

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVII. No. 27

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1953

TWO ANNAS

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Vinoba)

It is the duty of citizens to go to the root of every problem that confronts the country. If they discharge it well, they will certainly add to the nation's strength and security. Cities as also villages have each their place and legitimate role to play in the economy of the country. Their co-operation is, therefore, essential. Cities should regard themselves as guardians of the villages and should always strive to serve them.

Recently Rajaji thought of reforming primary education in Madras. He evolved a plan, whereby the schools will work for three hours a day. During the out-of-school hours, children will learn carpentry, weaving, agriculture etc., so that the child develops to the maximum his capacities of both head and heart. But some people opposed the scheme. Their objection was that while it gave full opportunities to town-dwellers to develop their intellect, the villagers were asked to work as beasts of burden and grind flour and plough fields. As a protest against the plan they resorted to stopping trains and indulged in acts of violence. Similar acts of hooliganism are reported in Bengal too. This is quite a serious matter and we should find out the underlying reasons of this sad state of affairs.

Though we have attained independence, our basic problems still remain unsolved. The Government have made a Five-Year Plan. After its working for two and a half years, they have now realized that in spite of the Plan unemployment is growing. This shows that our brains are dull and do not think in a right manner. The recent meeting of the A. I. C. C. at Agra has by a resolution taken note of the question of unemployment and asked the Government to suitably amend the Plan in view of growing unemployment.

A little modification of the Plan will not help us much. For there is a fundamental error in the Plan. The planners have committed a serious mistake in their approach to the subject. They are all great patriots. They no doubt aim at serving the country. But if they do not go deep and catch at the core of the problems, their efforts

are foredoomed to failure. I told the Planning Commission in clear terms that it is a postulate of the national planning to provide full employment to all; and as their Plan did not give full employment, it was a partial planning and not national planning. The postulates of Euclid do not require to be proved. Therefore those who think that they cannot shoulder the responsibility of providing employment to all prove themselves incompetent for national planning. No head of the family, howsoever poor he may be, can ever think of providing food to some members only allowing others to starve. He would always insist that the earnings of the family will be shared by all the members. The national Government has a right to demand from the people one-sixth of their property for *Daridranarayana* as I am doing. And it is the duty of the people to fulfil this demand. It will help banish hunger from the land. If the *charakha* or the *takli* will give full employment to all, we should not feel hesitant to adopt them. We should shed off the vain craze for machinery.

Machines are of three categories: time-saving, destructive and productive. I am not against time-saving machines, such as trains, aeroplanes etc. Though they do not add to the production of the country, they save time.

Destructive machines, such as gun, bomb etc. have no place in non-violence. We are therefore opposed to it.

Productive machines are again of two categories: those that are helpful and those that are harmful to men. Machines that reduce employment are harmful to human beings. Whether a particular machine is harmful or helpful depends upon time, place and circumstances in which it is used. A machine which might be harmful to one country might be helpful to another. A machine which might be helpful at one time might become harmful at another time. So also with the change in circumstances. No set formula can be laid down to judge whether a machine is harmful or helpful. We therefore have neither blind infatuation for machinery nor irrational opposition against it. Service of man will be the sole test for acceptance or rejection of a machine.

To say that village industries cannot be adopted as they cannot compete with mills in point of efficiency discloses a wrong approach to the question. The way the West went should not be copied blindly by us. Gandhiji has already warned us that that way lies a disaster for us. When we advocate equality, its opponents cannot of course argue for inequality, but they speak of inefficiency. We surely want efficiency. But in the name of efficiency, millions of mouths cannot be starved. I desire to give full employment to all. If village industries help us achieve this, we will adopt them. It does not deserve the name of efficiency which makes millions starve for want of employment. I am glad that the recent session of the A. I. C. C. at Agra has emphasized the importance of village industries.

Today reports of discontent and restlessness are pouring in from all parts of the country. The mental uneasiness seeks any opportunity to give vent to itself in any form. Hence the acts of violence and hooliganism are on the increase. The present linguistic or communal quarrels have at their root much low production and growing unemployment in the country. It is quite a serious matter and deserves immediate attention. Every effort should be made to mitigate the miseries and dispel discontent of the people.

The way Gandhiji set out to solve such problems was that he would serve the last first. The most needy and distressed was to be attended first. But at present there is the reverse order. He would therefore devise a means which would bring relief to the lowliest and the lost who needed the help most. This brought him to the idea of the *charkha*. It reveals his great prophetic talents of a *krantidarshi*, i.e. a seer endowed with a vision into the future. He long ago said that it was village industries which suited Indian conditions. So also did he long back express his clear views on Nai Talim, National Language and redistribution of land.

What a great seer he was and what a large heart he had!

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

Some Important Publications

BHODAN YAJNA

[Land-gifts Mission]

By Vinoba Bhave

Pages viii + 134 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 6

GANDHI AND MARX

By K. G. Mashruwala

With an Introduction by Shri Vinoba

Pages viii + 112 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 5

A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA

By K. G. Mashruwala

Pages v + 69 Price Re. 1 Postage etc. As. 5

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

BHOODAN YAJNA AND SARVODAYA

(By Dharendra Mazumdar)

The Bhoodan Yajna is a revolutionary movement. It cannot be understood in terms of current theories written in books; a revolutionary always talks beyond books.

When Gandhiji first put forth his idea of a self-sufficient society the learned did not understand him. They, as is their wont, looked into their books which failed to enlighten them. They said: 'All this is idle thought.' But in the course of time, as things began to unfold themselves, and truth began to be known, attraction gathered round Gandhiji and he started getting followers. But still there were people who did not, probably, could not, in view of their education and habits of thinking and reacting, understand Gandhiji as he wanted them to understand him. For their own convenience they reduced Gandhiji's ideas into a language familiar to them, and also current in learned society, both here and abroad. It was thus that what Gandhiji insisted on calling self-sufficiency came to be known as decentralization and so on.

Bhoodan not Mere Redistribution

What happened with Gandhiji is happening with Vinoba too. In the beginning few had any faith in Bhoodan Yajna. The doubters tried to dismiss it lightly. But as acres received in gift rose into hundreds, and from hundreds into thousands, and now from thousands into lakhs, people paused to see and understand what was happening all round. And they said, "This is but another name of redistribution of land, and nothing more." But is Bhoomidan Yajna really only that much?

Let it be clearly understood that Bhoodan Yajna is not mere redistribution of land. In fact the two are far different from each other. Decentralization is consistent with class dictatorship, whereas self-sufficiency is not. Self-sufficiency can go with nothing else except democracy. There is distribution of land in Japan. They say it is so in China also. In Japan there is considerable decentralization of industry too. Our own Government talks of ceiling on land. But do Japan and China have genuine democracy? Do they not have class-rule and party dictatorship? Let us not, therefore, delude ourselves into the easy belief that if land is distributed, and some industries decentralized on the Japanese model, we are going to have real democracy, much less the state of society which Gandhiji worked for. Sarvodaya can come only with self-sufficiency. Let us remember that a movement is but a means. The end always is the establishment of a fully democratic society. Self-sufficiency or Bhoodan Yajna is a step in the direction of Sarvodaya.

What is Revolution?

It is almost fashionable nowadays to talk of revolution. But this word is as much abused as it is used. It is little understood. The result is that we often confuse conflict (*sangharsha*) with

revolution (*kranti*). But conflict is not revolution; although in a revolution there may be, and actually are, one or a series of conflicts. Revolution stands for a basic change in people's ideas; for a truly new mode and method of life; for a reformulation of values (*mulya*). Where there is no change of values there is no revolution. There is nothing revolutionary about one set of persons in government yielding place to a new set of persons.

We know that in the economic sphere capital and labour are the two principal factors of production. James Wyatt's steam engine brought about a revolutionary change in the mode of production. Prior to him production was the result primarily of labour, but now the importance shifted to capital. This process has continued till today; we find that the whole economic structure of society is capital-centred. The inevitable result of this capital-centred economy has been the exploitation of the people.

To end this exploitation the Russians devised a new system. They nationalized the means of production and centralized all economic and political power. But this double centralization only succeeded in making the people servants of the will of an omnipotent State, actually run by a ruthless party headed by a ruthless leader. What ever the original ideas of Marx about establishing a Stateless co-operative society, this is where centralization has led Russians to. That indeed, is the logical end of centralization.

The Modern State

People, both critical and friendly, suggest: 'Why don't you make use of law for your Bhoomidan work?' They forget that Bhoomidan Yajna aims ultimately at the establishment of a society free from violence, whether of individuals or of the State. Why is it that people think that a revolution of the kind the Bhoomidan Yajna contemplates can be accomplished through the instrumentality of the State whose very existence is based on force and coercion? The reason is not far to seek. It is that the State today has started claiming to be a welfare agency, and simple people are easily beguiled by its professions. The outer facade of the State deceives people. But we should know that whatever the language the State may speak, it does conceal within itself the mailed fist. Those who talk of nationalization of industries, compulsory co-operative farming, and distribution of land little realize that they are, knowingly or unknowingly, abetting the cause of the authoritarian State. Our workers must be aware, and give up this suicidal belief in a paternal State (*sarkar mai-bap*).

Sarvodaya, the Third Force

Sarvodaya must take notice of this development. A true Sarvodaya worker has to stand by the people. He must develop popular resistance. But people can develop the power of resistance

only when they have under their exclusive control the daily necessities of life. The present-day economic structure is based on capital. Now capital must yield place to labour, which means that the basic means of production have to be transferred to the people. Things have come to such a pass that a classless society is now the only remedy left for humanity. Class-distinction and the consequent class-conflict must go. But for that a double revolution is necessary. Politically, the authoritarian State must end and real democracy must take its place; and economically, a self-sufficient order, in which the producer is the master of his produce and its means, must be established.

The Bhooodan Yajna, through people's goodwill and not legislation, takes us far in that direction. Our slogan should be self-sufficiency and not mere decentralization. A self-sufficient village is our goal. We must, therefore, infuse this consciousness in the villages and inspire local leadership and prepare it to shoulder local responsibilities.

(From a summary of speeches to a workers' camp in Bihar)

THE NON-VIOLENT MAU MAU VOW

(By Maurice Frydman)

Since time immemorial the African Continent was a mine for slaves. Formerly they were caught and exported to work on plantations, for planters who had to maintain them, and who would incur monetary loss if something would happen to them. Nowadays things have been streamlined, the plantations and the planters have moved to the mine, and the slaves are given instead of food, clothing and shelter, a pittance. When they do not come to beg for slave work, their little farms are taken away from them, taxes are imposed, and movements are restricted so as to leave no choice between slaving and dying.

The white does not want an all white Africa. It will cease to be a profitable proposition. He wants cheap African labour because without it all his financial calculations will collapse.

Therefore the only thing that can set the African free, is his absolute refusal to hire himself out for work. The only vow that will put an end to racial inequality in Africa, and will set every African man, woman and child free, is the vow "I will Serve No Master". This does not mean starvation. It means self-employment, working one's own farm, one's own workshop, with family, or in small co-operative groups.

There is no doubt that this is a hard vow to follow. Every form of pressure will be exerted to cajole or to bully, to bribe or to frighten him into paid service; but there is an inherent dignity in this view, a quiet confidence in one's own resources. It needs no coercion, it is completely free from violence. One man can show the way; a small trickle can grow into a mighty river. These are the right means which will inevitably bring forth the choicest fruit.

HARIJAN

Sept. 5

1953

BHOOMI YAJNA JAYANTI

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

[September 11 is Shri Vinoba's birth-date. A year ago late Shri K. G. M. reminded us of that good day and wrote the lines reproduced below. A few days after, he passed away on 9-9-1952. Thus the coming week contains both these days, which we should remember with love and gratitude for the two high-souled persons, dedicated to the service of Truth and God.]

Shri Kishorlalbhai's last wish was to see that Vinoba's great mission prospered and succeeded by 1957. To him the mission was unique in the post-Gandhian era, in that it contained all the ennobling attributes of Gandhiji's own way of working among the people. It was, to him, not merely a land-gift mission, but was also a mission to show us the true Gandhian way. In the encircling darkness that many feel after Gandhiji's departure, Vinoba's movement was, to him, a small little light that showed the way. And so it is to many and diverse people, as we see at present. Therefore, let us remember him also by joining with him in the few lines that he wrote to commemorate Vinoba's birth-date. Let us all pray to God that He give long and healthy life to Shri Vinoba even to fulfil the great mission which he has undertaken in His name and for the good of our whole people and the world.

28-8-53

M. P.]

Vinoba commenced from Paunar his North Indian tour for *Bhoodan-Yajna* and the 57th year of his life on 11th September, 1951. A PTI message from Jabalpur says that elaborate arrangements are being made at Kareli (about 60 miles from Jabalpur in M.P.) to celebrate the Bhoomi-Yajna Jayanti on 11th September next. The Jayanti is being organized to give an impetus to his *Prajasuya-Yajna*.

I believe that this is a good idea and workers all over the country may make use of this day to spread the message of *bhoodan* far and wide, and exhort owners of lands to share their lands with those who have none.

I implore every owner of land to ponder deeply over the undeniable truth that like air and water, earth must belong to all. It should be shared by all and worked upon for the benefit of all. Since this fundamental principle has not been respected, and a free gift of nature has been in the possession of a few though coveted by many, the Earth has been incessantly torn by wars and murders.

Sons have killed fathers, and brothers have murdered brothers for getting exclusive ownership of a small plot of land. Kingdoms have arisen and fallen for the sake of land. We cannot have peace and amity and the welfare of all, as long as we persistently stick to the idea of private ownership of land.

A time will come, and I hope it will not take long to come, when the land of the whole world will be possessed in common by all the peoples of the world; and every man who is willing to

work upon it, will be allowed to do so, irrespective even of his race or nationality. This will lead to an equal spread-over of humanity on the Earth.

Let us begin this process by methods peculiar to our philosophy and culture; i.e. by *tapas*, *yajna* and *dana*; or by voluntary action.

The landless have patiently carried on their *tapas* for centuries and centuries. If they have become exhausted and impatient now, they cannot be found fault with. Let the *tapas* be continued on their behalf by workers now. The *yajna* has been already started by Vinoba and his committees. May the owners of land bring their *dana* in abundance for the completion of the process.

Vinoba is exhausting himself in his 'Do or Die' mission. He does not move on, on the physical strength of his frail limbs. It is the Spirit that sustains him. Let us all pray for him, work for him, and respond generously to his appeal.

Harijan, 6-9-52

KRITAYUGI VINOBA

(By A. V. Barve)

कलिः क्षयान्ते भवति संविहानस्तु द्वारः ।

उत्तिष्ठः श्रेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥

(एतरेय ब्राह्मण)

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, whose birth anniversary falls on the 11th of September was lovingly called *Kritayugi* Vinoba by Gandhiji because of his love of walking. He even jocularly chid Vinobaji that in Sardar Patel he had another *Kritayugi* who loved to walk. The allusion is to the verse from the Aitareya Brahmana quoted above. So far back as 1932, Vinobaji expressed his faith in a walking tour of villages for rural propaganda work.

But *Kritayuga* connotes many more things than mere love of walking. *Kritayuga* means the 'golden' age, and Vinoba is the harbinger of this golden age. The present Kali or iron age, with its doctrine of hate, its stark materialism, and its over-mechanization is about to disappear. After it will come the *Kritayuga* with its doctrine of love in place of hatred and with the restoration of the dignity of manual labour in the place of redundant machinery. Shri Vinoba sees on the horizon the signs of this rising sun of spiritualism and the disappearing darkness of stark materialism.

Some of Vinobaji's ideas are strikingly original and deserve careful study and attention. His ideas of *काश्चननुत्ति* or freedom from the power of money and return to the barter system is an instance in point. His other ideas have become current coin, like the idea of *भूदान-यज्ञ* or land-gift sacrifice.

It is nothing short of a miracle that in an old land-hungry country like India, he could induce tens of thousands of donors, both big and

small, to donate about two millions of acres of land. Like the Vaman of Hindu mythology, asking for three feet of land from King Bali, Vinoba is asking for three simple gifts from the Indian 'demos'; the first gift is that of land for the landless.

Secondly, he is asking also for cash donations from those who have no land to give, but who have got liquid assets to spare. These donations are to remain with the donors and to be applied by themselves as and when directed, for helping the newly 'landed' people. This abundant trust in human honesty shows that Vinoba really belongs to the golden age.

The third idea, which, in my view, has got tremendous potentialities for the good of the nation, is the idea of *अमदान-यज्ञ* or labour-gift sacrifice. In this case there is no question of haves and have-nots. For all have got a pair of hands. Even the poorest can come forward and offer their labour free for the nation. If the Indian masses can once be fired with the idea of offering their free labour in the cause of the nation, they can by their very numbers work wonders. They have begun to come forward rather shyly to help as we can see from instances of roads or school buildings being built with the free labour of the village people, assisted of course by Government machinery. They are slowly realizing that self-help is the best help. Once the idea of *अमदान-यज्ञ* or labour-gift sacrifice takes firm root, the labour can be organized for various beneficent activities and the whole face of India can and will be transformed.

A GREAT APOSTLE*

(By Swami Anand)

Shri Kishorilal did not approve of raising memorials or writing accounts of a person's life to perpetuate his memory after he was dead. Only a few years before his death he had discussed his views on this question at some length in an article (in Gujarati) entitled 'Maran-vidhi' which made a great impression on the reading public. Naturally there was some hesitation among his friends about taking up the writing of this biography. But all such misgivings were laid at rest when an elder on whom we look with veneration remarked, "If we do not write about distinguished personalities who influence their age and mould contemporary society by their bold thoughts, ceaseless work in the manner of Karma-yoga and the purity of their character, if we do not write about such *vibhūtis*—high-souled persons, are we then to write about evil-doers; the sinning lot who just seek pleasure or power or money?"

This clinched the issue for us. Shri Narharilal, his closest friend and life-long co-worker, took up the task of writing this biography and Shri Nathji blessed the decision.

I first met Shri Kishorilal sometime in 1918 at the Sabarmati Ashram. Even then he suffered from asthma and consequent ill-health and so he continued to be till the end of his life; but his sharp logic and bold thinking

impressed everyone who came in contact with him. He has set forth these views, the result of the most penetrating thought and search for truth, in *Jivan Shodhan*† and his many other books. Some of these views did not appeal to me and many others like me, but his burning concern for the welfare of humanity, his honesty and truthfulness which lay behind them and inspired them could not but touch the heart of all those who read them, whether they accepted them or not.

The range of his thought was as large as life itself and there is hardly any aspect of it which he did not subject to the discerning light of his intellect and nothing which he did not illumine. He has written voluminously about philosophy, education, politics and sociology, constructive work, economic planning and many other problems concerning our country. His views regarding all these are embodied in his about two dozen books and in the numerous articles in the *Navajivan*, *Young India*, and the *Harijan* Weeklies and in numberless other periodicals throughout the country for which he wrote in the last few years of his life; and they are a most precious gift to the nation. In these he has explained and elucidated many of Gandhiji's principles and his solutions for the ills of our individual and collective life. Indeed he was recognized as the most authoritative interpreter of Gandhiji's ideals and programmes. He analysed them into all their implications, supported them with closely reasoned arguments, and was thus greatly instrumental in convincing the people of their truth and veracity. Gandhiji himself gave him due credit for this on more than one occasion.

His thoughts and views for the most part were the result of his own thinking undertaken in search of truth. He did not trade upon what he had received from Swami Sahajananda, Gandhiji or Nathji (the three greatest influences on his life). Undoubtedly he received a good deal from them, but he digested and assimilated it to make his own and give to the people, though of course fully acknowledging his debt to others. This procedure was dictated as much by his deep humility as by his anxiety not to do injustice to anybody knowingly or unknowingly.

All his thinking and writing was aimed at purifying, reconstructing and enriching the life of the people. It has a message for the whole world, for the entire humanity. He never wrote merely for the sake of writing in the manner of idle intellectuals. He made a sharp distinction between the culture of the educated middle class which is but another name for cant and hypocrisy and lack of concern for true values and the real culture of the people. The former he called 'Bhadra Sanskriti' and the latter 'Sant Sanskriti', i.e. bourgeois culture and saintly culture.

He was associated throughout his life with various Gandhian institutions as a great educationist and an experienced guide who could always be depended upon for correct advice in any difficulty. He lived in the most frugal manner accepting only the bare minimum for his needs.

His insistence on the development of moral virtues and a strictly scrupulous conduct marked at every point by self-control was so great that many modernists would have dubbed him a puritan. Indulgence in sense-pleasure in the name of literature or music or fine arts repelled him. Observance of the most correct behaviour between the sexes had for him the validity of a natural law as it were. He held the view that the transgression of this rule under whatever plea and howsoever pleasing a label cannot but be harmful to the physical and mental health of the persons concerned. His deep regard for women found eloquent expression in his attitude towards Shri Gomatibehn.

Imitation of Christ of Thomas A. Kempis, a medieval Christian saint, has received for the last four or five centuries about the same respect from Christian readers as the Bible. I believe that Shri Kishorilal's thoughtful

* From the Introduction to *Shreyarthi-ni Sadhana*, a Gujarati biography of Shri K. G. M. by Shri Narhari Parikh, published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, price Rs. 3-0-0, postage etc. Re. 1-0-0.

† In Gujarati & Hindi, published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, price of each is Rs. 3-0-0 and postage etc. Re. 1-1-0.

writings will occupy a similar place in the Gandhian literature.

His approach to life and specially to religion and philosophy was marked by a strong rationalism. But his conduct and behaviour was full of love and kindness. Though physically he was almost a cripple and totally incapable of any physical exertion yet he would always insist on rising from his seat to receive a guest or even a casual visitor. From the highest of leaders to the littlest of workers or even an idle critic he gave to all an equally attentive and courteous hearing or wrote equally patient and full replies. It was these rare qualities which made him loved and respected by all.

It is said about the gentleness and goodness of Prophet Mohammed that there never was an occasion in his long life when he met someone and did not raise his hand first to greet him. Numberless men will bear witness to the same quality of gentleness in overflowing measure in Shri Kishorlalbhai.

It was because of these qualities that people chose him to be the head of such a country-wide organization, as the Gandhi Seva Sangh, which commanded the highest respect in the affairs of the nation; leaders of the eminence of the Sardar, Rajendrababu and Rajaji were glad to serve the cause of the country under his guidance. It was these qualities again which won him the place of a respected elder in the families of countless constructive workers. He was singularly free from any trace of provincialism. He was equally unique in regard to the practice of equal respect for all religions. Numberless Muslims in India and outside and Christian Missionaries and social workers of all types looked to him as to a close friend and well-wisher.

And he was no mere idle intellectual, a speculative thinker without any relation to action and practice. Despite the handicap of a crippling ill-health and acute physical suffering, he joined every freedom struggle launched by Gandhiji and courted long periods of imprisonment several times. In the 1942 'Do or Die' movement, the police, as was usual for it in those days, came to arrest him at Sevagram at the dead of night. He took up his *charkha* and cotton slivers and was ready to accompany them in no time with just the ordinary clothing on his person. There was no knowing where they would take him—to Nagpur or Jabalpur or anywhere else. Lest the cold in the early morning hours might affect him and aggravate his cough Shri Gomatibehn proceeded to put some clothes into the pocket of his jacket. But he would not take them. He said, "No, I will not take anything. The care and responsibility for my health now rests with the Government." In jail he was always ready to help others to get them justice from the Government and to go on fasts unto death in the attempt if it became necessary. During these periods of incarceration he came in contact with numerous politicians and workers. These contacts naturally deepened into love and friendship which relations he maintained perfectly all through his busy life. And despite his ill-health he made good use of this period of forced inactivity in putting forth a literary output of an incomparably high order. Himself a thinker and writer of great originality and depth he yet had no hesitation in translating good books from other languages into his own.

After Gandhiji's death when he took up the editing of the suspended *Harijan Weeklies* 'with trust in God', as he said writing in the first issue under his editorship, there were many who were sincerely doubtful about his capacity to shoulder the responsibility on account of his ill-health. But they were amazed beyond their wits when with his devotion to duty and capacity for untiring work he not only fulfilled all reasonable expectations but added to them a distinction of his own. His initials 'K. G. M.' became a synonym for 'M. K. G.', the initials of Gandhiji. As in Gandhiji's time, the *Harijan* papers again became a forum for all—Congressmen, constructive workers, leaders and ministers and heads of institutions and oppo-

nents—to pour their hearts and receive comfort and guidance.

He conducted the papers with unremitting devotion maintaining an evenly high standard for four and a half years. He never let his judgment be influenced by the position and power of the highest in the country. He was always outspoken and dealt out justice without fear or favour. Yet he was always humble, though he was at the same time as hard and unrelenting as truth. Romain Rolland somewhere likens truth to an onion which when one dresses it brings burning to the nose and water to the eyes.

He gave his earnest support to Shri Vinoba's Bhoodan movement; indeed he identified himself with it and spent the last year of his life in propagating and promoting this movement with all his energy. After Vinoba, he was the most earnest and the ablest advocate of the Bhoodan Yajna. He fully believed that it was the only way to achieve a non-violent revolution in the economic and social spheres of our national life and that it held the key to the solution of all our problems and the realization of all our just ambitions. He held fast to this view and continued to support the movement to the very last moment of his life.

Disease was his lifelong companion. One would actually shudder to see the extreme physical suffering which he underwent day after day. He had to battle hard against his lungs gasping for breath every second of the time. At times the exertion would be too great to bear and he would bend double and drop down utterly tired. But no sooner had the attack passed off, he would sit up and begin either to write or spin. And this went on throughout his life till his last breath. Indeed he had seen so much disease and its treatment that he had come to know a great deal more about it than the doctors themselves.

It was curious that while he had to undergo such extreme suffering, he still had an inexhaustible sense of humour which contrasted strangely with the former. Perhaps God meant it to serve as a relief from constant physical agony to him and from care and worry to others. He had a habit of cutting jokes at his own expense and delighting those who were around him. This would lighten the atmosphere heavy with anxiety on account of his agony and put everybody at ease. This habit did not leave him even in moments of the most acute pain which seemed to be all but crushing the life out of his body. He would continue to indulge in innocent witticisms and amuse the visitors if there were any or Shri Gomatibehn. His letters to his friends were always full of wit and humour.

Only a few months before he died, Shri Narharibhai fell seriously ill at Bardoli and was required to undergo an operation for appendicitis. The operation was to be performed at a hospital in Bombay. Shri Kishorlalbhai specially came to Bombay in spite of his own failing health. On the day of the operation, he remained by his side till he had regained consciousness.

He was equally interested in all the constructive institutions established by Gandhiji and in all the items of constructive work such as uplift of women, *Go-seva* (i.e. service of the cows), service of the lepers, uplift of Harijans etc. He was not only interested in the work but also in the persons doing such work; all of whom he loved in equal measure. They too loved and respected him equally dearly. Even those who cursed the Congress and were its confirmed opponents wept when they heard the news of his death. Hundreds of letters and wires received from all the corners of our country and from foreign friends and admirers—all spoke of their shock at the loss of a dear kin and a near friend.

Gandhiji at times said to the inmates of the Ashram that they might not be noted while he was living, but the world was bound to know their worth and light after him. Shri Kishorlalbhai and Shri Vinoba have amply fulfilled this prophecy.

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE PROFIT MOTIVE

(By M. P. T. Acharya)

Pandit Nehru and others want integration — "dovetailing" — of industry and agriculture, of "public" and private sectors as well as "co-operative" sector of production and also of machine and hand production. It is all a beautiful dream as it *should be*; but the conditions for achieving it are not there and they do not want to know it and don't know it and least of all to discuss it. So they go on repeating their wishes as in a dream. It is supposed that they are all made for working for a common purpose, even if it is not for a social purpose. But they are all working for cross purposes, as all units of production are independent, each with separate profit and loss account. Each unit must maintain its establishment by earning (money) from all others. None of them wants to share losses with others. None of them wants to take risks with others. Hence they cannot not only integrate and dovetail into one another but also co-ordinate their efforts with one another. Each has separate interests to attend to. There is no use in telling they must co-ordinate their efforts in the interests of the nation. They cannot afford to heed such an advice so long as the present economic arrangement and set-up persists and is maintained. Before we want to make all integrate their efforts, we must create conditions for doing so. But that is not the object of economics, these economics. Hence it all remains a beautiful dream — *dope*. Don't change anything but ask all to work together. Don't even discuss necessary changes — it will upset minds.

Even in Russia where all things are supposed to be driven centrally and all things belong to the State, there is no co-ordination, for each unit is independent with separate profit and loss account. The State tried to run all things integrally but when loss ensued in some units, and the State could not bear all the losses, each unit was made responsible for its own losses — was therefore made independent. But there seems to be a common fund raised by each unit to meet possible losses. Of course, by Stakhanovite and slave labour system, they try to reduce losses. Moreover they introduced so-called rationalization by the piece work (of Taylor System) — each worker being responsible to produce a certain minimum per day if he wants to keep the job. And this minimum can only be achieved by a more than average (capable) worker. But the fund to meet losses is raised by charging heavily on the goods. Each unit demands from others a higher rate to ensure against losses. There seems to be even a kind of stock-exchange among them. The Government only commands that so much of each kind of goods must be produced within a certain time, leaving the units to do what they can to deliver the goods. There is only planning of demands but not the running of plants by the

Government. Government only sees that they deliver the goods on pain of severe penalties.

It shows no Government can co-ordinate all units without taking risk of and bearing losses. It means even in Russia, there is no voluntary co-operation of the units except by making workers sweat and slave for a pittance — all because of separate units keeping profit and loss account and trying to earn from one another which is done here on a voluntary basis. The chief thing is there should be no loss: Each for himself. They have no common interest even among themselves, let alone a social purpose.

In Russia, every unit is set up in competition against all others to achieve the highest in production and profits at all costs.

I recently read that all the thermal and atomic plants are managed by the N. K. V. D. i.e. secret police. They force people to work as slaves. Moreover in Russia loss of job means not only starvation but even landing in forced labour camps to work free i.e. without wages. If anyone is dissatisfied, he will be dismissed and sent to concentration camps to slave there. There the industries work only for the State and are driven by the State under threats of shooting or internment the managers and directors for sabotage in order to get co-operation and co-ordination.

There can be no integration or dovetailing unless all sectors of industry work for social purpose — without profit for any unit.

All-India Nai Talim Conference

— It has been decided to hold the NINTH ALL INDIA NAI TALIM CONFERENCE at Titabar in Assam in the second week of November, 1953. The first three days will be devoted to the Special Conference of the field workers of Nai Talim and the last three days to the General Conference covering Pre-Basic, Basic, Post-Basic and Adult Education. An Exhibition of Nai Talim will also be organized as an integral part of the Conference.

This is the first occasion that an All-India Nai Talim Conference is being held in Assam and it is the earnest desire of the Minister of Education and the Constructive workers of Assam that a large number of delegates should attend the Conference and thus inspire the work of Basic Education in Assam with new life. Workers of Nai Talim are cordially invited to take part in the Conference.

The Ministry of Railways has been approached for necessary Railway Concession which will be sent in due time to the delegates to the Conference. The organizers will be grateful for an early intimation from those desiring to participate in the Conference so that necessary arrangements can be made in time.

Asha Devi Aryanayakam,
Asst. Secretary,
Hindustani Talimi Sangh,
Sevagram

BASIC EDUCATION

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages viii+114 Price Re 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 5

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By M. S. Patel

Pages xv + 288 Price Rs 5-8-0 Postage etc. As. 12

NAVJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

DISASTROUS EVASION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay addressing the Convocation a few days back, referred to Article 343 of the Constitution which lays down that Hindi shall be the official language of the Union and said that this provision in the Constitution was necessary and beneficial and we should carry it out.

Having paid such tribute to the necessity of transition from English to Hindi, he began butting it. He said, "But the transition especially in the sphere of University education is a process which must necessarily be slow if our educational system is not to be seriously disorganized."

Having repeated this doctrine of gradualism, he went on to advise us that English was necessary for international contacts and that Hindi was not equally developed still.

At present such statements seem to have been the common feature of academic pronouncements. This nauseating repetition by people who are really responsible to carry out the transition from English to Hindi is, to say the least, very much irritating. The two propositions that they make, viz. that the transition is necessary and beneficial and that we need English still, are accepted by all. Then the next point is obviously to begin to think and plan out the transition and implement it. It is such constructive approach to the question that is expected of our persons who preside at present over the destinies of higher education in the country. But unfortunately this is also commonly not to be found in their pronouncements. If at all, a commission was needed to go into and report on the question, we have had it already in the Radhakrishnan Report. But the tragedy of the situation is that these dignitaries seem to be too much under the dead weight of conservatism which, in the changed conditions of our country, is totally reactionary, and no way helpful even to the system of higher education as it is today.

Shri Wadia pleads for gradualism on the plea that our educational system will be disorganized if the change is not slow. This is tenable if at all there is existing at present anything like a system which has not already shown marked symptoms of disintegration, confusion and anarchy, thus rendering the whole thing as a mere apology of anything worth the name of a system. Our higher education is like a rudderless ship which merely drifts on with the sheer momentum of its previous century of history and is now fast heading to be wrecked by dashing itself with the rock of our national needs of working out a truly national system of education. People expect that University authorities now cease to go on merely repeating agreed things like the ones noted above and thus evade to grapple with their real work; they should rather begin to move in whatever manner they think proper and negotiate the change-over from English to Indian languages within the prescribed period of fifteen years from the commencement (i.e. 1950) of the Constitution of India.

24-8-'53

HAND-MADE PAPER

[Scheme for 1953-54]

There are no accurate statistics relating to the hand-made paper industry in the country. Of the existing centers of the industry, there are 11 among the more important, where the total number of Kagdis working is 1,085.

In view of the fact that the industry can supply varieties of paper such as those required for legal documents, stamp-paper, drawing paper, filter paper, boards for mounting etc. there is great need to develop it.

Problems

Imported hand-made paper such as parchment paper, Watman's drawing paper and filter paper compete with indigenous production.

Technical assistance in respect of equipment and training has to be given to existing centres to facilitate manufacture of goods of quality which should replace imports in the shortest time possible. Research needs to be conducted with a view to exploring possibilities of manufacturing paper for uses such as manufacture of rain-coats, window-screens, umbrellas etc. as in China and Japan.

It is intended to promote the development of existing important centres of manufacture, where the industry is carried on by workers of the artisan class who require help and direction on modern scientific lines so that they will be able to produce those varieties which, because of their special qualities, have to be imported.

Special attention may be devoted to producing certain specific varieties of paper at these centres, as these varieties have special qualities and can stand on their own merits in the market.

It is proposed to post one paper expert each at Sangner (Rajasthan) and Aurangabad which are the largest production centres. Technical advice will also be available to other centres through staff of the Central Office.

The Scheme aims at introducing paper-making in secondary schools. During 1953-54, paper-making will be introduced in 50 schools at the rate of 5 schools round 10 of the production centres referred to above. Each school will be given a grant of Rs 500/-, Rs 400/- for equipment and Rs 100/- towards training of the school teachers in the art of paper-making for a period of three months.

There will be a Central Research and Co-ordinating organization. Its functions will be:

- (a) to organize the development of hand-made paper;
- (b) to give direction and guidance in respect of research and training;
- (c) to promote the interests of the industry and assist in solving difficulties arising from time to time;
- (d) to collect statistics and information relating to the hand-made paper industry and to maintain the quality of production; and
- (e) to arrange the supply of stationery requirements of Government out of hand-made paper.

(From a Bulletin issued by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board)

CONTENTS	PAGE
THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT .. Vinoba	209
BHOODAN YAJNA AND SARVODAYA .. Dharendra Mazumdar	210
THE NON-VIOLENT MAU MAU VOW .. Maurice Frydman	211
BHOOMI YAJNA JAYANTI .. K. G. Mashruwala	212
KRITAYUGI VINOBA .. A. V. Barve	212
A GREAT APOSTLE .. Swami Anand	213
THE PROFIT MOTIVE .. M. P. T. Acharya	215
DISASTROUS EVASION .. Maganbhai P. Desai	216
HAND-MADE PAPER ..	216
NOTE:	
ALL-INDIA NAI TALIM CONFERENCE .. Asha Devi Aryanayakam	215