

HARIJAN

24 PAGES

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

Vol. XIX, No. 52

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1956

TWO ANNAS

TO SUBSCRIBERS

Readers will have learnt from the previous issue of February 18, about the decision of the Trust to cease publication of all the three editions of *Harijan* from their new year, i.e. March, 1956. Subscribers will, therefore, be entitled to the return of the unused balance of their subscription. As soon as possible they will be individually informed of the amount due to them.

We request them to select any of the following courses for the return of unused subscription and let us have their instruction accordingly.

1. Transfer of subscription to either *Lokjivan* (Fortnightly) or *Shikshan Ane Sahitya* (Monthly), both in Gujarati.

(*Lokjivan* annual subscription Rs 3/-;
Shikshan Ane Sahitya annual subscription Rs 4/-) or

2. Navajivan Trust's books of equivalent value. (Postage free). Subscribers may select books of their choice from the list of books to be sent separately along with the intimation about the amount due to them.

3. Return of amount by M.O.

We shall wait until the end of April, 1956 for instructions. In cases where we do not know the choice by this time, we shall remit the sum to either periodical noted in 1 above.

20-2-56

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

By Pyarelal

MAHATMA GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE (Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

Authentic Biography of Mahatma Gandhi dealing with the last phase of his life is in two volumes. The First Volume of nearly 800 pages with 44 pages of photographs is released on 12th February, 1956, Mahatma Gandhi's Shradhdha day. The second volume will be published in due course. It will contain equal number of pages. The volumes are priced at Rs. 20/- each. The registered postage etc. of each volume is Rs 3/-. Advance orders accompanied with the amount of price and registered postage etc. will be accepted and given priority in execution. Amount should be sent by M.O.

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14

ACHARYA NARENDRA DEV

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

It is very sad indeed to learn that Acharya Narendra Dev passed away two days back. He was suffering from asthma for years, which had been severe for some time last. He had gone to South India for a rest cure, where he breathed his last.

Acharyaji was one of the elderly comrades of mine in the field of national education. He was the Principal of the Kashi Vidyapith, which position he served with distinction for a good number of years. Some in Gujarat will remember that he came to address the convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith in 1928. His contribution to the growth and development of national education has been great and valuable.

Both by nature and choice he was an educationalist and a scholar-patriot. He was a keen student of our ancient history and civilization. The fight for freedom that began in 1919-20 drew him into its fold and he gave his whole lifetime to it thenceforth. He was one of the prominent Congressmen of his home province U.P. to the service of which he dedicated his whole life.

During 1930-34 there were many able servants of the nation whose views veered towards Socialism. Acharyaji was one of them. He was a close student of the philosophy of Socialism and took active part in propagating it in India. In 1948 he became a prominent member and later the President of the Socialist Party of India. Though, due to sickness he could not take much active part in the deliberations of the meeting of the Party a few days ago, he interested himself as much as he could in its deliberations and guided them even from his sick-bed. Only a few days thereafter he breathed his last at the age of 66. I hereby pay my humble tribute of love and gratitude to this great scholar-patriot. May he rest in peace.

21-2-56

(From Gujarati)

By K. G. Mashruwala

GANDHI AND MARX

With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba

Pages vii+117 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 5

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14

ENGLISH ECONOMIC CRISIS

(By Wilfred Wellock)

[Wilfred Wellock, the English protagonist of the Third Way Movement, in the *Peace News* of November 11, 1955, discusses the recent economic crisis in England and says that it is the fourth of its kind since 1949; and adds that "These four crises indicate that something is fundamentally wrong with our economy, that it is unstable and insecure."

The crisis, according to him, is not merely economic; it is deep-rooted in the way or pattern of present English economy. He tries to explain his thesis and probes into the reasons and suggests a way out. The following is reproduced from that article.

The way is of the nature of the Gandhian ideal of Sarvodaya. The article brings out another point which is important from the international point of view.

The colonial powers of the West built up their high standard of living through the exploitation of their foreign colonies. With Asia and Africa awake to the needs of their own freedom and independent growth, the old established order and economy of those colonial countries are bound to be disturbed. They will be required to revise their ideas and habits of living born of the vanishing colonial order. It may apparently mean lowering of the unnaturally high standard of living maintained at the cost of their colonial subjects, capturing of their markets, that is, on the basis of their backwardness, poverty and even forced unemployment. There is therefore bound to set in a process of comparative levelling down of these inflated standards in the Western way of living. Mr Wellock describes this as a "substitution of a qualitative for a quantitative civilization, and thus a new pattern of personal and social life."

We in India are at the threshold of a new economy for our country. It is worthwhile observing the trends of economic and social life elsewhere, so that we might save ourselves from blindly copying them, outmoded as they are growing in the new world.

31-12-55

M. P.]

We are again in an economic crisis, a minor one it is true, but of some significance in that it is, the fourth of its kind since 1949.

In each crisis restraint in the consumption of goods and services has been demanded in order to step up exports and ensure our supplies. Since we must import more than half of our food and all our raw materials with the exception of coal and a certain amount of iron ore and wool, our economy is exceedingly vulnerable. It operates as on a razor edge: a slight fall in our exports sends up the danger signal.

Our prosperity in the early post-war years lulled us into a false security. The battered condition of the greater part of Europe presented Britain and America with a monopoly of the world's markets and this fact, plus American aid, enabled Britain to restore much of her lost financial and economic power and even to found her Welfare State. It also tempted her politicians and economists to promise a future of rising prosperity under the stimulus of an "expanding economy".

By 1949, however, the battered countries had sufficiently recovered to re-enter the competition for the world's markets and supplies,

and even to embrace the promises of an "expanding economy".

But when a dozen nations are straining the leash by the hot spending of an expanding economy the future becomes incalculable.

Moreover, the under-developed two-thirds of the world are going to demand a fairer share of the earth's resources. They will import fewer and fewer consumer goods, but more and more capital goods for some years, after which they hope to produce their own.

In this complex and incalculable situation Western politicians and economists are baffled, while the big Industrial Powers, in fear of the future, are stretching every nerve to secure maximum monopoly power over vital raw materials.

A major economic impasse is thus foreshadowed. Britain's expanding economy is demanding more markets than can be assured in present competitive conditions. Hence home consumption must be restrained, production speeded up and exports given priority. But should rein be given to profits, as happened in the 1955 budget, wage claims will be clamant come what may.

Then comes the demand for automation. But alas from a dozen countries simultaneously! So where lies hope?

This is the inevitable impasse of a devouring, materialistic civilization.

Its solution is the long-term substitution of a qualitative for a quantitative civilization, and thus a new pattern of personal and social life.

The present economy throws all the emphasis on money, or maximum consumption of goods and services. It tends to produce a cycle of self-indulgences, comforts, luxuries, mass excitements which now include all the major sports, entertainment on tap, tabloid news and high-speed whizzing around.

But is this the good life for man proclaimed by the prophets of all ages and by the socialist leaders of forty years ago?

False prophets have since assured us that invention would inaugurate an age of creative leisure in which "new arts would bloom of loftier mould."

It has not done so.

Instead our age is besieged with demands for money, which now buys almost everything which the majority equate with life.

From this way of life will issue the most frenzied struggle for world markets and supplies yet known — and the third world war, should failure in this quest bring widespread economic breakdown and a new wave of Communism.

The alternative is a way of life which subordinates material demands to spiritual principles and values, and which, by the exercise of responsibility in daily labour, by creative self-expression and the culture of the vital relationships of an

organic community, develops whole persons and integrated communities.

Investigation would prove that to achieve these ends it would be necessary to resort to small communities and a largely self-sufficient agro-industrial economy by nature pacific at every level, local, national and international.

CASTE AND CASTEISM

Is 'casteism' the same as caste? 'Casteism' is more easily shouted about than defined and tracked down. All evils of society are not caste-evils. Then what exactly is 'casteism'?

Suppose I am knocked down on the street by your car. I cannot possibly say that it is 'casteism' though you may be a Brahmin and I a Harijan. This is a genuine accident.

If a live wire breaks down and a pedestrian is electrocuted you cannot blame the caste of the electrical engineer in the power-house for that.

But yes, if a traveller refuses to allow you to sit by his side in a railway compartment on the ground that you belong to a particular caste, it is downright 'casteism'.

If your son is denied admission in a college even after he has fulfilled all the prescribed requirements for admission on the basis of merit, just because he is the son of his father who belongs to a particular community, this is 'casteism'.

But suppose the jewel of a son of yours who does not satisfy the prescribed rules for admission in the college, applies after the expiry of time and filling up of all rolls, it can also be called 'casteism' when you utter the word. Here you are the inflictor of evil and the institution is the victim.

We have seen a suggestion* made in all good faith that there should be a legislation prohibiting the use of caste names. 'This kind of a little thing,' it is claimed, 'will go a long way to make the disastrous caste-system a thing of the past.' No doubt, law-making has turned out to be one of the major national enterprises in post-independence India. But it should be seen that the instrument of law which is meant for safeguarding and regulating the liberties of people does not turn out to be an engine for smothering those very liberties. If you once begin making legislation of that type, you won't know where to stop. Today you want to prevent by law the use of such words as Pillai, Mudaliar, Iyengar or Chettiar, tomorrow you will require legislation for *sikha*, *namam*, *panchkachha* or moustaches, lest all these should indicate the caste of a man. We are unable to find any extraordinary wisdom in forcing people by law to drop their caste-

names. It is far wiser to tell people that they are free to do so.

Tilak, Gandhi, Bose, Nehru, Patel, Bhave— are these not caste-names? If caste-names by themselves are a dividing factor how could these men using caste names become cementing forces? What divides is not a few letters but our small-mindedness. What we require is purity of mind, expansion of heart and chastening of intellect. We require to develop *shraddha* and *prema* for our fellowmen.

'Casteism' seems to be working in people's mind as a sort of churner as a result of which some suggestions as to the ways of eradicating the evil are springing forth in the Press. But unfortunately most people think over the problem in terms of coercion. Inter-caste marriage being the 'only cure' for 'casteism', asks one,† why not a legislation to the effect that preference would be given in Government jobs to those who marry outside their caste?

Inter-caste marriage may or may not prove to be an all-cure of the social evils in India. But it should be clearly seen that no healthy social change can be brought about by a sort of a bribery though it might be instituted by the government itself. In matters social and personal an intelligent government should also know how to keep within its jurisdiction.

Angry aggressive social reformers who go about fiercely denouncing things and putting forth their steam-roller suggestions do not see the point that our attention requires to be centered on things that matter and not on compulsion and that we require patience and restraint. They just do not understand how they entrench 'casteism' in people's minds by setting in motion wrong movements of their psyche by their wrong approaches to the problem.

The mercury in the barometer of 'casteism' goes up and down. 'Casteism' sometimes walks on its head, sometimes on its legs. The evil may be associated both with higher and lower castes so called. So, the cure cannot be in blaming this or that caste but in tackling the evil itself as and where it arises. Then all wrongs done by an individual need not necessarily arise from his belongingness to caste. Evils of varieties, certainly not less worrisome and irksome, do exist in societies having no caste-system. There is such a thing as human frailty which is independent of caste-consciousness.

What we require is a scientific approach to the problem, a readiness to undertake infinite pains to understand the entire situation completely on the basis of observation and analysis. 'Casteism' when approached with a free, fair, uninhibited and enquiring mind can prove to be a most fascinating study.

(From *The Vedanta Kesari*, October, 1955)

† *The Indian Express*, Madras, (Letter to the Editor), October, 1955.

* *Swatantra*, correspondence column, August 27, '55.

HAND-MADE PAPER INDUSTRY

Paper is an important necessity of the modern age. Day by day its use is increasing. Before the mechanized mills started the production they were made by hand, were of good quality, used to last long and remained unharmed from the effects of the weather. Even today they are used for account books and for important documents but the industry as a whole has come to a stay. If this industry is encouraged it can help to increase the production of paper and can also provide employment to many persons. These potentialities can be seen from the draft plan prepared by the Khadi and Village Industries Board, for incorporation in the Second Five Year Plan. In India 1.1 lbs. paper is used per capita per year. In England and America it is from 150 to 250 lbs. We have only 18 per cent of literacy while there almost all are literate. So with the spread of literacy, it is certain that use of paper will increase.

Even if per capita consumption figures 10 lbs. per year, the whole country will require 1.5 million tons. Hand-made paper industry can very well help to supply this requirement. Even if the school children are taught this handicraft, by working for $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours a day in addition to their curriculums, each can produce 10 lbs. of paper per year. The production can also be increased by starting factories of hand-made paper.

In India there are 18 large-scale paper mills, producing 1.5 lakh tons of paper per year. They employ 22,000 workers. There is little difference between their present production and their total production capacity. So there is little chance of increasing production through them. Hence for expansion we have to think along different lines. It can be done by handicraft without starting new mechanized mills, and it can also help to solve the problem of unemployment. So A-I, Khadi and Village Industries Board has drawn up a scheme for the development of this industry and its summary is as follows:

In 1953-54 consumption of paper was 1,90,400 tons and it will be 2,20,000 tons in 1960-61. To meet this demand, the Board has suggested the following common production programme:

At present we meet the demand from supply of 1,45,000 tons from the mills, 45,000 tons through import and 427 tons from hand-making. In place of this, the Board has suggested that in 1960-61 mills may supply 1,70,000 tons, import may be reduced to 40,000 tons and 4,400 tons of paper should be produced by hand.

To do this (1) the import of the paper which can be hand-made will have to be completely stopped, (2) mills will have to be prohibited to produce the papers of the blotting type and (3) the import from foreign countries will have to be restricted to 40,000 tons only.

For hand-made paper the Board has suggested the following programme:

(1) To establish 80 production units employing 100 workers each on co-operative basis or on the basis of a stock company with limited liabilities. They will produce 2,000 tons of paper;

(2) To establish 400 cottage units each comprising of 2 to 4 families and employing about 10 persons. They can produce 2,000 tons at the rate of 5 tons each. And also to start 400 school units, which can produce 400 tons at the rate of 1 ton each.

Thus totally 4,400 tons of hand-made paper worth Rs 526.75 lakh will be produced, and 12,000 additional persons will get employment.

To implement this plan, the Board has suggested to spend Rs 8 to 10 lakh for the Central Organization, Rs 6.75 lakh as an aid for training, Rs 28.96 lakh for buildings, equipments, machinery etc. Rs 20 lakh as loan for recurring capital to the production units, and also Rs 35.62 lakh as subsidy to the hand-made paper, so that it can compete in the market.

Thus the total expenditure is estimated to be 135.46 lakhs. If the plan is implemented in right spirit, there is a great scope for the development of this industry.

V. M. K.

PNEUMATIC TYRES FOR BULLOCK CARTS

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

A news item from New Delhi states that the Advisory Council for Transport will meet in the first week of February to consider the advisability of replacing iron-tired wheels of bullock carts by pneumatic-tired wheels. It is therefore, necessary for us to consider the various aspects of this case.

May we for a moment stop to consider dispassionately the problem from the viewpoint of the bullocks and from that of the villagers, its efficiency, its finances etc.? However unsophisticated these views may be, yet they are the parties most affected by our conclusions and therefore merit our attention.

The Bullock's Viewpoint

The dynamics of the question can prove nothing unless we consider them in terms of life. The best way of testing the efficiency of pneumatic-tired carts is not by calculating mathematically the load and the pull, but to compare the performance of the same pair of bullocks under exactly the same circumstances excepting for the change in wheels.

Such experiments were carried out at the Government Cattle Farm at Hissar. On *pukka* road, with a load of 2,000 lbs., a distance of ten miles was covered in four hours and five minutes by the cart with ordinary country cart wheels, and in two hours and fifty eight minutes with pneumatic equipments. This works out to 27.3 per cent increase in efficiency. On *kachha* road the performance took four hours and fifty six minutes with the country cart wheel, and three hours and forty minutes with pneumatic equipment, thus showing a 25.3 per cent increase in efficiency.*

The roads for bullock traffic should be level but may wind round to avoid heavy gradients while a motor road of any gradient may be negotiated by a change of gears in the car, but for its speed the road should be straight. These two requirements clash. The pull on the bullock becomes very heavy on a rising gradient. This disadvantage is accentuated when the cart has more freely moving

* *Vide* the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research Publication *Agriculture and Live Stock in India*, Vol. V, Part VI, page 636.

wheels with ball-bearings. Hence a cart loaded for a level road puts a considerable strain on the heart of the bullocks while pulling over a gradient. Therefore a rubber-tired cart should not be fully loaded. Hence the mechanically calculated load has to be considerably lower in practice.

An ordinary cart with iron tyres will cost about Rs 450/- while the extra cost for a change of wheels with rubber tyres and tubes will amount to about Rs 450/-. That is, with an increase in cost of cent per cent we get an increase in efficiency of 27.3 per cent on *pukka* roads and 25.3 per cent on *kachha* roads. What businessman in his senses will go in for such an equipment? Is it not simpler and much more economical to get two country carts with an increase of 100 per cent efficiency than get the pneumatic equipment with 25.3 per cent increase only?

Apart from this, the Hissar experiment seems to have overlooked the advantage of roller-bearings of the pneumatic tyre experiment. If the country cart wheel could be fitted with such bearings, only then could we compare on exact terms the actual merits of pneumatic tyres over iron tyres. The Central Industrial Workshop of the Government of Mysore carried out such an experiment, and the result showed that the bullocks covered the distance of five miles in much less time with iron tyres and roller-bearings than with pneumatic tyres and roller-bearings. (I have not the exact figures at hand but it was about 20 per cent less). The only difference being in the tyre, the rubber tyre was thus found to be definitely a disadvantage. If this is correct, then when we are asked to fit carts with pneumatic tyres, we are called upon to pay double for a lowering of efficiency!

The Villager's Viewpoint

Consideration based on common sense will also support the findings of the Central Industrial Workshop. There are two main reasons why pneumatic tyres are used in motor vehicles. One is to afford an air cushion to absorb the shock incidental to fast traffic and thus reduce the strain and stress on delicate machinery. In a bullock-driven vehicle this function of the pneumatic tyre is wasted, and there is no delicate machinery to be protected against shocks.

The other reason lies more in the quality of rubber. Because of its elasticity and pliability when pressed on a surface it enters the interstices and obtains a grip. This gives rubber its non-skidding qualities. Put in other words, rubber does not slip, which means the friction on any surface is increased by the use of rubber. If any one disputes this fact, let him try to drive a motor car with iron tyres on the driving wheels. He will find that the car will hardly move as the wheels will revolve slipping over the road surface. When a car moves at thirty miles per hour, the wheels push off the earth under it at that speed, and to do so a tremendous grip is necessary and this is obtained by using rubber. Therefore the friction of rubber over road surface is greater than the friction of iron over the same surface. This means, other things being equal, that a rubber tyre makes the cart harder to move than an iron tyre, which is what is proved by the Mysore experiment.

We can deduce the same conclusions from the Hissar experiment too. For if our proposition is correct then the rougher the road the greater will be the friction caused by rubber. We found that according to the Hissar experiment the apparent advantage of pneumatic tyres, without allowing for the roller-bearings, on *pukka* road was 27.3 per cent, and on *kachha* road 25.3 per cent, only. That means that its efficiency is less on bad roads, which proves our supposition. If it were otherwise the iron would have shown off at a greater disadvantage over the *kachha* road, which is not the case.

The Economic Viewpoint

When two surfaces rub on one another, the softer material takes the wear. When iron works on stone, the

stone takes the wear and needs to be replaced. If rubber works on stone the wear is on the rubber. Therefore given the same quantity of work, when the cartman uses iron tyres the wear that he has to replace is much less than when he uses rubber. The use of rubber tyres in effect shifts the burden of wear and tear on the individual cartman from the shoulders of the government in so far as the cartman has to renew the rubber tyres frequently while the road is saved from the wear and tear. This becomes an additional direct tax, as it were, on the cartman.

Who needs the good roads? The motorist for speed to save him from jolts. Who wears out the road? The motorist by the enormous kick backward of the driving wheels to send the car forward at high speed. The driving rubber wheels create a vacuum which causes a suction that raises dust and wears out the road material.

The cartman's wear is caused by merely rolling motion which is always at a minimum. Therefore the advocacy of rubber tyres for carts is in effect directed towards shifting the burden of expensive surfacing of good roads from the motorists to the already exploited villagers.

The Artisan's Viewpoint

Many municipalities and local bodies have gone in for rubbish van and night-soil carts mounted on wheels with pneumatic equipment. Besides all the above reasons against such fittings, there is a fundamental error in the application of the principles of public finance involved in such a course. Taxes must be spent for the benefit of the tax-payers generally, and such public expenditures should promote and encourage the well-being of the people. For obtaining pneumatic equipment the taxpayer's money is spent abroad or to support large-scale industries and the local carpenters and the blacksmiths are deprived of their trade and will be ultimately driven to increase the already existing high pressure on land. The tax-payers in their own interest should discountenance the use of their money by local bodies in such a way as to be detrimental to the interest of their own artisans.

The Financial Viewpoint

The writer in the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research publication referred to above says:

"The most serious obstacle to the rapid adoption of pneumatic equipment for transport purposes in this country is poverty.... So far as the average peasant is concerned, new types and patterns of vehicles are at present quite out of the question. It is quite sufficient to expect him to raise Rs 150/- for a set of pneumatic tyres and equipment, (the present price will be Rs 450/-) without telling him that he will also want a new type of cart, the design and building of which his local carpenters and blacksmiths may know nothing whatever about."

What ignorance of the financial condition of the villager this discloses! To expect a farmer to raise several times his average *per capita* debt for a set of pneumatic tyres and equipment! Even if this amount could be raised, have they no better alternative use for the money?

A change over from iron to rubber tyres will call for a larger mileage of tarred or concreted roads. This will increase the expenditure on road making.

Villagers will be well warned against all forms of high pressure salesmanship advocating the use of products of large-scale manufacture. Already our country is denuded of various forms of industry. As long as artificial economic barriers, such as freight rates and discriminatory tariffs, exist it would be suicidal to venture into distant market either to buy or to sell.

In short, pneumatic tyres are harder on the bullocks; shift a larger proportion of the burden for road repairs than is proper on the villager; are beyond his financial capacity; will displace village artisans, and to buy such equipment is bad financial policy for us to follow. This suggestion, therefore, is unsound on all counts.

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY MEDIUM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The University of Madras has published its answers to the questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission, as adopted by its Syndicate. The following is from what it said in regard to the question of the eventual medium of instruction :

"(At present it is) English. Eventually...the medium may be the mother-tongue or the regional language....Inter-University migration of students and teachers affects only a small proportion of students and for this purpose it would be futile to have a common medium in all Universities. So far as teachers are concerned, provincialism has come to stay, and it is a decreasing number that can find opportunities of employment in other parts of the country either in the teaching profession or in any other occupation."

The answer from one of the oldest Universities of India is significant from various points of view. It is also a pointer to show in what direction the wind in the academic sphere is blowing in the South.

The answer clarifies that the medium of University instruction must be the regional language. This is a sound proposition, and well may all Universities and State Governments declare this as an unanimously adopted principle. Let not precious time of the nation be allowed to be wasted about discussing this proposition which is accepted by all free nations of the whole world.

The answer also brings out a sort of hesitation or go-slow mentality that is unfortunately a common attribute of our Universities today. This is primarily due to the unnatural and anti-national use of English as the medium for more than a century. Looking to such a long period, such conservatism is natural, one may agree. But it cannot be allowed to degenerate itself into a reactionary doctrine. Such a fear will come true if the Universities are not progressive and alert in implementing the change-over from English to the regional language. To do so they must realize the urgency of this vital and fundamental change in our educational system and begin to move.

There is a school of thought which says that Hindi, the all-India common language, might replace English as the medium. The Madras University answer above rejects this idea. In doing so it replies to one important argument of that school, viz. the inter-University migration of students and teachers. The answer is unexceptional in its first part where it says, it "affects only a small proportion of students". As regards teachers what it says is not so. It says that "provincialism has come of stay...." Is it true? If so, is it good or desirable? Cannot something be done which may be helpful to avoid it as far as possible?

It is here that the Gujarat University has shown commendable lead among the Universities in India. It has decided that Gujarati shall be the medium. Notwithstanding this, it is laid down that non-Gujarati-knowing students and

teachers will have the option to use Hindi as the medium if they so desire. And for the transition it is provided that they might also use English. What is noteworthy is that this is being executed and it is planned that the process of the change-over will be completed in the near future.

The reader will see that there is a definite attempt to meet the requirements of migration. The attempt is based on the assumption that in the eventual pattern of educational reconstruction a student in a University will know his own language, will know Hindi as a second language, and also English as the third. The Universities will be bilingual in the sense that while they will generally use their own regional languages as the medium, they will also allow the use of the *Antar Bhasha* Hindi by non-regional students and teachers, thus facilitating their migration. Hindi will be the inter-University medium of intercourse also. Only thus working, can we avoid narrow parochialism and also have for use an all-India language for academic and national unity and common endeavours. Just as Hindi alone as the medium in non-Hindi areas is wrong and rejected, so also its regional language alone will not be proper unless we reject Hindi as the all-India language. This we can do only at the peril of wrecking the Constitution where it provides for Hindi. Non-Hindi-speaking States and Universities will beware of this. There is an equally strong warning for the Hindi-alone-medium school as it will also lead to a similar end, as its position is wholly false both educationally as well as from the point of view of the spirit of India's Constitution and her unity.

One point at the end : I have said that English will be a third language. This is because we need to use English books even when we teach through our languages. This will meet with the initial difficulty of not having suitable books at once. As a matter for that, we will eventually have books not only in our own languages but Hindi also, for use in our Universities. English books will be there also.

This consideration should hearten the Universities to begin the change-over without any fear of loss of efficiency, standards etc. Rather, with one's own language as the medium, a student will learn better and quicker. And provided suitable tutorial and seminar methods are adopted and use of the library promoted and encouraged, we might rest assured that University education and discipline as well will improve with the change-over. The only thing needed is, we must have faith in the strength and vitality of growth and development of our own languages, i.e. in ourselves, and must begin to work in a joint effort of all our teachers and learned men as a great venture for reorganizing real people's Universities in India from the narrow and closed class activity that they are today, thanks to alien rule and its language English.

"MY RELIGION"*

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

As Gandhiji's life consisted in nothing but seeking to practise his religion to the best of his ability, an attempt has been made in this volume to present to the reader extracts from Gandhiji's writings and speeches, which will give a fairly full picture of Gandhiji's religion.

The task has not been easy. The very fact that religion was the mainspring of Gandhiji's activities means that all that he said and did throughout his public career, not only in the realm of religion proper but also in the spheres of politics, economics and social life, became relevant to this volume. For him a religion which did not concern itself with every side of life was no religion at all. That being the case, no account of his religion can be adequate which does not present his entire philosophy of conduct, whether in individual or social life.

Consequently, we have had a very wide field to cover. At the same time to keep this volume small, we have had to select very carefully, seeking however in the process of elimination not to leave out anything of significance.

Gandhiji was born a Hindu. But his Hinduism was his own. It had its roots firm in ancient Hinduism, but it grew and developed in the light of his contact with other religions, more especially Christianity, as will be seen from Section Two of this volume. He sought to drink at the spring of all religions, and therefore he felt that he belonged to every religion. And yet, if he had to have a label, the label he preferred and which was his not only by right of birth but also intrinsically, was Hinduism, the religion of his forefathers. In learning from every religion with which he came in contact, Gandhiji was not by any means doing injustice to Hinduism or departing from its essential teachings. For the genius of Hinduism itself through all its long history has always been to assimilate and synthesize whatever new element it came up against. Not being tied down to a creed or to a founder, it was thus free to learn, grow and develop. Gandhiji illustrates in himself this youthful spirit of Hinduism, which has kept it ever fresh, ever living and ever growing. Indeed, it may be truly said that in this respect in Gandhiji Hinduism found its own soul.

Hinduism had in the past, together with Buddhism, its offspring, influenced all the known countries of the then civilized world, from India to China and Japan. Today through Gandhiji Hinduism is undergoing rebirth, and India's message of peace and non-violence is listened to with respect by all the nations. There is no doubt that if the religion of Gandhiji could

spread throughout the length and breadth of this land, India could still be a powerful factor in weaning the world from materialism, avarice and strife, which are threatening mankind with complete destruction.

Gandhiji's message, however, is not only for India but for all the world. As he himself said, he did not seek to recapture only the spirit of Hinduism but the spirit of all religions, which, according to him, is love of God expressing itself in love of fellow-beings. His call is therefore not that others should become Hindus, but that Christians, Buddhists, Muslims and others should live up to the best teachings of their own religion. Only thus, he expected, man can live in peace with his fellowman and promote each other's welfare. Both Hindus and non-Hindus should therefore find a challenge, inspiration and guidance in the living of the good life, from a study of this book.

Owing to limitations of space we could give but a bare outline of Gandhiji's views on social affairs. Those who would like fuller details may turn to other books published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, such for example as *Sarvodaya*,¹ *Towards Non-violent Socialism*,² *Women and Social Injustice*,³ *Removal of Untouchability*,⁴ *For Pacifists*⁵ and *Hindu Dharma*.⁶

The arrangement of the material in this book is altogether ours, as well as the titles of chapters and articles. A glossary of non-English words is added for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with them. Dates are attached to the writings quoted here from the *Young India** and the *Harijan*,* Gandhiji's weeklies. In regard to quotations from books by Gandhiji, it may be of interest to know that the *Hind Swaraj*⁷ was written in 1908, *From Yeravda Mandir*⁸ in 1930, *Unto This Last: a paraphrase*⁹ was first published in book-form in Gujarati in 1903 and in English in 1951, and the *Autobiography*¹⁰ in 1927 and 1929. *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* was published by Natesan & Co., Madras, first edition in 1917 and fourth edition in 1933.

Bombay,
November, 1955

¹ Price Rs 2-8-0, Postage etc. As. 13.

² Price Rs 2-0-0, Postage etc. As. 14.

³ Price Rs 3-0-0, Postage etc. Re 1.

⁴ Price Rs 3-8-0, Postage etc. Re 1.

⁵ Price Re 1-4-0, Postage etc. As. 5.

⁶ Price Rs 4-0-0, Postage etc. Re 1-2-0.

⁷ Price As. 8, Postage etc. As. 3.

⁸ Price As. 3, Postage etc. As. 3.

⁹ Price As. 6, Postage etc. As. 2.

¹⁰ Price Rs 7, Postage etc. Re 1-8-0.

* Being the Editor's Note to the Collection published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14; Price Rs 2/-, Postage etc. As. 13/-.

* The *Young India* was published from 1919-1931 and the *Harijan* was published from 1933 till the end of February 1956 with two breaks.

HARIJAN

Feb. 25

1956

THE LAST ISSUE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In the previous issue of 18-2-56 I had described the circumstances under which it was decided to close the publication of the three historic *Harijan* papers. It is natural to feel regret for this. However, I think, the feeling will not be as intense or keen as it was three years ago, when it was similarly decided. I say so because I feel that, looking from all sides of the matter, the time for taking such a step is ripe enough now. Therefore I hold that the decision of the Navajivan Trust is timely.

These papers have given a very valuable contribution in bringing about the Gandhian Age of India's modern history. They were started for that purpose. Gandhiji started *Young India* and *Navajivan* in 1919-20; a few years later was started the *Hindi Navajivan*. Thus began the first stage of these papers.

In 1930-32 they came to be closed consequent upon the action of the British Government against our fight for Swaraj. Similar causes necessitated Gandhiji's famous fast unto death in jail in 1933. As we know the fast was occasioned by the movement for removal of untouchability. The three papers started again under their new name of the *Harijan*, and they continued to be issued till the advent of freedom as its witness and bold mouthpiece.

Gandhiji passed away in 1948. Some felt then that as his voice was hushed with him, it would not be right to continue the three papers which were Gandhiji's voice as it were. The papers were accordingly stopped.

Against this there was another equally strong view which held that the papers should still continue to expound and guide the people on Gandhian lines in the new stage of reconstruction as well. The trustees agreed with the latter view and the papers were restarted in April, 1948 under the editorship of late Shri K. G. Mashruwala.

The history of the papers since then is fresh to the readers. The most noteworthy change in this new phase of the papers was that they began to function in a period when they could not have the benefit of soaring on the wings of the actual fight for Swaraj, but must plod on the dreary path of constructive activities, say with bullock-cart speed. We might therefore well say that the papers entered quite a new stage of their career. That they could not really be the physical voice of Gandhiji was obvious, as he was no more with us. However they were undoubtedly Gandhiji's papers, and as such they were rightly expected

to note and observe the march of events in New India keeping in view the Gandhian principles.

To do such a job when Gandhiji was no more with us was bound to be rather hard and difficult. The reason is obvious. There had begun to arise in our midst differences of ideas, ideals and opinions at every stage of implementing the national programme of reconstruction. This could be observed happening even when Gandhiji was with us for the few months after the advent of independence. Thereafter the process has gone on showing itself more explicitly. Today it is quite manifest. If I am permitted, I may say that India's history of the Gandhian Age begins its new chapter under Jawaharlalji. The closure of these papers at this time, I therefore feel, is only a result of the natural turn of history in India. Decreasing number of subscribers and increasing loss to the management may well be said to be its obvious symptoms.

These symptoms began to appear from 1952 even. The total number of subscribers for the 3 papers then went down to 9,000 only. The Trust had then issued a warning to the people. Heeding to it many friends tried to raise it by enrolling new subscribers. Consequently there was appreciable increase, but it was only for that year. From next year it began to disappear. Shri K. G. Mashruwala suddenly passed away a few months later leaving the great task of conducting the papers to poor me. For myself I may only say that I have tried my very best to discharge this onerous duty. That there could be no improvement in the number of subscribers is enough to show my limitations, which I know well enough.

The work of the papers has been with me for about 3 years and a half by now. They have been years of quite new and distinct experiences in my life. It has been unique education for me also. I am personally grateful to the Trust for giving me such an opportunity. But I am not writing this on a personal matter. The Trust could see during these years how much the papers could in fact fare for themselves in the new situation. The readers must have seen from the previous issue that total number of subscribers today is about 9,290, resulting into continuing loss. Therefore the Trust rightly thought it would serve no purpose to continue them under such circumstances and hence they close now.

I have mentioned above that now begins the Jawahar epoch in India. I am conscious that when I say this I refer to a big and serious matter. But what I really see I must say. Let not the reader misunderstand it. I do not at all suggest that it means an end of the Gandhian Age. That Age stands for us—it has come to stay. I believe it cannot be bypassed by India and hence even by the world.

The modern age is being styled as the atom age. The message of Gandhiji is for that ultra-

modern age even. And now one may safely say Gandhi was an Avatar — was born to deliver it to such a world. Such messages to be successfully implemented require epochs. We are in the first epoch of such a series. Its leader is Jawaharlalji. The A-I. National Congress is his instrument. The topmost among the nation's servants are his colleagues in this venture. All desire to do Gandhi's work, and for this they plan such ways and means as appear proper and practicable to them. The teachings of Gandhiji are there before all for what worth and meaning they carry to us under the circumstances. There never was nor is something called Gandhism. If there might be even a remote apprehension of something smacking like it on the count of these papers started by him, then that also will be no more with their closure now, which may therefore also be held good in a way.

What do we desire to do about rebuilding India now? What should be done about it? Gandhiji has answered this question from the deepest of his heart in his eternal prayer for us — "Lord of Humility" (*Harijan*, 11-2-'56, p. 393), as follows:

"Lord of Humility, dwelling in the little pariah hut, . . . give us the ability and willingness to identify ourselves with the masses of India . . ."

How can we do it? How can we serve Daridranarayan? India's poor man dwelling in his village hut is generally without gainful employment worth the name. He needs honourable work. That only can give him honest and self-respectful bread. Such work should be provided for him at his house in the villages of India. That can be possible only through his plough and a piece of land and its inseparable ally — his home and village industries. The latter must be so recognized — must find an honourable place in our development plans and economy. Their unique place in the nation's rise to real freedom and its rebuilding must be duly accepted.

Again, this work will truly serve him only if he does it with knowledge and understanding about it. Then only will it evoke and exhibit its great strength and immense potentialities. For that he must be educated. In other words, there must begin Basic Education of our whole people. Only then will the man in the masses become a true citizen of our democratic republic. If this is not achieved, we will not have true democracy, thus rendering Swaraj worthless.

Examining further to this end, we shall have to respect the great national languages of our people. This is possible only if government administration, courts, education and legislature of their regions are entirely conducted in those languages; and for the inter-regional communications we, with all our heart and mind, begin to

own and learn Hindi as our *Lingua Franca*, and not English.

And for the general welfare of the masses we should organize social services like health and sanitation, food and water supply, their simple but culturally rich life and works etc. by educating them and thus securing their intelligent co-operation. Government should stop alluring them to drink and drug by opening wine-shops; it must adopt Prohibition. The amelioration of his cattle wealth — his cows and bullocks must be secured in a true way. His children must get free education rich in content and significance.

Really speaking, all these things are ordained by the Constitution of India in its Directives of State policy. The country will be really united and peaceful only as a result of the fulfilment of this programme of constructive works. That will also help us to realize the ideal of our having a democratic and co-operative commonwealth. Such a realization in India is bound to influence for good the atomic age of the world as well.

These papers have been trying to say this simple thing. The new epoch of development that sets in under Shri Jawaharlalji is a step to that ideal; in it lies its purpose and fulfilment. It was said that the Congress should henceforth function as a Lok Sevak Sangh. The purpose of that desideratum also lies in the same hope of fulfilment of the ideal. May God lead us to it.

20-2-'56

(From Gujarati)

KINGDOM OF KINDNESS ON EARTH

[Dr. Harold Smith, Professor, Ohio, U.S.A., met Vinobaji on Sunday last at Gagredidigdam in Nalgonda district and asked him a few questions about Bhodan. The following is the full report of the interview.

N. Deshpande]

Question 1: What is the basic spiritual motivation behind this movement? Have those who have given land undergone a spiritual conversion? Or have questions of prestige and fear of reputation been the motivating forces?

Vinoba: If we just look to the amount of land obtained, it doesn't give us a right perspective. People are land-hungry and if they are given land, their hunger is satisfied. But that is not our hunger, though we do want land for the landless. Land problem exists not only in India but also in Japan and other Asiatic countries. Our main aim therefore is to change the present basis of society. If there is conversion, then that object is fulfilled. Looking from this angle towards the movement, I feel I have obtained more than I expected. It is true that some have given land for prestige or with the intention of gaining merit in the other world. But still there is a good percentage of people who have given land with pure motives. I can't say it is spiritual conversion, but have no doubt that it is out of the abundance of their heart which they possessed already. I can't claim that we have spiri-

tually converted the people. Spiritual background was already there. And hence the response. The word 'education' literally means 'to draw out'.... So we have drawn out what already existed. To that extent, I feel satisfied enough.

We all know that fear-complex has taken possession of nations' soul. Russia and America are so powerful, but still they are afraid of each other. Both big and small nations are afraid of each other. What is the reason? It is because the whole basis of society is altogether wrong. It is a competitive society based on the rule of 'Survival of the fittest'. We want to change that basis. We want a kingdom of kindness. Christ said about the kingdom of God, but the word 'God' is beyond our capacity. There is some kindness in present society also, but we want a kingdom of kindness. We want that kindness should be the dominant force in society. Land problem can be solved by legislation, but we differentiate between the power of non-violence and the power of law. Law is also different from violence; it is somewhere in between. It might come nearer to non-violence. But people's force is different from force of law. If we can solve our problems by love and kindness, it will create soul-force. Then people might put faith in it. We say we have faith and go to church every Sunday, but still in our innermost selves we don't have that faith which moved spiritual teachers of the past. The reason of it is that the whole structure of society is wrong. What is needed today is faith in goodness, and mutual trust. People sit around the table in the U.N.O. but don't trust each other. It is good that they come together and they may gradually by the same process by force of circumstances develop that trust. But today both sides are increasing armaments. It seems that they are both fatigued. Our humble attempt is to create that power by which society might gain faith. That is why I have often said that every land-gift is a vote for world peace.

Question 2: What are the objectives of the movement at the present time,—immediate and long-term objectives?

Vinoba: As for immediate objective, I will be satisfied if enough land for the landless is given. Total land under cultivation in India is 30 crores out of which I ask for 5 crores, i.e. one-sixth of the total land. There are 5 crores of landless people in India. My argument is quite simple. Generally there are 5 persons in every family, so I say that add me more and give my share. There is also a legendary story of five Pandawas who had a sixth brother whom they forgot and it led to the great war of Mahabharat. So I tell people that if you don't recognize that sixth brother—poor people in society—then it will create trouble. So one-sixth is my immediate objective.

Question 3: When whole village-gifts are made, are the lands to be redistributed according to need or will they be cultivated co-operatively without any individual ownership?

Vinoba: Both together. Land will be distributed according to need but still there will be no ownership. No collectivization but co-operation. After redistribution according to need in all families, there would be some land left which will be used for common purposes. People will also get education in co-operation. After every ten or fifteen years, there will be redistribution according to needs. So there will be no individual ownership but both individual motive for working and co-operation will be there.... I am always telling the people that land like water and air is a free gift of God and so God is its only owner. Our ultimate object is that village land should be managed by village community.

Question 4: What is the relation between the Bhoodan movement and the community projects' systematic plan for the villages?

Vinoba: Community projects so far have not dealt with land problem. Perhaps they have left it to me! Their main object is increase of production, which is one of our objectives too. But we want equal distribution along with increase of production. I don't agree with the view that production should come first and distribution next. I think that both should go together, as they are not quite apart from each other but are intermingled. A landless person has no incentive for production. People today have lost faith in themselves. We have got Swaraj (independence), but the landless people don't feel it. There is a little change but not enough change to instill faith in them. So if they are given land they will get the same prestige and position along with other citizens.

Our basic principle is that as far as possible, every one should do some field-labour. Agriculture serves as a good exercise and keeps us in contact with nature, which is a Divine contact. I know that in modern society this is not possible. But in ideal society every one will work in the fields for some time daily. I look upon field-labour as devotion to God. I have done it for several years and I felt a touch, a presence, which I missed even in the temples.

Question 5: Does the Bhoodan movement envisage providing the peasant with help and guidance of a technical nature to make his cultivation of the soil more efficient?

Vinoba: India has been doing agriculture from time immemorial and though our peasants are uneducated yet they are experienced. But still guidance and improvement of methods etc. are necessary. We are going to do that in Koraput district of Orissa where more than 600 whole village-gifts have been made. For that, help from the experts is needed. But I am afraid these experts who study in colleges

generally try to learn from America and Russia who have got ample land and less people—12 to 15 acres per head. Our problems are quite different with less land and more people—one acre per head, and so we have to follow Chinese and Japanese methods. Generally we don't get expert advice from people in their own circumstances.

(From *Bhooaan*, 31-1-'56)

"OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM"*

(By Jivanji D. Desai)

This is a collection of the articles of Shri M. P. Desai, Editor of the *Harijan* papers, that appeared from time to time during the last few years. They have been edited for the purpose and classified according to subjects for issuing them in book form. An index is added at the end.

The reader will readily see that this is a timely publication. The question of languages and their place and importance in rebuilding new and independent India on a democratic basis is one of the foremost few we have before us today. It touches our corporate life not only educationally but also socially, politically, and eventually culturally. Therefore it is under discussion not only in our academies and universities, but also in the press, the public and the Legislatures.

In Bombay State the question has been uppermost during post-independence years and much thought was given to it from various quarters including the Government. Many of the articles collected here originated from that situation. Therefore, they directly bear upon the present situation of the problem in the country, and hence are expected to provoke and help thought in that regard. This is more so because of the appointment of the Official Language Commission that is expected to go into the question, even indirectly.

The book is, therefore, issued in the hope that it will help clear the issues involved in the language problem and decide them in a sound and realistic way. That the problem is very great and important, having its bearing on the future of our democracy and culture, needs no mention. May we decide it wisely and well and consistently with the dignity of our ancient people and their cultural unity in diversity which has persisted up to this day in spite of the most trying times and formidable challenges it had to encounter in the course of history.

31-1-'56

* Being the Publisher's Note appended to the book, *Our Language Problem*, by Shri M. P. Desai, published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14; Price Rs 2-8-0, Postage etc. As. 13/-.

By Mahatma Gandhi

THE STORY OF MY LIFE

[Specially Prepared for Use in Indian Schools]

Pages xi + 208 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As.13

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

P.O. NAVAJIVAN AHMEDABAD-14

GOING FORWARD OR ETERNALLY BACKWARD?

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Perhaps the most remarkable feat of the British occupation of India was their sway over our minds. Everything English became sacred for us and we began to adore and imitate all their ways recklessly. Freedom has released us from that mental bondage to a large extent. Yet its shadow lingers on. And we seem to be chronically sick from a strange disease, named as 'backwardness'. Every nation of the West has been dinnning into our ears that we are a 'backward' nation and these 'advanced' doctors are giving us repeated doses in the form of money aid, technical know-how, mechanical equipment and what not. A natural consequence of this curious phenomenon is that the amounts of foreign goods and foreign money in modern India surpass what they were during the British rule!

One wonders what this 'backwardness' is. Let us compare with the U.S.A. The per capita consumption of milk, butter, and bread in U.S.A. is far greater than in India. Also of tobacco, tea, liquors, soap, paper, cars, radio, arms, etc. Again, their percentage of sick—mentally or from venereal or some natural diseases—is higher as also of the doctors, lawyers and policemen. Further, cases of divorce, murders, road-accidents are much larger there than in India. Certainly, consumption of more bread and butter is a sign of health. But, may one ask, is a consumption of more tobacco sign of greater sanity and of more paper that of superior intellectual calibre? Or does a more employment of cars denote better and stronger legs and of more radio sets more refined cultural taste? Opinions may differ on it. But none can deny that use of more and greater arms has not rendered them more fearless and peaceful than others not so up to the mark. It may, therefore, be concluded that 'backwardness' is a relative term and even the so-called forward may be more backward than the 'backward' in some respects.

There is thus a need for intelligent discrimination between backward and forward features. We, dubbed as 'backward', may be quite forward in certain aspects. And commonsense tells us that we must continue to remain ahead in which we are already ahead and learn to go forward only in those spheres in which we are, in our own opinion, lagging behind.

But what is the course chosen by our planners for building New India? Suffering from the complex of infra-backwardness, as it were, they are trying to set up America-European models in India, as is evident by their importing of foreign technicians, equipment and experts. We have set up plants and institutions on the western design. Our Prime Minister gave a bit of his mind the other day when he said:

"I do not think that we can advance in a big way without having industry on a big scale and without

adopting the latest techniques. By big scale I mean not only big industry but also more wide-spread one. If we want to develop iron and steel plants, we must have the latest type of iron and steel plants; if we have a locomotive factory we must have the latest type; if we have anything, say, cement factory, fertilizer factory, defence factories, or the most basic and most important of all—machine-making industry, they have to be of the latest type. We cannot have out-of-date techniques and be able to compete or be able to produce as much out of them."

This explains the core of our development policy. But it cannot be gainsaid that India does not command financial resources as vast as U.S.A. or other big nations do. Naturally, we cannot implement every technique what U.S.A. can. This implies that in the race for 'latest' models, the last word would always be theirs and we shall be adorning the same model today which has been discarded by them yesterday. In other words, we shall always keep in the rear and the buffets of the fortune and the aberrations of the brains of people without shall guide the course of our destiny. In fine, we will remain *eternally backward*.

Is it not a very regrettable trait of all our planning? We do go forward, but we are bound to be perpetually backward. What then is the way out?

The obvious courses are two. One, we may rowel our sides with a more furious spur and try to beat down our rivals. But that requires a huge sum of money at our disposal, much more than that available to our competitors, which is a physical impossibility. The second method is: we may take a rightabout turn and change the direction. In our own way then, we would be going ahead of others and the initiative would also be with us. History teaches us how this method enabled many a backward nation to go forward and leave others far behind.

Now, how to turn the face? Just by cherishing values and sanctions different from those held sacred by our rivals in the field. In brief, they are:

(i) Private or State ownership of all resources and means of production;

(ii) Superiority of intellectual or managerial work to manual labour;

(iii) Use of arms in self-defence;

(iv) Division of society into classes with their own exclusive (and mutually conflicting) class-interest;

(v) Survival of the fittest, i.e., sacrifice of 49 per cent in the supposed good of 51 per cent.

Had these values survived the tide of time, there was no sense in abandoning them. But the two great wars and the danger of a third one have clearly demonstrated the hollowness of these values. Besides, all the three top nations (U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R.) suffer from socio-economic disparities and a democracy of the common man or a dictatorship of the proletariat is yet a distant dream. Even an imitation-course of eight years

has given rise to more unemployment, casteism, crime, women-traffic and other evils in India. Also it has widened the gulf between the various sections of our population. It needs little reflection to state that a further blind devotion to the said values will have unheard of consequences and embitter our life, though statistically we might be going 'forward'. A thousand plans based on these values can no more succeed in fighting out our poverty than the waters of the Indian Ocean can be soaked by dropping bales of blotting paper into it.

The aforesaid sanctions have had their day. The agonized face of Europe or the nervous brain of America bids us to mark halt. Science also says from the house-tops that arms or violent methods in place of solving any problem create new ones. They beget fear and distrust, which in turn are hand-maids of personal ownership. Possession and fear always go together. Non-possession (or universal ownership as against that of an individual or State) is the crying message of science. Likewise, we cannot afford to keep a wall of difference between manual and mental work. In fact, both are essential for man even as are head and legs. To condemn manual labour is like cutting off one's own legs.

Now that we are on the threshold of a new Five Year Plan, it is humbly submitted that we must courageously rise over our petty prejudices and development superstitions. Be it noted that I am not against the use of machinery as such. In fact, no such machinery has yet been invented by man as to be the envy of man. But machinery should be ruled by us, and not vice versa. Again, this is not a plea for simplicity, ridiculed by Sardar K. M. Panikkar at Shantiniketan. Who adores simplicity? All splendour and plenty is welcome, provided it does not lead to exploitation, unequal distribution and artificiality. Who does not know that the unmethodical growth of science and industry in India has been responsible for the impoverishment of our millions and concentration of power and wealth in few and fewer hands? So all cheers to every scientific research as also to its application if it enables the poorest and the lowliest to live a better and nobler life, to stand erect with head high. But no machinery, howsoever great, should find any place with us if it is misused by a few as an instrument of appropriation of the human kind.

We must, therefore, be on our guard. In the name of advancement, let us not lose ourselves. Nor should we hesitate to learn from others' experience. But we should be sensible enough to renounce the out-moded values and chalk out our path on new sanctions and standards. Let us ride on as fast a horse (of science) as possible but its reins (our commonsense) should always be in our hands.

Hind Bhoomi,
556, Muthiganj,
Allahabad-3.

FACT AND FALLACY ABOUT PROHIBITION

(By Robert H. Pearson)

If wet advocates in India think they will solve the problem of bootlegging and the sale of illicit liquor by repealing Prohibition they will have a sad awakening if Prohibition should ever be voted out. We have discovered this fact in the United States. During our Prohibition days we were assured by the Repealists that all of the ills besetting our country would vanish if only Prohibition were repealed; all of the crime and lawlessness attached to bootlegging and the sale of illicit liquor would come to an end.

Prohibition went. Have bootleggers and the sale of illicit liquor disappeared in America? Listen—

A few years after the Repeal of the Prohibition amendment *The Boston Herald*, a wet newspaper, admitted that the bootlegger now is more prosperous than "he ever was during the 14 years of Prohibition." *The Chicago Herald-Examiner*, a thoroughly wet daily paper, laments, "As we stand today (since repeal) we seem to have made bootlegging safer and more profitable for the crooks."

Before the eighteenth amendment was repealed one of our Congressmen argued before the House that bootleg liquor and bootlegging would largely be abolished. What did he say after repeal had been in operation for a few years and he had an opportunity to see his mistake? "The bootleggers before the repeal of Prohibition were mere pikers as compared with the (illegal) Whisky Trust today."

Henry Morgenthau, at the time U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, several years after Prohibition had been voted out in America, declared, "Repeal hasn't even put a dent in the operation of the large scale moonshiners and bootleggers."

Everybody knows that bootleg liquor is flowing freely today from the Golden Gate on the Pacific to Hell Gate on the Atlantic in America. Instead of eliminating or reducing the ownership and operation of illicit stills, the unlawful manufacture of liquor and bootlegging these nefarious operations have been increased to a scale hitherto unknown.

The United States Senate recently became alarmed over conditions prevailing in the country and a special Committee was appointed to investigate crime conditions in all parts of the land. Senator Estes Kefauver, Chairman of this Committee, in the following words asserted that corruption now is far worse than in Prohibition days. "Without fear of contradiction, I say that corruption continues today on a scale that makes the corruption of Prohibition days look like kindergarten play."

Thomas J. Donovan, Vice-President of the licensed Beverages Industries, declares that in the United States the productive capacity of illegal stills is "greater than the actual average of

production of the entire legal distilling industry." During 1951, he said, authorities seized a total of 20,402 stills having a capacity of 715,000 gallons a day!

Some experts have estimated that for every legal distillery in America today there are a hundred illicit stills and that these bootlegging places are turning out illicit liquor at the rate of 18,000,000 gallons per year. What is more, instead of eliminating bootleggers these enemies of respectable society are being arrested at the rate of about a thousand a month!

If you want to get rid of bootleggers and illicit liquor repealing Prohibition is not the way to do it. The United States has learned from experience that such a step only causes bootlegging to flourish.

(From the *Alert*, Oct.-Dec. '55)

[And I may add that the method of regulations and restrictions allied with temperance propaganda alone also will not solve the problem. The latter can only succeed if the State which is the only authorized provider of drink shops to do it itself. Then only can it successfully deal with bootlegging crime and strengthen the hands of reformers. India at present has to come out of this fallacy also along with the above one of repealing Prohibition to stop bootlegging which is a crime like theft, pure and simple.]

21-2-56

M. P.]

THE POTENTIALITY OF GHANIS

The production of oil-seeds in the world is about 350 lakh tons. India stands seventh in the world in this connection, and it produces 11 lakh tons of edible oils. It comes to 0.3 oz. per head per day, while according to dietetics, it should be 2 oz. Hence it is necessary to increase the production of edible oils in our country. The use of edible oils should not, therefore, be allowed to be made for purposes other than dietary, and oil-seeds such as neem, karanja, maroti, dupa, castor, undi etc. should be made use of, for industrial purposes.

In India, 37.10 lakh tons of oil-seeds were crushed in 1953-54, of which 23.58 lakh tons (64%) were crushed in oil-mills and the rest 13.42 lakh tons—i.e. 36% by Ghanis. It is necessary to change this position of oil-production. The number of working Ghanis is decreasing gradually. In 1921 it was 5 lakhs, while it is only 2 lakhs, according to the census of 1951. This shows that 3 lakh Ghanis have ceased working in 30 years. It has unemployed 3 lakh oil-men, while only 45,000 more labourers are employed in oil-mills.

There are 4,46,000 Ghanis in the country but about half of them are working. If the rest get sufficient oil-crushing work throughout the year, more oil will be produced. Oil-men will get work thereby and people will get good oil for diet. Keeping this in view, the A.I.K.V.I. Board has offered certain suggestions, for the encouragement of the village-oil industry, in the next Five Year Plan, which are worthy of consideration. The following is a short summary of the same:

1. A ceiling should be placed on mill crushing of oil-seeds at 26.68 lakh tons and no further expansion of capacity of production of the existing mills should be allowed. Nor should new licences be issued to set up new oil-mills.

2. Certain varieties of oil-seeds such as sesame, niger, kardi, and neem where the mill crushing is nil or negligible, should be reserved for the Ghanis; and mills should be encouraged to crush additional 10 lakh tons of cotton seed.

3. Soap-making should be restricted to non-edible oils.

4. The export of oil-seeds should be banned.

5. A cess on mill oil should be levied at Rs 1-4-0 per maund. (Rs 35 per ton) to finance the development of the Ghani oil industry.

6. On an average, extraction of oil by the mills is about 40% of the seeds crushed as against 35 to 36% by the Ghanis. An improved Ghani, on the other hand, can extract on an average oil of about 40%. So, over the five-year period 50,000 of the 4.46 lakh Ghanis should be replaced by improved or Wardha Ghanis, and 1,50,000 old Ghanis should be brought under the programme of financial assistance.

7. 400 Model Centres should be set up in various parts of the country.

8. 13 Training Centres should be established to train Inspectors, Mistris and Telis.

9. Production subsidy at Rs 2-8-0 per maund should be given on oil produced by Ghanis.

10. Loans should be given through co-operative societies and registered institutions to assist the Telis to buy improved Ghanis and maintain adequate stocks of oil-seeds and provide for the marketing of the oil.

11. Telis should be organized into co-operatives.

If the above steps are taken, 4,66,000 tons of oil and 8,54,000 tons of oilcake will be produced by 1960-61. This will provide work to 2 lakh Telis, at a cost of Rs 888 lakhs as current expenditure and Rs 590 lakhs as loans.

It is advisable to incur this much expenditure in order to provide work for village Telis, in their own homes. It will, thereby, provide good edible oil to the village people and better oilcake for their cattle.

V. M. K.

By Mahatma Gandhi

KHADI

[Hand-Spun Cloth]

WHY AND HOW

Pages xii + 269 Price Rs. 3-0-0 Postage etc. As. 14

By J. C. Kumarappa

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT ?

Pages ix + 198 Price Rs. 3-8 Postage etc. As. 14

NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14

A NEW CASTEISM

Our rulers, and the ruling party are never tired of decrying casteism, from Parliament and platform, but at the same time are giving birth to a more sinister kind of casteism based on income and status. This new kind of caste has three *varnas*, the ministers including the M.P.s, high Government officials, and the lower grade clerks and assistants. Of course, there is the vast base of public, but they do not matter and are not considered except when the elections approach. Roughly, from the income point of view, they belong to Rs. 5000/-, Rs. 500/- and Rs. 50/- class respectively. Of course, there are many small castes and sub-castes based on finer distinction of income and status. These groups do not intermix, and in fact tend to create walls and barriers around them to prevent communication in human terms. There is all the paraphernalia of bureaucracy to lend glamour and distinction to aloofness and insularity, the chaprasis and the inner sanctum.

It is surprising that within a short period of eight or nine years, we have created a caste which is even worse and more deplorable than the famed insularity of the British people in India, without any of its benefits of impartiality. Any impartial observer of New Delhi or any of the State capitals will vouch for it. In New Delhi there are restaurants which only one class of people visit, and for others it is *infra dig* or otherwise to visit them. Everywhere this attitude is menacingly present, from the house of a minister to those of secretaries and so on the whole series of social ladder. They are more concerned with their high caste and status than the poor Brahmin ever was. At least the Brahmin would visit a poor man's house on marriage or ceremonial occasions, but the minister, no, unless there is some publicity to be got out of it.

About a year ago the ruling party enunciated its creed of Socialist Pattern. What it exactly means no one knows, but there is an impression on the mind of public that it at least means more social and economic equality. But during this short period no change of attitude amongst our rulers and ruling party has been noticed to show that they really believe in the social content of a socialistic pattern. Important persons are becoming Very Important, and the less important, insignificant, not even worth noticing. But Socialistic Pattern cannot be ushered in without a diametric change in the attitude of the ruling party. It certainly cannot be brought about by mere platform speeches and exhortations. It will come about by rearranging the values of life, by giving more importance to service and less to flattery-inflated self.

The behaviour of our ruling class is also corrupting the behaviour of our public servants and higher officers. They have come to believe

that through flattery and by dancing attendance on their superiors, they can achieve promotion and success more easily, than by doing hard and conscientious work. As a result the V.I.P.s get more attention and consideration from the public services, while the public, if not actually neglected, get crumbs from the big man's table. The public suffers in consequence and get less consideration. There is something very wrong with our body politic, and it is time that we give serious consideration to its ills, and not just try to fool people by meaningless promises.

One of the worst aspects of our assumed superiority and aloofness in the rulers is that a sense of participation between the rulers, the public services, and the public has not been able to develop, and even the public servants of lower grade have not been able to identify with the rulers, because of their aloofness and lack of humanity. That is why there is no enthusiasm in the public servants for policies and plans of the rulers. Even the public has remained untouched by any enthusiasm, and the man in the street is critical and bitter about the maladministration and corruption everywhere, to which no one from the high ups seems to pay any serious attention, and tends not to believe whatever criticism is voiced from the public. If the high ups could go incognito and listen to what the man in the street says about the administration, in their unguarded moments, they would realize how ill-administered India is.

[For obvious reasons, the writer has chosen to remain anonymous. It is right from New Delhi, where he serves Government and has opportunities to observe at close quarters what he writes about. It might be argued, it is over-coloured; things are not so bad. We may not quarrel over the extent of the evil. There might be honourable exceptions even. However, if the evil is being felt even in a very rudimentary stage, in the manner described by the writer, it is good we all be warning ourselves about this serious disease entering our body politic.

3-1-56

M. P. J

By Mahatma Gandhi

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

Pages 15 Price Rs. 4 Postage etc. As. 2

BASIC EDUCATION

Pages viii+114 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 6

TO THE STUDENTS

Pages xix+324 Price Rs. 3-8-0 Postage etc. Re 1-2

TO STUDENTS

(Abridged)

Pages viii + 224 Price Rs. 2-8-0 Postage etc. As. 13

By K. G. Mashruwala

A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

Pages v + 69 Price Re. 1-0-0 Postage etc. As. 4

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

P. O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14

COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Looking to the conditions of our country if we are to maintain the independence and dignity of our villages, they should be self-dependent under the necessities of life. Yet during the foreign rule this industry has developed quite differently and heavy centralization has occurred. Consequently a great village industry has been ruined and unemployment or underemployment has become widespread.

Presently the demand for cloth for consumption is 576 crores of yards and for export 80 crores. Out of this, mills produce 500 crores of yards and they employ 7 to 8 lakhs of persons.

So All-India Khadi & Village Industries Board has drawn a scheme of common production to be incorporated in the second five year plan, with a view to help in solving the great problem of unemployment and also to decentralize that industry.

Board believes that in 1960-61, that is at the end of the second five year plan, internal consumption shall increase up to 720 crores of yards and the export to 100 crores of yards. So in all 820 crores of yards will have to be produced.

The Board has distributed this total production of 820 crore yards as follows :

Present production of 500 crores of yards of textile mills and 20 crores of power-looms should be continued. 133 crore yards produced on hand-looms should be increased to 150 crore yards. And in addition production of Khadi which is 3 crore yards should be expanded in next five years to 150 crore yards.

To implement this programme the policy implications are as follows :

(1) Increase in the present mill-weaving and production capacity should be stopped.

(2) Prevention of the increase in the production capacity of the power-looms.

(3) Prevention of the increase in the spinning capacity of the mills.

(4) Utilization of the production capacity of the handloom upto 66 per cent, which presently is 33 per cent.

(5) Introduction of 17 lakhs of Ambar Charkha to meet the additional demand of 40 crore lbs. of yarn.

According to Textile Inquiry Commission there are 21.9 lakh handlooms in the country and 32.15 lakh persons depend upon it. But the Board is of the opinion that there are at least 27 lakh handlooms and 57.5 lakh persons depend on it.

Again by producing 6 yards per day, and by working 300 days in an year, handlooms can totally produce 450 crore yards of cloth. But the Board believes that they presently produce only 140 crore yards, and due to attempts to develop it the production shall increase upto 150 crore yards. Thus only 33.3 per cent of the production capacity can be utilized. Upto this point they will use mill-spun yarn.

A point worth noting is that the Textile Inquiry Commission has suggested to establish spinning mills by investing 36 crore rupees for producing 40 crore lbs. of yarn, necessary to utilize the 66 per cent production capacity of the handlooms.

Against this, the Board has drawn up a scheme to produce hand-spun yarn. For that it has suggested to introduce 17 lakh Ambar Charkhas in the country. The Charkha has four spindles and spins yarn of 12 to 40 counts. And the capital needed for it shall be 15.5 crore rupees only.

Through Ambar Charkha 34.4 lakh spinners and carders shall on average get an income of a rupee per day.

During the second five year plan, the present Charkhas shall be continued and Ambar Charkhas shall be operated by professional and full-time spinners only. Gradually Ambar Charkha shall be introduced in the place of present Charkha. The production of Khadi produced out of the yarn of present Charkha shall be increased from 3 crore yards to 5 crore yards and shall be continued for next five years. Even after producing cloth on these lines, the question of sale still remains. Even after introducing Ambar Charkha there remains difference of Re. 0-12-0 between the price of mill cloth and Khadi of the same size and count. So if handloom cloth and Ambar Khadi are to stand in the free market the competition should be eliminated and proper price policy should be followed in the interest of the nation. In other words, the successful implementation of the common production fully depends upon the general price policy, controlling all the sectors of the textile industry. And the prices should be so fixed that the Khadi sells the cheapest and the mill cloth the dearest, due to the levy of excise duty. To fix the prices, the Board has suggested to set up a price commission, which may be representative of various sections of the industry and which may take decisions after discussions and consultations.

The total expenditure for present Khadi and the Ambar Khadi, including even the training of the spinners and carders, is estimated to be Rs 51.73 crores. But it will provide full-time employment to 49 lakh persons. And if we include 401 lakh spinners on present Charkha, who spin 2 hanks per day and work 150 days in an year, totally 89 lakh persons shall get employment. At the same time there is a possibility of distribution of Rs 4000 millions between them.

Thus if the textile industry is developed on these new lines it will be easy to tackle the problem of unemployment and underemployment amongst the masses.

V. M. K.

THE RULE OF LAW

We free Jurists from forty-eight countries, assembled in Athens at the invitation of the International Commission of Jurists,

Being devoted to the Rule of Law which springs from the rights of the individual developed through history in the age-old struggle of mankind for freedom; which rights include freedom of speech, press, worship, assembly and association and the right to free elections to the end that laws are enacted by the duly elected representatives of the people and afford equal protection to all;

Being concerned by the disregard of the Rule of Law in various parts of the world, and being convinced that the maintenance of the fundamental principles of justice is essential to a lasting peace throughout the world,

Do solemnly declare that:

1. The State is subject to the law.
2. Governments should respect the rights of the individual under the Rule of Law and provide effective means for their enforcement.
3. Judges should be guided by the Rule of Law, protect and enforce it without fear or favour and resist any encroachments by governments or political parties on their independence as judges.
4. Lawyers of the world should preserve the independence of their profession, assert the rights of the individual under the Rule of Law and insist that every accused is accorded a fair trial.

And we call upon all judges and lawyers to observe these principles and

Request the International Commission of Jurists to dedicate itself to the universal acceptance of these principles and expose and denounce all violations of the Rule of Law.

(Done at Athens this 18th day of June, 1955)

[Judges and lawyers in Free India, we hope, will strive to fulfil these great expectations from them.

12-56

M. P.]

By Vinoba Bhave
BHODAN YAJNA
[Land-Gifts Mission]

Pages ix + 134 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As.5
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14

CONTENTS	PAGE
TO SUBSCRIBERS ..	Jivanji D. Desai 409
ACHARYA NARENDRA DEV ..	Maganbhai P. Desai, 409
ENGLISH ECONOMIC CRISIS ..	Wilfred Wellock 410
CASTE AND CASTEISM ..	411
HAND-MADE PAPER INDUSTRY ..	V. M. K. 412
PNEUMATIC TYRES FOR BULLOCK CARTS ..	J. C. Kumarappa 412
THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY MEDIUM ..	Maganbhai P. Desai 414
"MY RELIGION" ..	Bharatan Kumarappa 415
THE LAST ISSUE ..	Maganbhai P. Desai 416
KINGDOM OF KINDNESS ON EARTH ..	417
"OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM" ..	Jivanji D. Desai 419
GOING FORWARD OR ETERNALLY BACKWARD ? ..	Suresh Ramabhai 419
FACT AND FALLACY ABOUT PROHIBITION ..	Robert H. Pearson 421
THE POTENTIALITY OF GHANIS ..	V. M. K. 421
A NEW CASTEISM ..	422
COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY ..	V. M. K. 423
THE RULE OF LAW ..	424
INDEX VOLUME XIX (1955-56) ..	(424A) 1

Subscription Rates—Inland: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; Foreign: One year, Rs. 8 or 14s. or \$2.
Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 14.

INDEX: VOLUME XIX (1955-56)

AUTHOR INDEX

- Agarwal, S. N.
Concept of Basic Education 325
"Socialistic Pattern of Society" 32
- Alexander, Horace
Satyagraha in International Relations 303
- Alpaivala, Rustomji M.
Amend Vaccination Act 216
- Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari
Water Supply in India 120
- Anonymous
A.I.C.C. Resolution on Goa 232
Alcoholic Drinks Going Down in United States 235
A New Casteism 422
Bacterial War on Children 187
"I Oppose It" — Why 264
Caste and Casteism 411
Cigarette v. Cancer 110
Decentralizing Cloth Industry 354
Economics of Ambian Charkha 330
Ethics in Eclipse 106
15th August Celebrations — A Suggestion 182
Goa's Freedom Battle and Gandhiji 217
Health v. Chemicals 40
Hundred Years Ago 90
- Index:
Volume XVIII (1954-55) (48A) 1
Volume XIX (1955-56) (424A) 1
India in Transition 316
Industrial Policy according to Gandhiji 89
Investment and Employment 183
Kingdom of Kindness on Earth 417
Languages and Indian Unity 235
Lokamanya — Maker of Modern India 191
Man and Technology 147
Man and the Atom 96
Non-violent Democracy 7
Panch-sheel 152
Planning for the Entire Man 63
P.M. on Bhodan 396
Principle of New Economic Policy — I, II 57, 66
Prohibition and Family Finance 11
Sarvodaya Samaj Sammelan Resolution 58
Scientific Dogmatism 95
Shri Vinoba with the Communists in Andhra 385
The Congress Resolution 80
The Goa Issue 220
The President on Education 385
The Rule of Law 424
The Third Way Movement 255
Tuberculosis after B.C.G. Vaccination 230
Unjust Evictions 79
Vanaspoti Should Not be Solidified 111
What is Ambar Charkha — I-III 375, 382, 390
Will B.C.G. Doctors Heed to This? 304
- Ralfour, Lady Eve
Soil and Seed 342
- Bang, T. K.
A Gandhi Anthology Book IV 238
- Bromfield, Louis
Land and Artificial Fertilizers 42
- Dave, Somnath P.
Why Install More Spindles? 391
- Desai, Jivraj D.
Annual Accounts of Navajivan Trust, 1954, 1955 26, 402
"Our Language Problem" 419
To Foreign Subscribers 182
To Subscribers 409
- Desai, Maganbhai P. (M. P.)
Acharya Narendra Dev 409
A Committee of Inquiry for English 313
A Foreign Friend's Question A.I. Services Examinations Medium 372
A Loose Statement 237
Ambar Charkha 332
Amend the Vaccination Act 135
A New University in Gujarat 193
Are We Ruled by Economists? 363
Army and Alcohol 157
- Atomic Explosions and American Aid 97
A Tragic Error in Economic Thought 204
Backward Communities and Qualifications for Government Service 328
Basic Task for Nation-building 44
B.C.G. Campaign Should Stop 242
Beware of Irredentism 347
Bhoodan and Village Industries 92
Bhoodan, Sarvodaya and Poverty 364
British Misrule in Kenya 296
"Building from Below" — I-VI 132
145, 155, 184, 207, 246
Bureaucracy v. Democracy 137
Case of Large-scale Corruption 198
Caste, Community and Nation 389
Clarification 368
Colour Bar in South Africa 296
Communism and Casteism 274
Community and Caste 253
Cruelty to Monkeys 283
Curious 176
Democracy and Rule by Specialists 310
Democracy and the Party System 68
Education and Disincentives 228
Eastern v. Western Values 368
Education and Planned Development 199
Education and State Control 188
Education and the Socialistic Pattern 9
Education for All 173
Education for a New Order 180
Einstein 68
English Teaching in Standard VIII 25
Factors and Unemployment 56
Fear, Insecurity and Indiscipline 265
Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba 81
Goa and Portugal 392
Gram Panchayats 100
Gujarati Examinations for Non-Gujaratis 168
Gujarat's New Responsibility 340
Handloom v. Spinning-wheel 238
Hindi and Urdu 357
Hindi in Tamil Nad 225
Hindi Medium and Gandhiji 230
Hindi v. Regional Languages 357
Hiroshima's Cenotaph 356
Illusion of Prosperity 289
India and the Atomic Age 263
India, Russia, and England-America 385
India's Pattern of Industrialization 260
India's Secular Policy 381
In the Cause of Sarvodaya 360
In the Grip of Nihilism 126
Land and Man 212
Languages and Public Services 283
Languages Study in Schools 84
Late Shri Jaijiji 404
Limitations of Law 101
Linguistic Demands of Non-Hindi Areas 239
Long Live Jawaharlalji 297
Lure for Glamour and Pomp "Macaulay Tradition" in Education 329
Mishraashra Must Feel Satisfied 76
Make Bombay Second Capital of India 329
Medium for All-India Services Examinations 76
Military Training Equivalent for Education? 223
Missing Aspect of the Plan-frame 158
"Not by Bread Alone" 368
Oh, the Inhumanity of It! 275
Orthodoxy and Revolt of Youth 284
Our Greatest Key Industry 124
Our Greatest Natural Resources 117
Panch-sheel 112
Pasteurization and Milk Trade 297
Patterns of Social Service 140
- Peace and International Trade 140
Planning for Country-wide Prohibition 28
Planning for Social Justice 140
Planning the Second Plan 116
Politics and Religion 127
Price for Industrialization 77
Question of Goa's Freedom 236
Random Jottings 226, 270
Real Planning for the People 148
Reform of Secondary Education I-III 1, 16, 33
Regarding "Harijan" Papers 401
Replacement v. Retention of English 396
Respect for the National Flag 221
Revolution: Through Violence or Non-violence? 36
Right of Property and the State 188
River Dams and Electric Power 201
Rural Higher Education 8, 13
Sarvodaya and Socialistic Pattern 156
"Sarvodaya and World Peace" 15
Satyagraha and Foreign Affairs 294
Satyagraha in U. S. A. 246
School Text-books and Government 161
Scientific Study of Rural India 256
Scientific Terms and Text-books 233
Scientific Terms for Gujarati Secondary Education 78
Second Capital of India 352
Shri N. M. Joshi 119
Speak to the Heart of the People 35
Standard of Living and Killing 307
Standard of University Education 333
Strength of the People Only Can Achieve It 136
Student-unity and Discipline 233
Stunted Money 128
"Tamil Medium in Colleges" 149
Technique of Non-violent Revolution 80
Terrorism in Kenya 160
Textile Industry and Lancashire 85
The Army in War and Peace 224
The Bhadrone Anniversary 60
The Crisis We are In 316
"The Economic Man" 20
The Fallacy of "Putting the Clock Back" 252
The Kanpur Strike 191
The Last Issue 416
The Madras University Medium 414
The New Economic Policy 348
The Next Educational Plan-frame 104
The Official Language Commission 308
The Present Economic Climate 300
The S.R.C. Report 276
Threefold Purity 108
Twenty-five Hundredth Anniversary of the Buddha 141
Two Distinct Ways of Economic Reconstruction 324
Two Questions for the Congress 52
Unemployed Men and Idle Machines 135
University Degree and Government Services 292
Villages v. Cities 229
V.I.P.-ism 61
Vulgar and Unbecoming Way of True Self-defence 24
Whither Swaraj? 393
Why Bhoodan 287
Wine v. Milk 297
Desai, Morarjibhai
Bombay Prohibition Week 51
Deshpande, P. C.
All-India Sanskrit Dictionary 267
Dhadda, Siddharaj
Is This "Distributing Poverty"? 326
Doshi, Manilal
Shri Vinoba's Walking Tour 264
Mill v. Ambar Charkha 347
Einstein
U.N. and Human Rights 210

Fernando, W. S. Ahimsa Week Foster, Arthur Freedom from Fear Foster, Elery Building from Below Frydman, Maurice The Cost of Industrial Employment	51 27 108 107
Gandhiji A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Cow-protection and Cow-killing Equal Distribution and Non- violent Society Higher Education in Free India India of My Dream Khadi and Village Industries "Lord of Humility" Real Economics	181, 238 73 257 185 241 197 393 9
Giriraj, Kishore Dangers of Urbanization Gora A Condition for Peace Gould, R. E. American Food for Thought Iyer, Dr. S. Subramania A Propietic Speech Jashar, Surindranath Lime as a Building Material Kapadia, Pranlal S. False Alarms K. D. Shri Vinoba in Andhra Shri Vinoba in Orissa—I-VII 71, 74, 86, 102, 117, 134	25 19 143 261 234 337 379 62 117, 134
Kher, R. C. Linguistic Revolution We Need—I-II The "Language Landscape" of India—I-II The Spiritual Revolution of Our Times Khurody, D. N. A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Kirkoskar, M. S. Decimal Coinage Kothari, V. M. (V. M. K.) Be-keeping as Home Industry Cottage Match Industry Cotton Textile Industry Hand-made Paper Industry How to Increase National Income If All Work about an Hour More Rice Hand-pounding Industry Soap Industry The Potentiality of Ghans Wool Industry in Villages Kripalani, J. B. Foundation of New Social Order — Village Industries Unity through Constructive Programme Kumarappa, Bharatan Do We Worship Poverty? "My Religion" The Unkindest Cut of All Kumarappa, J. C. (J. C. K.) Economics of Peace Ends and Means in Bhodan Pneumatic Tyres for Bullock Carts The Mill and the Charkha Vanaspatti Raises its Head Majumdar, P. L. Prohibition in Kutch Mehta, Krishnaraj Bhodon Fibres Mehta, Vaikunthbhai L. Buy Khadi Hundi Road to Socialistic Pattern of Society—I-III Rural Civilization for India The Sarvodaya Scheme of the Government of Bombay Village Industries and Community Development Wrong and Unfair Mirmira, S. K. Lacquered Earthen Vessels Misra, Sorabji R. Are We Free? Giving Eyesight to the Blind Pope and Goa Preventive Medicine W.H.O. Doctors and B.C.G. Mokgatle, Naboth Racialism and Religion in South Africa	383, 399 278, 281 370 238 350 359 311 422 412 46 112 334 390 421 403 203 365 388 415 273 136 113 412 211 349 203 170, 243 242 30, 39 302 313 95 305 91 79 354 176 118 218 342
Mundada, Damodardas Logic of Doubt about Bhodan Pilgrim's Progress Day by Day —I-VIII The Harvest That was Plenteous The New Bhodan Slogan Vinoba's Three Days in Andhra M. V. Gri Committee's Report on Agricultural Labour Nag, Kshitindra Kumar Commercial Advertising Cost of Advertising Narayanawami, C. K. Cottage Match Industry Khadi Board's Second Five Year Plan Planning for the Third Sector Spinning in Jails Training in Khadi and Village Industries Training in Village Tanning Nehru, Jawaharlal Bombay Prohibition Week Language, Culture and States Reorganization Man and Machine Our Basic Economic Approach The Language Issue We Shall Not Resort to War Nemi Saran, Prof. Revolution and Peace Pandit, Shyam K. B.C.G. X-rayed Patel, C. D. A Suggestion for the Next Plan Pattani, A. F. (A. P. P.) An Eternal Life Process India and World Peace Pearson, Robert H. Fact and Fallacy about Prohibition Potdar, D. V. Academic Freedom and Government Control Prasad, N. Gandhian Concept of Decentralization Pullais, E. V. Fear and Modern Life — III Pyarelal Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase Rajagopalachari, C. "E.C.G. Day" Obstinacy B.C.G. Vaccination—Why I Oppose It Bhodon—The Movement of Compassion—I-II Cancer Gandhiji on Religion Vaamara Vilaap Reasons Rajagopalan, A. Be-keeping at Mount Abu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Bombay Prohibition Week Buy Khadi Hundi Electricity and Employment Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase—I-III Roop Narain Controversy about Ambar Charkha Russell, Bertrand War and Satyagraha—I-IV 323, 331, 335 Saiyidain, K. G. Concept of Basic Education Santanam, R. Nuclear Weapons and Human Woe Sarna, K. L. Compulsory Inoculation and Individual Freedom Sastri, S. R. Hindi in Tamil Nad Schools Shrimali, K. L. D. Post-basic Education Sowany, N. R. Sevagaram Ashram Srinivasachari, P. Big Industries and Standard of Living	319 158, 162, 178, 190, 206 213, 251, 262 146 125 318 139 18 119 192 133 135 111 135 51 353 345 268 159 181 195 352 327 421 48 174 5, 10, 17 377 397 196 169, 177 118 168 157 205 61 54 249 24 389, 397, 405 390 314, 323, 331, 335 218 144 123 397 407 152 98
Welfare State of Sarvodaya State—I-IV Stankard, Dr. Horace W. Freedom, Bondage and the Welfare State Sundram, J. D. India's Unemployment Problem Production v. Employment Suresh, Ramabhai Buddha and the Modern World Films of Saints From Devout Bengal to Valiant Orissa Gandhiji and Trusteeship Going Forward or Eternally Backward? Literature's Role in Bhodan Puri Sarvodaya Conference Quakers Meet Vinoba Role of Bhodan in Modern India Role of Films in Public Life The Message of the Floods Women's Role in Bhodan Swami, Anand Communalism Turned Linguism Swami, Anand Tirth Untouchability in Tamilnad Swami, Atmananda The "Maya" of Paper Currency and Bank Valabhswami Earmarked Bhodan Vaniyan, A. Village Oil Industry V. G. D. A Gandhi Anthology Book IV God Made the Country Vinoba Call of the Age Democracy and Power of the People Education—Why and How Fearlessness, Swaraj and Self- reliance—I-III For Members of Legislatures God is the Master India's Cultural Heritage Inevitability of Village Industries Initiation in Arthanayaman Land in the Village Belong to It Linguistic Reorganization of States Man Shall Not Kill Man Nai Talim or Basic Education No Government, Good Govern- ment and Freedom from Government Non-violence the Only True Strength Permanent Literature Is above Sects Reform in Education Service and Devotion Service of the People and the Power of the State Service Should Touch Life at All Points Some Questions Regarding Bhodon S. R. C. and the Soul of Our People Swarajya, Gramarajya and Ramrajya Synthesis of Bhakti and Karma Yoga Necessary Synthesis of Religions The Culture of India and Religion The Way to Peace in the World The World—A Family Three Classes in Society and Sarvodaya Three Forces Working for the Land Revolution What Swaraj Should Mean Viyogi Hari Harijans at Eadrinath Harjain Sevak Sangh Wellock, Wilfred English Economic Crisis Good Soil and Good Society The Value of Home-crafts Western Civilization—A Problem Winslow, Hall Cheap But Beautiful Houses	255, 258, 266, 285 287 366 373 194 24 14 279 419 142 69 2 350 213 219 105 388 250 190 162 144 238 211 41 249 326 186 175 335 301 408 205 291 247 121 153 171 37 348 183 54 209 93 343 239 21 28 269 126 222 326 199 165 146 293 410 114 58 150, 166 118

SUBJECT INDEX

Books and Periodicals

- All-India Sanskrit Dictionary
P. G. Deshpande 267
'B.C.G. Vaccination—Why
I Oppose It' Anon. 264
"Building from Below" M. P.* 132
"Building from Below"—
I-VI M. P. 138, 145, 155,
184, 207, 246
Cost of Advertising
Kshatindra Kumar Nag 18
Mahatma Gandhi—The Last
Phase Pyarelal 377
Mahatma Gandhi—The Last
Phase—III
Rajendra Prasad 389, 397, 405
"My Religion"
Bharatan Kumarappa 415
"Not by Bread Alone"
M. P. 358
"Our Language Problem"
Jivanji D. Desai 419
Regarding 'Harijan' Papers
M. P. 401
"Sarvodaya and World
Peace" M. P. 15
The Last Issue M. P. 416
Congress and Politics
Academic Freedom and
Government Control
D. V. Potdar 48
A.L.C.C. Resolution on Goa
Anon. 232
A.J. Services Examinations
Medium M. P. 372
A Loose Statement M. P. 237
Amend the Vaccination Act
M. P. 135
Amend Vaccination Act
Rustomji M. Alpalwala 216
A New Casteism Anon. 422
A New University in Gujarat
M. P. 193
Are We Free?
Sorabji R. Mistri 79
Backward Communities
and Qualifications for
Government Service M. P. 328
Basic Task for Nation-building
M. P. 44
B.C.G. Campaign Should Stop
M. P. 242
"B.C.G. Day" Obstnacy
C. Rajagopalachari 397
B.C.G. Vaccination—Why
I Oppose It C. Rajagopalachari 196
"Building from Below" M. P. 132
"Building from Below"—
I-VI M. P. 138, 145, 155,
184, 207, 246
Bureaucracy v. Democracy
M. P. 137
Case for Large-scale
Corruption M. P. 198
Compulsory Inoculation and
Individual Freedom
K. L. Sarma 123
Democracy and Power of the
People Vinoba 49
Democracy and Rule by
Specialists M. P. 310
Democracy and the Party
System M. P. 68
Doubts and Disincentives
M. P. 228
Education and State Control
M. P. 188
Education and the Socialistic
Pattern M. P. 9
English Teaching in
Standard VIII M. P. 25
False Alarms
Pranlal S. Kapadia 337
For Members of Legislatures
Vinoba 186
Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba
M. P. 81
Goa's Freedom Battle and
Gandhiji Anon. 217
Gram Panchayats M. P. 100
Hand-loom v. Spinning-wheel
M. P. 340
India and Pakistan M. P. 289
India, Russia, and England—
America M. P. 385

- India's Pattern of
Industrialization M. P. 260
India's Secular Policy M. P. 381
Languages and Public
Services M. P. 212
Languages Study in Schools
M. P. 380
Limitations of Law M. P. 84
Linguistic Demands of
North India M. P. 404
Linguistic Revolution We
Need—I-III R. G. Kher 383, 399
Lure for Glamour and Pomp
M. P. 101
Maharashtra Must Feel
Satisfied M. P. 297
Medium for All-India
Services Examinations
Anon. 7
Non-violent Democracy M. P. 76
Nuclear Weapons and Human
Weal R. Sunnam 144
Our Greatest Key Industry
M. P. 124
Patterns of Social Service
M. P. 297
Planning for Country-wide
Prohibition M. P. 28
Planning for Social Justice
M. P. 140
Planning for the Third Sector
C. K. Narayanswami 133
Planning the Second Plan
M. P. 116
Principles of New Economic
Policy—I-III Anon. 57, 66
Question of Goa's Freedom
M. P. 236
Random Jottings M. P. 270
Real Planning for the People
M. P. 148
Reform of Secondary
Education—I-III M. P. 1, 16, 33
Replacement v. Retention of
English M. P. 396
Revolution Through Violence
or Non-violence M. P. 36
Right of Property and the
State M. P. 188
River Dams and Electric
Power M. P. 201
Road to Socialistic Pattern
of Society—I-III
Valkunthbhai L. Mehta 30, 39
Satyagraha and Foreign
Affairs M. P. 244
School Text-books and
Government M. P. 161
Secondary Education
Service of the People and the
Power of the State Vinoba 34
"Socialistic Pattern of
Society" S. N. Agarwal 32
Spoken to the Heart of the
People M. P. 35
Strength of the People Only
Can Achieve It M. P. 138
Tainted Money M. P. 128
The Bhodan Anniversary
M. P. 60
The Congress Resolution
Anon. 80
The Goa Issue Anon. 220
The New Economic Policy
M. P. 348
The Next Educational Plan
frame M. P. 164
The Present Economic
Climate M. P. 300
The Rule of Law Anon. 424
The Sarvodaya Scheme of the
Government of Bombay
V. L. Mehta 318
Threefold Purity M. P. 108
Two Distinct Ways of
Economic Reconstruction
M. P. 324
Two Questions for the
Congress M. P. 52
Unemployed Men and Idle
Machines M. P. 135
University Degree and
Government Services M. P. 292
Vinoba's Three Days in Andhra
Damodardas Mundada 272
V.I.P.-ism M. P. 61
We Shall Not Resort to
War Jawaharlal Nehru 217
Why Instal More Splindles?
Somnath P. Dave 391

- Wrong and Unfair
V. L. Mehta 305
Economics
A Condition for Peace Gora 19
A Foreign Friend's Question
M. P. 99
A Gandhi Anthology Book IV
Gandhiji and Others 238
Ambar Charkha M. P. 332
Are We Ruled by Economists?
M. P. 363
Atomic Explosions and
American Aid M. P. 97
A Tragic Error in Economic
Thought M. P. 204
Basic Task for Nation-building
M. P. 44
Bee-keeping as Home Industry
V. M. K. 359
Bee-keeping at Mount Abu
A. Rajagopalan 64
Bhoodan and Village Industries
M. P. 92
Bhoodan, Sarvodaya and
Poverty M. P. 364
Big Industries and Standard
of Living P. Srinivasachari 98
Building from Below
Ellery Foster 108
"Building from Below"
M. P. 132
"Building from Below"—
I-VI M. P. 138, 145, 155,
184, 207, 246
Buy Khadi Hundis
V. L. Mehta 242
Cheap But Beautiful Houses
Hall Winslow 118
Commercial Advertising
Kshatindra Kumar Nag 139
Controversy About Ambar
Charkha R. R. Narain 360
Cost of Advertising
Kshatindra Kumar Nag 18
Cottage Match Industry
C. K. Narayanswami 119
Cotton Textile Industry
V. M. K. 311
Dangers of Urbanization
Giriraj Kishore 25
Decentralizing Cloth Industry
Anon. 354
Decimal Coinage
M. S. Kirloskar 350
Doubts and Disincentives
M. P. 228
Do We Worship Poverty?
Bharatan Kumarappa 388
Economics of Ambar Charkha
Anon. 330
Economics of Peace J. C. K. 136
Education and Planned
Development M. P. 199
Education and the Socialistic
Pattern M. P. 9
Education for a New Order
M. P. 180
Electricity and Employment
Rajendra Prasad 24
English Economic Crisis
Wilfred Wellock 410
Equal Distribution and
Non-violent Society
Gandhiji 257
Factories and Unemployment
M. P. 53
False Alarms
Pranlal S. Kapadia 337
Foundation of New Social
Order—Village Industries
J. B. Kripalani 203
Gandhian Concept of
Decentralization N. Prasad 174
Gandhiji and Trusteeship
Suresh Ranabhai 279
Girl Committee's Report on
Agricultural Labour M. V. 318
Handloom v. Spinning-wheel
M. P. 340
Hand-made Paper Industry
V. M. K. 412
How to Increase National
Income V. M. Kothari 46
If All Work about an Hour
More V. M. Kothari 112
Illusion of Prosperity M. P. 356
India in Transition Anon. 316
India, Russia, and England—
America M. P. 385

* M. P. stands for Maganbhai P. Desai.

- India's Pattern of Industrialization M. P. 260
- India's Unemployment Problem J. D. Sundaram 366
- Industrial Policy according to Gandhiji Anon. 89
- Inevitability of Village Industries Vinoba 301
- Investment and Employment Anon. 183
- Khadi and Village Industries Gandhiji 197
- Khadi Board's Second Five Year Plan C. K. Narayanswami 192
- Lime as a Building Material Surendranath Jauhar 234
- Lure for Glamour and Pomp M. P. 101
- Man and Machine Jawaharlal Nehru 329
- Mill v. Ambar Charkha Manilal Doshi 347
- "Not by Bread Alone" M. P. 358
- Nuclear Weapons and Human Weal R. Santanam 144
- Our Basic Economic Approach Jawaharlal Nehru 345
- Peace and International Trade M. P. 140
- Planning for Social Justice M. P. 140
- Planning for the Third Sector C. K. Narayanswami 133
- Planning the Second Plan M. P. 116
- Pneumatic Tyres for Bullock Carts J. C. Kumarappa 412
- Politics and Religion M. P. 127
- Price for Industrialization M. P. 77
- Principles of New Economic Policy—III Anon. 57, 66
- Production v. Employment J. D. Sundaram 973
- Prohibition and Family Finance Anon. 11
- Real Economics Gandhiji 9
- Real Planning for the People M. P. 148
- Revolution: Through Violence or Non-violence? M. P. 36
- Rice Hand-pounding Industry V. M. Kothari 334
- Right of Property and the State M. P. 183
- River Dams and Electric Power M. P. 201
- Road to Socialistic Pattern of Society—II Vaikunthbhai L. Mehta 30, 39
- Rural Civilization for India V. L. Mehta 302
- Sarvodaya and Socialistic Pattern M. P. 156
- "Sarvodaya and World Peace" M. P. 15
- Scientific Study of Rural India M. P. 256
- Soap Industry V. M. Kothari 295
- "Socialistic Pattern of Society" S. N. Agarwal 32
- Standard of Living and Killing M. P. 307
- Textile Industry and Lancashire M. P. 85
- The Bhodan Anniversary M. P. 60
- The Cost of Industrial Employment Maurice Frydman 107
- "The Economic Mania" M. P. 20
- The Fallacy of "Putting the Clock Back" M. P. 252
- The Kanpur Strike M. P. 191
- The "Maya" of Paper Currency and Bank Swami Atmananda 130
- The Mill and the Charkha J. C. Kumarappa 211
- The New Economic Policy M. P. 348
- The Potentiality of Ghandi V. M. K. 421
- The Present Economic Climate M. P. 300
- The Sarvodaya Scheme of the Government of Bombay V. L. Mehta 318
- The Value of Home-crafts Wilfred Wellock 58
- Training in Khadi and Village Industries C. K. Narayanswami 111
- Training in Village Tanning C. K. Narayanswami 125
- Two Distinct Ways of Economic Reconstruction M. P. 324
- Unemployed Men and Idle Machines M. P. 135
- Village Industries and Community Development V. L. Mehta 95
- Village Oil Industry A. Vanijam 149
- Villages v. Cities M. P. 223
- Welfare State v. Sarvodaya State—IV P. Srinivasachari 255, 258, 266, 285
- Western Civilization—A Problem Wilfred Wellock 150, 166
- What is Ambar Charkha—III Anon. 375, 382, 390
- Why Instal More Spindles? Somnath P. Dave 391
- Wool Industry in Villages V. M. K. 403
- Wrong and Unfair V. L. Mehta 305
- Education**
- Academic Freedom and Government Control D. V. Potdar 48
- A Committee of Inquiry for English M. P. 313
- A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Gandhiji and Others 238
- A-I Services Examinations Medium M. P. 372
- An Eternal Life Process A. P. P. 352
- A New University in Gujarat M. P. 183
- Concept of Basic Education Shriman Narayan and K. G. Saivaldin 215
- Curious Education and Planned Development M. P. 199
- Education and State Control M. P. 188
- Education and the Socialistic Pattern M. P. 9
- Education for All M. P. 173
- Education for a New Order M. P. 180
- Education—Why and How Vinoba 249
- English Teaching in Standard VIII M. P. 25
- Fearlessness, Swaraj and Self-reliance—I Vinoba 306
- Higher Education in Free India Gandhiji 185
- Hindi in Tamil Nad Schools S. R. Sastri 397
- Hindi Medium and Gandhiji M. P. 225
- Hindi v. Regional Languages M. P. 230
- Languages and Indian Unity Anon. 235
- Languages Study in Schools M. P. 380
- Linguistic Demands of Non-Hindi Areas M. P. 404
- "Macaulay Tradition" in Education M. P. 259
- Military Training Equivalent for Education? M. P. 223
- Nai Talim or Basic Education Vinoba 121
- Orthodoxy and Revolt of Youth M. P. 284
- Our Greatest Key Industry M. P. 124
- Our Greatest Natural Resources M. P. 115
- Pilgrim's Progress from Day to Day—III Damodardas Mundada 158, 162
- Post-basic Education Dr. K. L. Shrimall 407
- Reform in Education Vinoba 348
- Reform of Secondary Education—III M. P. 1, 16, 33
- Rural Higher Education—III M. P. 8, 13
- School Text-books and Government M. P. 161
- Scientific Terms and Text-books M. P. 321
- Scientific Terms for Gujarati M. P. 293
- Secondary Education M. P. 78
- Shri Vinoba in Andhra K. D. 379
- Shri Vinoba in Orissa—V K. D. 102
- Standard of University Education M. P. 333
- Student-world and Discipline M. P. 233
- Tamil Medium in Colleges M. P. 149
- The Madras University Medium M. P. 414
- The Next Educational Plan M. P. 164
- The President on Education Anon. 365
- University Degree and Government Services M. P. 292
- Five Year Plan**
- Are We Ruled by Economists? M. P. 363
- A Suggestion for the Next Plan C. D. Patel 195
- A Tragic Error in Economic Thought M. P. 204
- "Building from Below" M. P. 132
- "Building from Below"—I-VI M. P. 138, 145, 155, 184, 207, 246
- Cottage Match Industry V. M. Kothari 311
- Doubts and Disincentives M. P. 228
- Education and Planned Development M. P. 199
- Education for a New Order M. P. 180
- False Alarms Pranlal S. Kapadia 337
- Hand-loom v. Spinning-wheel M. P. 340
- India's Pattern of Industrialization M. P. 260
- Inevitability of Village Industries Vinoba 301
- Investment and Employment Anon. 183
- Khadi Board's Second Five Year Plan C. K. Narayanswami 192
- Lure for Glamour and Pomp M. P. 101
- Missing Aspect of the Plan-frame M. P. 168
- Our Greatest Natural Resources M. P. 115
- Planning for Social Justice M. P. 140
- Planning for the Entire Man Anon. 63
- Planning for the Third Sector C. K. Narayanswami 133
- Planning the Second Plan M. P. 116
- Real Planning for the People M. P. 148
- River Dams and Electric Power M. P. 201
- Rural Civilization for India V. L. Mehta 302
- The Kanpur Strike M. P. 191
- The Next Educational Plan-frame M. P. 164
- Unemployed Men and Idle Machines M. P. 135
- Food and Agriculture**
- A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Gandhiji 131
- Clarification M. P. 368
- Giri Committee's Report on Agricultural Labour M. P. 318
- God Made the Country V. G. D. 111
- Good Soil and Good Society Wilfred Wellock 214
- Health v. Chemicals Anon. 40
- Land and Artificial Fertilizers Louis Bromfield 42
- Pasteurization and Milk Trade M. P. 12
- Road to Socialistic Pattern of Society—II Vaikunthbhai L. Mehta 30
- Soil and Seed Lady Eve Balfour 342
- Two Distinct Ways of Economic Reconstruction M. P. 324
- Vanaspati Raises its Head J. C. Kumarappa 349
- Vanaspati Should Not be Solidified Anon. 111
- Foreign Affairs**
- A.I.C.C. Resolution on Goa Anon. 232
- Alcoholic Drinks Going Down in United States Anon. 235
- American Food for Thought R. E. Gould 143
- British Misrule in Kenya M. P. 296
- Colour Bar in South Africa M. P. 296
- English Economic Crisis Wilfred Wellock 410

- Goa and Portugal M. P. 392
Goa's Freedom Battle and Gandhi Anon. 217
Hindi and Urdu M. P. 238
Hiroshima's Cenotaph M. P. 357
Man Shall Not Kill Man Vinoba 247
"Not by Bread Alone" M. P. 358
Pope and Goa Sorabji R. Mistri 176
Question of Goa's Freedom M. P. 236
Racialism and Religion in South Africa Naboth Mokgatle 342
Random Jottings M. P. 270
Satyagraha and Foreign Affairs M. P. 244
Satyagraha in U.S.A. M. P. 296
Terrorism in Kenya M. P. 80
Vulgar and Unbecoming M. P. 264
Wine v. Milk M. P. 227
- Gandhi Memorial**
A Condition for Peace Gora 19
A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Gandhi and Others 131, 238
A Prophetic Speech Dr. S. Subramania Iyer 261
Buy Khadi Hundi Rajendra Prasad 240
Cow-protection and Cow-killing Gandhi 73
Equal Distribution and Non-violent Society Gandhi 257
Gandhian Concept of Decentralization N. Prasad 174
Gandhiji and Trusteeship Suresh Ramabhai 279
Gandhiji on Religion C. Rajagopalachari 168
Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba M. P. 81
Goa's Freedom Battle and Gandhi Anon. 217
Higher Education in Free India Gandhi 185
Hindi Medium and Gandhi M. P. 225
India of My Dream Gandhi 241
Industrial Policy according to Gandhi Anon. 89
Khadi and Village Industries Gandhi 197
"Lord of Humility" Gandhi 393
Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase Pyarelal 377
Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase—IIII Rajendra Prasad 389, 397, 405
"My Religion" Bharatan Kumarapur 415
Non-violent Democracy Anon. 7
Patterns of Social Service M. P. 297
Politics and Religion M. P. 127
Real Economics Gandhi 9
Satyagraha and Foreign Affairs M. P. 244
Satyagraha in International Relation Horace Alexander 303
The Unkindest Cut of All Bharatan Kumarapur 273
Way of True Self-defence M. P. 4
- Health**
A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Gandhi 131
Amend the Vaccination Act M. P. 135
Amend Vaccination Act Rustomji M. Alpawala 216
Are We Free? Sorabji R. Mistri 79
Bacterial War on Children Anon. 187
B. C. G. Campaign Should Stop M. P. 242
"B. C. G. Day" Obstinate C. Rajagopalachari 397
B. C. G. Vaccination—Why I Oppose It C. Rajagopalachari 196
B. C. G. X-rayed Shyam K. Pandit 181
Cancer C. Rajagopalachari 118
Cigarette v. Cancer Anon. 110
Compulsory Inoculation and Individual Freedom K. L. Sarma 123
Democracy and Rule by Specialists M. P. 310
- Good Soil and Good Society Wilfred Wellock 114
Health v. Chemicals Anon. 40
Pasteurization and Milk Trade M. P. 12
Preventive Medicine Sorabji R. Mistri 119
Tuberculosis after B. C. G. Vaccination Anon. 230
Vanaspoti Raises its Head J. C. Kumaraappa 349
Vanaspoti Should Not Be Solidified Anon. 111
Water Supply in India Rajkumari Amrit Kaur 120
W. H. O. Doctors and B. C. G. Sorabji R. Mistri 218
Why I Oppose B. C. G.—Five Reasons C. Rajagopalachari 205
Will B. C. G. Doctors Heed To This? Anon. 304
- Land Problem**
A Foreign Friend's Question M. P. 99
Bhoodan and Village Industries M. P. 92
Bhoodan Figures Krishnaraj Mehta 179, 243
Bhoodan, Sarvodaya and Poverty M. P. 364
Bhoodan—The Movement of Compassion—I-II C. Rajagopalachari 169, 177
Call of the Age Vinoba 41
Democracy and Power of the People Vinoba 49
Earmarked Bhoodan Vallabhsawami 152
Ends and Means in Bhoodan J. C. Kumaraappa 113
Fearlessness, Swaraj and Self-reliance—I-II Vinoba 306, 320
For Members of Legislatures Vinoba 188
Foundation of New Social Order—Village Industries J. B. Kripalani 203
From Devout Bengal to Valiant Orissa Suresh Ramabhai 14
Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba M. P. 81
God is the Master Vinoba 175
India's Cultural Heritage Vinoba 335
Initiation in Artha-niyaman Vinoba 408
Is this 'Distributing Poverty'? Dhindharaj Dhadda 326
Kingdom of Kindness on Earth Anon. 417
Land and Artificial Fertilizers Louis Bromfield 42
Land and Man M. P. 126
Let Land in the Village Belong to It Vinoba 205
Litterateurs' Role in Bhoodan Suresh Ramabhai 142
Logic of Doubt About Bhoodan Damodaradas Mundada 319
No Government, Good Government and Freedom from Government Vinoba 153
Non-violence the Only True Strength Vinoba 171
Permanent Literature is above Sects Vinoba 37
Pilgrim's Progress Day by Day—IVIII Damodaradas Mundada 158, 162, 178, 190, 206, 213, 251, 262
P. M. on Bhoodan Anon. 398
Puri Sarvodaya Conference Suresh Ramabhai 69
Quakers Meet Vinoba Suresh Ramabhai 2
Road to Socialistic Pattern of Society—I Vaikunthbhai L. Mehta 30
Role of Bhoodan in Modern India Suresh Ramabhai 350
Sarvodaya Samaj Sammelan Sarvodaya Anon. 58
Service and Devotion Vinoba 183
Service Should Touch Life at All Points Vinoba 209
Shri Vinoba in Orissa—EVI K. D. 62, 71, 74, 80, 102, 117, 134
- Shri Vinoba's Walking Tour Siddharaj 264
Shri Vinoba with the Communists in Andhra Anon. 395
Some Questions Regarding Bhoodan Vinoba 93
Swarajya, Gramarajya and Ramarajya Vinoba 239
Synthesis of Religions Vinoba 28
The Bhoodan Anniversary M. P. 60
The Culture of India and Religion Vinoba 269
The Harvest that was Pteutous Damodaradas Mundada 146
The New Bhoodan Slogan Damodaradas Mundada 125
The Spiritual Revolution of Our Times B. G. Kher 370
The Way to Peace in the World Vinoba 129
The World—A Family Vinoba 222
Three Forces Working for the Land Revolution Vinoba 199
Unjust Evictions Anon. 79
Vinoba's Three Days in Andhra Damodaradas Mundada 272
What Swaraj Should Mean Vinoba 165
Why Bhoodan M. P. 172
Women's Role in Bhoodan Suresh Ramabhai 105
- Language**
A Committee of Inquiry for English M. P. 313
A-I. Services Examinations Medium M. P. 372
A New University in Gujarat M. P. 193
English Teaching in Standard VIII M. P. 25
Fear, Insecurity and Indiscipline M. P. 265
From Devout Bengal to Valiant Orissa Suresh Ramabhai 14
Gujarat's New Responsibility M. P. 361
Hindi and Urdu M. P. 238
Hindi in Tamil Nad M. P. 357
Hindi in Tamil Nad Schools S. R. Sastri 397
Hindi Medium and Gandhi M. P. 225
Hindi v. Regional Languages M. P. 230
India and Pakistan M. P. 289
Language, Culture and States Reorganization Jawaharlal Nehru 353
Languages and Indian Unity Anon. 235
Languages and Public Services M. P. 212
Languages Study in Schools M. P. 380
Limitations of Law M. P. 84
Linguistic Demands of Non-Hindi Areas M. P. 404
Linguistic Revolution We Need—I-II B. G. Kher 383, 399
"Macaulay Tradition" in Education M. P. 259
Medium for All-India Services Examinations M. P. 76
Panch-sheel M. P. 117
Reform of Secondary Education—I-III M. P. 1, 16, 33
Replacement v. Retention of English M. P. 396
Scientific Terms and Text-books M. P. 321
Scientific Terms for Gujarati M. P. 293
Shri Vinoba in Andhra K. D. 379
Speak to the Heart of the People M. P. 35
"Tamil Medium in Colleges" M. P. 149
The Congress Resolution Anon. 80
The Language Issue Jawaharlal Nehru 268
The 'Language Landscape' of India—I-II B. G. Kher 278, 281
The Madras University Medium M. P. 414
The Official Language Commission M. P. 308

Linguistic Provinces

- Beware of Irredentism M. P. 347
 Communism Turned Linguism Swami Anand 358
 Gujarat's New Responsibility M. P. 361
 Language, Culture and States Reorganization Jawaharlal Nehru 353
 Linguistic Reorganization of States Vinoba 291
 Maharashtra Must Feel Satisfied M. P. 297
 Make Bombay Second Capital of India M. P. 329
 Second Capital of India M. P. 352
 Shri Vinoba in Andhra K. D. 379
 S. R. C. and the Soul of Our People Vinoba 343
 The S. R. C. Report M. P. 276
 Whither Swaraj? M. P. 393

Miscellaneous

- Annual Accounts of Navajivan Trust, 1954, 1955 Jivanji D. Desai 26, 402
 Gujarati Examinations for Non-Gujaratis M. P. 168
 Index: Volume XVIII (1954-55, Volume XIX (1955-56)
 Anon. (45A)1, (42AA)1
 Sevagram Ashram N. R. Sowany 152
 To Foreign Subscribers Jivanji D. Desai 162
 To Subscribers Jivanji D. Desai 409

Non-violence

- A Condition for Peace Gora 19
 A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Gandhi and Others 238
 Ahimsa Week W. S. Pande 51
 Buddha and the Modern World Suresh Ramabhai 194
 Cow-protection and Cow-killing Gandhi 73
 Equal Distribution and Non-violent Society Gandhi 257
 India and World Peace A. P. Patil 327
 Man and the Atom Anon. 96
 Non-violence the Only True Strength Vinoba 171
 Non-violent Democracy Anon. 7
 Revolution: Through Violence or Non-violence? M. P. 36
 Service of the People and the Power of the State Vinoba 54
 Shri Vinoba in Orissa—II-III K. D. 71, 74
 Technique of Non-violent Revolution M. P. 160
 The Way to Peace in the World Vinoba 129
 Way of True Self-defence M. P. 4

Obituaries

- Acharya Narendra Dev M. P. 409
 Einstein M. P. 65
 Late Shri Jajuli M. P. 285
 Lokamanya—Maker of Modern India Anon. 191
 Shri N. M. Joshi M. P. 119

Prohibition

- Alcoholic Drinks Going Down in United States Anon. 235
 Are We Ruled by Economists? M. P. 363
 Army and Alcohol M. P. 157
 Basic Task for Nation-building M. P. 44
 Bombay Prohibition Week Rajendra Prasad and Others 51
 Fact and Fallacy about Prohibition Robert H. Pearson 421
 Hundred Years Ago Anon. 90
 Pilgrim's Progress Day by Day—IV Damodar Das Munda 190
 Planning for Country-wide Prohibition M. P. 28
 Prohibition and Family Finance Anon. 11

- Prohibition in Kutch P. L. Majmudar 203
 Real Planning for the People M. P. 148
 The Unkindest Cut of All Bharatan Kumarappa 273
 Wine v. Milk M. P. 227
Religion and Ethics
 A Gandhi Anthology Book IV Gandhi and Others 131, 238
 Bhodan—The Movement of Compassion—I-II C. Rajagopalachari 169, 177
 Buddha and the Modern World Suresh Ramabhai 194
 Call of the Age Vinoba 41
 Case of Large-scale Corruption M. P. 198
 Caste and Casteism Anon. 411
 Caste, Community and Nation M. P. 309
 Communalism and Casteism M. P. 274
 Community and Caste M. P. 233
 Cow-protection and Cow-killing Gandhi 73
 Cruelty to Monkeys M. P. 283
 Eastern v. Western Values M. P. 369
 Ethics in Eclipse Anon. 106
 Fearlessness, Swaraj and Self-reliance—II-II Vinoba 306, 320
 For Members of Legislatures Vinoba 186
 Freedom from Fear Arthur Foster 27
 From Devout Bengal to Vallant Orissa Suresh Ramabhai 14
 Gandhiji on Religion C. Rajagopalachari 168
 Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba M. P. 81
 God is the Master Vinoba 175
 India in Transition Anon. 318
 India of My Dream Gandhiji 241
 India's Cultural Heritage Vinoba 335
 India's Secular Policy M. P. 381
 Initiation in Artha-niyaman Vinoba 408
 In the Grip of Nihilism M. P. 261
 Kingdom of Kindness on Earth Anon. 417
 Land and Man M. P. 126
 Let Land in the Village Belong to It Vinoba 205
 Limitations of Law M. P. 84
 Literateurs' Role in Bhodan Suresh Ramabhai 142
 "Lord of Humility" Gandhiji 393
 Man and Technology Anon. 147
 Man Shall Not Kill Man Vinoba 247
 "My Religion" Bharatan Kumarappa 415
 No Government, Good Government and Freedom from Government Vinoba 153
 Non-violence the Only True Strength Vinoba 171
 Pilgrim's Progress Day by Day—I-VII Damodar Das Munda 158, 162, 178, 190, 206, 213, 251, 262
 Planning for the Entire Man Anon. 63
 Politics and Religion M. P. 127
 Pope and Goa Sorabji R. Mistry 176
 Puri Sarvodaya Conference Suresh Ramabhai 69
 Quakers Meet Vinoba Suresh Ramabhai 2
 Sarvodaya and Socialistic Pattern M. P. 156
 Scientific Dogmatism Anon. 95
 Service and Devotion Vinoba 183
 Service of the People and the Power of the State Vinoba 54
 Service Should Touch Life at All Points Vinoba 209
 Shri Vinoba in Andhra K. D. 379
 Shri Vinoba in Orissa—I-VII K. D. 62, 71, 74, 86, 102, 117, 134

- Some Questions Regarding Bhodan Vinoba 93
 Swaraja, Gramaraja and Ramaraja Vinoba 239
 Synthesis of Bhakti and Karma Yoga Necessary Vinoba 21
Synthesis of Religions
 The Culture of India and Religion Vinoba 268
 The Harvest that was Plenteous Damodar Das Munda 146
 The Spiritual Revolution of Our Times B. G. Kher 370
 The World—A Family Vinoba 222
 Three Forces Working for the Land Revolution Vinoba 199
 Twenty-five Hundredth Anniversary of the Buddha M. P. 141
 Vaanara Vilaap C. Rajagopalachari 157
 Western Civilization—A Problem Wilfred Wellock, 150, 166
 What Swaraj Should Mean Vinoba 165
Sarvodaya
 Bhodan, Sarvodaya and Poverty M. P. 364
 Bhodan—The Movement of Compassion—I-II C. Rajagopalachari 169, 177
 Ends and Means in Bhodan J. C. Kumarappa 113
 Foundation of New Social Order—Village Industries J. B. Kripalani 203
 In the Cause of Sarvodaya M. P. 360
 No Government, Good Government and Freedom from Government Vinoba 153
 "Not by Bread Alone" M. P. 358
 Patterns of Social Service M. P. 297
 Puri Sarvodaya Conference Suresh Ramabhai 69
 Sarvodaya and Socialistic Pattern M. P. 156
 Sarvodaya Samaj Sammelan Resolution Anon. 58
 Service of the People and the Power of the State Vinoba 54
 Service Should Touch Life at All Points Vinoba 209
 Shri Vinoba in Orissa—I-IV K. D. 62, 71, 74, 86
 The Crisis We Are In M. P. 316
 The Sarvodaya Scheme of the Government of Bombay V. L. Mehta 318
 The World—A Family Vinoba 222
 Three Classes in Society and Sarvodaya Vinoba 326
 Vinoba's Three Days in Andhra Damodar Das Munda 272
 Welfare State v. Sarvodaya State—IV P. Srinivasachari 255, 258, 266, 285
Satyagraha
 Satyagraha and Foreign Affairs M. P. 244
 Satyagraha in International Relations Horace Alexander 303
 Satyagraha in U.S.A. M. P. 296
 War and Satyagraha—I-IV Bertrand Russell 314, 323, 331, 338
Social
 Amend the Vaccination Act M. P. 135
 Amend Vaccination Act Ruston M. Alpawala 216
 A New Casteism Anon. 422
 Backward Communities and Qualifications for Government Service M. P. 328
 B. C. G. Vaccination—Why I Oppose It C. Rajagopalachari 196
 Building from Below Pillery Foster 108
 Cancer C. Rajagopalachari 118
 Case of Large-scale Corruption M. P. 198
 Caste and Casteism Anon. 411

Caste, Community and Nation	M. P. 309	Fear, Insecurity and Indiscipline	M. P. 265	How to Increase National Income	V. M. Kothari 46
Cheap But Beautiful Houses	I Hall Winslow 118	Fearlessness, Swaraj and Self-reliance—I	Vinoba 306	Illusion of Prosperity	M. P. 356
Cigarette v. Cancer	Anon. 110	Nai Talim or Basic Education	Vinoba 121	India of My Dream	Gandhiji 241
Commercial Advertising	Kshitindra Kumar Nag 139	Orthodoxy and Revolt of Youth	M. P. 284	India's Cultural Heritage	Vinoba 335
Communism and Casteism	M. P. 274	Shri Vinoba in Andhra	K. D. 379	India's Pattern of Industrialization	M. P. 260
Community and Caste	M. P. 253	Standard of University Education	M. P. 333	India's Unemployment Problem	J. D. Sundram 366
Compulsory Inoculation and Individual Freedom	K. L. Sarma 123	Student-world and Discipline	M. P. 233	Industrial Policy according to Gandhiji	Anon. 89
Cost of Advertising	Kshitindra Kumar Nag 18	University Degree and Government Services	M. P. 292	Inevitability of Village Industries	Vinoba 301
Curious	M. P. 176	Untouchability		Investment and Employment	Anon. 183
Fear and Modern Life—I-III	E. V. Pullias 5, 10, 17	Backward Communities and Qualifications for Government Service	M. P. 328	Khadi and Village Industries	Gandhiji 197
15th August Celebrations—A Suggestion	Anon. 182	Harijans at Badrinath	Viyogi Hari 146	Khadi Board's Second Five Year Plan	C. K. Narayanswami 192
Films of Saints	Suresh Ramabhai 24	Harijan Sevaks Sangh	Viyogi Hari 293	Lacquered Earthen Vessels	S. K. Mirmira 91
Freedom, Bondage and the Welfare State	Dr. Horace W. Stunkard 287	Oh, the Inhumanity of It!	M. P. 275	Lime as a Building Material	Surendranath Jauhar 234
Freedom from Fear	Arthur Foster 27	Untouchability in Tamilnad	Swami Anand Tirth 250	Mill v. Ambar Charkha	Manila Doshi 347
Giving Eye-sight to the Blind	Sorabji R. Mistri 354	Village Industries and Village Uplift	A Foreign Friend's Question	Non-violence the Only True Strength	Vinoba 171
Harijans at Badrinath	Viyogi Hari 146	A Gandhi Anthology Book IV	Gandhiji 131	Our Basic Economic Approach	J. C. Kumarappa 345
Harijan Sevaks Sangh	Viyogi Hari 293	Ambar Charkha	M. P. 332	Patterns of Social Service	M. P. 297
If All Work about an Hour	More V. M. Kothari 112	A Suggestion for the Next Plan	C. D. Patel 195	Peace and International Trade	M. P. 140
India in Transition	Anon. 316	A Tragic Error in Economic Thought	M. P. 204	Pilgrim's Progress from Day to Day—I-III	Damodar Das Mundada 162, 178
Initiation in Artha-niyaman	Vinoba 408	Bee-keeping as Home Industry	V. M. K. 359	Planning for the Third Sector	C. K. Narayanswami 133
In the Grip of Nihilism	M. P. 261	Bee-keeping at Mount Abu	A. Rajagopalan 64	Pneumatic Tyres for Bullock Carts	J. C. Kumarappa 412
Long Live Jawaharlalji	M. P. 17	Bhoo dan and Village Industries	M. P. 92	Principles of New Economic Policy—I-II	Anon. 57, 66
Man and Technology	Anon. 147	Bhoo dan, Sarvodaya and Poverty	M. P. 364	Production v. Employment	J. D. Sundram 373
Oh, the Inhumanity of It!	M. P. 275	Bhoo dan—The Movement of Compassion—I	C. Rajagopalachari 177	Real Planning for the People	M. P. 148
Orthodoxy and Revolt of Youth	M. P. 284	Big Industries and Standard of Living	P. Srinivasachari 98	Rice Hand-pounding Industry	V. M. Kothari 334
Permanent Literature is above Sects	Vinoba 37	"Building from Below"	M. P. 132	River Dams and Electric Power	M. P. 201
Preventive Medicine	Sorabji R. Mistri 119	"Building from Below"—I-VI	M. P. 138, 145, 155, 184, 207, 246	Road to Socialistic Pattern of Society—I-II	Valkunthbhai L. Mehta 30, 39
Prohibition and Family Finance	Anon. 11	Buy Khadi Hundi	V. L. Mehta, Rajendra Prasad 242, 249	Rural Civilization for India	V. L. Mehta 302
Random Jottings	M. P. 226	Call of the Age	Vinoba 41	Rural Higher Education—I-II	M. P. 8, 13
Respect for the National Flag	M. P. 221	Controversy about Ambar Charkha	Roop Narsin 300	Scientific Study of Rural India	M. P. 256
Role of Films in Public Life	Suresh Ramabhai 213	Cottage Match Industry	C. K. Narayanswami, V. M. Kothari 119, 311	Service Should Touch Life at All Points	Vinoba 209
Shri Vinoba in Andhra	K. D. 379	Cotton Textile Industry	V. M. K. 423	Shri Vinoba in Orissa—VII	K. D. 134
Spinning in Jails	C. K. Narayanswami 135	Dangers of Urbanization	Giriraj Kishore 25	Soap Industry	V. M. Kothari 295
Strength of the People Only Can Achieve It	M. P. 136	Decentralizing Cloth Industry	Anon. 354	Spinning in Jails	C. K. Narayanswami 135
Student-world and Discipline	M. P. 233	Doubts and Disincentives	M. P. 228	Swarajya, Gramarajya and Ramarajya	Vinoba 239
Tainted Money	M. P. 128	Do We Worship Poverty?	Bharatan Kumarappa 388	Textile Industry and Lancashire	M. P. 85
The Army in War and Peace	M. P. 224	Economics of Ambar Charkha	Anon. 330	The Bhoo dan Anniversary	M. P. 60
The Message of the Floods	Suresh Ramabhai 219	Education for a New Order	M. P. 180	The Cost of Industrial Employment	Maurice Frydman 107
The Rule of Law	Anon. 424	Electricity and Employment	Rajendra Prasad 24	The Fallacy of "Putting the Clock Back"	M. P. 252
Three Classes in Society and Sarvodaya	Vinoba 326	False Alarms	Pranlal S. Kapadia 337	The Message of the Floods	Suresh Ramabhai 219
Unity through Constructive Programme	Acharya Kripalani 365	Fearlessness, Swaraj and Self-reliance—I-II	Vinoba 306, 320	The Mill and the Charkha	J. C. Kumarappa 211
University Degree and Government Services	M. P. 292	Foundation of New Social Order—Village Industries	J. B. Kripalani 203	The New Bhoo dan Slogan	D. D. Mundada 125
Untouchability in Tamilnad	Swami Anand Tirth 250	God Made the Country	V. G. D. 211	The New Economic Policy	M. P. 348
Vanaspatis Raises its Head	J. O. Kumarappa 349	Gram Panchayats	M. P. 100	The Potentiality of Ghana	V. M. K. 421
Water Supply in India	Rajkumari Amrit Kaur 120	Hand-loom v. Spinning-wheel	M. P. 340	The Present Economic Climate	M. P. 300
W. H. O. Doctors and B. C. G.	Sorabji R. Mistri 218	Hand-made Paper Industry	V. M. K. 412	The Sarvodaya Scheme of the Government of Bombay	V. L. Mehta 318
Why I Oppose B. C. G.—Five Reasons	C. Rajagopalachari 205			The Value of Home-crafts	Wilfred Wellock 58
Will B. C. G. Doctors Heed to This?	Anon. 304			The World—A Family	Vinoba 222
Women's Role in Bhoo dan	Suresh Ramabhai 105				
Students					
Curious	M. P. 176				
Education—Why and How	Vinoba 249				

Training in Khadi and Village Industries	C. K. Narayanswami 111
Training in Village Tanning	C. K. Narayanswami 135
Two Distinct Ways of Economic Reconstruction	M. P. 324
Unemployed Men and Idle Machines	M. P. 135
Village Industries and Community Development	V. L. Mehta 95
Village Oil Industry	A. Vaniyan 144
Villages v. Cities	M. P. 229
Welfare State v. Sarvodaya State—I-IV	P. Srinivasachari 255, 258, 266, 285
What is Ambar Charkha—I-III	Anon. 375, 382, 390
What Swaraj Should Mean	Vinoba 165
Why Bhoodan	M. P. 172
Why Instal More Spindles?	Somnath P. Dave 391

Wool Industry in Villages	V. M. K. 403
Wrong and Unfair	V. L. Mehta 305
War and Peace	
A Loose Statement	M. P. 237
Atomic Explosions and American Aid	M. P. 97
Buddha and the Modern World	Suresh Ramabhai 194
Economics of Peace	J. C. K. 136
Hiroshima's Cenotaph	M. P. 357
India and the Atomic Age	M. P. 263
India and World Peace	A. P. Pattani 327
India, Russia, and England-America	M. P. 385
Military Training Equivalent for Education?	M. P. 223
Nuclear Weapons and Human Weal	R. Santanam 144
Panch-sheel	Anon. 152
Peace and International Trade	M. P. 140
Politics and Religion	M. P. 127
Random Jottings	M. P. 270
Revolution and Peace	Prof. Nemi Saran 159
"Sarvodaya and World Peace"	M. P. 15
Satyagraha in International Relations	Horace Alexander 303
Shri Vinoba in Orissa—I-III	K. D. 74
Standard of Living and Killing	M. P. 307
Terrorism in Kenya	M. P. 80
The Army in War and Peace	M. P. 224
The Goa Issue	Anon. 220
The Spiritual Revolution of Our Times	B. G. Kher 370
The Third Way Movement	Anon. 255
The Way to Peace in the World	Vinoba 129
U. N. and Human Rights	Einstein 210
War and Satyagraha—I-IV	Bertrand Russell 314, 323, 331, 338
Way of True Self-defence	M. P. 4
We Shall Not Resort to War	Jawaharlal Nehru 217
Western Civilization—A Problem	Wilfred Wellock 150, 166

SOME BOOKS BY MAHATMA GANDHI

THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH

(Autobiography)

Translated from the Gujarati by Mahadev Desai

The translation had the benefit of Gandhi's revision.

"My purpose," writes Gandhiji in the introduction of the book, "being to give an account of various practical applications of these principles, I have given the chapters the title of *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. . . . My purpose is to describe experiments in the science of Satyagraha not to say how good I am. In judging myself I shall try to be as harsh as truth, as I want others also to be."

Pages, vii+640 Price Rs.7-0-0 Postage etc. Re.1-9-0

TRUTH IS GOD

(Foreword by Shri C. Rajagopalachari)

Any one who desires to understand what sort of a man the Father of the Nation was, must read this book.

Pages iv+168 Price Rs. 2-0-0 Postage etc. As.11

NATURE CURE

Nature Cure marks only the beginning of a way of life in which there is no room for illness or disease.

Pages vii+68 Price As.12 Postage etc. As. 5

TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM

A full collection of Gandhiji's writings on the present-day problems of Labour and Capital.

Pages xii+164 Price Rs. 2-0-0 Postage etc. As. 13

RAMANAMA

A brief collection of Gandhiji's writings on the efficacy of repeating God's name and meditating on Him.

"I am confident that one who goes on with the *japa* in faith will conquer in the end. *Ramanama* becomes one's staff of life and carries one through every ordeal."

— Gandhiji

Pages viii+68 Price Re 1-0-0 Postage etc. As. 5

HOW TO SERVE THE COW

"Cow Protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world. And Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow."

Pages, vi+109 Price Re. 1-4-0 Postage etc. As. 5

— Gandhiji

IN THE PRESS

THOUGHTS ON NATIONAL LANGUAGE

A collection of Speeches and Writings on our National Language.

MY DEAR CHILD

Letters to Esther Faering

By R. B. Gregg

A COMPASS FOR CIVILIZATION

This is an attempt to find the inner meaning of life's experiences.

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14