

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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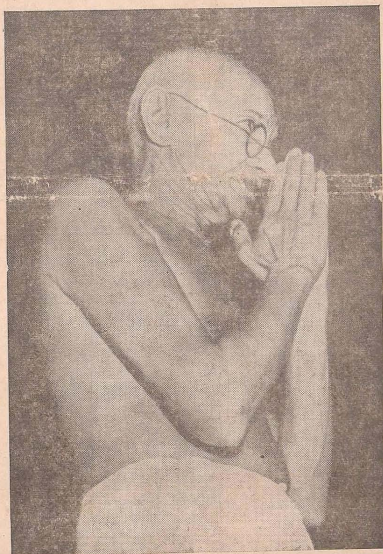
TWO ANNAS

"LORD OF HUMILITY"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Lord of humility, dwelling in the little
pariah hut,
help us to search for Thee throughout
that fair land
watered by Ganges, Brahmaputra and
Jamuna.

O God, who does help only when man feels
utterly humble,
grant that we may not be isolated from
the people
we would serve as servants and friends.



Give us receptiveness, give us open-
heartedness,
give us Thy humility, give us the
ability and willingness
to identify ourselves with the masses
of India.

Let us be embodiments of self-sacrifices,
embodiments of godliness,
humility personified, that we may know
the land better
and love it more.
Wardha, 12-9-'34

WHAT GANDHIJI STOOD FOR*

(By Pyarelal)

I

I am thankful to you all for inviting me to join you in your discussion of Mahatma Gandhi, and for asking me to give you my witness of him with whom I had the good luck and rare privilege to be closely associated for over twenty-eight crowded years. As I look back over the long vista of those years I feel overwhelmed.

A nation comprising about one-fifth of the world's population, with a rich heritage of culture and civilization, advancement in learning and useful arts and a tradition of spiritual attainment which reached back to remote antiquity, hung like a dead-weight round its imperialist ruler's neck like the fabled Albatross which the Ancient Mariner had shot dead—a curse and a retribution. Unless the Albatross came back to life, the curse could not be lifted nor the guilty one redeemed. In Coleridge's famous ballad it came through the power of spontaneous prayer, gushing from a repentant heart.

How was that miracle to happen in the present case? Corporations and systems are said to be soulless—outside the scope of personal touch and beyond the operation of moral and ethical laws. And in a sense it is true. Yet the miracle did happen. The Albatross came back to life and none was happier over the event than the Power that had put round its peck the curse which it hugged as a prize. This was made possible, as we all know, by the advent on the scene of a man, who lived only to seek God's truth and whose passion it was to live in mankind to realize that truth. He showed us how the Redemptive way could be made applicable to national and international problems, not only to moral man, but what has perhaps loosely been termed "immoral society". His method was not to destroy the opponent or his power, but to transform and annex it, and his tool for the purpose was vicarious suffering, Ahimsa or non-violence, which in its positive aspect is known as love and has its root in an awareness of and conscious striving to realize one's identity with that Great Reality, which alone is, was and for ever shall be, i.e. Truth, which is God and which expresses Himself in human relationships as love. It makes no difference by what name we call Him or even whether we recognize His existence or not. Since He is the Lawgiver and Law both in one, to deny His existence no more affects the operation of His Law than ignoring the law of gravitation can prevent an apple from falling.

As against the way of truth and non-violence is the way of brute force or retaliation. Tolstoy has given a beautiful parable to describe how it recoils upon us. A mother bear with her cubs found a log of wood suspended from a tree in a jungle. One of the cubs playfully swung the

log with the result that on its return it hit and killed one of the brood. The mother bear became furious and with her paws struck the offending log pushing it as far back as her strength could take it. This time it swung back with still greater force, hit two of the cubs, killing them. The she-bear now blinded with rage once again repeated the performance with all her might. The result was that this time the log swung back like a battering ram with violence that all the remaining cubs, along with the unintelligent she-bear herself were killed. The moral that the author draws from it is that once we let loose the power of violence, it sets up a vicious circle which defeats the goal—the means swallow up the end.

Let me give you another illustration. In one of the Greek classics there is a fable of a Python and a Knight who engage in a deadly duel. Hotter and hotter the duel grows—neither side giving way or yielding an inch. In the end a strange thing happens. Instead of either party being vanquished the two are transformed one into the other! The Python turns into the Knight, the Knight into the Python!

It is an apt illustration of what we have been witnessing in our own times. During the last World War, the Allied Nations set out to fight Hitler by Hitler's methods. Hitler was defeated but Hitlerism remained. The indiscriminate bombing of the Luftwaffe was outmoded by the saturation bombing of German cities by the Allied air force. And the whole thing culminated in the mass murder of thousands upon thousands of innocent men, women and children, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And now we have the guided missile and the H. bomb.

Again, the whole world rightly condemned the anti-Semitism of the Nazis, but today the war of racial discrimination is in full swing in South Africa and the civilized world can do nothing effective to stop it. Take Kenya. A handful of White settlers have grabbed the best part of a country where they have no business to be as rulers or as a privileged class and the sons of the soil are being ruthlessly man-hunted like wild animals and we are told that what they need is not more schools or social services but more of firm administration—more military and more police to correct their sentiment towards the usurpers. And what is their justification? It reminds one of an old French proverb: "This animal is so wicked that when attacked it defends itself!"

We are today threatened with a total war between the two power blocs into which the world is divided. Mankind hovers uneasily on the brink of a catastrophe from which even the boldest shrink back in horror. And there seems to be no prospect of escape. The cry everywhere is for more armaments and more thorough-going ruthlessness in their use. Even fine discrimination between friend and foe has been given up. We go by labels. The voice of reason has come

* From an address delivered some time back to the American Scholars of the United States Educational Foundation, at New Delhi.

to be regarded as treason. "He who is not with us is against us" has become our watchword, and so the spiral of panic and fear and its concomitant, ruthlessness, go mounting up. Totalitarianism is a hateful thing. But can insanity be cured by bigger and greater insanity?

Is there no hope then, no escape? Luckily there is hope; there is a way out. A study of natural phenomena teaches us that when a tendency in nature or society has reached its peak, it is often ready for dialectical change into its opposite. I need not adduce instances from the physical or biological science to illustrate my meaning before this learned gathering. But one instance is worthy of mention. It is a curious phenomenon that during the last world war, though armaments had become deadlier, the actual casualties were less than during the first world war. What is the reason? The totalitarian Powers found that if they could demonstrate their capacity to exterminate the opponent, it was not necessary for their purpose to exterminate him. Round this discovery they built their philosophy of frightfulness and diplomatic pressure which enabled them to enslave whole populations sometimes without firing a shot. But no sooner was this discovery put to use than its opposite came into the field. The oppressed people discovered that if they were prepared to die to the last man, in all probability, they would not have to die. For total annihilation is not the object of the tyrant but to bend the opponent to his will. The moment therefore the people realize that there is something in them which is apart from the body and which armaments cannot destroy, along with the destructible physical frame, the power of armaments is sterilized. That is what happened in the end. By learning the art of dying, the oppressed people managed to live, while the oppressor rushed headlong to his doom. As the author of *The Moon is Down* put it: "The flies overcame the fly-paper."

Proceeding on this analogy, Gandhiji declared that the advent of the atom bomb which is the acme of brute force was bound inevitably to bring into the field its opposite, viz. soul force or the power of the Spirit. The day that mankind would learn to pit it against the tyranny of brute force, the latter would be rendered impotent and the menace of destruction with which humanity and human values are confronted would pass away like an ugly nightmare.

That is why, I take it, you are all here. What else can you learn from India? For, though it would not be correct to say that today India is exactly following the path indicated by the Master, we dare not repudiate it. The tradition of his teaching is still alive and a careful student can even see it at work in many places and many sectors of our national life and particularly in that remarkable phenomenon into which it has effloresced—Vinoba Bhavé's Bhoodan Yajna or

to use its very inadequate and prosaic rendering—Land Gift Movement.

Having set before you what Gandhiji stood for and the significance of his teaching in the context of the present-day world, I shall now try to give you a few glimpses of his personality to reveal the springs of his power and how he harnessed it to social action.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

To
The Editor of *Harijan*
Sir,

Indian statesmen and politicians tell our college students not to mix religion with politics. President Lincoln, however, did mix religion with politics, that is, with national and international affairs with happy results, as all the world knows.

Mr Lincoln described the religion which he believed in these words of the Bible:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and all thy strength and all thy mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbour which is all mankind as thyself."

Lincoln was truly religious. This cannot be said of the present rulers of nations most of whom pay mere lip reverence to religion, but who have in their heart evil passions of pride, greed, hatred which religion forbids and which cause wars among nations.

True religion should be taught to school and college students as Gandhiji advised so that students may become just, honest, truthful, merciful, sober, temperate, humble, plain and simple in their common daily life. "If you divorce education from religion, you will produce a race of clever devils," says an English educationist.

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HARIJAN

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WE NEED A NEW REVOLUTION *

(By Pearl S. Buck)

Gandhi is dead. His ashes are scattered in the waters and over the earth of India. The indomitable frame, the fearless spirit, the long years, the high purposes—all were ended so easily. ... The shot of a gun and only silence is left, silence and a handful of ashes. It is no wonder that the ignorant, the stupid, the inventors of atom bombs, the generals, the captains, the sergeants, the little soldiers, are the lovers of violence. All that they fear, all that they hate, all who rebel against them, can be so easily ended. The movement of a finger upon a trigger, upon a button, a flash, a blast, and all that remains are silence and ashes. Today a million can be killed as easily as a thousand, a thousand as easily as one.

Gandhi was only one. His voice was single, always gentle, always reasoning. It was the voice of conscience in our turbulent life. He was right, he knew he was right, we all knew he was right. ... However long the follies of the violent continue, they but prove that Gandhi was right. Non-violence is the only common sense for human beings. We die so easily. Our bodies are soft and unprotected. The brain, the heart, the soul, are perilously lodged. We cannot wait for peace to be made, for arguments to be settled, for the quarrelsomeness of selfish men to subside. Before that settlement comes, life is over. At all costs, Gandhi said, we must refuse to use violence. Resist to the very end, he said, but without violence.

To a world confusing violence with power, these words seem too simple. ... Yet truth is always simple. Men wind confusions and entanglements because they are afraid of simple truth. But truth is not changed. It is still simple ... more fundamental than the atom itself.

The world longs for goodness. The people search for righteousness. There is no weapon, no bomb so powerful as the force of a great good spirit. India will live and become great in our world only as her people use this priceless force ... which the life of Gandhi exemplified. ... In that personal example was Gandhi's secret. He did what he told others to do. When people saw that this was true, they believed in him. The measure of a man's greatness is the extent to which he justifies by his own life, the faith of the people in him. Gandhi has done his part. It now remains for the people ... to take up ... non-violence.

* Address at Gandhi Memorial in Washington, D.C., 1948.

... Of violence the world is sick. By hatreds and quarrels we are surfeited and poisoned. The hearts of the people turn away from the noise of militarists and warmongers. We long for the peacemakers. No war brings peace, for violence only brings more violence. We need a new revolution, the revolution which Gandhi carried on in the midst of a world rent by violence.

THE GREAT ENLIGHTENMENT

(By Henry Hatzfeld)

[The following translation in English of what M. Henri Hatzfeld wrote about Gandhiji in *La Flamme et le Vent* (The Flame and the Wind) is from Miss Elizabeth Van der Dussen, a friend from Holland.]

Who is Gandhiji? A Saint? A political leader? A prophet?

Just a tiny man provided with an iron will, bringing a message as pure as clear water having a genius for spiritual experimentation. A little man very disquieting.

He was not a Christian. One could not see very well why he should be converted to Christianity. No doubt he awaited the Christians to convert themselves first.

He was most reasonable wanting always to stick to things real and possible. He had lived all his life as an experiment with much logic and common-sense. We generally live contrary to the ideal. Gandhiji's practice was nearer the ideal for testing it against the reality, and to see its value. His ideal has stood this patient test and has outlived the experiment.

Since the violence increased injustice instead of curing it, how to fight against injustice? The life of Gandhi consisted of attracting all the injustices into the trap of non-violence where they could not but die having no object whatever to fight with.

Let the fighter consent to be the victim. And since the little man with the iron spectacles had consented to it till his death, why regret that he was not a Methodist, Presbyterian or Anglican?

His life full of a deep love for truth and man was purified by bold action, the wisest, the most revolutionary and as calmest as it can be conceived.

I hope to explain in a few words who was Gandhi and I will preach a sermon next Sunday under the following gospel:

"Many will come from the East and the West and will be at the table with Abraham, Issac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens. But the sons of the kingdom will be thrown in utter darkness of the outside, and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

People have to hear about Gandhi to know who was the man who was just assassinated end of January, 1948. I don't feel any sadness at the news of his death, but an intense emotion where thankfulness is mixed with a wish to take part in this great enlightenment.

Journal d'en Cure' de campagne
(Journal of a Village Vicar)

THE AGE WE LIVE IN

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Casement Publications Ltd., Bombay, have been sending me presentation copies of their interesting booklets, which are short statements, in about 30-35 crown size pages, on important topics of the day by persons well qualified to speak on them. Each is priced 6 as. They also issue special books, the latest of which is *Yoga* by Shri J. Vijayatunga.

Denial of Faith by Francis Watson is one of the 6 as. booklets, which makes the following noteworthy observation about the age we live in. It says :

"The age we live in is an age of tolerance. That may seem a bold declaration... Nevertheless it is possible to foresee that historians of the future may look back upon this violent and troubled 20th Century as a period in which the principle of tolerance secured its greatest influence and even (let us dare to hope) its final success in human affairs. For the very gashes in the fabric of society today help to prove, in their way, the widespread acknowledgement of this principle."

Surely this is a very daring observation, if we look at the economic, social and political tensions and rivalries going on in the world today. However, the author is careful to observe :

"Nowhere is the growth of tolerance more striking than in the field of religion. Fanaticism is never finally extinguished. It can rear its head for long enough to kill a saint. But the harmony of faiths expressed at a Gandhi prayer-meeting spoke more powerfully to our generation than the wild shot that ended it all."

And he pays his tribute to Gandhiji for the great contribution that he has made to world's religious thought and acknowledges it as the great message of India to the world. I may better quote him here :

"The life of Mahatma Gandhi was distinguished by the fact that it gave rise to no exclusive cult in rivalry with other creeds. That was partly a product of the Mahatma's own personality, and partly a product of the age to which his message was given. A Hindu of Hindus, Gandhiji could yet proclaim that there are different paths to God, and that all are valid. And his words could be received by men and women of different races and different religious traditions without any need to renounce their own faiths. (Italics mine.).... That it was given to India to express this message through her greatest figures of modern times is perhaps not surprising, when we remember the traditions of tolerance inherent in Hinduism itself. It seems equally appropriate that this land of many religions should, in its new political development, proclaim the principle of a secular State, wherein all religions are not only free in their practice but are independent of politics."

It is unfortunate that many people including Christian Missions in India have not still realized the truth of this new and deeply formative principle of our age and they still hug to their old slogans of 'Shuddhi', 'Conversion' etc. and vulgarize the deepest spiritual experience of man to make it a socio-political activity, carried on through the devices of educational and such other welfare activities among the masses.

The author of the above booklet, having noted the cardinal principle of the age, mainly

discusses the Communist approach to religion or anti-religion and concludes :

"The ultimate enemy of Communism is man's conscience.... That is why the Communist fight goes on against all religion, private or public. And that is why Communism, at the same time, has to clothe its own claim to absolute authority with the false trappings of religion, to embalm the corpse of Lenin for the multitude to gaze upon, to appeal to the sacred books of its founders, and to encourage with all the power of propaganda and 'thought-control' a crude worship of its living leaders. History has seen this sort of thing before. It is the oldest of errors, and it has always failed, though often at a terrible cost in human suffering."

The nature of such suffering is well illustrated by the downright shooting of Beria and his comrades only a few days ago for the heresy they committed against the new Soviet Gods.

The Soviet regime is undoubtedly a bold and novel experiment in State-craft and economy. But its effect is lost or is almost nullified by this 'denial of faith' in the message of tolerance. This was very beautifully put by Shri Rajaji a few days ago while addressing the very part of Madras State which has returned the largest number of Communists to the State Legislature. He said :

"If only the Communists could give him a solemn promise that they would maintain the culture of the country, he (Rajaji) on his part would be quite willing to hand over the Government of the country to them. But the question was whether he could trust them...."

"Mutual trust was based on love of God and fear of God. The Communists had always expressed contempt to any reference or thought of God. Whatever the differences between religions, God was one. To the Communists, their God was their party. That was their nature and that was why they attained a very bad reputation throughout the world. Rajaji said, he had told the Communists both individually and collectively that if only they had not dropped God they would have been powerful in the world today. The Communists attributed to God the defects they saw among men and thought that if they dropped God man would improve. That was their fundamental mistake. That was why the Communists were in trouble all over the world. If only the Communists had not given up religion and God, Rajaji asserted, the approach to all that they stood for in the social and economic spheres would not have been what it was today. The world would not have been divided into two. Unfortunately in all their activities the Communists, Rajaji said, had ignored moral practices and spiritual values." (From *The Hindu*, Madras, Nov. 23, 1953)

I noted above the Christian Missions' activities in India in a casual manner. Their activities, specially in South India from where I had casually heard once before and have lately heard again, were noted in this paper before. (Vide *Harijan*, 15-11-52 : "A Great Contrast" — J. C. K. and 5-12-53 : "Shall We Continue to Proselyte?" — R. R. Keithahn) I have some further information in this connection which I think I might better touch in a separate article hereafter, as it concerns Gandhiji's way of inter-religious prayer and a Christian Mission's reaction to it.

27-12-53

BHOODAN AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES*

(By Vinoba)

The village of Madhubani has been for many years past a big centre of Khadi which has brought relief to hundreds of thousands of our poor brethren. But I am sorry to find that there is no Khadi on the persons of most of you present here. You are clothed in mill-cloth which is produced in city mills. There is absolutely no hope for the Indian Kisan to be happy without Khadi.

You know Gandhiji continued to emphasize this fact throughout his life. And there is none who could claim to have a deeper understanding of the conditions in India than he. People are now coming to see, and the Government too has been forced to realize, that there is no solution to the problem of our immense poverty apart from the village industries. Rural India cannot live merely on agriculture. Agriculture and village industries are closely interlinked and a Kisan must have both in order to achieve a full life.

I am always urging, therefore, that so far at least as the primary necessities are concerned, the raw produce of the village must be converted into finished products in the village itself. There should be no need to send it to the city and then get it back from the city to the village as finished product. That is the only way to ensure employment to the village and rescue the villagers from dependence upon cities and their resulting impoverishment. They may yet have to purchase a few articles from the city market, but cloth, oil, *gur* and such other things which can be more easily made in the village ought to be manufactured there only.

This is what we mean by our insistence on the village industries and there is no doubt that the road to the economic advancement of India lies through them. India has an immensely big population to support, but while there is only one mouth to feed, every one has two hands to work with. Let us then work with our hands and make the country wealthy and prosperous. If on the other hand we give way to temptation and accept help from outside, while it may help us tide over our immediate difficulties, it will surely weaken our position as an independent country. It is therefore urgently necessary that we solve our problems by our own unaided strength.

We are at present importing large quantities of goods from foreign countries and are almost forgetting the Swadeshi ideal which inspired us during our fight for freedom. I learn that even ready-made and what is still worse second-hand clothes are being imported and avidly sought after by the dandies and the lovers of fashion in cities. This is horrible and must be stopped, otherwise both our villages and cities

will continue to be exploited—the villages by the cities and the cities by foreign manufacturers. Imports from foreign countries therefore should cease and our villages and cities between themselves should produce and manufacture all that we need.

Again, they should have their spheres of production well-demarcated, the principle being that so far as the primary wants are concerned, the villages must be self-sufficient and must therefore be enabled to convert their raw produce into finished products locally.

Manufacture of cloth must naturally belong to the villages. That is essential. Bhoodan by itself is not enough. It has to be wedded to Khadi. Bhoodan and village industries are inseparable from each other. They are, as I have often described it, like Sita and Rama, one and indivisible.

What are we to do about the unemployment caused by the mills? After all, the unemployed have to be fed. Khadi feeds the unemployed and at the same time provides cloth to the country. Granted that Khadi costs more than the mill-cloth, but it should be remembered that the excess which you pay for it goes to the poor. It is a secret and therefore a highly praiseworthy form of charity.

You must understand that by purchasing Khadi you give food to our helpless mothers and sisters who have no other source of livelihood. That would be real *dharma*. Your offerings of money in the temples are no good at all. You can stop it and instead spend the money on the purchase of Khadi which will be a real offering to God. Ordinary charity might encourage indolence in the recipients, but secret charity involved in the purchase of Khadi is free from this danger. A Khadi-worker, a weaver or a spinner, works eight hours a day. You must therefore use Khadi only and thus fulfil your duty to our poor and helpless brothers and sisters.

The Communists say that they hate the rich and are their inveterate enemies. To me, however, they appear to be their friends, because they use mill-cloth and add to their riches. For our part, we have not purchased mill-cloth for the last 32 years. But the Communists, though they are always denouncing and vilifying the rich, are curiously enough helping them with money. The rich do not mind the vilification so long as they are able to get money. Quite incidentally, therefore, I would ask the Communists also to take to Khadi and save themselves from the ludicrous incongruity of both denouncing and helping the rich at the same time.

It is the 25th December today, the birth-day of Christ. It is our great fortune that God in His kindness has sent to us great teachers from time to time. Christ is one of such teachers. What did he teach? He taught that we should love our neighbours. We know it, but the pity is that we do not act on it and that is why there is so much misery and unhappiness in our midst. Bhoodan is also an expression of this same old teaching.

* From a speech at Madhubani (Darbhanga) on 25-12-53.

Let us pay our homage to this great man by putting in more arduous work in behalf of our chosen mission.

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

UNHELPFUL ATTITUDE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In a copyright interview in the U.S. news magazine, *News and World Report*, the Pak Prime Minister is reported to have given reasons for his military aid alliance with U.S. The reason is twofold: Firstly he says that Nehru wants to dominate the two Great Power Blocs by holding the balance of power between them; and he argues, "If there is another power that is strong enough to give the lead to other smaller nations, then Nehru's bargaining power is weakened. That is why he is against an agreement for military aid between America and Pakistan."

This is a funny thing to say, except if it is meant to spite Nehru with an allegation wholly absurd and wrong. However, supposing for argument's sake that it is right, how can Pakistan be any way a rival to India if it joins one of the two Great Blocs? To be that it must at least remain a third force—a neutral power; because it is the one thing that, if at all, can give India any position in the world strategy. Pakistan loses that position the moment it joins the American Aid Bloc. In that case, obviously it can have no independent status to balance the power. It would have been a good friendly thing if Mr Mahomed Ali had refrained from this futile allegation against India.

What really moved him to seek U.S. aid was given out by him in the latter part of his interview when he said that, 'At present we cannot get a settlement (in the Kashmir dispute), mainly because India has greater military strength... When there is more equal military strength, then I am sure that there will be greater chance of settlement... My view is that the chances of aggression are less when the strength of the opposing powers is equal. Weakness is what invites aggression...'

Now, to say the least, this is a very unhelpful way of solving the Kashmir dispute for which he is negotiating with India. The dispute is before the U.N.O. And India has repeatedly said that arms will not be resorted to and has offered to have no-war agreement with Pakistan at any moment. In spite of all this, to negotiate for arms aid with U.S. is surely not working for peace nor in a friendly manner with one's neighbour.

Unhappily, there is on in the international world today the doctrine of 'peace through strength' which is only another name for cold war preparatory to a hot one. Those who really do not believe in war as a solution of any thing, worthy of humanity cannot be in any of the two Blocs. Pakistan, by choosing to go into the U.S. Bloc not only endangers her own freedom and safety, but also that of her peace-loving neighbours in Asia.

Again, it is such tactics that undermine the prestige of the U.N.O. in its ability to keep peace in the world. U.S.A. as one of the chief U.N.O. powers should be at least more careful in its dealings of a military nature like the Pak Alliance.

19-1-54

WAR AND CONFLICT IN MODERN SOCIETY

(By Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

[The following is reproduced from his address on the occasion of inaugurating the International Legal Conference at New Delhi, on 28-12-53.]

It is generally regarded, and I think rightly, that the rule of law should prevail in all societies which claim to be civilized. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that the law should be such as to command obedience, not because of the State's coercive force behind it, but also because it has moral value. That which proceeds from the voice of the people is not necessarily the better thing because the voice of the people is not always the voice of God. Something has, therefore, to be done to ensure the quality of the men who frame the laws so that the quality of the laws themselves may be assured.

What is true in the case of a State and its law is true also, perhaps to a greater degree, of the law of nations which has no sanction except that of the intrinsic value which the law has. International law has, however, this advantage over the law of any State, namely, that it has been evolved by jurists and adopted by States. It is not a body of legislative enactments which have been enforced, and are enforced, by the sanction of the State. It is accepted by nations on its own merits and, as such, has a great deal of moral authority behind it. Some of the interpretations and proposals of the International Law Association have been adopted by the United Nations, and let me hope that, as time advances, more and more weight will be attached to proposals made by persons who have no personal or national interest in view but evolve their principles on their own intrinsic merits.

This is all the more urgently needed in the present state of human society when the clash of national interests drives States to war. The shape which war is now taking is more and more one of total annihilation of the adversary and nearly total annihilation also of the victor. It has, therefore, become necessary to adopt measures which may prevent conflicts which lead to war.

Conflicts arise, in their ultimate analysis, out of material causes and ideological differences. If they have to be avoided, if not eliminated, we have to probe into certain fundamentals.

The emphasis at the present time is on material prosperity. There is no limit to the height which what is called the "standard of living" can reach, and in the very nature of things the conflict between the haves and have-nots is being intensified on account of the emphasis that is

universally laid on the fulfilment of the material needs on which the standard of living depends. So long as man continues to seek happiness more and more in the fulfilment of his desires, and not in satisfaction born out of contentment with what he has, the conflict is bound to continue.

It means that the entire structure of modern society, if not of modern thought, has to be reconstructed. It does not mean ignoring the satisfaction of material needs. It means only the placing of greater emphasis on what is now wholly neglected, namely, satisfaction born out of contentment, which is entirely independent of the satisfaction of material needs. These material needs are so insistent and so self-evident that they do not call for any psychological emphasis, whereas contentment is very largely the result of mental discipline and needs psychological emphasis so that it may be able to hold its own in its encounter with man's physical needs.

It is evident that when no limit is put to the physical needs of man, the conflict can never be resolved. To take a very crude but effective illustration :

There was a time when man was satisfied with the speed which his legs could give him. In course of time he felt that he should have greater speed, and today we have reached a stage when, if reports are correct, he can travel at two and a half times the speed at which sound travels, that is, 1,600 miles an hour. I do not know if the ultimate limit has been reached even yet. This craze for speed is only symbolic of man's desire to surmount and surpass the limitations put on his physical capacity ; and it serves to indicate that in other respects also he cannot put any limit to what he considers necessary for him.

The question now arises whether mankind as a whole is happier with all this enormous and at one time unimaginable extension of his power to fulfil those needs. One might be excused if one be inclined to think that in this age, with all the power which physical science has placed in his hands, he is less free from fear. The most powerful nations of today are living in constant fear of their rivals ; and tremendous activity is being put forth to allay this fear by surpassing and suppressing the rival in respect of all equipments which are considered essential ; and this is being done not for self-preservation but for annihilating the opponent.

This fear, no less than this insatiable desire to have material requirements fulfilled, is responsible in another way for controlling human liberties in diverse ways. As an association of lawyers you can see how State legislation is spreading its tentacles to regulate the activities of citizens.

Under one system it seeks to regulate all activities of the individual on the assumption that the State knows best what is in the best interest of the nation as a whole and also of the individuals composing it ; in other words, the annihilation of the individual's personality is in his own best interests and the best interests of the nation, which is only a combination of individuals.

Even in those countries where this ideology is not accepted or recognized and where great value is said to be attached to the personality of man, it cannot be denied that man-made law is trying to cover larger and still larger spheres of man's activity. This arises because, taking all in all, the emphasis in those countries too is more on the satisfaction of material needs than on contentment ; and that is so even when they profess and believe that the personality of man has to be respected and given full opportunity to develop. They inevitably are driven to the position of controlling the individual's activities, because they are essentially motivated by a desire for fulfilment of physical needs. This also explains the emphasis on the representation of the interests of individuals and groups by their chosen representatives in the legislature, which is given the right to frame laws. When there is no limit, theoretically speaking at any rate, to these needs, it is only a matter of expediency and not of principle that a law which may be framed has any value apart from its capacity to help in the fulfilment of those needs. The same principle explains, and in fact necessitates, the emphasis that is laid on rights rather than on duties. Rights always imply what one has to take from or enforce against others. Duties, on the other hand, express what one owes or has to give to others. We may not expect any fundamental change unless the whole outlook is changed ; and a beginning towards that change can be made by shifting the emphasis from one form of satisfaction to another, as I have suggested above.

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