

# HARIJAN

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

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AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1955

TWO ANNAS

## STUDENT-WORLD AND DISCIPLINE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In Patna there was such a tragic clash between the students and the police that on the Independence day not only schools and colleges suspended their activities, but entire life of the city came to a standstill, and the situation became so serious that the Government had to take prompt action in the interest of the peace of the city. There was firing, some were killed, and some wounded. The whole thing was so perplexing that the Government appointed an Enquiry Committee to make a thorough enquiry and to report. Last year similar situation had occurred in Madhya Bharat, and the report of its Enquiry Committee was published some time back, and now in Bihar has arisen the need of another enquiry.

Because of the Goa liberation movement there was a sort of tension in the atmosphere at that time and there was agitation among the students. This was more so in the Bombay State, and in Bombay city itself such things happened that perhaps their doers themselves were surprised at them. My point in writing all this is that on all such occasions which affect the feelings of students a mountain is made out of a mole, and in the move that follows their real problem remains aside, and they suffer and get beaten, and the whole affair takes a strange turn. Afterwards nobody is master of the situation and the whole thing has to be managed by the police. This is neither healthy nor desirable for our democratic rule or for the development and growth of the people's strength. The teachers are, or should be, the natural leaders of students. The gulf that existed between the teacher and the taught in pre-independence days is still there. This should be remedied, and ideas about discipline should change.

While writing this, I am reminded of an incident in Gujarat. Various complaints were heard regarding the College at Navsari. One of them is that in the First Year Examination of that college there was a drastic cut in the result of the External students, so much so that it came to less than 20 per cent. It is said that if External students get encouraged to appear in the examina-

tion, it would adversely affect the strength of the college, the fee income will go down, and difficulties would increase. Students allege that to save the college from this situation the results of the External students were maliciously kept low and it was done through a particular examiner. They wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University about this, but to their great surprise, it had no effect. So the students have now been left with the only recourse of putting their grievance before the public.

Other issues in the affairs of the Navsari College are also agitating the student world there. I do not want to enter into them here. Here I only want to note a happy thing that the Navsari students are tackling their problem with restraint. I hope the thing would be resolved peacefully, and leaving aside the question of prestige the Principal of the college himself, would look into the result of the External students and remove the complaints which seem to be so very clear.

If those who are connected with students do not discharge their responsibility well, their own shortcomings are bound to affect their teaching work, and the training which students would or should get to work thoughtfully and silently will not be possible, and may otherwise produce unimaginable and disastrous results. The educational world of the country should give its thought to this problem. This cannot be done by Government control over colleges or universities through legislation. These institutions becoming free and independent should begin to impart knowledge, they cannot remain now merely examining bodies or places for getting through examinations.

26-8-'55

(Translated from Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## LIME AS A BUILDING MATERIAL

(By Surendranath Jauhar)

Lime is an old and basic village industry. Amongst the village industries enumerated in the list of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, lime should have found a prominent place. It is, therefore, surprising that it has been so far ignored by the Government and constructive workers.

Lime stone deposits are found in most parts of the country and since centuries quarrying, burning and grinding of lime have been done by the villagers. It is an industry in which machinery has not been employed so far on any significant scale. Just as Khadi was eclipsed under the onslaught of the power-looms, similarly lime has been subjected to the crushing weight of the cement combines.

I have a feeling that the increasing emphasis on the substitution of lime by cement has not been due to lime being an inferior material. Whenever I have had opportunities of discussing lime with building experts, they not only admit that lime is a very good, useful and easily available indigenous building material, but even assert that, in many respects, lime is superior to cement. But curiously enough, they show helplessness to do anything about it.

### Urgent Need

About the strength and durability and such other qualities of lime, one does not need many proofs. The ancient historical monuments which have weathered the vagaries of time and weather, and such huge modern structures as the Central Secretariat, Rashtrapati Bhavan and Parliament House, in all of which lime mortar has been used for construction and plaster are irrefutable testimonies.

Since time immemorial, our villagers have been living in kucha mud houses. In fact in many parts, thatched hutments, made of shacks, leaves or grass, have been, and still are, the only shelters for millions of our people. As a result of the rapidly changing socio-economic scene, our rural folk have been experiencing an urge to improve their conditions and are more and more becoming conscious of their right to better, healthier and pucca houses. Our Government has also launched a campaign of intensifying the rural re-construction programme in its bid to radically raise the living standards of the teeming millions. In this context lime assumes an important position. The fact that lime has been a traditional building material in India, its full utilization can give a great impetus to construction work.

What is, perhaps, even more important is the fact that herein lies a great potential source of rural employment. If the villagers are initiated and guided in the use of lime in building it can absorb a very large number of villagers who could supplement their incomes or gain new employment, especially during the off-harvest season.

### Low Cost Houses

Thus the proper way of making low cost houses in an under-developed country like India is not to look out for some magical formula or miraculous building material. It rather lies in the re-evaluation of the cheap indigenous building materials. Lime, as has been stated, is an old and well tried building material. It is readily and easily available practically in every part of the country. A careful study of the lime mortar and plaster used in the historical monuments and many of the huge buildings built in the first quarter of the present century in India and the recent researches in lime carried out by the Building Research Societies of the U.K., will show that one of the effective ways to improve the housing structures, structurally as well as economically, is to restore to lime its due place in the scheme of building constructions.

Some of the salient advantages of lime as a building material can be listed as follows:

The process of quarrying and burning and making mortar of lime is simple and inexpensive which makes lime comparatively a much cheaper building material. Today when the country is passing through one of the major phases of all-round re-construction in which building of houses, offices, factories etc. figure prominently, a lot of saving in the cost can be achieved by the effective use of lime.

### Reconstruction

Rural reconstruction, and particularly rural housing, which is one of the three primary prerequisites for "levelling-up" the "low lying" populace of our country, is a problem which needs urgent attention. Here lime has a very important contribution to make. If we take steps to demonstrate to the villagers how they can make effective and economic use of lime, for which they can dig out lime stones from the deposits just across their fields, for building pucca and pleasant houses, a great impetus can be provided to the programme of rural housing. Here it is important to remember that lime stone is a material which the villagers cannot only quarry from nearby areas, but also burn it in village *Bhattis* on an individual or co-operative scale, and grind it for making mortar with the village *Chakkis* run by bullocks or buffaloes. The villagers have neither to learn a new technique and import any machinery nor sink large capital for the manufacture and application of lime in their construction works. In fact they can take to it naturally.

Apart from serving as an important 'catalytic agent' for stimulating the rural reconstruction programme, the further exploitation and use of lime can provide urgently needed additional and supplementary sources of employment to the agricultural labourers, especially during the off-harvest season. While Government is spending millions of rupees for reviving, maintaining and developing the cottage and village industries mainly because it is felt that this is necessary to provide employment to the increasing surplus manpower, the planned development of lime, which is perhaps next only to handloom as the major village industry, can go a long way to eliminate rural under-employment and unemployment. The fact that machinery has not so far been employed in the lime industry on any significant scale, and consequently almost the entire operation is carried out by manual labour, shows the great scope and potentialities of the lime industry for employing a large manpower.

### Nation's Gain

The more extensive use of lime is bound to result in appreciable saving in foreign currency spent for importing some modern materials, being used in place of lime, or on machinery for the manufacture of these materials. Besides, a lot of modern building materials like cement can be spared for their proper use in the big projects. By doing so, the country can even look forward to becoming an exporter of such materials.

The use of lime as a building material is advantageous not only for the reasons detailed above. Because of its technical qualities, lime continues to be one of the very suitable ingredients in making mortar. Even today, lime mixed with *Surkhir Rathi*,—waste of the brick kilns and factories, is preferred by experienced and competent building engineers.

The major requirement for stepping up the use of lime is to standardize it. The Government can easily ask the Building Research Section of the Indian Standards Institution to take up standardization of lime. In this respect, the efforts of some other Government departments, like the C.P.W.D., which have already been doing some experimental work, can be co-ordinated and intensified.

(From *Khadi-Gramodyog*, May '55)



## ALCOHOLIC DRINKS GOING DOWN IN UNITED STATES

When, recently, the *Time*, a well-circulated American weekly, splashed beer across its five pages in the section for business and published a picture of a beer baron on its cover page (number for July), the office of the weekly was snowed under an avalanche of letters of sharp protest.

The *Time*, in building up what has been described as 'puffery' for the beer business and the beer barons, has admitted that the beer trade is passing through an era of decline and slump. Hard liquor is also faced with the same situation, the paper notes.

... In 1954 the U.S. consumed but 83 million bbls. — 4,000,000 bbls. less than the all time peak in 1947. In terms of per capita consumption, the dip is even sharper; beer sales last year were down almost 15% from the wartime high of 19.7 gals. per person. And beer is not the only industry hit; hard liquor sales have slumped nearly 30% from the postwar high, to 1.18 gals. per capita (*Time* says).

It is interesting to find the reasons for this situation in the change in living habits, people making more money and levelling up of the standard of living. The workingman no longer likes to idle over a glass of 'suds'. Auto-trips, sports, hobbies and home improvement fill his leisure hours. Motorists, too, are becoming increasingly aware of the danger in drunken driving. Still another reason given is rising taxes that make the 'poor man's drink' more expensive. At the same time, it is stated that the poor man is no longer poor.

The *Time* describes how the liquor trade is trying to tide over the situation by boosting up beer sales. It also treats its readers to a dazzling view of the great wealth and luxury of one of the big barons, August Anheuser Busch, Jr. He travels in a special new luxury railroadcar. He throws out baonial parties to every wholesaler, retailer and saloon-keeper — 11,000 in all.

Gussie Busch possesses air-conditioned stables for his racers and boasts one of the finest animal zoos of his own. He bought a baseball team by investing dollars, 78,00,000 — as publicity drive. Gussie owns shares worth dollars 20 million in his firm and is paid a salary of dollars, 1,50,000 a year. His firm made a profit of 12 million in 1954. Gussie 'is kicking off a record dollars 14 million advertisement campaign to plug his beer; to tempt the TV watching home market' with his 'ladies' size' and other types of beer.

The letters received by the *Time* and published in the issue for August show that sections of readers of that weekly strongly resented the boost given to beer and beer barons. The admission of *Time* that the American people are turning away from beer and hard liquor and the liquor industry as a whole is passing through bad times is not without significance. It shatters, for one thing, the misconception that liquor is

well-entrenched in the Western countries and US and the Americans are too fond of it. It is not the teetotalers and other 'cranks' only who deprecate alcoholism. As the letters show and the paper has admitted, the common citizens from all walks of life dislike liquor addiction and are turning away from it. The liquor sales are reduced in proportion to the increased standard of income and living — a sociological phenomenon that needs to be noted by the critics of prohibition policy in Bombay State and in the country.

(Contributed)

## LANGUAGES AND INDIAN UNITY

### 'An Example to Emulate'

An institution, the Bharatiya Bhasha Sangam, has been inaugurated (August 23), by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University. In this institution arrangement has been made to impart lessons in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati to anyone desirous of learning these languages, in pursuance of the belief — to which expression is given so often and by so many that it remains a wonder that it should not have occurred to more people than it has, to do something concrete about it — that it is essential to national unity and solidarity that every citizen should know something about regions and cultures other than his own. And there is no better way of knowing a people's mind and culture than through their language and literature.

As we have pointed out earlier also, it is a little odd that while our universities vie with one another in introducing classes in Chinese, Spanish, French and German, and other foreign languages, few of them think of starting Indian language classes to teach any of the regional languages of the country. Let diploma courses be started in Telugu, Tamil, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati, to mention only the languages in which the Bharatiya Bhasha Sangam has started teaching and let the Union and other Public Service Commissions announce that credit will be given to candidates for administrative services for knowing more than one Indian language.

[This is from an editorial article of the *Leader*, Allahabad, August 27, 1955. The *Harijan* has all along stood for this reform in our Indian universities. India's unity can be secured and cemented by mutual and respectful studies of our great languages and by familiarizing ourselves with Hindi as the common language for inter-provincial and all-India intercourse. May our education ministries and universities realize the point and begin to re-construct education accordingly.]

M. P. J.

2-9-'55

By K. G. Mashruwala

### A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

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# HARIJAN

Sept. 24

1955

## QUESTION OF GOA'S FREEDOM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The question has suddenly assumed the form of a grave problem for India. It has set both the people and their Government to intense heart-searching. The question has not remained merely an internal one but has turned into one of international politics. It certainly does one's heart good to feel that after months of earnest heart-searching we are arriving at a certain clarity and firmness about the question.

It is clear that Goa (which includes Div and Daman) is geographically a part of the Indian continent and the people living therein are certainly those of India. But Portugal does not recognize the fact. If she did, she would show readiness to negotiate with India, as France did, for an agreed solution of the question. But she maintains that Goa is part of the territory of her State which exists far away in Europe!

It is true Goa is geographically part of the Indian continent. But it is not so in fact. The position resembles that of a person who believes that "Swaraj is every man's birthright" but may be living under foreign rule. That Goa is geographically part of the land of India is evident, and it is equally evident that the people of Goa are by race, culture etc. Indian. But according to national and international law and practice Goa belongs to the State of Portugal and is not part of the territory belonging to the State of the Indian Union. And this position can in no way be ignored.

The position gives rise to two or three significant points worth serious consideration. One is the aspiration of the people of Goa. The other is the wish of the Government of India. The people of Goa aspire to free themselves from Portuguese rule. But their Government suppresses their aspirations by tyrannical measures of repression. The measures remind one of those adopted by the Inquisition, the notorious court of justice set up by the Catholic Church. The courts of justice in Goa today appear to function like courts martial. But blind fanaticism and an arbitrary denial of human rights appear to be common to both of them.

The other point is regarding the wish of the Government of India. The Prime Minister, who is its head, has declared that the continuance of the rule of a foreign power in Goa cannot be tolerated in any way and that it has to go. The chief consideration pointed out by him is that imperialism or colonialism has to be abolished from the present day world; and, surely, it cannot be allowed to exist and function at the very doors of the Indian Union!

A third point for consideration also arises out of the peculiar position. It is regarding the will and action of the people of India. All the three sides exercised over this question are in agreement that Goa should be free and should now again belong to free India; the people of Goa, the Government of India and the Indian people do not have any particular difference in this matter. To use more precise language, the Government of India adds to say that the question as to whether Goa should merge in the Indian Union comes later; the people of Goa may, when the proper time arrives, express their formal wish in the matter. But the Government of India does wish, from its own independent point of view, that the region should be free from Portuguese rule. This independent point of view arises from the need of doing away with imperialism from the world in order to establish peace between nations or from our foreign policy consistent with its aim of peace or say the internationally adopted principle of Pancha Sheel.

Let us now look at the question from the point of view of the people of India. They feel that the territory of Goa is Indian territory; that they have, therefore, a right of free entry into it; that, following the right, they would enter the region to help their people who live there in their fight for freedom; and that they should take part in the fight and would raise on the territory India's flag. Having these sentiments all political parties of India other than the Congress along with the Goans residing in India began to send small batches of men to enter Goa. The numbers were limited in the initial stages. But later, on the occasion of the Independence Day on the 15th August last, large numbers took upon themselves to enter Goa. What took place as a consequence is a matter of recent news.

From the legal point of view or from the point of view of current international practice, such entry by Indians in the Portuguese State of Goa can be deemed unlawful. Some British newspapers have described the entry as aggression though non-violent, i.e. by unarmed men, on a foreign State. And Portugal had her army in readiness to receive those whom she considered aggressors. One may not object to what Portugal did so far. But she ignored the fact that those whom she reckoned aggressors were unarmed and peaceful. She could have arrested them for unlawfully entering her territory, she could have tried them for the offence, or she could have pushed them back into India's territory. No other sort of action against those who entered Goa on that day could be conceived. But Portugal acted with them in a manner which reminds one of the deeds of the British at the Jalianwala Bagh! By her action against the unarmed peaceful Indians, Portugal, perhaps unknowingly, proved that not only have empires had their growth in such horrible deeds but also that they cannot also be protected or maintained without them! Portugal, in fact, proved guilty of massacring unarmed



men and women! It is for the civilized world now to ask Portugal an account of her deeds on that day.

The Government of India, the people of India and even foreign nations were seriously agitated over the events of the massacres in Goa. The question of the freedom of Goa caught the attention of the whole world as if in a flash and in India, as stated in the beginning, it has assumed the form of a serious problem. It is now for the people of India as well as her political parties to consider the question coolly. The question is, no doubt, complex and charged with deep emotions also and has unhappily become a source of unhealthy rivalries between the political parties. The All India Congress Committee, which met in session at Delhi last week, had to find a way out of this peculiarly difficult situation. The Committee deserves congratulations for doing it courageously and without falling a prey to emotional hysteria. One can surely hope that this will now help clearing the atmosphere and creating a background essential to clear thinking and firm policy.

The resolution adopted by the A.I.C.C. was published in the previous issue. It has set all people to search their hearts and minds in earnest. Points arising out of the resolution had better be left for future consideration.

9-9-55

(From Gujarati)

### A LOOSE STATEMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

It is some times said that India is militarily so strong and well equipped that she can easily take Goa by resorting to military action. I fear this is an unhappy statement to make; it suffers from loose thinking.

How would a common man react to it? He will forthwith say, 'Then why don't you do it? Why do you delay in doing a thing we want to achieve?' Both the Indian people and their Governments are surely not avowed pacifists, though they love peace. However, we have not accepted total disarmament and no-war as a creed. Therefore, one can hardly taboo military action in Goa on that count.

And we know that most of the non-Congress political parties inwardly desire to coerce the Congress and its Governments to that position. By exploiting the popular sentiment for the liberation of Goa, these parties, knowingly or unknowingly, create quite a new and internal or domestic problem for the country.

However, it is a mistake to talk of military action for Goa if we look at it from the practical point. We can hardly take Goa so easily. It must be clearly shown to our people that the way of

war is not easy, as it might apparently appear. Goa is small; however to win it by resorting to arms is not an easy job. It is only thus that the world is landed into wars from such small-looking issues and being impelled by the pride of armed strength and superiority; such small-looking incidents result into a world war. Who can say, it may not be so in the case of Goa? It is wise to have foresight in such matters. Goa may perhaps be as delicate or explosive a question as Formosa. Nobody knows. Both prudence as well as reasons of security and even India's international prestige and progress require us to note it and act accordingly. Such military action will affect adversely India's foreign policy of peace and ridicule it to our great shame. Our foreign policy has won for us international esteem and prestige, which is our very great national asset, useful for negotiating the Goa issue peacefully and successfully.

Therefore, it must be made perfectly clear to the people that military action in Goa is a step in the direction of war with Portugal and loss of face and esteem for our people. Therefore, it is not an easy way, nor short nor profitable as well. It will be sheer naivety to hold otherwise. The quickest, the easiest and the most becoming way to resolve the Goa issue is the one of peace and non-violence, in the same way as that of winning Swaraj in India has amply demonstrated to us. As a matter of fact, we are today in a happy position of taking to that way with the help of our Swaraj Government. And knowingly or unknowingly we have taken to that path; we must now be conscious of it.

Thus, it has been expedient for us as a people to resort to peaceful means even in international affairs. It is a right way from the point of view of the principle of peace and non-violence, which we as a nation now proclaim for adoption by the nations of the world.

This means that we have now come to the state of the experiment of Satyagraha in the field of international relationships. It is a new thing; it requires to be worked out by us guiding ourselves in it with the light that we have had from Gandhiji till now. This is a serious matter. We must enter into it without being carried away by the impulse of having Goa quickly.

20-9-55

(From Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

### GOAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

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## HINDI AND URDU

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

It is necessary to consider calmly and dispassionately and in a broader perspective the fact that Pakistan will have Urdu as its official language. If we do not do it, it might harm India's bright future even.

Undisputably enough, Urdu is an Indian language. The obvious proof of it is that it has found a place in our Constitution as one. Therefore, if we look at this objectively, we can, with harmless pride, say that India has given one of her languages to Pakistan as its official language. If Pakistan takes this fact in a similar manner, it may see that its own history has joined it with India by means of such a deeply cultural link like the language.

There is advantage to both the countries if they take the matter in this manner. They can, with such a living instrument like the language, forge between themselves a link of mutual love and concord. But today the jealousies and enmities of old have not still died away and hence this great truth of our situation is hidden under them. But it helps neither. If we disregard it or deny it, both only injure themselves.

We have now two separate languages like Hindi and Urdu, though it is really not so. Thus we had, along with the partition of our land, the partition of the language also. Let apart the former partition; the partition of the language was not necessary. However, it is there now. As a result, Pakistan got a national language for itself. North India is a victim of hatred of Urdu. Pakistan makes Urdu as its national language though not taking kindly and friendly to its neighbour. Indeed, one man's meat is another man's poison!

I may quote a parallel instance on this point, viz. England and America. Both were once one State, with English as their language. They separated as two States after a bloody war. However, their language continued to be the same. Of course, in course of time, there did occur some change in it resulting in what is called American English. However, America knowingly stopped to change its spelling, etc. Otherwise, it would have lost the natural common medium history gave to it. Today old enmity and hatred etc. are gone, and language has given the two countries the medium for amity and friendship. And it stands them in good stead even though the two countries are independent political States.

India can secure such an advantage for itself through its language. Pakistan might well respond to it. The way to do is to see that the gulf between Hindi and Urdu, which, I fear, is ever widening and deepening, may be bridged by both trying to be a common simple language of the people in the North, which we called Hindustani, and the mention of which we find in our Constitution. Just as it was written in Roman, it may as well be written in Urdu by

those who know that script. Albeit this may constitute a small difference. However, if we develop our all-India common language, it may benefit Pakistan also. And even if that country writes its national language in Urdu script, there will be people reading that script amongst us also, thus making it easy for the two countries to secure intercourse.

It is worthwhile realizing how much real national strength might accrue to us, if we strive for the above thing. None will be the loser; rather it is obvious that it will mean increase in happiness born of peace and concord between the two countries.

(From Gujarati)

26-8-55

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY  
BOOK IV*Kartik, dark 1*

In this age of the atom bomb unadulterated non-violence is the only force that can confound all the tricks put together of violence (*Harijan*, XI-42, 16 November, 1947, p. 412, col. 2, 'Outside his field').

*Kartik, dark 2*

If we begin to depend on them [Governments], it will mean the end of Basic Education. It must become entirely self-supporting at the end of that period [3 years]. If [then we are] not able to succeed, [we will] have to declare [our] bankruptcy before the country (*Harijan*, XI-41, 9 November 1947, p. 401, col. 2, under 'Self-support').

*Kartik, dark 3*

If India were to copy Europe in these [textile mills], it [would] mean destruction for India and the world (*Ibid*, p. 402, col. 1, above 'Khadi and mills').

*Kartik, dark 4*

Mill cloth should not sell side by side with *Khadi* [but] outside India. Our mills may not be able to sell in foreign markets too for long (*Ibid*, under 'Khadi and mills').

*Kartik, dark 5*

I do not agree that Government should provide religious education... [It] can only teach ethics based on the main principles common to all religions and agreed to by all parties (*Ibid*, col. 2, under 'Religious Education').

*Kartik, dark 6*

I should allow my children to run the risk [of co-education] (*Ibid*, under 'Co-education').

*Kartik, dark 7*

It was wrong of me not to have insisted on everybody learning weaving as I did in the case of spinning (*Ibid*, p. 403, col. 1, under 'Khadi etc.').

*Kartik, dark 8*

[The teacher of Basic Education] is a workman worthy of his hire. His wife and children too will also be workers (*Ibid*, under 'Working etc.').

*Kartik*, dark 9

Agriculture [can]not be a basic craft, [for] it has not the educational potentialities of spinning. But it is bound to come in ultimately.... Those trained in *Nai Talim* will cultivate food crops which they themselves need (*Ibid*, under 'Agriculture etc.').

*Kartik*, dark 10

A governor gets Rs. 5,500 a month, but his master, the tax-payer, has an average annual income of Rs. 275 only. Thus this servant's income is  $20 \times 12 = 240$  times as large as that of the master.

V. G. D.

In the U.S.A. the income of the governor is not more than 20 times the average income of the American citizen.

T. K. Bang

In New Zealand the highest pay is about 5 times as large as the lowest.

D. N. Khurody

[I have] no hesitation in endorsing his remarks about the high salaries and the gross disparity between the highest and the lowest salaries paid to their servants by our Government — Gandhiji (*Ibid*, p. 398, col. 1, para 1).

*Kartik*, dark 11

If I had my way, I would not buy a grain of foodstuff from outside India. It is my firm belief that even today there is enough foodstuff in the country (*Harijan*, XI-40, 2 November 1947, p. 389, col. 2, 1. 14).

*Kartik*, dark 12

It is not for a democratic state to find money for founding universities. If the people want them they will supply the funds (*Ibid*, p. 392, col. 1, last para).

*Kartik*, dark 13

There is a stage in life when a man does not need even to proclaim his thoughts, much less to show them by outward action. Mere thoughts act. They attain that power (*Harijan*, XI-39, 26 October 1947, p. 381, col. 1, under 'Action etc.').

*Kartik*, dark 14

Is it not the lot of us mortals that the innocent suffer for the guilty? It is as well that they do. The world is the richer and better for the sufferings of the innocent (*Harijan*, XI-38, 19 October 1947, p. 376, col. 1, last line).

*Kartik*, dark 30

Had it [his love] been unselfish, death of life's partner would have enriched life, for the memory of the disembodied partner would have resulted in greater dedication to the service of down-trodden humanity (*Ibid*, p. 374, col. 1, end of para 2).

## GANDHIJI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

(Abridged)

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## SWARAJYA, GRAMARAJYA AND RAMARAJYA

[From the post-prayer speech of Shri Vinoba delivered by him on 9th August, 1955 at Kautipam (Srikulam District) in Andhra.]

People had hoped that their lot would improve after Independence. There is absolutely nothing wrong in holding such and similar high hopes in Swarajya. What worth is Swarajya, if it does not bring in its train the betterment of the lot of the common people? Therefore, it was but proper and quite justifiable to expect better and happier days in Swarajya.

### Rulers Are People's Servants

But the people did not understand or realize that it was in their own hands to ameliorate their condition. They have taken it for granted that as there was previously the rule of the Muslims and then that of the British, similarly it was now the rule of the Congress. But, in those days when the Muslims or the British ruled, no one asked for the votes of the people. Those old days when the princes and the emperors ruled supreme are gone for good. Now it is our Swarajya i.e. People's Rajya. Those who rule the country today are but the servants of the people who have elected them.

### People, the Real Masters

Power is today invested in the people to select their servants who would conduct the affairs of the country on their behalf. It was for this purpose that the people were requested to cast their votes and accordingly they have selected their servants for 5 years. If the people are satisfied with the services which these servants have rendered during this period, they will re-elect them and, if otherwise, they would elect others in their stead. All this means that it is you, the people, that are the masters. However, each individual amongst you is not the master but, remember, you are so only collectively. But you have not yet fully realized that real power is vested in you.

### People Must Feel It

But power is something which cannot be had as a gift from others. Power or right to authority must spring from within. While the people of India are as such quite sensible; they have, however, been given to feel, on account of the long bondage of foreign domination, that, like the parents, the Government would do all the worrying for their betterment. Now that the power is really vested in the people, they must feel that it is really so and must experience from within. Does anyone give the mother her maternal rights and privileges? In fact, within her own innermost self she feels her motherhood. Does anyone designate to the lion the title of the King of the Jungle? In fact, he himself feels so and establishes his right. Similarly the people must feel from within and realize for themselves that they are the masters. They must thus experience the real strength of Swarajya from within.

### How Will It Happen?

Would the people of every village rule the country from Delhi? No. How will they, then, get the experience? The answer is: The people of the villages will rule their own villages. They will then get the experience of conducting the affairs of the State and feel the real strength of Swarajya automatically.

### From Grama-Rajya to Rama-Rajya

Those who are intelligent, rich and clever and sensible in the village must come forward and offer their services, as the elders and the parents do, to conduct the affairs of the village. Not only that but they should work in such a manner and with such a spirit that other people also become experienced and adept like them, or more adept and clever than themselves, in these and such other affairs. It would be only thus that Grama-Rajya would end in the real Rama-Rajya. Swarajya means, ordinarily, the rule of and by the whole country, i.e. by all the people. It comes into existence on the withdrawal of the



political domination or paramountcy of other foreign country. But it is Grama-Rajya only with which real Swarajya or self-rule can spread in every village in the country. And when all the people in the village become intelligent, adept and sensible and when the necessity to rule over anyone by anyone else ceases, this Grama-Rajya results into Rama-Rajya.

#### Bhoo-dan Yajna for Rama-Rajya

When the disputes, for example, of the village are brought to the city courts for settlement and when the city people sit over the judgement and decide them, it is slavery, servitude or subordination. When the disputes of the village are settled in the village by the village people themselves, it is Swarajya of the village or Grama-Rajya. And when disputes do not at all arise in the village, it is Rama-Rajya. First we have to establish full Grama-Rajya in the village and then turn it into Rama-Rajya. It is precisely for this purpose—for establishing Rama-Rajya in every village—that this Bhoo-dan Yajna is being carried out.

#### Every Village: A "State"

We have to make every village a complete and a thorough State in miniature. Thus, in every village there would be all the various departments as they are in a State, such as Health, Industries, Agriculture, Education, Justice, etc. As there is a Foreign Affairs department with respect to the relations with other countries, there will be in every village a special department which would handle the affairs pertaining to the other villages.

#### University in Every Village!

Then, there must be a full-fledged university in every village. This is the real Grama-Rajya. Some one told me that in the villages there should be only Primary Schools and High Schools in larger villages or medium-sized towns while the Colleges should be in big cities. I told him that if that had been the arrangement and planning of God, He would have kept in the villages only the young children under ten and so also the boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 20 in your larger villages and those above that age in the big cities! And, if all the functions and practices of life from birth till death can be, and are being carried out in the village, why not, then, education from primary onwards to higher also be given in the village itself? They are idle people, who plan to open universities, say, one in every province. In our planning, there will be a university in every village. We thus believe that the self-rule or Grama-Rajya in every village will be a complete, thorough and far-reaching self-rule in every sense of the term.

#### Village, the Reservoir of Advice?

Thus, when there would be the highest form of self-rule in every village, there would then be in each village a group of experts in the affairs of the government. In every village there would be such highly experienced men, so much so that if those at Delhi come across any difficulties, they would simply think of visiting a couple of these villages and see how the experienced experts manage their affairs there. When we have to carry on this Swarajya and manage our affairs with our own strength, how can we do so successfully and efficiently if we have at our disposal only a few experts to rely on? It is but essential and imperative that we have such expert and experienced administrators and leaders in every village in the country.

#### In Real Swarajya, Nehru Can Be Free!

And what is the condition today? It is such that when Pandit Nehru once said that he would like to be relieved of his Prime Ministership, all were worried and began to tell him: "How can we pull on without you?" Well, this is no Swarajya. Real Swarajya is that when Pandit Nehru, or for that matter anyone, desires to be relieved of any particular post, the people would tell him: "Oh yes, by all means you can free yourself. You have

rendered excellent services to the country and it is your right and privilege to retire."

#### "Shasan-Vibhajan"

We have to build our country on these lines and of this shape and form. The political power which is centred today at Delhi has to be divided and distributed between all the villages in the country. All the power was formerly centred at London and from there it was parcelled out to Delhi. Well, it is in itself a great boon. But, this parcel is detained at Delhi and we have now to see that it reached every village in the country. If we have to train the people for Swarajya, we shall have to do all these things. This is known as the division, i.e. decentralization of political authority or "Shasan-Vibhajan". Today the power is "centred"; we have to divide it now, and thus distribute it in every village.

#### That Is Why Bhoo-dan

Ultimately when all the people in the village would be thoroughly experienced, adept and experts in running their own affairs and when they would become sensible enough not to have any quarrels or disputes among themselves, there would no more be any "government" or "Shasan", i.e. there would be a State-free (शासन-मुक्त) Society or Rama-Rajya. We have to achieve this end, reach this goal. It is for this purpose precisely that this Bhoo-dan Yajna has begun. We, therefore, say to the people that you will have to prepare yourselves to apply your shoulder to the wheel to improve the lot and condition of your village first. You have to share your land with the landless in the village. You have to share between yourselves the land of your own village, which can be best done by Gramadan or Villagization of land. You have then to start village and home industries and resolve that none of you shall ever use the cloth which is not produced in your village. You have to resolve: "We shall wear the cloth and use all the articles produced in our village."

#### We Want Grama-Rajya, Not Delhi-Rajya

All this cannot be done by any rules and laws and acts of Government. Some people ask us why at all we carry on this work of Bhoo-dan and land-distribution? Why does the Government not take it upon itself to re-distribute the land? Well, if the Government will re-distribute the land, it would not end in Grama-Rajya but it would be Delhi-Rajya. We have this Delhi-Rajya already in place of the London-Rajya. But we want Grama-Rajya in place of this Delhi-Rajya, and ultimately Rama-Rajya through this Grama-Rajya. Just as one has, to satisfy his hunger, to eat his own grub and not that someone else eats it for him, so also we ourselves will have to offer the Bhoo-dan, Sampattidan, etc. for the Grama-Rajya and the Rama-Rajya. Others cannot give us this Grama-Rajya as a gift.

#### Last but Not The Least

One more point, the most important one: The whole village should live as one family and think as one man, with one mind, in respect of maintaining the self-sufficient economy of the village. If there are 500 people in the village, there would then be 1,000 hands, 1,000 feet and 500 brains but there shall be one heart.

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