

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)  
Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

## REMARKS ON THE FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN II

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

### Industries

As regards large-scale industries, private enterprise is given practically a blank cheque. Even foreign undertakings are welcome under this plan. This is a dangerous policy. Once foreign vested interests get a footing into our country it will be a superhuman task to get them out. The encouragement of foreign loans is opening the door wide to foreign imperialism to step in. Even the concession shown to foreign capital to enter into partnership with local effort is brimful of danger. It is stated that we are more or less well advanced in our supply of matches. It is evidently forgotten that a lion's share of this trade is with Wimco which is essentially a foreign monopoly using various means to strangle local effort.

We would also view with dissatisfaction the support given by the Government to promote fertilizer factories. The condition precedent for using chemical manure is the availability of a large number of land chemists who will prescribe the proper dosage for every particular piece of land. Applying fertilizers without such precautions will land us in a tremendous catastrophe by ruining our soil.

The Commission has soft-pedalled sugar, rice and *vanaspati* mills. These are destroyers of food products. Hence especially under present day circumstances one would have expected a strong condemnation and if necessary banning of these mills. Considerations of health and nutrition would also have made them advocate a different course. But evidently they were not prepared to face the vested interests. All food and drug advertisements should be subject to approval and licensing.

In advocating cottage industries, the Commission does not think it necessary to create any barriers on local import. One would have thought that creating local demand would have necessarily argued the prevention of intrusion from outside. It will be necessary to husband the resources of the villagers also to enable them to spend such income as they have on local production, and they should be guarded from temptation from outside. A strong feeling of the

Swadeshi spirit should be inculcated if we desire to resuscitate village industries.

The Commission rightly advocates an adequate purchase policy of the Government to patronize and encourage village production.

One of the difficulties met with by the artisans arises out of auctioning of raw materials. For instance, reeds from river beds needed for mats are auctioned out by the Government in consideration of a paltry revenue, leading ultimately to the death of the local mat industry and to the flourishing of the Japanese mat trade. Similarly, mud for the potter is often available from a lessee who makes a charge to supply the potter's needs. This also is an obstruction in the way of potteries. Again petty taxes and octroi duties create impediments in the movement of goods. These kinds of obstructions in the way of cottage industries have not received adequate attention.

In dealing with the housing problem, the Report confines itself more or less to industrial centres. Such housing should be a legitimate charge on the industries themselves and should be controlled by the Government. This is another of the unseen aids provided by the Government to Big Business.

### Education

The Report blows hot and cold in the same breath where a system of education is considered. It has no definite policy or philosophy in recommending a method of education. Education, of all things, must follow a definite course indicating the line of development which the nation should take up. This chapter deals with Basic Education of the Gandhian type and secondary education of the notorious Macaulayan type and advocates an imperialistic type of university education. All these are recommended without any definite preference. This is how great many of the suggested schemes lack unity of thought.

### Political Set-up

Every nation evolves its own political set up from its national life. Great Britain being an imperialistic nation depending for its prime necessities on its colonies and distant countries has found it essential to place "Defence," Finance and Foreign affairs in its cabinet, we have also followed this form blindly. It is a

dangerous practice. It may lead our country into imperialistic ways. History is replete with instances of nations that had come to grief by granting too great an importance to the military which have invariably converted themselves into a ruling caste. We must beware of this danger lurking in our present system. Ours is an agricultural country and its cabinet should disclose in its composition our peaceful intentions. This does not mean there need be no Defence. All that is meant is that Defence should be a subordinate department, like say the police, without cabinet rank. So should also be Finance and Foreign Affairs. The Plan should include in itself an indication of priorities in the political set up also.

When this is done the various portfolios will fall in line according to the role they play and the corresponding departments will be so organized as to make for efficient working under a functional alignment without coming into conflict with each other and standing in the way of progress and getting into a tangle while working.

#### General

The early part of the draft outline is rather academic and verbose in the presentation of the subject. One would expect an official document to be terse and concise. The Plan itself suffers from a lack of philosophy of life. The result is there is no definite policy running through the whole scheme. In many places, it appears like a patch-work quilt. But it lacks also a pattern to make it conform with the art of life. Taking all in all the weightage appears to be on Big Business run by private enterprise. On the whole, we may say, like the well-known Curate's egg, this plan is good in parts.

#### DANGE - VINOBA CORRESPONDENCE

[The following correspondence between the Communist leader Shri S. A. Dange and Shri Vinoba has already appeared in the daily papers. It is reproduced here as being important and instructive for understanding the *Sarvodaya* attitude towards Communists and the land problem of Hyderabad in particular and elsewhere generally. — Ed.]

Central Headquarters,  
Communist Party of India,  
190-B, Khetwadi Main Road,  
Bombay-4. D/ 7th June, '51

Shri Vinoba Bhave,  
Gandhi Ashram, Wardha

Dear Shri Vinoba Bhave,

Though I have not had the pleasure of meeting you personally before, yet, I think, you know of me enough to dispense with an introduction.

I am writing to you in connection with your visit to Telangana and your interview in Hyderabad jail with several members of our Party imprisoned there. I learn that you sought their views on certain matters affecting their release and the question of what is generally known as the Telangana struggle. From one of the comrades released recently and who was present at the interview, I learn that you told them that the purpose of your visit was to convert or get converted. And the question that you posed before them was whether those who had adopted violence as a method in Telangana had reconsidered or were prepared to reconsider the matter in view

of the change in the international situation, the threat of war and the changed national situation, due to the food crisis and so on. Did any of them feel that at least at this stage in the present situation, violence was not advisable? You wanted a heart-to-heart discussion on these questions.

I learn that our comrades there could not discuss these questions with you and they contented themselves by putting before you the irksome jail conditions in which they had to live.

It may be obvious to you why these comrades could not discuss the questions raised by you. It was not out of disrespect for you or lack of faith in their own principles, in pursuance of which they had found themselves in prison. As good Party members or friends of the Party, they did not want to take upon themselves the burden of convincing such a prominent votary of Gandhism as yourself about the principles and policy of the Communist Party. They would best leave it to the Party outside.

Moreover, it is well known from the instances in the past history of our struggles against the British that such talks on policies and principles with prisoners in jails, lead to complications, both for the prisoners concerned and those outside, which it is best for those in prison to avoid. So, when I got the report, I thought it advisable to write to you.

May I, at the very outset, tell you that I appreciate your goodwill in visiting our people in prison and the Telangana districts? I take it that your main purpose in these visits was to restore peaceful conditions of life to the mass of the people there and to their leaders in prison or in hiding. I hope you will believe me when I say that our Party also has no other aim in view. The question is how to do it.

From your talk, it appears that you think that the Communists took to violence and persuaded the people to do the same to realize their demand and that is the cause of the "trouble" in Telangana. You seem to think that once we give up 'violence', there would be 'peace'.

Do you think any good will come out of a discussion on such lines? You yourself have shown that in Telangana, the main question is not whether we are violent or non-violent. If that had been so, you would have limited your own tour to preaching merely the virtues of non-violence and the evil of the so-called violence of the Communists.

But you have not limited yourself to such a mission. As I understand from the Press reports, you have shown yourself aware of the fact that the main problem there is of the peasant, the one who has no land or very little land, the peasant who is ground down by high rents and taxes, by forced labour and debts and the system of rule that sanctions these. That is why you have found fit to open a sort of land fund to give land to those who have not got it. You have shown, I believe, an appreciation of the fact that the main problem is of land and without solving it, the problem of our country cannot be solved.

If that is your conclusion, let me assure you that I agree with you there and so do my friends. And all these years, the Telangana struggle has been fought just for that main purpose. Unless land is given to the peasant, unless the burden of high rent, interest and taxes is done away with, unless he is saved from being ruined by these and by forced labour, peaceful conditions of life are impossible for him. If these are not assured and even if he were to drop the lathi or gun he may have picked up to defend himself, he would not get peaceful conditions of life. He may get peace of the grave. But what life and prosperity can there be for the people in such a peace, if at all it is a peace?

Everyone in India now agrees that the peasant must be freed from the feudal burdens, if our food problem, in fact, if any of our problems, is to be solved. Only the feudals do not agree with this. And when the peasant losing his patience with poverty and starvation decides

to take the land and refuses to be ruined by the landlord and the *sowcar*, all the violence of the State descends on him, because law has not permitted him to live on the land and to labour on it. In such a condition, if law conflicts with life, which is higher? I am sure you will agree that life, the life of millions is higher than law, because law here is not in consonance with the life of the millions, but only a handful of rich landlords.

This is exactly what has happened in Telangana. The peasants there, living under the most antiquated feudal system of exploitation, were roused by the post-war upsurge for freedom and democracy and in 1946 decided not to pay the high rents of the landlords, to do forced labour for them, and those who had no land took land that lay uncultivated and put their labour to it to produce food; and those whose lands had been seized by rapacious landlords and moneylenders, came back to demand that they shall cultivate their own earth and feed themselves and their country. It was all in the traditions of our country's struggles as we had seen them in U.P., Bihar or Bardoli in bygone days. It was long before the Nehru Government came on the throne at Delhi. It was our indomitable ancient peasant fighting his traditional battle for life and living.

What was the reply of the landlords and their government to this just demand of the peasants? They let loose the private armies of the *razakars* and then the State armies against the peasants, to enforce the right of the feudals to deny land to the peasant and exact their rent.

I need not recount to you the whole story. You have already heard the story from the Government side. I do not want to recount what the Telangana peasants have to say. Hundreds of them, men, women, and children have been tortured and killed or imprisoned, in defence of their right to land and living.

I would earnestly request you to pause and think as to what has given these lacs the strength to stand all that torture. No philosophy, whether of violence or non-violence, no Party, whether yours or mine, can make a people stand up to shootings, torture and blockade, if they were not certain that what they themselves are doing or undergoing is going to solve their problem of life.

It is now five years that the Telangana struggle is going on. It is a good sign that people like you have now taken up to looking into the matter. I do not wish to go into all the issues of that struggle. But you yourself seem to have seen the root of the thing—the oppression of the peasant, his need for land, his need to be freed from a system that upholds such an oppression.

We shall not argue here about violence and non-violence or law and order because neither violence nor law-breaking is a creed or philosophy with us as is alleged. That would only lead us into sidetracking the main problem. I can assure you that every Communist and peasant in Telangana, if anywhere he has been forced to take up the gun, is ever ready to replace the gun by the plough and the dangers of death by the gains of peaceful labour if he were assured of it. But instead of that, for the last five years all have been hurling only threats of destruction at him. Maybe the military might of the State sometimes proves superior to the might of the people. But has that ever suppressed any people for ever?

It is said that the peasants under our advice have broken the law in taking land and refusing to pay rent and interest or do the traditional forced labour for the feudal lords. But you can see that it is more just to make law conform to life, if it is not the handmaid of a few, than force millions to conform to law and live in the interests of a few because it is sanctified by an antiquated law. For example, instead of waiting for landlords to come to you and offer a few thousand acres for distribution to needy peasants to show that their hearts have changed, would it not be easier to confirm by law the lacs of poor peasants and labourers who have now put their life and labour in lacs of acres of land for the last five

years and raised crops? Or, must the State forces go on shooting and throwing our peasants from land and force them to pay ruinous rents on one side and for you to go on collecting a land fund for distribution on the other? What rhyme and reason is there in such a process?

I am sorry I have taken a lot of your time to hear me. But I thought, since a man of your stature has decided to enter Telangana and look into the problem, I might approach you to see if an easier and quicker solution could not be found to realize the same end you have in view, that is restoring peaceful conditions in Telangana, giving land to the peasants and replacing the oppressive feudal system there by a progressive popular one, and saving the lives of thousands threatened with death and imprisonment whether Communist or non-Communist.

The comrades in prison whom you visited were under a handicap. Hence, I have chosen to write to you.

I would surely have seen you personally 'to convert or get converted' as you put it to our comrades, but unfortunately, the Bombay Government has launched a prosecution against me and is waiting to put me into prison, if not with the help of the courts, then with the help of the all-pervading Detention Act. Hence, I am unable, just at present, to meet you to put all the facts before you.

If, however, you think, I can be of service in the solution of the Telangana problem in such a way as to bring peace and happiness to the people there, I am at your service.

If you care to reply, it may be sent to the address given above.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd. S. A. DANGE

Paramdham, Paunar,  
11-7-51

Shri Dange,

I have received your letter, sent with such particular care. I appreciate the tone of the letter.

There is no difference of opinion about the proposition that the land problem has got to be solved and that law should come to its help in the matter. I have referred to this at several places during my tour.

I have studied the problem of Telangana as much as I could from all sides and I have taken all possible care not to overlook any aspect worthy of consideration about it. I have come to the conclusion that this problem can be resolved by love, trust and peace.

I have not entered into the academic discussion of violence and non-violence and I do not want to do it. But I could not see any defence for the violent activities, which were carried on after the end of the *Razakar* period in Telangana. I leave aside the violence, committed prior to that. But I regard it to be a very great error in thinking in continuing the violence after that period.

I am definitely of the opinion that it is imperative for Communist party in India to change its present policy without the least hesitation. Therein lies the good of the poor masses, as also of Communism.

Every possible help which I can render in order to solve the problem of land will be available to all, who are eager in the matter.

I regret that you have to live underground. I want that all should be able to work freely within certain limitations. It will be possible for us to talk more freely if and when we could meet. Pranams.

Sd. VINOBA

#### Appreciation

The General Secretary of the Congress sends the following resolution passed at the Bangalore Session of the A. I. C. C. on 15-7-'51:

"This Committee expresses its high appreciation of the pilgrimage which Acharya Vinoba Bhave undertook; in the true spirit of Mahatma Gandhi, through the Telangana area of Hyderabad State, taking the healing message of non-violence with him, and thus helping greatly in toning down the violence and passions that have afflicted that sorely-tryed area."

## HARIJAN

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1951

### IN REGARD TO COMMUNISM

The reader is requested to study the correspondence between Shri S. A. Dange, the leader of Indian Communists, and Shri Vinoba Bhave published in another column. It is important from several points of view. In this I shall deal with one.

There is an attitude — particularly in the West, — of regarding the Communists and the creed of Communism almost as a class of un-touchables and unapproachables. That an underground Communist leader should have the courage and confidence to write a letter to Vinoba who is held in high esteem by a Government which is hostile to Communists, and, from their point of view, represses their activities with a strong hand, and that Vinoba should respond to it in an equally friendly tone might seem un-understandable to modern party leaders, and nations violently divided in political ideologies. In most countries, when one country declares war against another, the people of each country are taught to regard every national of the enemy country as if he were their personal enemy, whom it was their duty to hand over to the authorities and even kill outright. Even when there is no war, but the relations are very much strained, the attitude is one of fanatical intolerance. Though most Western and Westernized people have become sufficiently tolerant or indifferent about the religious affiliations of others, the old heritage of intolerance which was responsible for the persecution and violent deaths of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim prophets and saints, and later on of reformers and dissenters in them for more than seventeen centuries after Christ, is continued till today, and is discernible in the relations between democratic, fascist and communist countries. Just as, at one time, it was extremely risky for a person to be a Protestant in a Roman Catholic country and *vice versa*, it is as difficult now for a democrat to stay and move about freely in Russia or for a Communist to stay in U. S.

Only a few months ago we had learnt from the papers how Dr Bharatan Kumarappa was suspected in U. S. of Communist leanings with the result that his lectures were suddenly cancelled. The reflections which gave offence to the inviting organizations were, according to Shri Bharatan, the following :

"In regard to Communism, I had made it clear that we were definitely opposed to its violence and totalitarianism. But its goal of establishing a social order where all exploitation would cease, and the amenities of civilization would be available to the 'lowest' and the lost, I said, appealed to us, especially as most of our masses were under-privileged. Unfor-

tunately, however, communism sought to reach this goal by questionable and ruthlessly violent means. Therefore, I said that if India adopted the Communist goal, she would have to follow a different method — the method of truth and non-violence taught by Gandhiji.

"In this connection I suggested that there was a fundamental difference in the attitude of India to Communism as compared with the attitude of the U. S. to Communism. For us Communism is chiefly a philosophy which can be developed according to the genius of each country in its own way, not necessarily according to the Russian pattern, and even possibly in opposition to Russia, as for example in Yugoslavia; while the U. S. regards Communism as nothing but Russian imperialism. Since we look upon Communism as something which we may shape as we will, it does not appear to us so formidable an enemy as imperialism does. Indeed, it would have the attraction of possibly bringing new life and hope to vast sections of our people. If, on the other hand, Communism comes to us as Russian imperialism, it cannot, I claimed, last long in Asia, for all Asia is afire today with nationalism and will not tolerate dictation by any foreign power. China and India, I asserted, were huge nations with age-old traditions and today surging with new life. They cannot, therefore, be swallowed up by Russia like some of the smaller countries of Europe after the last war. We would preserve our national independence at all costs. This, I submitted, was an important point to remember in relation to any fear of Communism, in the sense of Russian imperialism, spreading in India."

(From an article forwarded by N.P.).

But such non-bigoted attitude towards Communism could not be tolerated by one of the most democratic and liberty-loving republics.

This is not the Indian way. Even Muslims, who, on account of their age long traditions have been generally more bigoted and intolerant than Hindus and Parsis, were on a fair way to out-grow fanaticism. As to Hindus they had eliminated it from their life so long ago that we can trace its existence in a by-gone age only through the *puranic* stories of Prahlad and Sudhanva. The line of reformers of even the most radical type has never been broken in Hindu life. Some persecution they certainly had to suffer. But it was nothing in comparison to what reformers in other countries had to bear. Had not British Imperialism intervened to rekindle fanaticism in the major communities of India, with the result that a reactionary revivalism has made its appearance for some years past in the ever tolerant and broad-minded Hindu life, it would have been regarded as unimaginable that the story of Prahlad could have ever taken place in actual life. In fact, so far as I know, Gandhiji's is the only instance in India's historical records of a man of the eminence and enlightenment of Buddha and Mahavir, having been put to death by his own co-religionists for not being as orthodox, bigoted and communally minded Hindu as they wanted him to be.

The Indian attitude towards various political parties and their doctrines partakes equally of that tolerance. The mere mention of Communism or the sight of its follower does not produce a feeling of horror in our minds, and if Communists did not resort to secret, violent and

deceitful methods of preaching, popularizing and putting into practice their basic views of a just and equitable human order, they would get the same protection and be allowed the same opportunity to carry on their work and make experiments in the Communistic way of life as any other political, religious or social body.

This does not mean that there are not vital differences between *Sarvodaya* and Communism. As Vinobaji has said at another place the real opponent of Communism is not Capitalism functioning under the name of Democracy, but the *Sarvodaya* of Gandhiji. If Gandhiji has not lived and worked in vain, it is *Sarvodaya* which stands forth to devour both Communism on the one side, and Capitalism on the other, even as it wants to end the hostility between India and Pakistan. The military organizations with even A and H bombs and fanatic propaganda and war of nerves will never succeed in either extirpating the one or the other; nor can U. N. O. bring about their reconciliation so long as its ultimate sanction is the joint militarism of several nations. They can only create frequent wars with intervals of truces. And yet the weaponless *Sarvodaya* can confer with its armed opponents—Communism, Capitalism and Communalism—with goodwill and without fear. This is the beauty of *Sarvodaya*.

आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुः आत्मैव स्त्रिपुरात्मनः ।

"The soul itself is the friend and the enemy of the soul", says *Gita*. And so, in *Sarvodaya* there can be an appellation of not only 'dear friend' but also of 'dear enemy'. And Vinoba has asked its dear enemy Communism to reconsider its ways and surrender truly and completely to the methods of non-violence and work for even a more thorough and fundamental revolution than that aimed at by Communism.

I hope the appeal will not go in vain.

Wardha, 6-8-'51 K. G. MASHRUWALA

#### MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(By M. P. Desai)

[We learn from a casual remark of the Chief Minister of Bombay that Government is consulting the various universities of the State regarding the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction in colleges. This is corroborated by a similar remark of the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat University that Government have suggested the use of Hindi as the medium. I do not believe that Government have so grievously erred as to suggest that Hindi should be the medium to the exclusion of Gujarati. The question of the medium is quite distinct from the use and knowledge of Hindi as the national language. The whole matter deserves serious consideration from various points of view. I quote below some of the observations that I made in 'My Note' of Dissent to the Gujarat University Committee Report 1948-49 (Para 109 onwards). As the matter has become relevant, the reader will excuse them being reproduced at present.

7-8-'51

— M. P. DESAI.]

It is significant to note that the medium of instruction has been the crux of the problem of modern education in India, and ever since its beginning in 1835, it has exercised all along, till now, the ablest and the best of the minds, both in

the official and the non-official world. Today we find that the question has come to the fore as never before, excepting perhaps as in 1835; the difference being that in 1835 those whose responsibility it was to decide the issues were foreigners and today it is we ourselves who have to decide as a free people. The decision we take today is going to be equally important and epoch-making, if not more.

That the true medium of education is the language of the child is a principle universally accepted, and there need arise no question on it. But unhappily, there has arisen a school of thought which would set aside this sound principle of education and advocate that the medium for higher education should be the National or Federal Language. As a result a situation almost similar to the one facing the country in 1835 (*English vs. Indian languages*) has arisen now, calling upon us to decide between *Hindustani vs. the Indian Languages*. And on the questionable analogy of *English* which has operated as one common official medium for the upper classes all over the Indian sub-continent, this school argues chiefly in the name of Indian unity.

It is admittedly right that provincialism is bad. But is it alleged that it is born because of the provincial language? Surely not. Is it not there, even though we have *English* as the common medium today?

Surely, a university must have a medium and if it is sound principle that it should be the mother-tongue, then like honesty, it is the best policy and the surest expedient. In the affairs of a nation or a people it is always sound policy and sure wisdom to entrust its future to Truth rather than to its realistic-looking counterfeits.

Firstly it must be realized that the problem of deciding the medium for higher education is not merely to find out a substitute for *English*, which would superimpose itself on the various regional languages as *English* has been doing till now. That the new super-imposition is to be an all-India common language does not alter its character nor make much difference in the fundamentally unsound claim of the all-India common language to usurp the place of Gujarati, whose claim is admitted on all sides. Usmania is a pointer to us here.

There is another consideration to be kept in mind also. If we look at the history of the progress of democracy and culture among a people we find that the language of the classes i.e. the *elite*, lording over the regional vernaculars, has given place to the latter, and these have, in course of time, grown to equal eminence. In Europe, in the centuries after the Renaissance and the Reformation, Latin gave place to the European languages and they are today mediums in their respective universities. It was the need of the common man to know and play his part along with the classes that

caused this revolutionary phenomenon. Look at the Pali and the Prakrit and the Bhakha (भक्ख) movements against Sanskrit. The twelve or fifteen major Indian languages that have grown during the last six or seven centuries and which are spoken not by a few thousands but crores of people, are born of a similar historical process. They have withstood the worst days of the domination of Persian and English. They have in fact shown their vitality by assimilation from both and growing richer in spite of their domination.

But there are some who, in their enthusiasm for the medium of the National Language, go so far as to say that they would not mind if, due to that, the provincial languages were eventually wiped out! But happily for us true nationalism does not require us to do so. As we saw above, the development of these languages could not be destroyed and it is not merely possible but is really good and necessary that they, along with Hindustani, should weave themselves into one national pattern. There should not be created by our wrong decision a fratricidal war between our languages. However, if the National Language is misused and made to substitute English, what will surely happen is that the regional languages will continue to remain undeveloped, and not reach the university status, which is their legitimate claim and birth-right. Because, surely if we may not use them as the media of all our learning, teaching and research, they remain undeveloped to that extent. As I have tried to show, such an eventuality would be a calamity, and would surely retard the growth of democracy and education.

And further, it will set in a tension between Hindustani and these languages which will really be very dangerous. In fact, the tension will work for the encouragement of narrow provincialism which the advocates of the national language as the medium fear much.

The position of the Hindustani-medium-school would have been at least intelligible if there was one commonly accepted National Language ready to start with. As a matter of fact, the position is that it has to evolve along with our nationhood. This evolution is going to be the symbol—the very expression of our national unity. But here also parochial ideas of Sanskritist Hindi and Hindu revivalism are trying to assert their narrow values and disrupt the march of true national growth.

The provincial languages are free from such revivalist and communal considerations. That they are not sufficiently developed is of course true. But Hindi also sails in the same boat. One thing however about these languages is that they have no rival claims to assert against any one and are ready to develop themselves to university status in a joint and common effort, each in its own way. If at all, the National Language should supplement this common

effort, but never contest it or stand as a rival to provincial languages.

It is necessary to remember here that the corner-stone of the National Language Movement has been the assurance to the people of the whole of our country that Hindustani was "not designed to replace the provincial languages, but is intended to supplement them and to be used for inter-provincial contact." (Gandhiji). If now we go out of our way to replace them in the very place of our honour and esteem that is theirs, viz. the obvious right of being the medium of all instructions, the whole edifice of the National Language Movement will come down, which will mean the undoing of the work of more than a generation; and it will only lead to the continuation of English.

#### TRAINING IN LEPROSY WORK

Maharogi Seva Mandal, Wardha proposes to start a training centre for lay workers at Dattapur Leprosy Home under the auspices of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. They are to be trained in such a way that they should be able to organize and run a Leprosy colony with medical help if available. But in case doctors are not available, the trained lay workers should be able to run colonies on approved lines.

*Educational Qualifications:* Minimum qualification for admission is Inter Science, or graduates of recognized Indian faculty of Medicine. Rural Medical Practitioners of Madhya Pradesh will be given preference. Exceptions can be made in suitable cases by the Governing Body of the Maharogi Seva Mandal.

*Age:* Between 21 and 40 years. Exceptions to the age rule in special cases.

*Other Requisites:* Candidates must have humanitarian spirit of service, sincerity and devotion to such a type of work. The candidate may be of any sex but must be healthy and capable of undertaking pioneering organizational work.

*Training Period:* 12 months.

*Place of Training:* Main training will be given at Dattapur Leprosy Colony.

*Medium of Instruction:* Medical subjects with the help of English but non-medical subjects will be taught in Hindi or Marathi.

*Examination and Certificate:* At the completion of the courses there will be a written and practical examination. Scoring of 50 per cent marks will be necessary for passing the examination. The successful candidates will be awarded certificates of "Leprosy Organizer." Only those candidates who fulfil all the conditions by attending the course regularly to the satisfaction of the teachers will be permitted to appear for the examination.

*Arrangements for Lodging and Boarding, Stipend etc.:* At present the number to be admitted will not be more than 10. Each candidate, selected to undergo the training will be given a stipend of Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per month according to the need of the individual for 12 months and free quarters. Boarding charges will have to be paid by the candidate. The period of the first month will be considered as a probation period during which time if the candidate be not found to be fit enough to profit by the training, he will have to go back.

The candidate will have to give a binding to serve for 5 years after training, on a salary upto Rs. 150/- per month according to his merit.

Candidates should apply for admission preferably through an agency who is doing some social service. In case of those who apply independently, they should supply such information regarding their work that will enable the Governing body of the Maharogi Seva Mandal

to feel assured regarding the capacity of the candidate to start anti-leprosy work on his own.

All correspondence in this matter should be directed to the undersigned. None should come to Dattapur without receiving permission in writing from the Secretary.

Dattapur Leprosy Colony,  
Post Nalwadi, Wardha,  
7-6-'51

SECRETARY,  
Maharogi Seva Mandal

### SHRI VINOBA AT SHIVARAMPALLI

#### X

April 11, '51 evening: Hyderabad State workers.

#### Geography

The last meeting was with the workers of the Hyderabad State. They had been playing the host all these days and were entitled to a more liberal rationing of time from Vinobaji. But they contented themselves with their quota. They included also workers of the Sarvodaya Shibir (Camp), which was held last year at the Sangam. Vinobaji was glad to meet them all. As usual he made an introductory speech, wherein he narrated how in his boyhood he studied more subjects in the home than were covered by the school curriculum. But whatever he studied at the school, he did it seriously and with deep thought, and when he felt satisfied with his studies he left the school. Later, he left the home also. But, Vinoba observed, he had never studied geography. Geography was coupled with history, in the examination and it was enough to obtain sufficient marks in history in order to pass the examination. And so geography was neglected. But he confessed that geography is a very interesting subject.

Some days later he (Vinobaji) joined Gandhiji's Ashram. After staying there for some time he travelled in the country. He devoted one year to the study of economics, and made an experiment of living within the limit of two annas a day. Then he gave one year to the study of geography. That gave him an opportunity of making a special study of Hyderabad. Even since then, with his previous knowledge of history added to that of geography he had a feeling that the Marathas had blundered in allowing the Nizam to continue.

Two years ago, Vinoba went to visit Aurangabad. Besides Paithan, Daulatabad, Verul and Ajanta, he went also to Assal. As the Battle of Plassey opened the door for the British to enter Bengal, so also that of Assal gave them entry into the rest of India. It was a battle between the Sindhia and the British. Sindhia was defeated. The cause of narrating this story, Vinoba said, was that he had a feeling since his school days that Hyderabad was a neglected region, and that he should travel through it some day. He was glad that that idea had come to fruition now. Vinobaji gave the members also the information that he would visit Nalgunda, Warangal and other districts of Telangana on his way back to Wardha.

#### Miniature India

Then referring to the various languages of the State, he said that they had three important languages there. They might do whatever they liked when the question of linguistic provinces arose. But in the meanwhile, they can do a thing of great importance. He had already referred to it the other day in his speech at Hyderabad (*vide Harijan*, 21-7-'51). Hyderabad was to a certain extent India in miniature. All the problems that existed in India, also existed there. In their solution, therefore, lay the solution of the problems of India. To achieve that they could, if possible, make one language and one script. Hyderabadis knew Urdu already; so that Hindi could enrich itself with their idioms. If they could prove that they could live together in Hyderabad with mutual love and a sense of solidarity, they would render a great service to the country. They should therefore abandon the narrowness of mind which encouraged re-

gionalism like, "I am a Maratha, I am a Telugu or I am a Kannad, etc." They were all Indians and one people and should become united and serve Hyderabad with all their affection. If they did this, they would render a great service to the country.

#### Shindi Evil

Another thing which Vinoba wanted to speak to them about was *shindi* (date-palm toddy). Vinoba had thought that *shindi* did not exist in the culture of India; but after seeing so many *shindi* trees in that part and the evil of drink that has pervaded among the people, he came to the conclusion that it was due to this drink-evil that Telangana had remained subdued so long. The sloth which was so evident in the masses was due to that drink. It had played the same havoc on the character of the people as opium had played on the Chinese. Legislation alone could not free the people of the evil. It could be eliminated mainly through social service and religious reform. It was the question of changing the very character of the people, and was a task which required great effort. If the workers agreed with his analysis, they should feel inspired to bring about that 'reform'. He had advisedly used the word *reform*, because these days people made a distinction between reform and revolution. There was no real antithesis between them, particularly where the reform was such as would lead to a revolution. Refraining from drink was a reform which revolutionized life, and it could not be brought about by legislation. Legislation might deplete the Government treasury without reducing the evil. Hence, it was necessary for the workers to engage themselves in that work.

#### Sarvodaya and Religion

There were some Muslim friends also in that gathering. They had attended the *Sarvodaya shibir* (camp) last year and had been minutely studying *Sarvodaya* ideas through the *Sarvodaya* magazine. With a view to clear their doubts, one of them asked "What aspect of religion is *Sarvodaya* related with?"

*Vinoba*: Religion covers several matters: for instance, prayer, in which one establishes contact with God; secondly, there is ethics, which is concerned with truth, non-violence etc.; thirdly, there are rites, ceremonies, social customs etc. connected with incidents like birth, death, marriage, etc.; and last literature, like the *Puranas* and *kathas* (mythologies, stories, epics etc.). In this way religion has various aspects. Of these, the *Sarvodaya Samaj* is related with the ethical side of it. It has nothing to do with the *Puranas* (mythologies) or with the social customs and conventions. There is one more thing in *Sarvodaya*. Every man has a right to food, water and decent living. This is a basic right which is accepted by all religions; but none of them has laid down any special programme for its fulfilment. A few hints may be there, as in Islam, which prohibits usury. If it is acted up to, capitalism would disappear automatically.

Ethics is common to all religions. But in *Sarvodaya*, there is room for resistance,—resistance not to an individual, but to an evil. *Sarvodaya* has laid down that evil should be resisted by good and wrong by right. When, therefore, wrong opposes right, the latter can never compromise with the former. In a fight between two individuals, there is evil and good on both the sides. Such a mixed fight is never uncompromising. But there is no scope for it, when there is only good on one side and only evil on the other. Hence, there cannot be any compromise between truth and untruth, between good and evil.

Thus concluded the last of the provincial meetings, which were very instructive and provided opportunity to both Vinobaji and the workers to know each other better, to do some essential loud thinking, consider a few specific problems of each province and find their solutions. They were highly appreciated and gave the workers very great satisfaction.

D. M.

### POLITICAL INTOLERANCE

In the main article I have referred to the modern revival of intolerance and bigotry in the Hindu society. I regret to learn that it has permeated politics also, and has been spreading also in the Congress. I understand that, of late, it has become not infrequent among local political organizations to issue instructions to their members that they must not attend a meeting addressed by a rival political leader, or a function to meet him, or join a purely constructive and local programme organized by it. Attempts are made even to see that he is not received as a guest by a Congressman. When Gandhiji first went to Bihar, the intolerance of the British ruler was such that Acharya Kripalani's boldness in receiving him in his own apartments cost him his professorship. That was in 1917. His association with Gandhiji ever since is well known. Until a few months ago he was still a Congressman. The last Presidential election showed that he commanded the confidence of almost half the Congress, including the Prime Minister. The Congress High Command tried its best to persuade him to remain in it. Rightly or wrongly, he has decided to work in opposition, and frankly wants the present Congress Government to be overthrown in the next elections. His judgement may be wise or unwise, and he may succeed or fail. That is a different matter. But it is a perfectly democratic way, and it does not mean that he has become an enemy of the State, any more than Gandhiji was an enemy of the British in 1917.

The same situation is repeated in 1951. The same Kripalaniji happens to be a political opponent of the Government now in power, and the latter employs against him the same policy which the British employed against Gandhiji and his workers. He is followed by C. I. D. wherever he goes, police reporters attend with their old tables and chairs as if to inform the people that he is a suspect, circulars are sent by Congress organizations to tell the people that the meetings should be boycotted and so on. I understand that in one of his tours local Congressmen saw to it that he was not received as a guest by any Congressman. They also disapproved that a local constructive organization should have invited him to visit the institution.

I do not believe that men at the top approve of this. Ministers do not run away from him. But smaller leaders and papers encourage pettiness. This intolerance is puerile. It is not the Indian way of dealing with other ideologies. Until now, it has not been unusual to find homes, in which the head of the family has been a liberal, his son a Congressman and his grandsons and daughters Gandhites, Socialists, Communists, Royists or

even Communalists, all staying together in amity under the same roof. If the Congressman or the Gandhite member took to civil resistance he individually suffered for it, and if the Communalist or the Communist son took to violence, he too paid for it individually. Even though the head of the family was a Minister or official of the State, the son suffered as in the case of Dr. P. Subbarayan. But this was not for believing in a particular ideology but for his specific breach of law. It did not entail expulsion from the home.

Congressmen may not see, and I also do not see, eye to eye with Kripalani in all matters. But there can be no gainsaying the fact that Congress, if for no better reason than win the votes of the people, will have to rectify some of the gross evils which the Acharya has been tirelessly pointing out with intense energy. Is it not a matter of great pain that the sixty years old Congress organization should have lost in reputation so greatly and quickly and that the Gandhi cap and *khadi* should have come to be regarded as symbols of corruption, dishonesty and other evils by the masses? Let the Congress ponder over it.

But whether it would profit or not by the attacks of its opponents or advice of its friends, all political organizations must carefully guard themselves against pettiness. It is another form of caste-mindedness.

Wardha, 6-8-'51

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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