

HARIJAN

16 Pages

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

SOME IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS*

(By Vinoba)

Q.: While on the one hand the Zamindars are donating lands for Bhoodan, on the other they are evicting the tenants. Is this an indication of their change of heart?

A.: Eviction of tenants is obviously undesirable. The question is: How to stop it? The best thing we can do is to go to the landlords and persuade them to accept the view that in case the eviction results in the Kisan becoming landless then the land in question should be returned to him as a Bhoodan gift. We will not concern ourselves with finding out whether the eviction in any case was right or wrong in the legal sense. If the eviction leaves the Kisan totally devoid of any other source of livelihood, then something has to be done to help him rehabilitate himself and the best thing would be to prevail upon the landlord to give the land back to him.

The evictions which are taking place are due in most cases to a feeling of insecurity on the part of the landlords. They do not indicate any heartlessness. They are gripped with the fear that they will be nowhere if they lose all their land. And so in some cases they have taken to evicting their tenants. But this does not mean that the donations which they have made to us have no sincerity behind them. The donations are certainly actuated by a spirit of love and sincerity. Only they suffer from fear and that they have to give up.

So this kind of loving and intelligent meditation by trusted workers would be the best solution of the problem of evictions. A right thought can never fail to impress and finally convert an individual if it is presented to him again and again. People suffer partly from greed and partly from fear. The workers should persuade them to give up fear. It would be wrong to frighten them. True, we have been saying that if land is not distributed, India may have to pass through a bloody revolution. But we do not say that to frighten the people. It is only intended

to make them appreciate the gravity of the problem. We only mean to point it out to them that the Yajna would benefit them too. As to greed, everyone has it in greater or lesser degree. Who has fully got rid of it? It can be given up only gradually.

Only today I asked the Zamindars who had come to see me to set me free of this work and take it on their own shoulders. It was very necessary at the present time, I told them, that the relations between them and peasants remained cordial. This work will not only do good to the poor but also to the rich. I am not anxious so much for getting more and more land as for establishing love and cordiality between the rich and poor. And nothing would serve this purpose more successfully than the rich themselves taking up my message and doing my work. Indeed I would like my position to be like that of a priest at the marriage ceremony. The priest is not expected to find out the boy or the girl. He is only called in to bless the wedding. In the same way it is for the Zamindars to find out the landless and give them land. I should be called in simply to bless this meeting of the hearts.

Q.: You aim at abolishing the ownership of land, while the Janata Party which claims to be working for the Bhoodan says in its manifesto that they will try to protect that right. This hardly indicates a change of heart.

A.: It is true that we aim at abolishing the ownership of land. But what the Janata Party or any other party says about that question is not our concern. I never said that any party would undergo a change of heart. A party as such has no heart. The change of heart can take place only in the individuals. Of course, the individuals who have their hearts changed may be expected to influence their respective parties and bring about a corresponding change in their views.

Then the change of heart is not anything which may happen abruptly in a trice. It is a slow process taking a long time. Jayaprakashji for example is working for the Bhoodan Yajna with all his heart and soul. But others though sympathetic are not as earnest as he. The party

* From a speech at Telpa (Gaya) on 8-2-54.

will change when others are also infected with the same enthusiasm for this work. It is therefore the individual alone who can experience a change of heart. When it takes place then he not only influences his party but also the society at large.

Q.: The Zamindars have hundreds of acres of land while the Kisans have in most cases no more than five or even less than an acre. Both are asked to donate one-sixth of their possessions. Would it lead to equality?

A.: We accept land from the poor in order to waken them and to let them acquire the courage and feel the joy of participating in a noble cause. When the poor volunteer to donate the land it has a tremendous effect on the minds of the rich. The sacrifice of the poor moves them too to act in the matter. Then we demand more than one-sixth from the rich. We say to them, God has given to you more, you can therefore spare more. We cannot hope to achieve equality all at once. It will come gradually as the sense of individual ownership gets increasingly replaced by that of communal solidarity.

(Adapted from Hindi)

MOTOR TRANSPORT AND STRENGTH OF THE NATION

(By Vithaldas M. Kothari)

The tenth annual Conference of the All-India Motor Unions Congress was held last month at Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. The Conference emphasized the important role of the private sector of the road transport service and demanded protection and encouragement at the hands of Government in the interest of expansion and growth of road transport in the country.

India, with the total area of 13 lakh square miles, has a road mileage of only 1.78 lakhs, out of which hardly 33 per cent is *pucca* and all-metalled roads. The total number of vehicles belonging to private operators is about one lakh. Compared to other countries this is a lower figure. Though various State Governments are launching schemes of nationalizing road transport and extending their scope, they will not be able to meet the growing needs of the nation, the Conference observed. It pleaded for greater scope for the private enterprise.

Among other points, speakers at the Conference made the following two noteworthy observations:

1. It may be good to talk of bullock carts, and our village economy. But those who have witnessed the two World Wars, or either of these, know it fully well that the real strength of the nation lies not in her warriors alone but in her war equipments too.

2. Whatever be our efforts to raise the present level of our industrial and agricultural

productions, without a well-developed system of road transport, capable of delivering goods, we cannot have an equal or equitable distribution of our national wealth.

The above observations seem to suggest that the real strength of the nation lies in war equipments, which, according to them, is expansion and growth of motor transport service so as to cover all villages of the country and setting up an automobile industry in the country. A question of vital importance suggests itself here: Whether making buses and trucks run in rural India and thus help draining away the wealth of the villages would build the strength of the nation or building villages on self-sufficient and self-supporting lines would do it?

For an agricultural country like India whose 79 per cent of the total population live in the villages, will it be meaningless to talk of the village economy? Does the Conference suggest that the interest of 21 per cent of the city people should outweigh that of the village people? If the real interest of 79 per cent of the rural population of India is to be served, is it not imperative to reserve short distances for bullock carts?

What will ensure plenty and prosperity of the nation: Whether growing of more crops by agriculturists and developing more village industries; or exporting raw produce of the villages by motor transport? How will the expansion and extension of motor transport to villages and setting up an indigenous automobile industry provide employment to village people? Assuming that it would do so, what about the necessary oil that will be required? In times of war what will serve more,—whether the oil-less buses and trucks or bullock carts?

Considering all this from the point of the real strength of the nation it is obvious that the more the villages become self-sufficient and self-supporting and add to their wealth, the more will they build the real strength of the nation. The linking of villages to cities by means of motor transport service may open new avenues of investment of money and earning of profits, may lead people to spend more on travel, and may facilitate transport of goods from one place to another. But will this superficial activity add to the nation's real strength? Will it generate sustaining capacity to stand erect and face hard conditions in times of distress?

Let it be realized that undermining the role and ignoring the interest of bullock carts would not serve the country. Instead ways and means should be devised to build a new mixed economy wherein both should have their right place. And where it is necessary to expand and develop motor transport, it should be done more on a co-operative basis than on private enterprise lines.

5-3-'54

(From Gujarat)

DEMORALIZED BY UNEMPLOYMENT*(By Maganbhai P. Desai)*

This is what a friend from Bombay says in his letter to me :

"I fear that many girls who have been discharged from Rationing Offices are looking for men who will 'keep' them alive. Some girls have applied for jobs in firms without any conditions.

"I see lot of young fellows who have no jobs are trying to feed themselves by contributing to cotton figures, gambling and by playing cards for money. Even rich people who are not sure of earning by business seem to try to earn money by gambling, horse-racing and other means. There seem to be many girls walking along the streets to get customers.

"The unemployed people get into a habit of not working at all. They will find their freedom is lost by working long hours for meagre pay.

"Of course rich and poor will gamble even if they earn by legitimate means—for who does not want more money?"

Having said this the friend remarks in his letter :

"People's minds move along the line of least resistance and it is of no use to attempt to reform them without creating environment.

"I know it cannot be done overnight or even be allowed to do after long years, but at least we must tell the facts and remedies which alone will be effective....."

The picture given by the correspondent if true is very painful indeed. We sometimes learn that the poor illiterate and unsophisticated people in the villages, under the stress of unbearable unemployment, kill themselves. The urban literate also behave similarly, but they kill themselves not physically but morally and spiritually. The difference is noteworthy as indicative of the new culture from the West that is growing rampant in our cities and big towns. English schools and colleges have been almost the breeding grounds for such variety of culture in our midst. It is apparent that merely providing employment is no remedy for this dismal situation in our educational and cultural conditions. The remedy must go deeper; it cannot be merely economic. The most disappointing thing in our situation is that education in India has not still realized that this is really its true mission and not learning pathetically on English and all that it means.

27-2-'54

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INDIA MAINTAINS GOA RADIO*(By 'Listening Post')*

Tristao de Braganza Cunha said the other day that it is Indian resources that maintain the Portuguese in Goa and that we are actually helping the Portuguese much more than the British did. Let me offer irrefutable proofs in support of what Cunha has asserted.

The Portuguese in Goa boast a radio. I knew how they started it and how it was built up. From beginning to end it is Indian money that has supported the radio. Indian money drained out of our country keeps it going.

An American or some other foreigner first developed the brain-wave. He started the 'line' of commercial radio broadcasts from Goa and Ceylon. He started an office in Bombay and invited the Indian advertisers to use this medium for advertisements. The Tatas and Polson's Butter signed contracts, I believe, of Rs 30,000 each. Some of the interests were patronized by the Indian Government. Then followed a crowd of medical quacks, sellers of aphrodisiac remedies, hair-oils and all kinds of people wanting to sell their products.

But the radio's stock in trade consists of cine-music of Indian artistes and the radio station has signed a contract with an Indian organization that leases broadcasting rights. The Goa radio means *our* records. There is of course no question of any kind of taste. The All India Radio does not permit playing of records of cinema music. Nor does it run any advertisement service. So, the Goa radio runs an office in Bombay and collects contracts for sale of radio time.

It advertises everything. The advertisers are all Indians. The majority of listeners are Indians and they are encouraged to send their *firmaishi* or command performance and their names are called out. Goa radio, in effect, lives and flourishes on Indian resources and Indian patronage.

(From Free Goa, Belgaum, February 25, 1954).

[Goa is much in the news these days. It has been a veritable headache for our administration, as well. It being foreign territory, there is going on from there much smuggling of goods and liquor etc. We wish to see that this Portuguese foreign pocket in our midst is no more. But how do we behave? How does the trading class in particular behave? India's national self-respect requires that this should stop. Non-co-operation with what is bad is necessary as the people's own weapon to set it right.

27-2-'54

M. P.]

FOOD SHORTAGE AND AGRICULTURE*By Mahatma Gandhi*

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HARIJAN

Mar. 13

1954

AIDING AND ABETTING AGGRESSION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

On February 25, President Eisenhower declared to the world that under the authority granted to him by the Congress he had complied with Pakistan's request for granting military assistance to it. The grant will be made in terms of or subject to the "purposes and requirements of the Mutual Security legislation" of America. The purpose, in the words of that legislation, will be "to maintain the security and promote the foreign policy of the U. S. by authorizing military, economic and technical assistance to friendly countries to strengthen the mutual security and individual and collective defences of the free world. . . ."

The U. S. President has paraphrased the aim in his declaration that "regional groupings to ensure security against aggression constitute the most effective means to assure survival and progress. . . . We should strengthen efforts towards regional political, military and economic integration". Of course this should be within the framework of the U. N. Hence he further says that "any recipient country must also undertake that it will not engage in any act of aggression against any other nation".

Thus it is clear that the purpose of the triple American aid, — economic, military, or technical, — is the same, viz., to further build up and buttress the U. S. foreign policy of waging a global cold war against the Russian bloc. Pakistan has, by accepting military aid, chosen to directly join this cold war.

The situation created by this step raises a serious question for America and the U. N. O. as well. Does Pakistan fulfil the condition of non-aggression against another nation? One must, with regret, admit that the answer is in the negative. Pakistan invaded India about seven years ago. Thus Pakistan has to its credit an act of aggression against India in Kashmir. Further this has been a matter of complaint by India to the U. N. O. The armies of the two countries are at present pitched on both the sides of the cease-fire line which, thank God, was possible under the U. N. Charter. The question is hanging fire since then, and Pakistan is not ready to negotiate about it on the basis of a no-war or non-aggression pact with India. Under these circumstances, it is clear that any assistance to or alliance with Pakistan of a military nature would naturally amount to strengthening and abetting that aggression. Obviously such aid can in no way be considered to be for legitimate self-defence or group security.

Again is it not bad in international practice for a U. N. O. member State to come in with military aid to Pakistan, when India's complaint against Pakistan's aggression is standing against it before the U. N. O.? Incidentally it becomes noteworthy here that India has not increased its military budget this year in spite of such unfriendly provocation. The military aid to Pakistan not only disturbs the peace of the Middle East and S.-E. Asia, but it also disturbs people's confidence in the U. N. Charter if it can allow such American aid, which is, on the face of it, aiding and abetting the standing aggression by Pakistan in Kashmir.

On the eve of his fateful declaration of military aid to Pakistan, President Eisenhower wrote a personal letter to our Prime Minister on February 24. India feels thankful for such courtesy and good will. Therein he proffered similar military aid to India also and said, "Your request would receive my most sympathetic consideration." Perhaps in his overzeal to organize the Middle East defence potential on which he seems to be very keen, the U. S. President could not see that such an offer revealed a touch of unintended offence to India by the mighty dollar. India, in all humility, requests the U. S. President to appreciate its true position of peace and friendship to all and to realize that military aid to Pakistan, before the Kashmir aggression is called off, cannot be true in the framework of the U. N. O.; it does not help peace.

4-3-54

Doing a Worse Thing

The Hindu of February 23, 1954, gives a fairly long summary of the recommendations and observations of the Ramamurthi Committee on Drink in Andhra. I have already written about it in the last issue. One thing requires to be noted further.

The above-mentioned *Hindu* report says, "The Committee found that administration in the three departments — Co-operative, Prohibition and Police — had lamentably broken down. There was also the danger that disregard for law and rules in regard to the working of prohibition and of jaggery co-operative societies *might produce a general disregard for law*" (italics mine).

In a way the latter observation is true. A bad, inefficient and corrupt administration obviously tends to demoralization among the people. But it is no remedy for it to suggest a thing which is a patent disregard of the fundamental law or the Constitution of our country, — I mean, to suggest scrapping of prohibition, which is what has been really recommended by the Committee. If such bare-faced disregard on the part of a Government Committee, i.e. at people's cost and money, becomes wide-spread, it will spell not merely disregard of law but of the very Constitution of our land.

4-3-54

M. P.

NEXT STEP IN BHOODAN

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In the course of his detailed instructions to the workers for an intensive Bhoodan campaign in the Gaya District with a view to the final settlement of the land problem in that area, Shri Vinoba has called attention to the need of promoting Khadi and village industries along with Bhoodan. To quote his own words: "Khadi centres should be opened in every Tahsil as soon as possible. We would not expect these centres to participate in the Bhoodan work directly. But Bhoodan Yajna and Khadi and village industries being both inseparable parts of a whole, the opening up of these centres will automatically help strengthen our efforts for Bhoodan." This emphasis on Khadi and village industries as an unavoidable part of an indivisible whole is, I feel, significant and points out to the next step in the Bhoodan movement.

A correspondent from Bihar who loves constructive work has lately been writing to me complaining about what he feels to be the unwarranted superiority accorded to Bhoodan over Khadi as a symbol of non-violence and progress. He says in one of his recent letters, "In the ultimate analysis it is the machine depriving the individual of his economic independence which has bred the forces making for inequality and conflict in the world. Babu had grasped this secret and so he proclaimed: 'The spinning wheel is the symbol of non-violence'."

Shri Vinoba does not deny this. It has to be clearly understood that an economic revolution through non-violence means self-reliance. Self-reliance would mean two things: 1. The work in regard to the revolution and technique employed to achieve it will have to be based primarily on the people's initiative and not merely on the law-making power of the Government. Needless to say that this alone would ensure conditions necessary for a democratic government to offer its help in working out the desired change. 2. The same rule would apply to the individuals also. It means that they would not wait for the society in the mass to accept the change before they do so. The technique of revolution has to be so conceived that an individual may be enabled, if he so desires, to effect the change in his personal life and revolutionize it in its economic aspect.

This is the basic principle of the technique of non-violent or self-reliant revolution. Take the instance of Khadi. If all the people in the land take to Khadi, it will produce a great revolution in the country with far-reaching effects in every department of the national life. It will, for example, deeply affect the working of the mills and factories and make for vital changes in the present financial structure. And if some individuals take to it, that is, begin spinning and

producing their own cloth, then that too would be quite useful, for they will have achieved self-reliance to that extent and in consequence, in some measure, furthered the cause of the revolution both morally and materially.

Judged from this point of view merely asking for land and distributing it to the landless does not come up to the standard of a method making for self-reliance. That is why among friends wedded to the socialist ideology agitations like the recent Khed-Satyagraha are felt necessary. In so far as the workers and those who are to benefit by it are required to acquire land from the landholders, it clearly betrays an element of dependence.

But the object of the Bhoodan movement is not confined merely to the acquisition and distribution of land which is only its beginning. In addition there must be the means with which to use it for purposes of production. Can the landless produce those means with their own efforts?

That the landless should have the will and the determination to use the land they receive to the best advantage is obvious. They should also have necessary money for it. Where would it come from? *Sampattidan* is expected to provide the answer to this difficulty. But *Sampattidan* too, like Bhoodan, suffers from a certain measure of dependence on others. The question remains: What would or could the landless Kisan himself — viewed as an active worker in the cause of the non-violent revolution — do in the matter? What can he do here and now? The way showed by Gandhiji offers the answer to it and that is why it is regarded as truly revolutionary.

The Kisan can help himself by taking to self-purification and some form of constructive work. For these too there should be a united and organized effort; this we can undertake here and now, and whatever we do will be to our good. Khadi and village industries and Swadeshi provide the most suitable form of such constructive effort. We can help ourselves with them without having to wait for help from others. And any outside help, in that case, would be forthcoming almost automatically, and what is more it would then be effectively successful.

This should now be clear to our workers. We have now to distribute the Bhoodan lands. Those who receive land will have to demonstrate their capacity to use it well with self-confidence. He can sustain himself and his family on the five acres which is all that will be allotted to him only when he uses his leisure for doing things propounded and presented by the Gandhian Khadi economy. This then is the next and most important revolutionary step which we have to take.

(Adapted from Hindi)

SMALL SCALE CULTIVATION : THE SEWAGRAM EXPERIMENT — I

(By Reddiji)

Gandhiji came to live at Sewagram in 1936 and cultivation with a view to meeting the needs of the Ashram in regard to food was started at his instance the same year. The land was in the beginning of low quality. It was marshy and weedy with *kas* and *motha* and other kinds of grass. We removed the weeds and then divided it into several small plots with suitable arrangement for draining out the water. This improved the quality of the land to the extent of making it a medium quality land. The soil is black and not good enough for irrigation. But we irrigate it for which we have constructed a solidly built conduit. The well which is near-by is 34 feet deep. The crops are good if the rainfall is 30 inches but if it is more then they are damaged and spolt because of the marshy nature of the land.

After Gandhiji, the Ashram inmates have been seeking guidance from Shri Vinoba. He emphasized the view that the Ashram should not now live on money. We could not however adopt his advice immediately. It was finally on 30-1-52 that the Ashram resolved to live on its own-labour and, in case it did not suffice, on outside help in the form of labour.

The Ashram had at that time 42 acres of land, 6 bullocks and 6 cows. Most of the cultivation work was being done by servants. There was no loss, but the productivity was not what it should have been. One of the factors in our failure to utilize the land in our possession to maximum advantage was that we had more land than we could successfully manage. We therefore decided to keep only as much land as we could manage. In May 1952, accordingly, we kept with us only two and a half acres and the rest was made over to the Charkha Sangh for five years. A few months' experience showed that irrigation was not possible without our own bullocks. It was therefore decided to keep a pair of bullocks, and since two and a half acres could not give full employment to a pair of bullocks, to acquire another two and a half acres. In addition, we also kept a cow.

In the first year, out of the two and half acres, we cultivated one acre with the help of the bullocks and the rest with hands. Out of one and half acres which we cultivated with our hands half an acre was irrigated with the help of the bullocks. On one acre we grew *jawar* while the rest was used for raising other food-crops, vegetables, fruits, and sugar-cane. The latter was divided into fifteen plots. The labour spent during the whole year was 6,025 man-hours, and 481½ hours for a pair of bullocks. We were also required at times to employ labourers from outside for weeding and such other operations as had to be done within a definite period of time. They worked in all for 800 hours which are included in the figure given above.

The following is a detailed statement of the hours spent on the cultivation of two and half acres of land and the yield from it:

Area (in gunthas)	Crop	Man-hours	Bullocks' hours	Total yield in lbs.	Yield per acre in lbs.
40	Jowar	400	50	2080	2080
5+1*	Wheat	320	17½	287½	1920
4	Rice	391	21½	240	2400
10	Tur	160½	—	221½	1518
	Mung	—	—	6	
	Jowar	—	—	152	
2	Gram	118½	5½	57½	1200
	Peas	—	—	2½	
5	Soyabean	36½	—	66	528

* Wheat crop on this one guntha was raised after rice crop.

5	Til	93½	56	448
7	Groundnut	154½	120	686
5	Cotton	222½	248	1984
6	Vegetables	1325	99½	6400 42666
4½	Fruits	329	24	2560

(Papaiya, mango & guava)

1½	Banana	754½	90½	
5	Sugar-cane	610	120	

Time spent on other items of agricultural work:

Supervision	74½	
Miscellaneous work in the field	122½	5
Repairing of tools	100½	
Store	236½	
Compost	351½	48½
Clearing of the channels	213½	
	6025	481½

(One acre has 40 gunthas)

Some of the crops were sown at more places than one.

The following table gives the total production, the consumption per item for 5 persons and the saving in each item:

Crop	Total production in lbs.	Consumption* per man per day year (in lbs.)	Consumption for five persons in a year (in lbs.)	Saving of (in lbs.)	Price of the Saving Rs. as ps.
Jowar	2232	30 tolas	2250	509	50-14-4
Wheat	287½	10 "			
Rice	240	10 "			
Pulses	353½	2½ "	112½	240	37-8-0
Oil-seeds	160	6 "	260	no saving	
Gur	640	5 "	225	415	103-12-0
Vegetables	6400	40 "	1800	4600	431-4-0
Fruits	2560	20 "	900	1660	155-10-0
Cotton	248	2½ "	124	124	46-8-0
Milk	30 "				
Lemons					49-14-9
Banana					190-0-0
Sugar-cane					150-0-0
Grass					56-12-0
					1272-3-1

Expenditure for five persons on

items other than food	724-6-0
Agricultural expenditure	+ 372-0-0 -1096-6-0

Final Balance 175-13-1

Some might feel from the figures for the price of the produce of two and half acres that the production was less than it should have been. It should be remembered, however, that we did not produce for the market but for our needs. The balance was sold, no doubt, but it was sold to sister institutions. In producing for the market, one chooses only such crops as would fetch a good price. Had we done it we could have earned twice as much as we did.

(1) Prices have been calculated for *jawar*, wheat and rice at 2 as. per lb., pulses 2½ as., *gur* 4 as., vegetables and fruits 1½ as., cotton 6 as.

(2) Expenditure per man for items other than food has been calculated as follows: Milk: (at 4½ as. per pound)

* It is to be noted that this was in accordance with needs of a balanced diet.

75-12-0, Fuel: 22-8-0, House rent: 15-0-0, Kerosine: 9-0-0, Establishment charges: 18-0-0, Postage etc.: 4-10-0. Total expenditure per man: 144-14-0; for 5 men: 724-6-0.

(3) Expenditure on agricultural work:

Manure for two and half acres ..	Rs. 198-12-0
Seed	50- 4-0
Medicine	3- 0-0
Hire for a pair of bullocks ..	120- 0-0
Total ..	Rs. 372- 0-0

(From Hindi)

(To be continued)

LAND AND LIFE IN U. S. A.

(By Tolley Hartwick)

[The following is the story of how America, the technological paradise of the modern world, is faring under its new dispensation of technology and science. It will, I hope, interest the reader, even as it shows the other side of the technological civilization of America, from one who lives under that dispensation. The warning it contains for India need not be emphasized. —M. P.]

Under our economic, unscientific practice of taxation against land (although provided free by the Creator), and punitive taxation against all expenses of the grower for buildings and all other necessary equipment for production; and tribute-levying taxation against the food grower's production, and against every effort made to eke out a livelihood from the land (none of which things—neither the land nor the effort—are furnished by the government); and under a taxing practice which compels the food grower to pay the tribute in a money medium which he cannot produce, his bargaining position is such that all prices on whatever he buys are fixed solely by others, and all prices on whatever he grows and sells are likewise fixed solely by others.

Thus it is evident—in this land of vaunted "freedom"—that he is effectually enslaved to all the rest of society. The result is that the average of farm workers' net incomes per capita is one-half of the average of city workers' net incomes per capita—even though the food and clothing-stuff growers are by far the most vital group on earth.

Under this dire situation, although by far the most of our people have been born out on farms, so many millions have been starved off them into the cities, that only 15 per cent of our population are now left on the farms. Greater New York and Chicago alone have populations equal to those of fifteen large States combined. There are more people in only ten cities than on all the farms in the whole United States. Our big cities are so congested that millions of homes have no front yard, no back yard, no yard at all—not an inch of grass or garden. Tenement buildings are many stories high—more like prisons than homes.

The people in the cities manoeuvre themselves into political offices, or into many millions of uneconomic jobs created by government (from clerical work to battleship building), or engage in "business", bank-money lending, real estate dealing, bond-selling, insurance, teaching, preaching, music, movies, radio, liquor dealing, law-practice, taxi-driving, prostitution, house-maiding, hair-dressing, ball-playing, circus-performing, machine-like wage-working, etc., etc., etc.; also counterfeiting, gambling, fortune-telling, thieving, dope-peddling and countless other rackets: all with the main purpose of obtaining money, rather than to endure the long hours, tired backs, calloused hands, dirty finger-nails and poor emotions that generally go with the job of producing foodstuffs under present enslavement. This "money"—largely "printing-press" money—is redeemed, under our utterly uneconomic, enslaving taxation system, mainly by those sorely underpaid food-growers (who, helpless, are driven willfully with their products into the money-paying markets).

Under this top-heavy burden—Inverted pyramid—of city population in the United States, the strain upon the remaining farm and ranch workers—around only 8 per cent of the whole population—grows more and more gruelling, as they are forced to produce food and \$-billions in other raw materials for the whole nation—and even for many other nations—while receiving only a very tiny fraction of the national net income. The grievous struggle drives many to operate huge tracts of land in order to have enough left above taxes and operating expenses to sustain themselves. But they can accomplish this only by ruthless soil-mining. And thus the U. S. A. has driven her struggling growers (of food and other raw materials) to rob and ravage her soils by far the worst of any country on earth, and by far the worst in all wages.

In the U. S. A., although completely settled only recently, we have already destroyed and lost one-third of all our topsoil—the "cream"—also most of our timber and wild life. Every day erosion is carrying away soil enough for 200 farms of 40 acres each. Dr. Hugh H. Bennett says: "In the short life of this country we have essentially destroyed 282,000,000 acres of crop and range land. Erosion is destructively active on 775,000,000 additional acres. About 100,000,000 acres of crop land, much of it representing the best crop land we (originally) had, is finished in this country. We cannot restore it."

In the U. S. A., with so many large cities, and with so small a percentage of its people living out upon the farms and ranches, the food growers—including the growers of clothing-stuffs and many other raw materials—are hauling the fertility of the land into the cities, from where that fertility is drained through the sewers into the oceans, or burned. To sustain our soil and growing population that fertility would have to be returned to the soil, in order to preserve the productivity in the land, as food-growers in so many other countries have been forced to do. Our prevailing food-growing practice is soil "mining", which cannot endure. Chemical fertilizers are temporary supplements, and no more. There can be no good soil without abundant humus and fiber, live bacteria, protozoa and earth-worms to keep the soil alive and active.

Modern machinery has not increased the inherent productivity of our soil, only the soil-mining power per man. Our "agricultural surpluses" are to a large extent the reflection of under-consumption—even among the growers! Besides, the crops are produced by mining, wearing out, and allowing the eroding away, of the soil itself. In their short-sighted greed our hordes of exploiters—on the land and off—have been robbing, nearly to her death, the "goose which laid the golden eggs"—America's glittering wealth. Will archaeologists be excavating it 2000 years hence, as in Asia, Europe and Africa now?

Thousands of small rivers have been so polluted by industrial wastes that in thousands of miles of them fish cannot live, and the ice in winter is like cheese. Hundreds of cities are spending millions of dollars, so that they may safely drink the poisonous industrial and domestic wastes dumped into the rivers higher up. In our fishing industries we have used up the supply of fish such as mackerel, sardines, lobsters, etc. to the extent that the annual amount obtainable is now only one-fourth of what it was 5 to 75 years ago. Whales have been almost exterminated.

One distinguished writer—obviously not a dirt farmer—mentions that there are eight acres (instead of only two-tenths of an acre) for every human on the earth. Very likely he is contemplating in part the many millions of acres of semi-arid, not-too-rough lands till remaining untilled, notably in our less populous North America. But, we have not had to go outside the U. S. A. to observe how many millions of land-hungry settlers have attempted to make a living on such semi-arid lands; and how they have learned by long and heart-breaking experiences that these lands would not for long support more than the equivalent of one cow to 65 acres; that in the long run ploughing and "cultivation" would not increase the food productivity

of these lands, but destroy it; that fertilization or irrigation in most cases would cost much more than any returns would be worth. (The disproportionate cost of much irrigation has been concealed in government subsidies financed — ? — by "printing-press" — false — money).

The one-time immigrated populations of a number of agricultural States of the United States have dwindled persistently in spite of the widespread hunger for land. In large areas immigrated populations have receded to a point where there remains out on the land an average population of only one person to every two square miles. And during all the last 40 years no professor or practical operator has so far been able to demonstrate any higher, long-range carrying capacity.

This is true just the same as it is true that during the past 4,000 years the professors and politicians of the entire earth have been unable to devise and set up an agricultural economy or a political (governmental) economy which would enable the population masses of the earth to live in health, happiness and prosperity. Instead, in spite of all the scientists and politicians — even because of the politicians — the masses have lived in unceasing, shameful poverty and distress — which still are not easing, but deepening.

Thereafter, let them demonstrate for the more than a billion hungry, miserable, diseased, poverty-ridden sufferers on this earth — in China, Japan, India, South America, Puerto Rico, or most anywhere — a practical, durable method of maintaining themselves in normal health, happiness and prosperity. And let them demonstrate, also, how the enslaved masses may get the exploiters and parasites off their backs; a burning challenge to all true statesmen.

TWO VOICES FROM AMERICA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Pak-American Military Aid Agreement that was in the air for the last few months has now materialized. In the course of this period, there appeared in the Press two letters addressed to our Prime Minister by two American gentlemen. One was out in the early stages of this episode, the other just a few days back at the end of it.

Both the writers tell in their letters what they think is good for us. There is no doubt that both are actuated by sympathy and goodwill towards India. However, there is as much difference between the two statements as between war and peace.

The first letter was from an ordinary American Mr A. J. Muste by name. The other was from President Eisenhower. Mr Muste is a leader of the Pacific groups in America. He was in India for the World Peace Conference that was held here a few years ago. He is an admirer of Gandhiji and keenly desires to see peace and prosperity in the whole world. President Eisenhower needs no introduction. He is a world-known Military General; today he is the President of the U. S. A.

Mr Muste's letter perhaps did not secure as much publicity in the Indian Press as the Presidential communication. I am afraid, many in India might not be knowing about it even. The letter is a long one and provokes serious thoughts on our part.

In his letter Mr Muste puts the following serious question to our Prime Minister. He says that if it can be maintained that Shri Jawaharlalji, in a sense, interfered in the affairs of Pakistan, the question still remains on what principle, what for he does it. Is it on the Gandhian doctrine of non-violence and peace? If yes, then disarmament and no-army should be India's true policy. And, Mr Muste, quoting our President from one of his addresses, says that India does not follow it today, though one may well expect such a thing from her.

President Eisenhower puts quite the other side of the question in his letter to the Prime Minister. Briefly, what he says is that it is highly necessary to build up regional grouping in the Middle East in aid of defence of the 'free world'. And if India, which is a strong military power, wishes to make it still stronger, and desires aid from U.S.A., he would be prepared to consider it sympathetically. Pakistan did it and it is going to be given to it. So can India do also.

At the present time, talks of peace in the world, comparatively to those of war, are as wide apart as the above two letters' submissions. There are surely a few people in America who disapprove of the American military aid to Pakistan. However their voice is as small as their number. America perhaps views the world today more with the eyes of its vast military prowess. Such attitude in time of peace is as good as almost inviting war. Therefore, this can be a fruitful source of serious fear to the world. The same thing applies to the opposing Russian bloc. It will be a great tragedy indeed, if the still small voice of peace is drowned by the war sirens of these two blocs. We like the pacifist appeal of persons like Mr Muste; not the thing which President Eisenhower proposes. We only wish that these two diverse voices from America cease to be different and become one note of real peace. Our only prayer to friends of India like Mr Muste is that the message of war-resistance and non-violence of Gandhiji is for the whole world, and America may better spend its fabulous wealth to relieve the hunger and misery of the poor of the world, and not to equip them militarily and make them strong to kill one another.

4-3-'54

(From the original in Hindi)

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