

# HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

## GOVERNMENT AND "INDO-U.S. AGREEMENT"

In his article published in the issue of *Harijan*, dated August 23 last, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister for Planning, has chosen to characterize my criticism of the "Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement" of January 5, 1952, as a slavery bond as "entirely unfounded". And yet he has not cared to take the public into his confidence as to which of my remarks against the said "Agreement" are such as led him to make such an observation. He has, however, been pleased to lay down certain propositions which, as shown below, fall to the ground when dispassionately examined:

1. That the 'Indo-U.S. Agreement' fits into the framework of the Five Year Plan is altogether irrelevant. The priorities of the Five Year Plan can doubtlessly be met through a slavery bond or an agreement still worse in nature or contents. The real issue is how the plan—granting for the moment that it deserves to be called an "Indian Plan" with which I and many others do not concur—is sought to be accomplished. If the Government seek to do so by means embodied in the 'Indo-U.S. Agreement' which, according to me, are detrimental to the interests of India's masses, one has, of course, nothing to say.

2. Is one to understand that our Government could not 'strengthen' the Five Year Plan in 'certain directions' except through this 'Indo-U.S. Agreement'? Surely more efficient and reliable and better ways to do so were there and are still available. Or, does the Union Minister want to convey that the 'Indo-U.S. Agreement' was the only helpful one?

3. Apart from the facts that chemical fertilizers and steel etc. are not so very essential for agricultural production as our 'experts' would have us imagine and that an addiction to them means not only a perpetual drain of our wealth to foreign manufacturers but also the avoidable dependence of our cultivator on the foreign producer's pleasure as also a complete and disastrous change in our socio-agricultural economy, the 'counterpart rupee funds' obtained on selling fertilizers and steel will not be entirely India's,

since these "sale proceeds shall be utilized only for the prosecution of projects agreed to between the two Governments" (vide Article III). In other words, the Government of India can have no independent say in the disposal of the counterpart rupee funds.

4. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The country has yet to know whether the Government really went into other markets for the projects-equipment but in vain and had to return to that of U.S.A. Again, theoretically India may be free to buy equipment through her own agencies from wherever favourable, but practically can she do so? Surely America would not take any pains to help India simply to allow non-U.S. concerns come in and capture the Indian market.

5. The growing number of American experts in India shows that the more the Government of India want to develop the country, the less the indigenous talent is available. And where is there a foreign expert who cannot "usefully supplement" an Indian expert? Really this talk of importing foreign experts is nothing short of platitude. Also, it may be asked whether an American would look to America's interests first or India's.

6. Granting there was no need for a separate T. C. A. mission in India, how was it needed that the Government of India must accept the U.S.A. staff as part of the diplomatic mission? Surely no really free country will allow that immunity to foreign nationals. At any rate those nationals must be made to work under Indian heads and be not allowed to boss over whatever they undertake. No doubt the Director and his party have to be acceptable to the Government of India, but none that is not acceptable to U.S.A. can be accepted by the Government of India. So who holds the real command?

7. Is it right to say that the Planning Commission or 'the Central Committee is completely free to reach its decisions'? The Article IV, para IV of the 'Indo-U.S. Agreement' runs thus:

'The Director shall make his services available as a consultant to the Committee and he shall be consulted with respect to all programme recommendations of the Committee and *his concurrence*

shall be required with respect to any recommendations involving the allocation or expenditure of funds made available by the U.S. Government' (Italics mine).

It is from this that I have concluded (vide para 7 of 'Economic Implications' in my article—*Harijan*, 10-5-'52):

'No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny. Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director or his company. They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.'

8. People in India bother little about reports and data. Even our own Government is not quite sure of its statistics. They are more or less the vagaries of the aberrations of the man at the table. Instinctively we seem to agree with the celebrated American philosopher who said: "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies and statistics."

India's crying need is not quarterly reports but daily meal.

In his letter the Planning Minister has said that he is "fully satisfied" with the working of the "Agreement". The issue at stake is not his satisfaction or mine, but that of the satisfaction of the people. And the barometer for that is whether the "Agreement" has inspired them by a new enthusiasm and spirit whereby they may voluntarily take to rebuild their country. Frankly the answer is 'no'. Inspiration apart, the "Agreement" has not succeeded in frightening the people to take to reconstruction seriously. And what is still worse, it has not even frightened the Government official (from top down to the peon) to be honest, simple and serviceable. On the contrary it has given countenance to the forces of insincerity, ostentatiousness and good-for-nothing-ness.

Theoretically there may not be much objection to foreign assistance, if it be on terms of absolute equality with no ulterior motive behind it. But that is a very big 'if'. In these times no country can have a free and stable foreign or internal policy if it is not economically self-sufficient. Mounting foreign capital in India and Government of India's dependence on foreign markets belie our claim to neutrality.

With these words I would appeal to the Planning Minister to think over the problem of U.S. Aid anew and I trust that in his sober moments he will realize the truth of what late Shri Kishorlalbai said about the "Agreement":

"It is virtually a charter to U.S. to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern; and then as India's political boss. The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U.S. all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency."

SURESH RAMABHAI

## THE BIRTHDAY VOW \*

(By Vinoba)

[Serial reports of Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan tours have been a constant feature of *Harijan*. The 6th September (1952) *Harijan* carried the 11th instalment of U.P. tour. Then there was an unavoidable break following the sudden demise of Shri Kishorlalbai, as new arrangements had to be made under the situation. Shri Vinoba has now been touring Bihar for more than a month last. Under the circumstances, we have to give up the temptation to cover the rest of his U.P. tour and rest content with giving below the closing speech of the campaign in U.P., as concluding the U.P. tour account. And henceforth we will take up Shri Vinoba's Bihar tour.

27-10-'52

—Ed.]

The first thing I will do today is to offer you, my respectful *pranams*. Next, I should beg forgiveness of those numerous workers with whom I came in close contact during these eleven months, in your province, for any angry words that I might have spoken to them. My speech is not normally harsh, but I might have lapsed into it, at times, in my anxiety to give an impetus to the work, we are engaged in. They may please accept it from me that there was nothing but love and goodwill even behind these apparently harsh expressions.

I have nothing new to say to you today. Moreover, the state of my mind, at the moment, inclines me to observe silence, and look inwards and not outwards. This was to me a day of self-inspection. And I have done it to my satisfaction. I felt that while people had sufficient appreciation that the Bhoodan movement was most timely, yet it had to be admitted that the work was quite formidable. Not that I undertook it in the belief that it was easy. Even to say that "I undertook it" would be incorrect. I have always had the feeling that it is God who willed to use me and wills to use you for this work. However, we on whom God has placed this heavy responsibility should prepare and prove ourselves to be worthy of this great trust. We exhort the people to do *dan* (charity) and *yajna* (sacrifice) and they have been responding to it so well. I do not think that the three lakhs and a half acres which have been lovingly given to us for the landless are a small thing. But it is true that this is only a fraction of what we have got to achieve. Therefore we and particularly I should pray for strength. But he alone can demand and grow in strength who will humbly but steadily grow in *tapas*.

The seers of old and the Gita prescribe three things: *Yajna* (sacrifice), *dan* (charity), and *tapas* (austerity). Of these, through Bhoodan, I called for two, *yajna* and *dan*. But unless we insist on *tapas*, *yajna* and *dan* will not be fulfilled. The three together constitute one indivisible whole. It is for the workers to do the *tapas*. *Yajna* and *dan* are expected from the people, but it is for us to intensify the *tapas*. I was therefore deeply searching within myself as to what we could do in this respect. And I feel I should relate

\* Speech at the U.P. Workers' Conference, Kashi, on 11-9-'52, his birthday.



to you what came to me from these musings. I had often said in the words of Hanuman that —

“There can be no rest for me till Rama’s work is done.”

I pursued the idea in this statement and eventually reached the conclusion that I should do some act of sacrifice. And then I resolved that until this problem is satisfactorily resolved I should give up the idea of going back to my Ashram. The Ashram is a place steeped in the favour of renunciation and *tapas*. It was there that I carried on unceasingly my work in the service of the poor, and of the country. Even today the Ashram is carrying on the most revolutionary experiment of our times, the experiment of *kanchan-mukti*, or freedom from money. Yet the Ashram does afford us a kind of protection too. And I felt that I should leave off this protection as a form of attachment. Thus I made this resolve and now I am dedicating it to the Lord in your presence.

The other day, when our revered brother Shri Kishorlalbhai left the body and passed away, my determination in this regard grew even stronger. It was brought home to me that the little time God has granted us should be devoted to the execution of the work He has entrusted to us. We should not worry ourselves about success or failure. It may better be left to God. But we must apply our entire energy to it. Thus I came to the decision I have announced. When I commenced the campaign, I had an idea that occasionally I would be going to the Ashram. That goes now and my dedication to the work now becomes complete and irrevocable.

I ask you to strengthen me in my decision. I feel enough strength inside me, there is not a trace of weakness. But the work we want to achieve is great and calls for the strength of our collective will. You may pray to God to confer success on my efforts.

I am in the U. P. only for two days now. Day after tomorrow, I shall enter Bihar, the land of King Janak. The target for Bhoodan which we resolved to reach in this province has been achieved to a large extent. And I have no doubt that the little that still remains will be made up shortly. Every thinking man in the province has nothing but sympathy for our work. I therefore believe that the workers will not encounter much difficulty in doing the rest.

However, the words Baba Raghavadas spoke today have greatly moved me. He expressed his determination for collecting 8 lakhs of acres, and I am convinced that the sincerity with which these words were spoken would evoke response from our workers and sympathizers.

A sixteen-member Committee has been formed to carry out the work of Bhoodan Yajna in this province. It includes leaders of great eminence and workers of indefatigable zeal. The leaders will give blessings and guidance and the

workers will put in ceaseless work in the spirit of “Make me Thy servant”. I will keep in close touch with all the members of the Committee. They are on the Committee as the lovers of Bhoodan-work who are fully convinced that it will be to the good of the poor. Politically they belong to different parties. But party labels have no place in the Bhoodan Committee. They are there in the capacity of *sevaks*.

Lastly, I may repeat to you that I have arrived at the resolve for not allowing myself rest by going to the Paunar Ashram till our work is completed, with full deliberation. You know that I have spent 30 years of my youth in quiet contemplation, in *dhyana-yoga*, *karma-yoga* and *bhakti-yoga* and constructive work. I am no propagandist. A propagandist does not spend his youth in the way I have done, nor would he think of starting on a walking pilgrimage in his old age. I am only a humble devotee of Truth, a seeker and a servant who believes in constructive work. I get satisfaction only in constructive work. After a close study of our village-problems I have reached the conclusion that our basic problem is that of land and we must find out a non-violent solution of it. In the event of a failure, we should abandon our claim to the practice of Ahimsa. It goes without saying that with the abandonment of Ahimsa, constructive work must also go. Of course, you can take to mechanization and build up a certain kind of order. But it will be far from our ideal. Because mechanization is bound to lead to its inseparable concomitant, the militarization. I have no faith in that. If we have love for Indian culture, non-violence, Sarvodaya and all else which they imply, we must needs apply ourselves ever more to the Bhoodan work. Then only can we revivify and speed up other items of constructive work. Failing that, they are bound to fade away. That was how I came to leave the Ashram and wander about on my present mission. I ask all those who consider themselves to be the disciples of Gandhiji to think over it and see if what I have done is correct or otherwise. And if they adjudge my work to be right, they should give me their full co-operation. Just as they used to leave off their individual activities to join the Satyagraha campaign when Babu launched one, even so should they co-operate with this movement, with the same joy and zeal which a fighter feels as he hears the battle-cry. I also call on others to give me as much help as they can.

Brothers, I am unable to put in words the love I feel for you. As to your love, it has given me more sustenance than all the food and water that I have taken in Uttar Pradesh. I only wish that this love should not be for this miserable body but for the great idea underlying Bhoodan-work, and for Satya and Ahimsa. I again offer you my respectful *pranams*.

(Adapted from Hindi)

# HARIJAN

Nov. 8

1952

## A PREMATURE MOVE

The Government of India have set up a Commission for Secondary Education in the country, consisting of about 10 persons, under the Chairmanship of Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University. The Commission is instructed to submit its report 'as soon as may be feasible'.

The terms of reference for the Commission are to this effect: They shall

"enquire into and report on the present position of Secondary Education in India in all its aspects and suggest measures for its reorganization and improvement with particular reference to the aims, organization and content of Secondary Education; Its relationship to primary, Basic and higher education; the inter-relation of Secondary schools of different types and other allied problems, so that a sound and reasonably uniform system of Secondary Education suited to our needs and resources may be provided for the whole country." (*The Hindu*, Sept. 26, 1952).

The Commission had its first sitting the other day (Oct. 6) at Delhi. The remarks of the Union Minister of Education when formally inaugurating it are reported by *The Hindu* as follows:

"The Minister referred to the intrinsic importance of this stage of education which supplied the students for higher stages and the teachers for primary education. Besides, the decision of the Government of India and the State Governments to accept Basic Education as the pattern at the elementary stage had made it necessary to reorganize Secondary Education. Maulana Azad referred to the view generally held that Secondary Education should be the final stage of general education for the vast majority of the students, and that only a selected few should go on to higher education in the sciences, humanities and technology. This made it necessary that there should be greater diversity at the secondary stage so that students could, at the end of their Secondary Education, enter into various professions and take to big or small-scale industries. It was also necessary that some method should be devised by which those who were likely to benefit by higher study were offered the necessary facilities for doing so. He concluded by expressing the hope that the Commission would be able to make recommendations that would give India a sound and creative system of education." (*The Hindu*, Oct. 8, 1952).

From this Press summary of the inaugural address we may fairly conclude that the Commission was necessary because:

1. The secondary stage of education was important as it supplied students for higher stages and secondly as it supplied teachers for primary education;

2. As Governments in India decided to accept Basic Education as the pattern at the elementary stage, it became necessary to reorganize Secondary Education;

3. Secondary Education was important as it was "generally held that (it) should be the final stage of general education for the vast majority of the students."

And that the Commission was expected to do the following:

1. The Commission should see that there was greater diversity at the secondary stage, so that students could, at the end of their secondary education, enter into various professions. . . . .

2. "It was also necessary that some method should be devised by which those who were likely to benefit by higher study were offered the necessary facilities for doing so."

As a whole we may fairly take it that this gives us the idea with which the Commission is appointed. The dual purpose of Secondary Education is very well known. Again the importance of education not merely at the secondary but at all stages is equally well recognized. As a matter of fact, there is a sort of undesirable rivalry in this regard among the three stages—primary, secondary and higher. The question before us is not that. Rather, as in all other spheres of our national life, the question is of deciding upon proper priorities and marshalling opinion and action accordingly. It is from this point of view that the appointment of the Commission by the Union Government should be judged. Was such an inquiry necessary at present? Is it going to really help us in the present circumstances? Is Secondary Education a top priority? Which of its dual purposes is more important and the chief one? Is not Secondary Education some further education for those who can take it? If, as the Union Minister of Education says, it is to be the final stage of general education, can it be allowed to so subserve the interests of so-called higher education which is only *special* further education for the selected few, as to almost negate its main purpose of being a further complete whole in general education? These are some of the many questions that naturally arise here.

If we look at the Constitution of India, we find that Secondary Education cannot legitimately be a top priority. Art. 45 of the Constitution directs that—

"The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution (i.e. 1950), for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

Therefore one may well expect that the Central Government should, as soon as possible and as the topmost priority, go into investigating whether this directive principle will be duly implemented within the stipulated period and what ought to be done for it. Are States in India in a position to assure us that this directive will be fulfilled? And what should be the chief all-India principles of such implementation?



The Union Minister is reported to have said about Basic Education having been decided as our plan for elementary education. It will be worth while to note here that Basic Education according to Gandhiji contains both the elementary and secondary stages, and it was not suggested by him as a mere method in pedagogy, but it was an item in our programme of building up a new society through education. But that is another matter, which may be left at that here. The topmost priority today is to plan and arrange for seven years of free and compulsory Basic Education. As all know, we are very very far from achieving it. Are we planning to achieve it? Again, is it not more proper to say that at present not secondary but primary education of seven years is the obvious "final stage of general education for the vast majority of the students"? Have we decided about reasonably uniform guiding principles for this stage? Basic Education holds that the following should be the main ones:

1. To secure 7 or 8 years of Basic Education to the nation without any bifurcation anywhere in its midst.
2. To see that not English but Hindi is introduced from the fifth grade and English at the High School grade which can begin at the 8th year of schooling.
3. To see that we strive to achieve the target of free and compulsory Basic Education in ten years.
4. To see that Basic Education begins to render what is desired of it, viz. self-sufficiency to the extent consistent with sound education, in which case only can we achieve No. 3 above in the quickest manner.

Are they clearly laid down? Does the Government see that these may come to stay in our State educational set-up?

As in higher education, in Secondary Education as well every State has its own peculiar local problems, requiring to be gone into. Well may they be looked into by the States. If at all, the time for its radical transformation will come when the nation has got a clear picture of the primary stage which still awaits to be worked up on the new lines. An inquiry before doing that will not be anyway helpful, but may even harm us, if it does not mind some of the basic truths of educational reconstruction in our country, like the ones noted above. Therefore it is always sound policy to mind first things first and rest assured that the next will naturally come up in due course.

I hope the Secondary Education Commission will at least see that it works further on the agreed acceptance of Basic Education and its significance and does not confound it as is unfortunately the situation at present.

## WHY FEAR FOOD SHORTAGE?

(By Dr. P. J. Thomas)

### Let Us Follow Gandhiji's Advice

India's food shortage has been causing a great deal of worry and has involved much waste of our scarce dollar resources. It is a mill-stone round the neck of Mother India, and is causing much trouble to our hard-worked Finance Minister. Year after year, we have been throwing away valuable dollar exchange, which should have been used for purchasing much-needed machinery for industries essential for raising the living standards of our people and for giving employment.

Even more serious has been India's loss of prestige in foreign countries, caused by her going to them with a begging bowl in hand. We frighten them with the spectre of famine and starvation here. Had we called for wheat or other cereal, this would have caused them little worry. But we want rice, a cereal which requires special weather conditions and timely water supplies for raising it. In fact the unappeasable hunger of these rice-eating countries which are also thickly populated, is creating a horrid world shortage for rice and is causing a thorny problem to the World Food Organization.

I submit that we are unnecessarily becoming a nuisance to other nations, at a time when they are themselves hard pressed by vexed problems of their own or even more serious world problems. People in Southern India and Bengal habitually eat more rice than is good for them. A more varied diet with less of rice and more of vegetables, especially green vegetables, would be more conducive to our national health, as also to sound national economy. Green vegetables like spinach, tomatoes, cabbages and brinjals can be easily raised, in the environs of the humblest dwelling place; with a five-cent plot attached, plantains and tubers like tapioca and sweet potatoes can also be raised. The advantage of tubers is that they are heavy yielders and can resist drought successfully. Even the other vegetables require little water, and the manure problem can be easily solved by using one's own urine, now wasted or causing nuisance to neighbours. Compost can also be made with it. Congress prisoners, in war time, did this in certain South India jails and the spinach they then planted grew almost to the size of a tree. For those who eat eggs and meat, poultry can be kept in homes at low cost. In low-lying areas, fish can also be reared by the side of houses in small tanks, as is done in Bengal. In all these ways, rice can be effectively supplemented, and diet can be made more complete and health-giving. Incidentally this can also relieve the embarrassments of Finance Ministers, and what is more important—relieve our tax burdens.

Gandhiji has on several occasions spoken about the need for supplementing our cereal diet with larger quantities of vegetables, and of growing

them ourselves as far as possible. Especially during the last few months of his earthly life, he was never tired of emphasizing this, as food shortage was then becoming a problem owing to unplanned decontrol. About two months before Bapuji passed away, I had an occasion to discuss this problem with him in the presence of a well-known foreign economist. He commended to me the West Coast habit of keeping a kitchen garden, but I had to tell him that even on the West Coast educated people were giving up such salutary habits and are now more and more depending on market vegetables, and fill their stomachs mostly with rice, unlike their forefathers who supplemented rice with a heavy vegetable curry (*pazhukku*).

I then placed before Mahatmaji a suggestion that, having regard to the growing food shortage in the country, he may issue a directive to the nation that a kitchen garden, however small, should be attached to every household and that all adults should spend a half-hour in it daily. I also suggested that this might be in lieu of spinning, in the case of Congressmen who find it difficult to ply the *charkha*. After all, food is more important than clothing, and as India was becoming more or less self-sufficient in regard to cloth, spinning was not so urgent a duty as raising one's own food. Gandhiji readily admitted the desirability of something being done in this line, and wanted me to address the Congress President on this matter, because he (Gandhiji) was "becoming a spent-up force". He also added, "I like the idea, but Professor, I am no good at agriculture." (Here he narrated his weary efforts at cultivation while he was in South Africa). He then finally said: "I am getting old, but it is for younger people like you to take this up." And he gave me his blessing. I then sent up a note on this to the then Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. He showed great interest, and he was himself keeping a kitchen garden. But things did not move much then.

Times have changed. Food shortage is becoming more serious. With Rajaji's bold decision to decontrol, the need for such a thing as above is becoming urgent, so that the demand for rice may be reduced. Especially now, with a horrid drought facing the country, we have to raise more of other foodstuffs. Rice is in short supply all the world over and grain necessity has come to force on us a policy which we might have adopted earlier with great profit to us every way.

Travancore-Cochin has a food grain deficit to the extent of 60 per cent, and unemployment has lately become appalling in the densely populated Coastal areas. This last year, there was thus lack of food and lack of purchasing power—a combination which can be most serious. It was tapioca that saved that State from starvation, and tapioca having been in ever-supply, the Coastal people were fed largely at the cost of the small-holders of interior. Tapioca crop is already being raised

in Malabar, Salem, Chungelput, S. Arcot and other districts of Madras State, and may I suggest that the extension of this crop to the drought-affected Rayalaseema areas would be a sovereign remedy for a situation which may otherwise become too serious. Facilities for raising kitchen gardens may also be given, especially free distribution of vegetable seeds; the know-how for making compost must also be broadcast.

With Rajaji taking up this matter in right earnest, I have no doubt that not only can the spectre of famine be exorcised, but the small food grain deficit of 10 per cent—it is really much less—can be easily made up. If the Central Government can carry out such a policy in other States as well, the wise early decision of India's Prime Minister to make this land self-sufficient regarding food-grain can soon be realized and India will then be able to carry out the Five Year Plan in which her mind is set.

May I suggest that the nation's thoughts be concentrated on this, especially in the Gandhi Jayanti Week, from year to year?

#### KHADI AND GANDHIAN LITERATURE

The Secretary, Sarvodaya Sahitya Sangh, Kashi, expresses his concern over the decline in Khadi sale and makes a suggestion, which is well worth serious consideration by all lovers of Sarvodaya. He writes:

"The President of the Charkha Sangh, Shri Dhirendrabhai has written and spoken quite a good deal on this question. The view-point of the Charkha Sangh regarding this matter has been further clarified recently by Shri Sahasrabudhe, the Secretary of the Sangh, who has also placed before the country a comprehensive programme to meet the difficulty and restore Khadi to the high position, which it deserves in any scheme of a sound Indian economy. I would only like the following to be added to it:

1. We have Khadi-bhandars at numerous places throughout India. Every Khadi-bhandar should become an active centre for the propagation of Gandhian literature and ideology.

2. The Sarva Seva Sangh should prepare and circulate a list of appropriate books to the *bhandars* and the *bhandars* should see that they are always available at their book-depots.

3. Along with the *hundis* for Khadi, *hundis* for books may also be sold, if it is found necessary and desirable.

4. Every *bhandar* should also become the centre of a study circle where workers and sympathizers may gather on off days, and do collective spinning and hold friendly discussion on problems of the day."

This is really a very useful suggestion. Every effort should be made to promote the study of Gandhian literature. The present generation of students, who having completed their education, are leaving schools and colleges, say, those below 30 years of age,—have not had direct knowledge of the Gandhian revolution. Nor does the history of this glorious period find place in the courses of study in our schools and universities. This is really sad, for it is very necessary for the new generation to study Gandhian thought, which indeed is the force that brought us Independence.

12-10-52  
(From Hindi)

MAGANBHAI P. DESAI



## PROHIBITION AND NON-VIOLENCE

(By Gandhiji)

I hold drinking spirituous liquors in India to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished. I do tolerate, very unwillingly it is true and helplessly because of want of full realization of the law of love, a moderate system of penal code. And so long as I do, I must advocate the summary punishment of those who manufacture the fiery liquid and those even who will persist in drinking it notwithstanding repeated warnings. I do not hesitate forcibly to prevent my children from rushing into fire or deep waters. Rushing to red water is far more dangerous than rushing to a raging furnace or flooded stream. The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul.

Young India, 8-8-29

## NOTES

### Synthetic Rice and Milk

Five friends who had lunch with Mr K. D. Malaviya, Deputy Minister for Natural Resources, in Delhi on Sunday were surprised to learn from him later that the rice and curries served at the table were synthetic products.

Mr Malaviya had brought them from the Mysore Food Technological Research Institute, one of the National Laboratories visited by him recently.

The "rice" was made out of tapioca and other ingredients. The "milk" too was a vegetable product.

The Institute claims that its synthetic rice and vegetable milk are superior in nutritive value to the natural products.

The Government of India are now contemplating mass production of these items.—PTI, (From The Hindustan Times, Oct. 8, 1952).

Shri Malaviya had surely a good joke at his table friends. But let him or his officers at the Institute not joke at us all by saying that "synthetic rice and vegetable milk are superior in nutritive value to the natural products". It is any day far better for the Ministry of Natural Resources to secure for us more natural products than synthetic. Mother Earth and mother cow are surely our greatest institutes for rice and milk. Science may better try its hands, if at all, at securing more natural rice and milk and not bother in vain to steal a march over Mother Nature.

14-10-'52

M. P.

### What Communism Has Cost China

The following excerpt from Critic's London Diary in the *New Statesman and Nation* of September 6, 1952, speaks for itself:

'Last year Mao ended the threat of invasion from Formosa by calling upon all Kuomintang fifth columnists in villages all over China to surrender their arms; those who did not do so voluntarily were shot. (The facts were stated last year, unchallenged.)..... I gave the number of a million and a half shot because that figure was authoritatively stated by the Chinese Communists..... It is clear that it is now too small. In October Cheng Chien, Vice-Chairman of the Central and South Military Administrative Committee, claimed that he had exterminated

a million 'bandits' (the category used for Chiang's armed followers) in his part of China, and Wuhan radio put forth the number of a million and a half for the slightly different area covered by the Fourth Field Army. This figure is for only part of China, and it does not of course include the many thousands of racketeers, black marketeers, landlords, spies and others who have since been executed by popular courts.....

'I hold to my opinion that Mao is to be criticized only for killing enemies he might have disarmed.'

V. G. D.

### Salaries in Russia

The Editor,

*Harijan*

Sir,

The following fact will interest readers in view of the assertion made in India that the differences in salaries in Russia range between 500 to 5,000 Roubles a month.

But Mr Stalin's salary alone is —

1. as President of Peoples' Commissars yearly 60,000 Roubles.

2. as Secretary of Russian Communist Party 60,000 Roubles yearly.

3. Royalty on books published in his name 600,000 Roubles.

He has 3 country residences and 4 motor cars placed by the State at his disposal — 100,000 Roubles. Besides he is the beneficiary of "buying tickets" that permits him to obtain 80 per cent reduction on any or all purchases. This brings his yearly income to one million Roubles.

(From the *Combat Syndicalist*, France)

M. P. T. ACHARYA

PS.

Stalin's income is 1 million Roubles while the average for all employed is 500 Roubles.

M. P. T. A.

### Cattle and Pastures

May I express a personal opinion on the subject of Mirabehn's plea quoted in the *Harijan* of 16th August?

(1) Since imports depend on many factors; and we can only rely on our animal power and home-grown food in time of war; progress in mechanization of rural life should be cautious.

(2) Every village needs its permanent grazing land (*gauchar*) for its useful cattle; and every State needs jungle areas with natural water and grass where its useless animal can be kept. The annual increase of such animals, on the limited area of village grazing lands, is ruining our cattle by mal-nutrition.

(3) States require sufficient number of dairy farms and markets where their people can buy good milk cows, buffaloes, bulls and bullocks. "Milk" (with its butter, ghee and curds) is after all the most important industry; it touches people's health from birth to death. This is acknowledged now even by non-vegetarian countries of the West who have been producing and consuming more and more milk and vegetables.

Bombay, 30-8-'52

A. P. PATTANI

### COST OF HANDLOOM CLOTH

The controversy between the Chief Minister of Madras and the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry has brought out in bold relief the difficulties of carrying on a government without a set purpose or a well defined goal. The Union Minister talks of high cost of handloom cloth and holds a brief for cheap goods, while the Chief Minister enunciates a crucial point of high policy when he declares 'the question is not a question of yardage, but of human families whose care is the obligation of the State Government and therefore of the Central Government also'.

The care of the welfare of human families will involve the duty of seeing to the equitable distribution of wealth. Maldistribution of wealth is a chronic malady of the capitalist economy. The state capitalism prevailing in Soviet Russia has tried to handle this problem through the price mechanism. Cost, profit or competition do not wholly control the situation. In Russia they decide on the equitable income every person of like ability should have and distribute it over the efficient production of such a person. Supposing a professor or an engineer is given an income of Rs 300 per month and skilled *mochi* is considered equal to them in his field, then such a *mochi* also should have an income of Rs 300 p. m. To do this we have to estimate how many shoes he can produce in a month working to his full capacity. If we find he can make 15 pairs, then the price per pair will have to be Rs 20/- each plus cost. This will mean pushing up the prices which would otherwise prevail on a competitive basis.

Thus if the Madras Chief Minister's idea of the functions of the State were to hold the field, not only will the present prices of handloom cloth be high, but they may even have to be pushed up further to give those families an equitable standard of living. At the moment our Government has no set goal and hence this confusion between the lines of arguments pursued by the two Ministers. The Union Minister takes a capitalistic stand while the Madras Chief Minister, in a lucid moment, argues like a good socialist.

Apart from these, at present in India the mill industries get the benefit of enormous expenditures of Government out of public funds in way of research and other amenities such as good road, markets, transport etc. which do not affect the villagers. These are unseen and unrecorded subsidies to the mill industries. If the actual cost of these were allocated to the mill industries it is doubtful if they can lay any claims to cheapening cost of production even if we leave out of our reckoning the social costs of the mill industry to society. No amount of capitalistic arguments can meet these greater non-financial considerations.

We hope the Central Government will define its purpose of existence at an early date and make the task of well meaning public men like the Madras Chief Minister easier.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

### FROM THE HORSE'S OWN MOUTH

It has been medically proved that alcohol in large doses is ruinous for the health and that even in small doses it progressively upsets the digestive and nervous systems resulting in permanent injury to them. Prohibition stops this injury to human health.

If Prohibition did only this much one might not feel justified to enforce it on the ground that it attacks individual liberty. If anybody wants to kill himself why stop him from doing so? But does not law make attempt at suicide a crime? If it does, and society approves of it, then why not make drinking also a crime? That is the stock argument of the anti-drink propagandist and one may or may not subscribe to it. But what I heard by chance a few days back at one of the evening parties at Taj in Bombay clinched for me for ever the argument in favour of Prohibition.

Next to me sat a business magnate and his young secretary. The chic girl had left the businessman a few years before the Bombay Government stopped drink trade in their State. She had good looks and could earn much more in the red-lamp area than by drudging at the type writer in the office of her employer. Recently she had rejoined the business man's office and was asked the reason. She frankly admitted that Prohibition had hit hard the dark trade carried on in the red-lamp area and that the business there was more than seventy-five per cent down. It was drink that brought men to these areas and it was drink that attracted easy-going girls to those quarters.

If Prohibition had done nothing else for Bombay except reducing the white-slave traffic by seventy-five per cent, that alone was sufficient to justify its imposition. And the proof for its justification comes not from the anti-social anchorite but, as we say, from the horse's own mouth, from one of the persons who had lived that life and seen its ups and downs at first hand.

I am told that there has been some difference regarding the enforcement of Prohibition between the Centre and Shri Morarji Desai, the Chief Minister of Bombay. I wish that the representatives of the Centre who were against Bombay Government were present at the Taj Dinner and had heard at first hand from one who knew what Prohibition had done for the victims of the drink habit!

24-10-'52

SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

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