

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

ANDHRA'S ANXIETY

(By Vinoba)

It is now some time since Andhra was constituted into a separate province. The process was preceded by the sacrifice of a precious life which was quite unnecessary because the way it has now been formed had already been recommended by the J. V. P. Committee. All that the sacrifice served to achieve was that the internal differences among the Andhra leaders were considerably removed and their long-felt wish in regard to the formation of the province was fulfilled. The votaries of Sarvodaya thought that the road had now been finally cleared for the building up of a Sarvodaya order of society as, they thought, the administration will be carried on in our own language.

But they were mistaken. They forgot to take note of the fact that the right to use one's own language was not much good unless it was properly exercised. For the language, while it may be used in singing the glories of the Lord, may equally easily be used in vilifying one another. The trend of things now emerging into view however seems to have opened their eyes. They are now growing apprehensive that the State is set on a course which is ominous in the extreme at the very beginning.

The power of money to delude is indeed surprising. The Kisan is caught in its far-flung meshes. The traders of course consider it to be their lifeblood. It is the same with the Government who are constantly occupied with devising ways and means for getting more and more money.

The Kisan is caught up in it because he has discarded the village industries, whence he is compelled to buy all his needs. How can he then do without money? As for the traders, money is for them their *summum bonum*. I have a suspicion that he interprets the words 'Shri Hari' with which he begins his account books as one who takes away wealth.* He is solely after acquiring money by whatever means he can.

* *Shri Hari* means Lord *Hari*, *Hari* being the name of Lord *Krishna*. But *Shri* has another meaning in Sanskrit — wealth, and *Hari* as derived from the root *hri* may be taken to mean — one who takes away.

Money having lost any fixed value, he thinks the more money he has, the more security he would have.

The Government sails in the same boat. They are seized with the fear that the village industries will retard the progress of the country. This fear precludes them from utilizing the vast human power available in the country. They are on the contrary afraid of our growing population. To be afraid of the population is to be afraid of the human power itself. The machine power is not available and the human power, which is available, is going to waste because of the dislike of village industries. Hence the entire planning is made to depend on money. And the legs of the tripod on which the society rests, that is, the Kisans, the tradesmen and the Government, who are the three chief constituents of the society, are tottering.

The Andhra State, from its very birth, finds itself faced with the problem of getting money. It is puzzling, all the same it is a fact that this infant in its pre-natal state was very rich. It acquired a rich inheritance at its birth. Rajaji had added enormously to the wealth of the State in Madras by carrying out Prohibition. The Andhra State had inherited this wealth. It was a rich fortune. No child is born with ornaments adorning its limbs. But this one was. However as ill luck would have it, those who were charged with nursing it were in doubt whether they were real gold ornaments or fetters. They therefore set up a committee of experts to find out the truth. The members of the committee unfortunately were colour-blind. They mistook the gold ornaments for iron fetters and said in their decision that those were fetters and must be broken and removed in the interest of the safety of the infant. Those in charge of the Government are perplexed. They have now sent the matter for decision to their superiors. It is to be seen how the superiors would act.

Use of one's own language in the administration of one's province can hardly avail much unless supported by the use of one's own intelligence.

(From Hindi)

AN INTERVIEW WITH VINOBAJI

(By N. R. Malkani)

I visited Gaya on the 4th of February and had the pleasure of passing a few days with Vinobaji. Every morning during our long walks I had talks with him on various subjects of general interest. Here are a few notes taken down from memory.

Q.: It is believed that there are about five crore landless agriculturists in India. You want to take gifts so as to distribute 5 acres of dry land to each family or approximately one acre per head. Considering that it will be dry land, perhaps of an inferior quality, don't you think that it will hardly suffice for mere subsistence? As it is, we have now a national income of Rs 255 per head per year, while U. K. has Rs 2,700 and U.S.A. has Rs 6,970.

A.: I agree that the allotment of five acres per family will just yield enough food during normal seasons. But land will give at least food to the hungry and meet a primary want. I expect, however, that land will be improved so as to yield better crops, as in Japan. We must produce more if we are to live. I imagine that even those who give Bhoodan out of their tiny holdings will labour so that the remaining land gives the same yield as before. I consider the poorest as soldiers of a cause, and take a little out of the little they have. The poor must help the poor to rise. Their charity and their goodness will infect the well-to-do and the more prosperous. When the poor give a little the rich will give much more. I wish to effect a psychological revolution in both the giver and the receiver. And then I want that just as we plan to produce more we must not forget to plan what we must produce. Today the best irrigated land is given to *pan*, tobacco, opium and other injurious products. If a survey were made you would be surprised to know the large part of income wasted on such articles by the poor. Food and clothing are our primary wants and must have priority over *pan* and tobacco. That will increase our real income in terms of healthy consumption. High money incomes are secondary. Of course, it is no use comparing our incomes with those of foreign countries with vaster resources, developed over decades of hard work.

Q.: If land becomes private property of peasants its optimum use for optimum and necessary production will be unattainable.

A.: I am not necessarily for private property in land. What I am anxious about is the employment of all and the abolition of want. If private property in land has to be abolished I would much rather vest it in village Panchayats than in Government. It may then be redistributed by Panchayats periodically, according to needs of the villagers. Then the joint produce will have to be shared according to man-hours of work, of which a record will be maintained.

Bhoodan Yajna has already helped to reduce the prices of land by half and land is being increasingly considered as property of the community, now held by owners as a trust.

Q.: Even if land is given to the landless and put to the best use, considering our growing population and rising unemployment it will be very difficult to maintain a reasonable standard of living based on minimum needs. And then we may not tempt the law of diminishing returns by too much pressure on land.

A.: To my mind the problem before us is not so much of unemployment as of under-employment. Every agriculturist is under-employed for 3 to 9 months and occasionally there are droughts and floods and pests. Full and continuous employment for all is impossible without supplementary incomes from village and cottage industries. Amongst these Khadi holds the first place of honour. We should train every villager in carding and spinning and then tell him that we shall stop supply of mill cloth after a certain stated period. He is then bound to produce his own cloth, as he does even now in certain regions by force of habit. This is all the more necessary due to the insecurity of modern times. A few well-placed bombs on Ahmedabad and Bombay would create a famine of cloth. They say that we intend to disperse these concentrated industries all over the country to be safe from such disasters. I tell them to do so if they dare and I know full well that they dare not do so. Decentralization of such industries is, therefore, the only course for many reasons. Of course, Khadi may be started in hilly, dry, desert places and give them every possible aid. But I believe that it can and should be produced in all places where cotton can be grown. In double and treble cropped areas also cultivators have time to spin and card. If Kishorlalbhai (Mashruwala) could spin, though a permanent invalid, then anybody can spin. Lastly, reservation of markets is essential for the protection of village industries. Today the ruin of village industries is going on openly after "integration"—as in Manipur in Assam. Mills have been left free to destroy them. But I know that Government will be compelled by the logic of circumstances to protect and resuscitate village industries to remove chronic and vast under-employment.

Q.: If village products are produced in villages without the technical and commercial advantages enjoyed by the mill, such products are bound to be dearer. City men cannot be persuaded to buy dear to encourage Swadeshi. Do you think that poor villagers can bear the high costs or exchange at dear prices?

A.: Villagers must be organized on a basis of barter. If dear oil is exchanged for dear cloth or dear pots or dear furniture, the effect of dearness will be mutually set off. Each high price will, as it were, cancel the other and everything

will remain for the good of the village. This does not mean that improvements will not be introduced in all directions so as to reduce the handicaps of neglected village industries. Government and the public must give them all the necessary aid and patronage. Secondly, the circle of barter will vary with the kind of article for purposes of self-sufficiency. One article can be self-sufficiently produced in a single village, another in a group, a third in a Thana, a fourth in a tahsil and so forth. The basic condition is that the use of money should be limited, if possible, eliminated. It is the use of money that creates the evil of dearness. Money can be supplanted by staple grain or common cloth as medium of exchange. Only a few articles may have to be purchased from outside by parting with surplus produce.

Q.: Then we must have a sample of such a self-sufficing unit to create confidence in the public. Otherwise people take all this to be idle talk and tend towards Communism which has shown tangible results.

A.: We can certainly show such a sample if Government so desires and gives the necessary protection to village industries. Today the competition of mills makes nonsense of such self-sufficiency and full employment. If members of the Planning Commission could tour in villages on their feet and see things with their own eyes and hear with their own ears, they would be convinced of the truth of what I say. Today, as you say, they are in a more chastened mood and willing to do something for the village industries. So I wait for them patiently but anxiously. You are aware of the experiment on full employment announced by Vedchhi (Gujarat) Ashram. That experiment has not materialized for two reasons: The organizers have diverted their attention to Bhoodan work in their district. Secondly, they have not succeeded in getting land in Vedchhi village. Without getting land for the landless the very basis for fuller employment is undermined. Where whole villages have given all their lands to the village community, you have there ideal conditions for the Vedchhi experiment for full employment of all. It is easy to have Panchayat Swaraj in such model villages and Government too can give them all the aid they want. In fact, the Charkha Sangh too has made its mistakes or had its limitations in the past. Khadi started with spinning with mill slivers; it then went backwards to hand-carding of mill-ginned cotton; it, then receded further to hand-ginned cotton imported from other States. But there was no land and no local cultivation of cotton. Today Bhoodan gives the land, the very basis of local self-sufficiency. We have to cultivate cotton wherever possible and proceed to hand-ginning, carding and spinning in a well-ordered sequence. There is also the necessary atmosphere for all-round planning.

The Communists can give work to all by taking land from all by force. Maybe they can do this with the foreign help of Russia and China. But our villagers by themselves have no arms and cannot take land by force. Where they have done so, as in Telangana, we know the terrible results. Telangana is a warning, not a promise.

(From A. I. C. C. *Economic Review*, March 1, 1954)

NOTES

"In Defence of Prohibition"

This is the title of a brochure by Shri Sarabhai Prataprai (Madhuli, Bombay 7). It is the result of the devoted study, by the author, of Prohibition in Bombay State. In this booklet he gives an effective "reply to critics and sceptics" of this policy. It deals with the question from various points of view, and says that Prohibition is surely good and beneficial; and "the law does not fail, but the man fails the law by his surreptitious defiance." I commend the booklet to all who wish to know about this great reform which is fast becoming a world movement.

17-3-'54

M. P.

Peace Pilgrim's Report

In the welter of news that pour on us from all around, the following is well worth noting even to bring out what small little things are being assiduously done by 'Peacemakers' in America. It is from *The Peacemaker*, Yellow Springs, Ohio, Feb. 1, 1954:

"Peace Pilgrim completed her 5,000 mile trek across the United States Dec. 17, and reports her life has been busy with speaking engagements since that date. Starting January 1, 1953 on the West Coast, she carried with her a petition for disarmament, and talked with people wherever she went about brotherhood, love and peace.

"She reports: 'The last few days were terribly cold, and I was imprisoned for 13 hours in an icy gas station rest room. Then one shoe (my sixth pair) came apart and had to be repaired with airplane tape, but with my bandaged shoe, after dark, I walked the narrow cat-walk across the Skyway over Newark. All wire services carried the story, also T. V., etc.'

"She is presently in New York and hopes to present the disarmament petition before Madam Pandit at the UN there.

"Peace Pilgrim considers her year's trek only a beginning of her work and says she meant it when she said she would remain a wanderer on the face of the earth until mankind has learned the way of peace."

18-3-'54

M. P.

Hindi Examinations

The result of the Hindi Examinations held in February 1954 by the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, will be declared on March 30, 1954.

A special Examination for 'Tisri' and 'Vinit' will be held on May 8 and 9, 1954. The application forms for these Examinations will be accepted by the Centre organizers till April 7, 1954. The candidates may please note that due to the shortage of time the change of centres will not be allowed in this Examination.

Gujarat Vidyapith,
Ahmedabad-9

GIRIRAJ KISHORE
Secretary, Hindi Examinations

18-3-'54

HARIJAN

March 27

1954

MEDIUM OF ADMINISTRATION AND INSTRUCTION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In their issues of March 14, 1954, some papers coincidentally reported two noteworthy statements, one by Dr. A. R. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Travancore University, while addressing the Bihar University Convocation at Nalanda; the other by Shri Dinkarrao Desai, Education Minister, Bombay State, while speaking in the Bombay Legislative Council on the Universities Amendment Act. The coincidence though accidental is significant. Dr. Mudaliar said, "We are shutting the door against this (i.e. English) vast treasure-house of knowledge, shutting the door against progress itself, by banning the study of English". (Italic mine)

Further he said, "The place of language in schools and colleges, the medium of instruction, the compulsory study of what was termed the national language in all States and educational institutions had evoked most bitter controversies in many parts of India."

And he said that it was desirable to have a language which was generally understood, in course of time, by all citizens of the Indian Republic. "I also feel that in no country has it been possible to have every citizen turned into a scholar in that national language."

And he added by way of an explanation of his position on the question, "as one who realizes the need and inevitable emergence of a widely spoken national language, the policy of hastening slowly is best calculated to achieve the objective."

And in this matter he had a dig at the politician in the following words:

"Those who show impatience at the pace of progress in this direction, those who feel that they can use their dominant position and their political authority to overrule dissentient opinions are doing a great disservice to the cause."

However, he admitted, "educational leadership does not and cannot ignore other forms of leadership." It was not suggested, he said, that universities should consider themselves as having been built on an academic hill, far from the madding crowd and that education, either in a university or in a school, was something far apart from the life of the Nation. "What is pleaded and what ought to be emphasized is that the needs of the State or the public having been made known, the authorities in charge of education must be left to meet these needs."

Probably the same day, from the farther end in the West Shri Dinkarrao Desai was giving out his mind on the same question, though in another context. As the Press report says, he said that Government wrote to the universities as far back as 1951 pointing out the need of changing the medium, and suggested that Hindi should replace English as the medium. And he charged the universities with having failed to move in the matter and added that he had therefore taken the initiative of starting the Hindi medium in Government colleges with a view to giving a 'rude shock' to them, so that they might move.

The accusation and counter-accusation contained in the above two weighty statements only show that both the University and the Government should realize that it is now high time that they move in the matter of the language policy of free India, both in regard to education and administration. In this matter not only the universities but also Governments in India too have allowed precious time to pass by without seriously giving their mind to it.

It is obvious that there is vital interdependence in this matter between public administration and public instruction. The language requirements of administration in the peculiar context of our century-old history of foreign rule, hold a dominant—almost dictatorial—position over public instruction. If the former does not move, the latter hesitates and falters in doing so. Therefore, though accusations and counter-accusations might be understood and be pardonable as the first symptoms of awakening on the part of these two sectors of our public life, they help no way and should rather give place to joint thought for immediately planning the transition with the least possible disturbance and harm to national progress. This must be hastened, slowly if we will, but surely and immediately any way. It is here that the fraternity of vice-chancellors and teachers in our country, I am afraid, exhibit a rather conservative attitude. We as a people are at present at such a juncture in our history when we keenly require a dynamic sense of adventure and pioneering. Such a spirit is naturally more reflected in our legislatures today than in our administration or even the universities. I do not say this in any sense of criticism but only as an observation of what we really find today. These two arms of our public life must now catch the spirit of the new age we are in and should begin to move together. In doing so both of them should be guided by the democratic ideals and the fundamental policy of our Constitution. And it is from that point of view that a few remarks about the above two statements are called for.

It is apparent that Dr. A. R. Mudaliar's remarks at Nalanda were perhaps occasioned by the language policy of the Government of

Bombay and the steps being taken thereunder. It is no wonder if he might have that in the background of his mind when speaking at Nalanda. He spoke of the *banning* of English. It must be said that this is not a true description of what is being contemplated regarding the place of English. What is being done is rather *restricting* the use of English in accordance with the true principles of education and democratic administration. As we know, the Constitution of India under Art. 344 requires the President to see that there is progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union and consequential restriction on the prevalent use of English. This has evidently a very vital bearing on the working of our schools and universities also. But surely it is not *banning* of the study of English; it is *restricting*, as it should be in national interest. It would be good the universities now realize this and prepare themselves for this change.

On the other hand there is a similar realization necessary on the part of the Government; chiefly of the States of the Union. It is regarding *their* official language. They should be clear on the point that not Hindi but the regional languages of the States are to be their official languages. Again it is the responsibility of the Government to see that these languages are encouraged, enriched and promoted to grow to their full height. They are so important in free India that they are considered one of the chief causes for rearranging the administrative map of India, and a high power Commission is working at present to go into that question. In matters educational, Governments should be guided by competent academic authorities, to wit, in this case, the Radhakrishnan Commission, which says that regional languages should be the normal medium of instruction in our colleges. Hindi is thought of as the common language of the Union administration and for inter-State communication. It was never intended to, nor should, take the place of the language of the region, which should be used for all the purposes of that region, administrative, educational, and cultural. It is high time our State Governments acknowledge this vital principle of our national development and progress. Otherwise, as Dr. Mudaliar warns us, Hindi if imposed in a wrong place, will defeat the very purpose we have in view and it will be resented as an encroachment on the legitimate and rightful place of our great Indian languages. The sooner we clear our minds on this question, the better it will be for introducing in the shortest time, Indian languages as media of public administration and instruction in place of English which should naturally suffer reasonable restrictions on — surely not extinction of — its use and study in our schools and colleges.

LADY PETHICK-LAWRENCE AND MAHATMA GANDHI

(By Pyarelal)

It is perhaps generally not known that Gandhiji's bond of relationship with many a leader in public life — co-workers, friends and even opponents — was more often rooted in his appreciation of certain traits in their personal and private lives — which Gandhiji regarded as crucial — than in an affinity for their political policies or views. Sometimes it was their mutual devotion in conjugal life, sometimes absence or sublimation of conjugal life as a result of their mutual devotion, at still other times it was some heroic trait displayed in the face of a painful dilemma or conflict such as crops up in the married or unmarried lives of individuals, which provided him with the criterion on which he tested their real worth. That was how, for instance, Sir Malcolm Hailey, who, Gandhiji was told, had spurned the prospect of the Viceroyalty of India for the sake of his wife, who was suffering from a mental malady, Lord Amthill who never married so as to be able to give his undivided loyalty to the service of his country, Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah by virtue of the rare devotion and self-dedication of his great sister, which he commanded and reciprocated — not to mention some of his Indian co-workers — won his deep regard which no amount of difference or clashes in the political field could obliterate or diminish.

It was the same in the case of Lord and Lady Pethick-Lawrence. Gandhiji held very strong views on equality of status between husband and wife in married life — so much so that in his Ashram he had got even the ancient marriage ritual modified to bring it in line with his ideal. The fact that Lord Pethick insisted on taking Emmeline's name in return for his brought him nearer to Gandhiji than anything else could have done. Lady Pethick became the link between the two.

It was during one of his visits to London from South Africa that Gandhiji first met Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence at one of the meetings for securing voting rights for women. It was a typical suffragette meeting. Gandhiji, who regarded himself as a more thoroughgoing suffragette than the most ardent of suffragettes so-called, was not in sympathy with some of the suffragette tactics in vogue at that time, involving as they did physical resistance, sometimes even physical violence, though of a mild type. Being called upon to address the meeting, he allowed himself to criticize the tactics of the suffragettes on that score. It immediately brought to her feet the redoubtable Miss Pankhurst, who took strong exception to his remarks. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence on that occasion rebuffed Miss Pankhurst's remarks and showed an intuitive appreciation of the power of non-violence,

which alone could be the weapon of choice for women in all struggles since it was a weapon in the use of which they could not only hold their own with, but even excel men.

The incident forged a link between them which long years following upon it, during which they did not meet, only helped to strengthen. The birthday message of greetings which Lady Pethick-Lawrence sent to Gandhiji in October, 1946, on his 77th birthday, revealed her deeply spiritual nature, which Lord Pethick shared with her, and her idealism and faith in the practice of forgiveness and love as the panacea for all the world's ills and as the means for the realization of the Apocalyptical vision of the Kingdom of God upon earth. As Lord Pethick in one of his letters to Gandhiji had mentioned, it happened to be also the anniversary of their wedding day. Lady Pethick's letter ran:

"Gandhiji! The month of October brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict—conflict between powers of good and evil.... May you see during the coming year still further fulfilment of your Prophetic vision.... Our inspired poet William Blake wrote:

I give you the end of a golden string
Only wind it into a ball
It will lead you in at Heaven's gate
Built in Jerusalem's wall.

"Jerusalem was the symbol used by Blake of his version of the 'Kingdom of Heaven' which, he believed, would be finally established on earth. And his golden thread was the practice—the thread which will bring us safely through the intricate maze of circumstances and release us into the 'Kingdom of Heaven'.

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours at the time of the celebration of your birthday."

Lady and Lord Pethick-Lawrence were in the forefront of ideal couples of which English public life in the present century holds such rich examples—Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Sir Stafford and Lady Cripps, Lord and Lady Mountbatten, the Bevans and the Attlees, to mention only a few. But one wonders if the completeness of merger with each other that characterized Lady and Lord Pethick-Lawrence was or is surpassed or perhaps equalled by any other.

Lady Pethick has passed away full of years and honours at the ripe age of 86. It were futile to mourn a death like hers.

Hushed are the winds, the brown leaves slowly fall,
The russet clouds hang on the fringe of day.
What fairer hour than this?

One can imagine what her loss must mean to Lord Pethick. But one also knows what a reservoir of inner spiritual resource, stoicism and faith he is blessed with, to enable him—the Christian man that he is—to bear the Cross that God has sent him.

New Delhi, 17-3-'54

THE LAW ETERNAL

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Pakistan, it seems, has finally made up its mind regarding the way it wants to go. It has signed a pact with Turkey envisaging close economic and military as also political and cultural collaboration between the two countries, with the obvious purpose of obtaining military-aid from America.

The pact with Turkey appears a little surprising, if only because a few months ago when Pakistan declared its intention to constitute itself into an Islamic Republic, Turkey had expressed her disapproval of the idea and even asked Pakistan to take a lesson from her history and realize that in the age in which we are living it was far more desirable to build up a secular State than a theocratic one. This has now been conveniently forgotten and the two have thought it fit to enter into a pact in spite of the expressed opposition to such a move by a number of the intervening Muslim countries which, because of their geographical position, are concerned over its possible repercussions for them. The reason for the pact, however, is obvious: Both these countries today are acting, not according to what their own independent judgement might say, but in deference to what America says. And America is today wholly obsessed with how to down Russia as a dominant international force. As regards Pakistan, it is perhaps politically and economically too weak and helpless to pull on without outside help. Unfortunately it has not felt persuaded to develop friendly relations with India, though that would be the most natural thing to do for both.

After the conclusion of the pact with Turkey, Pakistan's Prime Minister Mr Mohammed Ali declared that he had requested the U.S.A. for military assistance. The request, we now know, has been granted. The Turco-Pakistan agreement, in fact, was only a prelude to this end.

Mr Mohammed Ali has also said in his statement that Pakistan is a peace-loving country and a member of the U.N.O. and that it wants to work for its development and prosperity keeping strictly within the framework of the U.N.O. We are also asked to accept the assurance that the aid given to Pakistan will not be permitted to be used against India. Mr St. Laurent, the Canadian Prime Minister said recently, when he was here on a short visit, that the American arms aid to Pakistan was not at all intended to foster bitterness between India and Pakistan and expressed the hope that the differences between the two countries would be amicably settled and both would be able to live as good neighbours like America and Canada.

Thus the problem which had been exercising the Indian mind for the past few weeks is now getting more clearly defined. The Pak-American military link-up has been forged through the

Turkish agency. This step which immediately exposes the Middle East countries to American interference will have far-reaching consequences on the political developments in this region of the world. Obviously, we must watch the situation that arises very carefully and be ready to face it. The Middle East countries today, thanks mostly to the machinations of the West, occupy almost the same position on the stage of world-politics as did the Balkan countries once in European history. Pakistan's alignment with America and its consequent entry into the global cold war further aggravates the situation. We have then to consider how we are going to act under the circumstances.

India stands for peace. She wants peace not only for herself but throughout the world and specially in the neighbouring countries. And she wants that her policies, both internal and external, must be so designed as to foster this aim. The big powers aver the same. But curiously enough they want to achieve it through military means, that is, by building and augmenting their armed might. They spend over it an enormous portion of their wealth and resources. Their opponents naturally do the same. Countries like Pakistan who do not have so much wealth ask for it from America who has it. And America is only too ready to oblige them because she thinks it serves her interest and adds to her position and prestige.

We Indians, however, reject this policy. We are convinced that it would neither enhance our prestige nor bring peace and happiness. We want — we are determined to be self-reliant in every way, for otherwise we know we may have to lose our independence.

In that case we must create the internal foundations for self-reliance. We must achieve self-sufficiency. We must seek to abolish unemployment, disease, ignorance and many other ills which have been sapping the strength of our people for a long time past. It means that instead of spending our wealth and using our resources in raising the strength of our armies and the power of our arms, we will have to devote them to combating the misery of our people. If we too like others choose to preserve peace through military means, it is certain that we will not merely not get peace but may very likely find ourselves involved in war and economic subservience to others. We must keep clear of these dangers.

Pakistan is an independent country. It has chosen the way which it thought good for itself. As a friendly neighbour we would only wish that its internal position which has been continuously deteriorating will improve, that it will be possible for it to frame its Constitution, to rid itself of the inter-party wranglings and to devote its energy to the building up of a stable democracy or even an Islamic Republic, as it

chooses to call it, in its real sense. Let us give thought to our own policies, to setting our own house in order which should have far greater importance to us. Let us so conduct ourselves that the misgivings which other countries may have about our attitude and intentions will be removed. That can be done only if we devote all the resources of our State to the service of the poor. Our education, economy, our industries and all other things should be carefully reorientated and if necessary rebuilt so as to serve the interests of the poor. The service of the poor should be the unailing test for everything that we may do. If that is done, neither Russian Communism would get a footing here — for, then, there will be no cause for it —, nor would the countries like America and others, which espouse freedom as against the Russian totalitarianism, will have any ground for the suspicion that behind the cloak of our neutrality we might be siding with the Russian bloc. If the world needs to learn today one thing more than any other, it is the ages-old teaching which was proclaimed to India centuries ago by Lord Buddha and reiterated not only in words but through a supremely devoted life by the Father of the Nation — the teaching that :

“Not at any time are enmities appeased here through enmity, but they are appeased through non-enmity. This is the eternal law.” (Dhammapada 1-5).

Arms can only lead to more arms, not to peace. Only peace and love can bring forth peace and love. Russia and America, by choosing to disregard this truth which lies at the root of man's life on earth, are creating huge difficulties in the way of world's progress. If those difficulties and the dangers they involve are to be avoided, then the countries of the world must take to this way taught by Lord Buddha. It is not the 'Third Way' as it is sometimes called, but is really the Only Way which can carry us safely to our goal. All others are merely tempting by-ways leading to wreck and utter ruination waiting round the corner.

25-2-'54

(From the original in Hindi)

DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

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SMALL-SCALE CULTIVATION: THE SEVAGRAM EXPERIMENT — II

(By Reddiji)

I draw the following conclusions from the experience we have had in the course of our work and the figures of production given in the *Harijan* issue of 13-3-'54 :

1. Improvement in agriculture is possible only through small-scale cultivation. It will at least arrest any further deterioration in the productivity of the land by enabling the cultivator to give fuller attention to his work.

2. A two and half acres farm can provide enough food as per balanced diet to five persons, besides meeting all other needs and yet leave enough balance to give each man, in terms of money, at least Rs 30/- as his saving at the end of the year. For each man it is enough for this purpose to work four hours every day and for three hundred days during the year.

3. There are a number of agricultural operations which have to be done at the given time. We spent for our two and half acres farm 430 hours in sowing, 632½ hours in weeding, and 1178 hours in the series of operations from the reaping of the corn to the carrying of the grain to the storehouse. If these important operations are not performed at the right time, there is much loss and wastage. Naturally they give a lot of trouble to the Kisans as indeed they did to us. We were forced on these occasions to take help from outside labourers. It might considerably ease the situation, if the Government were to keep the schools, colleges and offices closed for some days on such occasions so that men and boys from the cities freed from their occupations may go to the villages and voluntarily help the cultivators in their task. As a gesture of goodwill on the part of the cities towards the villages, this will have high value and may well be expected to bring the two sections of our people closer together.

4. We had not only to work very hard in respect of these three items but also exercise the utmost vigilance. The result was in keeping with the labour done ; out of twenty-eight maunds of Jowar that we produced, we had only five damaged or otherwise spoil ears of corn.

5. We were required to irrigate the cotton crop with our hands and save them because there was no rain at the time when the crop needed it. Besides, we hoed the beds fourteen times with our hands with results many times more satisfactory than if we had done the same thing with the help of the bullocks. From five *gunthas*, that is, one-eighth acre we got 248 lbs. of cotton. This is many times more than the average yield of cotton in India.

6. I have been to many places in connection with my search for the right methods of cultivation. Men both in Government and non-Government establishments are greatly inconvenienced by the absence of the right type of sowing implements. They are trying to develop model implements which will solve this difficulty. After a great deal of trial and experiment, I have reached the conclusion that the best sowing implement is the hand. I have been able to construct few appliances with the help of which an individual can draw straight lines spaced at 1, 2, or 3 feet. It takes two hours to draw such lines in a field, one acre in area. He can then sow along these lines with his hand. I had thought that hand-sowing would not serve in the case of wheat. I therefore managed to make for this purpose a plough-like sower which served me very well. Besides, I have developed and perfected many other implements to be used with the help of the bullocks ; such as different kinds of hoes and ploughs.

7. There are three main reasons for the present low productivity : Lack of good implements, want of training and want of labour. I have solved the problem of the lack of implements to some extent. We have also acquired some training since we started working without the help of labourers. As for labour, its importance cannot be too highly emphasized.

(From Hindi) (Concluded)

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