soldier, he was sure, would feel ashamed if he knew that these expensive dairies were conducted in his behalf. He was sure also that the Indian soldier would not claim any special treatment to which the ordinary citizen was also not entitled.

SATISH BABU ON COW

The most authentic and perhaps exhaustive literature up to date on the cow and the buffalo was to be found in the monumental work of Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan. It was not filled with extracts from extant literature but it was based on personal experience and written during one of his imprisonments. It was translated in Bengali and Hindustani. Those who studied the book would find it of great service in promoting the well-being of India's cattle and in the endeavour to increase the yield of milk. There was in the book also a comparison between the cow and the buffalo.

"HINDU" AND "HINDUISM"

Gandhiji then referred to a question that was sent by a member of the audience: What is a Hindu? What is the origin of the word? Is there any Hinduism?

These were pertinent questions for the time. He was no historian, he laid claim to no learning. But he had read in some authentic book on Hinduism that the word 'Hindu' did not occur in the *Vedas* but when Alexander the Great invaded India, the inhabitants of the country to the east of the Sindhu, which is known by the English-speaking Indians as the Indus, were described as Hindus. The letter 'S' had become 'H' in Greek. The religion of these inhabitants became Hinduism and as they knew it, it was a most tolerant religion. It gave shelter to the early Christians who had fled from persecution, also to the Jews known as Beni-Israel as also to the Parsis. He was proud to belong to that Hinduism which was all-inclusive, and which stood for tolerance. Aryan scholars swore by what they called the Vedic religion and Hindustan was otherwise known as Aryavarta. He had no such aspiration. Hindustan of his conception was all-sufficing for him. It certainly included the *Vedas*, but it included also much more. He could detect no inconsistency in declaring that he could without in any way whatsoever impairing the dignity of Hinduism pay equal homage to the best of Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Judaism. Such Hinduism will live as long as the sun shines. Tulsidas had summed it up in one *doha*: "The root of religion is embedded in mercy, whereas egotism is rooted in love of the body. Tulsī says that 'Mercy' should never be abandoned, even though the body perishes."

CAMPS IN GENERAL

Continuing Gandhiji said that the sister who was with him when he went to the Okhla camp was a little upset because she thought that his remarks about

malpractices in some refugee camps might have reference to the Okhla camp. It was impossible for him after a hurried visit to the camp to cast any such reflection upon that camp. He had taken care in the speech to refer to malpractices in the camps incidentally.

ACT OF UNGODLINESS

Gandhiji said that he could not help mentioning the fact that according to his information about 137 mosques in Delhi were more or less damaged during the recent disturbances. Some of them were converted into *mandirs*. One such was near Connaught Place which nobody could miss. There was a tricolour flying there. It was converted into a *mandir* with the installation of an idol. He (the speaker) considered all such desecration as a blot upon Hinduism and Sikhism. It was, in his opinion, a wholly ungodly act. That the Muslims in Pakistan had resorted to such desecration could not be pleaded in extenuation of the blot he had mentioned. Any such act, in his opinion, constituted an act of destroying Hinduism, Sikhism or Islam as the case may be. Gandhiji referred the audience to the recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. on the subject.

PERSECUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS

At the risk of being longer than usual, Gandhiji felt bound finally to refer to a case of persecution of the Roman Catholics near Gurgaon, which was brought to his notice. The village in question where it took place was known as Kanhai—about 25 miles from Delhi. One of his visitors was an Indian Roman Catholic Chaplain and the other was a catechist belonging to a village. They had produced to Gandhiji a letter from the Roman Catholics in the village relating the story of persecution at the hands of the Hindus. This was curiously enough in *urdu*. He understood that the inhabitants of that part of the country, whether they were Hindus or others, could only speak Hindustani and write in the *urdu* script. The informants told him that the Roman Catholics there had been threatened if they did not remove themselves from their village. He hoped that it was an idle threat and that these Christian brothers and sisters would be left to follow their own faith and avocation without let or hindrance. Surely, they were not less entitled to their freedom than they were under the British regime, now that there was freedom from political bondage. That freedom could never be confined to the Hindus only in the Union and the Muslims only in Pakistan. He had in one of his speeches already told the audience that when the mad fury against the Muslims had abated, it was likely to be vented on others; but when he made the remark he was not prepared for such an early verification of his forebodings. The fury against the Muslims had not yet completely abated. So far as he knew these Christians were utterly inoffensive. It was suggested that their offence consisted in being Christians, more so because they ate beef and pork. As a matter of curiosity Gandhiji had asked the Chaplain whether there was any truth in the remark and he was told that these Roman Catholics, of their own accord, had abjured beef and pork not only now but long ago. If this kind of unreasoning prejudice persisted, the future for Independent India was dismal. The Chaplain himself had recently had his bicycle taken away from him when he was at Rewari and he narrowly escaped death.

Was this agony to end only with the extinction of all the non-Hindus and the non-Sikhs ?

Gandhiji said that he had no desire to live to witness such a dissolution of India and he would ask the audience to join him in the wish and prayer that good sense would return to the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Union.

Birla House, New Delhi, 22-11-'47

SONIPAT CHRISTIANS

Reverting to the ill-treatment of Christians in a village near Gurgaon, Gandhiji said in his after-prayer speech this evening that he had received information that somewhat similar treatment was meted out to Christians at Sonipat. There, he was given to understand that at first the missionaries were requested to allow the use of their houses for the refugees, which they gladly did and for which they were thanked too. But the thanks were turned into a curse in that their other buildings were pressed into service, and they were ultimately asked to leave Sonipat if they did not wish to find life in Sonipat too irksome for them. If the facts were as stated, evidently the plague was extending and one would not know where the plague was to land India.

TIT FOR TAT ?

In a discussion with some friends Gandhiji was told that much improvement was not to be expected in the Indian Union unless there was abatement of the corresponding nuisance in Pakistan. What had appeared in the papers about Lahore was cited as an instance. He himself never swore by newspaper reports and would warn readers of newspapers not to be easily affected by stories reported therein. Not even the best of them were free from exaggeration and embellishment. But supposing that what they read in the papers was true, even then a bad example was never a pattern to follow.

PLEA FOR RIGHT CONDUCT

Imagine, he said, a rectangular frame without a slate. The slightest rough handling of the frame would turn the right angles into acute and obtuse angles and if the frame was again rightly handled at one corner the other three would be automatically turned into right angles. Similarly, if there was right conduct on the part of the Government and the people in the Indian Union, he had not the shadow of a doubt that Pakistan would respond and the whole of India would return to sanity. Let the reported ill-treatment of the Christians against whom, so far as he knew, there was no charge, be an indication that insanity must not be allowed to go further and that it should be promptly and radically dealt with if India was to give a good account of herself to the world.

CO-OPERATION AMONG REFUGEES

Gandhiji then referred to the refugee problem. There were among them doctors, lawyers, students, teachers, nurses etc. If they tore themselves away from poor fellow refugees, they would not have learnt the lesson from their common misfortune. He felt that all of them, professionals and non-professionals, rich and poor, should hold together and establish model townships as monied men of Lahore had built the model town of Lahore, which the Hindus and the Sikhs had felt compelled to evacuate. These townships would remove the pressure from crowded

cities like Delhi and they would promote the health and well-being of the inmates. If over two lakhs of refugees in the big camp of Kurukshetra became a model for purity within and without, if the people including the professionals and the rich men lived on equal terms with the poor refugees and led a life of contentment under canvas, with well laid-out streets and in perfect voluntary co-operation, doing all the services beginning with sanitation themselves and occupied themselves usefully throughout the day, they would cease to be a burden on the exchequer and their simplicity and co-operation would not only compel admiration from the city-dwellers but would also shame them into imitating them in all their good points. The prevailing bitterness and mutual jealousies would vanish in a moment. The refugees, no matter how many they were, would cease to be a matter of worry to the Central Government as also to the local Governments. Such an exemplary life lived by tens of lakhs of refugees would command the admiration of the distracted world.

GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

The last subject Gandhiji referred to was the proposed removal of controls especially on food and cloth. The Government had hesitation in removing the controls because they fancied that there was real scarcity of foodstuffs and cloth in the land and that, therefore, there might be an inflation of prices which would hit hard the poor people, who were supposed, through these controls, to keep the wolf from the door and cover their nakedness. They suspected the honesty of the merchants, the growers and the middlemen. They feared that they were waiting hawk-like for the day of removal of controls so that they might prey upon the poor people and fill their pockets with ill-gotten gains. It was for them a choice of two evils and they considered the present control as a lesser evil.

APPEAL TO THE BUSINESS CLASS

Gandhiji, therefore, appealed to the mercantile classes, growers and middlemen to disarm the suspicion and assure the authorities that decontrol would not only not lead to inflation but would lead to the comparative happiness of the poor people and ease if not eradicate blackmarketing and corruption.

Birla House, New Delhi, 23-11-'47

SILENCE AT PRAYER

In his after-prayer speech Gandhiji exhorted the audience to observe silence which had become the usual thing but which was broken through the murmur among women, of whom there was a large number present that evening. On his drawing the attention of the audience to the murmur, there was complete silence.

OVERSTEPPING LIMIT

He then apologized to the radio men for his occasional breach of the rule that his speech should not exceed twenty minutes, not even fifteen, if possible. He said that he could not always observe the rule for his main purpose was to reach the hearts of the audience that was physically before him. The radio came next. He did not know whether there was any arrangement whereby the radio could record longer speeches. He was not in

the habit of speaking without purpose or for the sake of hearing his own voice.

VIOLENCE NOT JUSTIFIED

Gandhiji then turned to a written question which had been sent to him by a member of the audience. He had asked whether a person whose right was in danger could not defend it violently. The speaker's answer was that violence in reality defended no right and no one. If every right flowed from duty well-performed, then it was unassailable. Thus he had a right to his wage only when he had fully performed the duty undertaken by him. If he took the wage without doing his work, it became theft. He could not associate himself with continuous insistence on rights without reference to the performance of duties on which the rights depended and from which they flowed.

PERSECUTION OF HARIJANS

Then the speaker came to the reported attack on the Harijans' liberty in Rohtak and elsewhere by the Jats. This was nothing new. Interference with the liberty of the Harijans was in vogue during the British regime too. What was, however, new was that the persecution had become more pronounced instead of dying out during their newly-acquired freedom. Did not the freedom belong to every one of India, no matter to what strata of society he belonged? Was the Harijan still the serf that he was upto the other day? In his opinion one wrong led to another. Our misbehaviour, irrespective of the doings in Pakistan, towards our Muslim brethren led to our ill-treatment of the Christians. Our conduct regarding the Harijans pointed in the same direction. The Harijan Sevak Sangh was established to undo the wrong done by the rest of the Hindus to the Harijans who were misdescribed as untouchables and treated as such. If we had realized the full significance of the change that came upon India on the 15th of August last, the glow of freedom would have been felt by the meanest in the land. We would then have been spared the awful events of which we had been helpless witnesses. It seemed as if everybody was working for his own advancement and nobody for India.

National Guards

"The Pakistan Government are sure to raise a volunteer army called National Guards or by some other name. What are the Hindus to do, if they are asked to join? What are they to do, if the army is confined only to the Muslims," asks a correspondent from East Bengal.

This is a difficult question to answer in the present state of things. Almost every Muslim is a suspect in the Union and every Hindu or Sikh likewise in Pakistan, West or East. If there is a hearty invitation, I would advise joining the body, assuming of course that the terms are equal and there is no interference with one's religion. If there is no such invitation, I should, for the time being, submit to the exclusion without harbouring any resentment.

New Delhi, 23-11-'47

M. K. G.

A TIMELY REMINDER FROM MILTON

[A reader sends the following quotation from Milton who advised his countrymen about three centuries ago, when they threw off the yoke of the king. Even to us, who have just got out of British domination, it is an apt counsel. — J. C. K.]

"It is of no small consequence, O my countrymen! whether for the acquisition or retention of Liberty, what sort of persons you are yourselves. Unless by true and sincere piety towards God and men, not vain and wordy, but efficacious and active, you drive from your souls all superstitions sprung from ignorance of true and solid religion, you will always have those, who will make you their beasts of burden and sit upon your backs and necks. They will put you up for sale as their easily-gotten booty, (all your victories in war and political campaigns notwithstanding) and make a rich income out of your ignorance and superstition.

"Unless you expel:

1. Avarice 2. Ambition 3. Luxury from your minds, ay, and expel luxurious living also from your families, then the tyrant you thought you had to seek externally, you will find in your own home, you will find within yourselves a still harder taskmaster; nay, there will sprout daily out of your own vitals a numerous brood of intolerable tyrants.

"Know that, as to be free is the same thing exactly as to be *pious, wise, just, temperate, self-providing, abstinent* from the property of other people, and in fine, *magnanimous and brave* so to be the opposite of all this is the same as being a slave; and by the customary judgment of God and a thoroughly just law of retribution, it comes to pass that a nation that cannot rule and govern itself, but has surrendered itself in slavery to its own lusts is surrendered also to other masters, whom it does not like, and made a slave not only with its will, but against its will. It is a thing ratified by law and nature (lower) herself that whosoever through imbecility or frenzy of mind cannot rightly administer his own affairs, should not be in his own power, but should be given over as a minor to the government of others."

CONTENTS	PAGE
HOW TO GROW MORE FOOD — IV ... MIRABEHN	433
THE BLESSINGS OF DISCIPLINE ... MIRABEHN	434
WANTED A PHILOSOPHY ... J. C. KUMARAPPA	435
LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION ... M. K. GANDHI	436
DEATH — COURAGEOUS	
OR COWARDLY ... M. K. GANDHI	437
RAYS OF HOPE ... M. K. GANDHI	437
MEN WHO HAVE	
SUFFERED FOR PEACE ... HORACE ALEXANDER	437
THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT ... J. C. KUMARAPPA	438
LIGHT OR DARKNESS ? ... MIRABEHN	440
THE C. O. S. PACIFISTS	
AND NON-VIOLENCE ... J. C. KUMARAPPA	441
GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES	442
A TIMELY REMINDER ... J. C. KUMARAPPA	448
NOTES:	
UNBELIEVABLE ... M. K. G.	436
NATIONAL GUARDS ... M. K. G.	448