

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

MASS-PRODUCTION AND WORLD-CRISIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

[The following from Gandhi's writings will interest the reader vis-a-vis Stalin's latest thesis about capitalist economy crumbling under its own inherent weakness. We may only add to this thesis that state capitalism, which is another name for what obtains in Russia under Stalinism, is also as bad as the other viz. private capitalism. While the latter provokes civil war and conflict in the people, the former becomes a hot-bed of war and conflict among the peoples of the world. If at all, the difference is only of degree, not of kind, if we look at them from the point of world peace, which is only another name for a non-violent society of Gandhi's conception. — M. P.]

I would categorically state my conviction that the mania for mass-production is responsible for the world-crisis. Granting for the moment that machinery may supply all the needs of humanity, still, it would concentrate production in particular areas, so that you would have to go about in a round about way to regulate distribution; whereas, if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation.

You see that these nations (Europe and America) are able to exploit the so-called weaker or unorganized races of the world. Once these races gain an elementary knowledge and decide that they are no more going to be exploited, they will simply be satisfied with what they can provide themselves. Mass-production, then, at least where the vital necessities are concerned, will disappear.

When production and consumption both become localized, the temptation to speed up production, indefinitely and at any price, disappears. All the endless difficulties and problems that our present-day economic system presents, too, would then come to an end.

There could be no unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few, and want in the midst of plenty in regard to the rest.

'Then, you do not envisage mass-production as an ideal future of India?'

Oh yes, mass-production, certainly, but not based on force. After all, the message of the spinning wheel is that. It is mass-production, but mass-production in people's own homes. If you multiply individual production to millions of times, would it not give you mass production on a tremendous scale? But I quite understand that

your "mass-production" is a technical term for production by the fewest possible number through the aid of highly complicated machinery. I have said to myself that that is wrong. My machinery must be of the most elementary type which I can put in the homes of the millions.

'So, you are opposed to machinery, only because and when it concentrates production and distribution in the hands of the few?'

You are right, I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me. That is all.

(Harijan, 2-11-'34)

THE CHARKHA AND THE HANDLOOM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The mill-owners' associations and the merchants' chambers of Bombay and Ahmedabad have issued statements regarding Shri Rajaji's suggestion to control the production of *saris* and *dhotis* in mills in order to protect the handloom industry and have on the whole expressed their disapproval of it. This is in no way surprising. Shri Rajaji and others possibly never expected they would do otherwise. We in India have not yet had a just order so that we would expect such associations and chambers representing deeply entrenched vested interests to say anything else. If, however, they had understood the spirit of the times we are living in and shown a different trend, it would surely have done them credit.

One need not go into various things these associations and chambers have said in opposition to Shri Rajaji's suggestion. One thing they have said, however, deserves notice. If the suggestion is accepted and carried out, they say, the people and the country will have to suffer from shortage of *saris* and *dhotis*. Obviously, when they said this, they must have believed the argument would work. But the argument is really very thin. It is time the country learnt to refuse to be scared by threats of all shortage but that of food. We of this land have to shed the fear of all such empty threats if we are to progress as we should. The standard of life of tens of millions of our people is such that for years past they feel exercised over only one sort of famine — that of food. Threats of other shortages do not work with them, do not as if concern them. And indeed, even if there was an abundance of those other things, where have they the money to buy them? What

has to be attended to is to find ways and means so that they can earn a little more money. And the only way to that end, the royal road to it is to find work for all of them, to get them all usefully employed. Once work is found and they are all employed, famines and shortages will make themselves scarce.

But here we are faced with a distressing legacy. Our Government circles who have been ill-trained during the past foreign regime to view all such threats of shortages through lifeless figures and statistics are scared out of their wits as soon as one is held out to them. Statistics is such a convenient science that it can find and prove for you whatever you want. And who in this scientific age will dare to be condemned as unscientific by letting figures and statistics alone? But the reassuring feature of this controversy is that it is not a battle of figures; the way for men to useful employment and resulting mental peace and happiness is sought to be obstructed by a dead heap of figures. It is pleasing to see that except for interested bodies like merchants' chambers and mill-owners' associations, the country on the whole has expressed sympathy for our handloom industry, and the Prime Minister in his speeches at Madras and in the South has held out hopes that after enquiry into the state of the handloom industry, the question of rendering aid and necessary protection to it will be given full consideration.

The issue however means something further and the country has to devote special attention to its solution. It is well known that the handloom weaver depends on the mill-owner for his yarn. Hence perhaps the mill-owner believes he has the handloom weaver under his thumb at his mercy. To a certain extent this is true. Those employed in the handloom industry should give earnest thought to this their position. At present they do not seem to do it. This sorry plight of the handloom industry and the question involved therein is nothing new for the weavers. The Government and the people have been considering this question for years. Gandhiji also had made it plain that if the handloom depended solely on the textile mill for its yarn it will surely invite its death, even as the Charkha died out in the end in the past. The handloom weaver should realize that his true friend is the spinner at the spinning-wheel, for fundamentally their interests do not clash; in fact their interests are mutual and conduce to the well-being of the whole nation. If they both co-operated and if the nation understood their message of mutual aid and co-operation, we would successfully fight unemployment and our villages would take a turn for peace and happiness. Gandhiji had further said that if this happy state came about and the mills had to close down as a consequence, none need be sorry for it; indeed he himself would welcome the result. In the past it was the mills alone that received everyone's consideration. Now under Swaraj this must change—has to change. Our

mills alone do not constitute our composite textile industry. The time has come now when we should realize that the handloom and the Charkha are also part of it. The abstract and dry science called economics will not help us to this realization. Here statesmen who have a deep love for their people have to give thought to the real problem, form and lay down policies and have to find out and employ economic experts who will plan and devise ways and means to carry them out. Our textile industry should be reshaped and conducted on these lines.

13-11-52

(From the original in Gujarati)

TOWARDS THE GOLDEN AGE.*

Nature's Law

There lies endless creation around us and man stands in its midst with his puny body. How is it that he does not get crushed under the vast forces of nature which are infinitely stronger than he? This is because nature is helpful to man. She has always been acting the giver, the nourisher. The sun rises in the morning and comes down from his heavenly heights to embrace us with his thousand rays. Mighty as he is, he enters our homes as a servant enters the house of the master. And mark the high standard of conduct, he observes as a servant, for he stands waiting outside if he finds the door closed and never pushes it open. He just stands ready to get in the moment we open the door. The wind blows on without a moment's rest. Who knows where it comes from and where it goes? It is the breath of our breath. It is always exerting itself to foster our frail life. If it ceases for a moment, we will be no more. Look at the Ganga which flows on endlessly to serve us. Whatever the tree we plant, whether it is *babul*, or *am* (mango), she waters it and gives life to it. She the giver of boon has pledged herself to the service of the children. And the clouds: they too are serving us without any expectation of a return from us. Thus we find that the universe is teaching us to give ourselves up in service without end.

Altruism Our Innate Nature

Proceeding further, Vinoba said, "The parents sacrifice for our sake, that is how we live. The mother is more anxious to suckle the child than he is to suck. Thus God has taught us the lesson of giving ourselves in service from the childhood. It is said at times by the critics that I am trying to alter the course of things, that I am trying to shape them into the mould which their nature resists. The charge has no substance, for what I am saying is in harmony with the whole trend of nature. On the contrary, what prevails at present is really very unnatural and wholly against the right. After all, how is a child brought up? What is the law behind it? How happy do we feel living as a family? If only we could extend the same love so as to encompass the entire society would not our happiness go up to the 10th degree?"

Not Conflict but Love Is the Basis of Life

Referring to the Communists and the Forward Blocists who criticize Bhoodan programme and ask people to keep away from it, Vinobaji said, "These people hold conflict to be the foundation of existence. They view life as a conflict. Even the mother suckling her dear child (most sacred example of love) is for them a conflict between the breasts of the mother on the one side and the child on the other. But this is an error. The world proceeds not on conflict but on love. A dying man feels consoled to see his dear ones. Are we to believe this is the outcome of a conflict between his eyes and the dear ones? But these people do not stoop to think and so their attempts for the betterment of things come to naught. The Upanishads sang, verily the world has come

* Vinoba's Prayer-speech at Gaya on 10-11-52.

from *anand* i.e. bliss. Indeed life moves and has its being in *anand*. It needs no attempt on our part to partake of it, for we have it in our very being. If any attempt needs to be made, it is to get pain, and that is what we are doing. What we have to do is not to try to get *anand*, but to purify it. The purer our *anand*, the higher will be the quality of our life. I therefore ask you the city-dwellers to take to the service of the villagers, who have ever given you in full measure.

Too Tall an Order ?

It is said how will it happen in this Kali age ? But if I could get 100 acres of land in Shravasti, where in years gone-by land had to be purchased for no less a person than the Great Buddha at the terrible cost of heaps of gold coins as many as were required to cover the entire area purchased, then tell me whether this is Kaliyuga or Satyayuga. The age does not make us, it is we who make the age. We are conscious beings and therefore we can control this inconscient world. Whatever shape we may give to the clay it will not grumble. We have risen to such a stage today that we could see the most important event in the history of mankind. Can we quote even a solitary instance from the annals of history that the struggle for Independence was fought with the weapon of Ahimsa ? Therefore, my brothers, don't remain in delusion. The Satya Age is fast approaching, even before our own eyes.

The Futility of the World Wars

People say that the world war is approaching. I say, let it come. For even through world wars will people learn the futility of violence in the solution of any problems. I visualize that people after tasting the bitter fruits of war will repent and say that violence is in no way any cure for human ills and may take to the path of Ahimsa.

Science and Ahimsa

Violence coupled with science will bring nothing but disaster to the whole world. If we really desire the advancement of science we will have to go by Ahimsa. To make one's life richer, higher and nobler we need science still more. With science in alliance with Ahimsa — non-violence we can change this earth into the veritable heaven. There never occurred such a favourable ground for the spread of Ahimsa before as today. A mere child even talks of Ahimsa. Everyone thinks today whether this or that problem can be tackled by Ahimsa. Previously, we had taken for granted the indispensability of violence to some extent. Therefore a great glorious age, in the making of which we all have to partake, is dawning before us. What a great joy it is, when I see everyday that the land is being literally showered on me ! Wherefrom this inspiration to the donor ? It is the religious instinct of the Great Bharata which is inspiring them all.

The Erring Opponents of Bhoodan

Forward Blocists have warned people to remain aloof from my mission. What do they want to achieve thereby ? Are they warning the landless people who are receiving land not to accept it ? Or do they wish to prevail upon the landholders who are parting with their land, not to donate it ? These people have miserably failed on such historic occasions. In the struggle for Independence too, Communists had lost a golden opportunity by refusing to take part in it. Therefore, I exhort them all to come and join me in this great task. But how can they, if they have shut their doors of heart and intellect ? In this Age of Science we should rather always be open-minded.

The place where Lord Buddha taught religion with great compassion to the people in that very place, I am explaining this religious thought with the same compassion to the people. Brothers, a new religion is spreading in our land and I have become an instrument for bringing it about. I exhort you too to play the same role in it.

(The total land collected in the Gaya District figured 6,000 acres. The district has pledged to collect one lakh acres upto 26th January.)

(Abridged from Hindi)

D. M.

NOTES

The Progress of Bhoodan

The reader must have seen the table showing the names of the Pradesh conveyers of the Bhoodan Committees, the quota, of land donation fixed for various Pradeshas and the land received till 15th June, 1952, which was given in the July 26, 1952, number of the *Harijan*.

The Office Secretary of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha now gives the total amount of land and other collections made upto 5-11-1952. It is given below :

Province	Quota fixed to be collected	Land Collect-ed upto 5-11-'52	Other Collec-tions
Assam	25,000	..	..
Andhra	1,00,000	7,021.91	..
Uttar Pradesh	5,00,000	3,10,728.74	1 well
Utkal	1,50,000	1,982.66	1 bullock
Karnatak	..	99.14	..
Keral	25,000	..	..
Gujarat	75,000	4,168.02	..
Tamilnad	1,50,000	3,719.77	..
Delhi	10,000	1,124.50	..
Punjab-Pepsu	1,00,000	61.00	..
Bihar	4,00,000	7,959.00	..
Bengal	2,00,000	32.48	..
Bombay City (not yet fixed)	..	..	..
Madhya Pradesh	1,00,000	11,421.22	..
Madhya Bharat	1,25,000	2,490.59	6 bullocks 1 bullock 7 ploughs
Maharashtra	1,00,000	238.80	..
Mysore (not yet fixed)	..	..	..
Rajasthan	2,00,000	1,388.30	..
Vindhya Pradesh	40,000	1,271.66	..
Saurashtra	..	..	..
Himachal Pradesh	..	1,006.50	1 house etc. cost- ing about 1 lakh Rs. 8593/-
Hyderabad (South)	1,00,000	30,224.33	..
		<hr/>	
	Total	3,84,936.62	

A few of the provinces have not still sent us the needed information and the land collected upto date. Also land quota has still to be fixed for a few other provinces. This list is not exhaustive. Here we have indicated only such of those donations that have been received through the authoritative reports of the Provincial Samitis.

A Healthy Step in Education

A refreshing piece of news came last week from Vindhya Pradesh that its Government are "pushing through their scheme of making a certain amount of manual labour compulsory for all school and college students." It is said that for the present, there will be four hours' work a week in construction of houses and roads and the work will count for promotion of the students to higher standards. The experiment of the Vindhya Pradesh State will not only direct the youthful energy in the right and healthy channel, but will also harness it to an activity which is of great social utility. The experiment will be watched with interest by all interested in the education of our youth. It is hoped other States also will emulate this step of Vindhya Pradesh.

R. S.

25-11-'52

HARIJAN

Dec. 6

1952

THE INNER CONFLICT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

One view of how 'Others See Us' was given to us by Shri Pyarelal reproducing Mr Muste's article and giving his own comments on it (vide *Harijan*, Nov. 1, 1952, 'As Others See Us' and 'The Third Force'). This he followed up by giving his own view of how workers wedded to the 'Third Force' should behave vis-a-vis 'Power Politics'—things and affairs that are going on in our country at present (vide *Harijan*, Nov. 15, 1952). There is another statement of how others are watching and viewing the Indian situation at present, to which a friend incidentally drew my attention a few days ago. He placed before me the American Weekly *Manas* of May 7, 1952, and asked me to go through its leading article under the caption "What is Happening in India?" The reader will find its relevant parts reproduced in this number, under the heading 'Gandhi and Nehru'.

The article is a thoughtful contribution revealing in a brief compass the picture of an inner conflict that has set in amongst us, after Gandhiji's departure from our midst. Chiefly it is a conflict of outlook and approach amongst those that had been jointly working in the service of the motherland under Gandhiji's leadership during the last whole generation. The conflict is very deep indeed, and unless it is resolved in a proper manner, it may perhaps weaken and scatter away the very forces that were made operative among our people under Gandhiji's leadership, and that too without giving birth to any workable substitute in their stead.

This conflict is becoming apparent in the political sector of our life, as can be seen in the metamorphosis that the Congress is today. The splinter movements of groups like the Praja Party under Shri Kripalaniji and the Socialists under Shri J. P. Narain are only outward signs of this inner malaise. The constructive workers also, though unorganized as a political group and not functioning as one, are formulating their mind and trying to become articulate on various questions of national policy and programme, under the Sarva Seva Sangh, the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A. etc., that is, the institutions that were established by Gandhiji for the work of regeneration among and through our people and not from above.

This way of Gandhiji had a technique and approach of its own. It appealed to our people. The technique and approach which the Government in India are taking to and organizing at present under Shri Jawaharlal's leadership and at the instance of the Planning Commission, with such

instruments as the Indo-U.S.T.A., the Community Projects, etc. is new and different. It seems to be not catching the popular mind so well; it does not seem to enthuse.

The slogan for this new approach as given out by Shri Jawaharlalji in the course of the Food Debate in Parliament the other day is "Machinery vs. Butter". The truth behind the slogan is rather the cry of our people for honest bread-giving work. It was that cry that Gandhiji listened and reacted to. The question is, will the machine which is the emblem of the West really help us in this or will it lead us astray as it has done in the West? Is there a way to bring the machine in the service of man situated as he is in India today, and for his growth and development? Or should the machine come to us in the same way as it did in the West? Is there not a lesson to the world from that way of the machine in the West? Gandhiji stood for that lesson and strove with his whole life to teach it to us. It was not opposition to the machine *per se*. Nor was it the way of quarrel among the human family with the help of the machine. But it was the way to subdue it and make it subserve the common interest of the whole human family. Surely the West has not developed the latter, but has wielded the machine as its weapon to subjugate the backward peoples and races of the world and to create in their own land an unwanted capitalist or acquisitive society. Therefore there is a lesson from Gandhiji for the erring West also. It is his message of peace or no war, which he symbolically described as the message of the Charkha, the Khadi and Swadeshi. It is well to remember this at present when we are deciding the main lines of our future economic and cultural life. May we decide aright at this critical juncture of our national progress and destiny.

24-11-'52

Good Beginning

"In reply to a question by Shri Sivamurthi Swami regarding the proposal to introduce Khadi dresses for all the Postal as well as Railway workers, Shri V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, stated in the House of the People today (November 14, 1952):

"The question of using Khadi for supply of uniforms to all the Posts and Telegraphs staff has been examined and it has been decided as a matter of policy that Khadi should be used on as large a scale as possible for uniforms and other miscellaneous purposes.

"As regards Railway workers the question is still under consideration."

This step was long overdue. However, as the proverb goes, 'It is never too late to mend.' Other Union Ministers as well as State Ministries may well follow up the good beginning made by Shri Giri. It must be remembered that it is the duty of the State in India to encourage village industries and see that all get work, which is their right under the Constitution, and Khadi is pre-eminently suited for providing work to all in their very homes and villages.

25-11-'52

GANDHI AND NEHRU

India is not an easy country for the Westerner to understand. We have all heard of Gandhi and of Prime Minister Nehru, just as we have heard of the Himalaya mountains and perhaps the Khyber Pass; but "hearing" of these great Indian leaders is not the same as understanding them. Actually the average Westerner is likely to be more puzzled than enlightened if he tries to go beyond the newspaper headlines and to find out what exactly, is happening in India, today.

How should one attempt to define what is happening in India, supposing he had reason to believe he actually knew? Should he—as the United States Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, did—write an article telling how the Soviets and the Chinese are wooing Indian public opinion?.....

Mr Bowles believes that winning the Indians for democracy will be easy if we (1) talk less to them about our material blessings and more about the great American tradition of freedom; (2) give greater financial aid to India; (3) remember that India is an Asiatic country.

It is necessary, we suppose, for Mr Bowles to discuss India in terms of getting them firmly on "our side". That is what his readers are wondering about, and that is what he, as an American diplomat, is supposed to be interested in. So far as we know Mr Bowles is a well-intentioned man who is in the diplomatic service from a sense of duty and a desire to serve the public good. But he might have given a little more attention to the Indians as having ends of their own. Conceivably, other great decisions which lie ahead for India are more important than a choice, in the next five years, between Russia and the United States.

Having heard Mr Bowles on India, let us now listen to an Indian on the well-intentioned Mr Bowles and the country he represents. J. C. Kumarappa, editor of *Gram Udyog Patrika*, writes in the February issue of this organ of the All-India Village Industries Association:

"About a month ago an agreement was signed between the U.S.A. and India, by which a grant of 50 million dollars was made available for development purposes. The U.S.A. has been an octopus with financial tentacles in all other parts of the world. Britain specialized in political imperialism, while the American speciality is financial imperialism. Is this going to gag us on world questions? Let us beware of baits of all kinds including 'rural-urban development'.

"Not content with a contribution of a mere 50 million dollars, the American Ambassador, Mr Chester Bowles, suggests an aid of 1,000 millions to push forward the 'progress' of India. American 'experts' have already begun to come in.

"There is danger in all this. The American penetration will bring commercialism and tractors. Raising our agriculture on crude oil and machines will deliver us body, soul and spirit into American hands. If we chafe at anything that the Americans dictate later, all that they will have to do to 'bring us to our senses' is to stop crude oil supplies. Then we shall be starved into subjection. Prior to the last war some well-to-do cultivators had installed crude oil pump sets in some district places near Madras. Their economy was dislocated during the war, as they could not get any supplies of the needed fuel. Some of them were even ruined by this handicap.

"To base our economic order on things our country does not possess or produce, is suicidal. Let us profit by Japan's experience. Japan surrendered not so much for fear of the Atom Bomb, but because they had no stock of petrol to carry on the war any longer. Hiroshima provided only an honourable excuse. Humble though our progress may be, let it be on our own legs. Any attempt to hasten the pace may be fatal. In the end any foreign aid of this magnitude, from which we cannot easily shake ourselves free,

will prove a halter around our neck and jeopardize our newly found independence."

Confronted by this statement, Mr Bowles would undoubtedly expostulate, "But Kumarappa represents only a small minority segment of Indian opinion—he is one of the leaders of the Gandhi extremists; Prime Minister Nehru told me....." And Mr Bowles would be technically right. But the ferment of ideas coming from the Gandhians who live and work on, although Gandhi died in 1948, is an important part of what is going on in India.

The India of today is haunted by strange contradictions. Here is an incredibly proud people—her having been the authentic motherland of several great civilizations, and the source of the profoundest philosophical thinking known to man are reason enough for this pride—who after a century of oppression and exploitation have suddenly become free on their own, in a world of fiercely competing national economies and ideologies. Even if material wealth and power are not the greatest things in the world, material wealth and power have been the symbols of India's long subjection to a foreign imperialism. Imagine the temptation to seize these symbols, to say to the West: "We too are a people to be reckoned with. Now we are as great as you are, in your terms!" How could there fail to be this smouldering emotion beneath the surface throughout India, today? Then there is the further reaction of a proud people to the charge of "backwardness"—the insult of a book like *Mother India*.....

Gandhi, with his extraordinary moral sensibility, his love of his country, and his indomitable will touched—there is no other word for it—the soul of India. He awoke sleeping memories of ancient greatness. He went to the villages, where, as Chester Bowles has noted, the destiny of India is hammered out. Like Gautama Buddha who, nearly two thousand years before, had wandered over the peninsular continent from village to village, Gandhi went to and won the Indian masses. He did something that gifts of money or foreign assistance in technology can never do—he helped the Indian masses to rediscover the hidden sources of their self-respect, and, therefore, of moral power. Through Gandhi, India became capable of independence.

Gandhi, it may be said, was a moral genius. He became a moral genius by understanding the delusion of the West and the potential greatness of the East and by seeing as clearly the vulnerability of the East, of India in particular, to the Western delusion. He spoke to the masses of the Indian people in terms they could understand. To Westerners, Gandhi often sounded like a "fanatic". This man, they said, is against railroads, hospitals, machinery, birth-control, modern medicine—practically everything good our civilization stands for. He goes round in a breechclout, and after having a fine education in European terms he wants to throw it all away, not only for himself, but for his country, too!

It seems evident that the victim of the Western delusion cannot possibly understand Gandhi. Gandhi was not really against any "thing"; he was for human beings. He dealt with things according to their moral effects upon the Indian people—their effects in his time. He was fighting delusions, while the West, with its wonderful inventions and methods of prophylaxis, sanitation, and immunization, was fighting bacteria; with its mass production and technical genius was fighting for a "standard of living". Gandhi was not against these things the West was fighting for, but he was for the things this battle of the West had been allowed to obscure. Mr Kumarappa speaks for Gandhi, in this, although a little stridently, perhaps.

Obviously the West has its own legitimate greatness. It has produced the tools of a wonderful civilization. It has created the possibility of leisure for everyone in the world. It has announced, through its great political documents, the social meaning of profound philosophical ideas on the nature of man. But the West is seriously infected

by the delusion that material progress represents the true destiny of man. The search for enlightenment is not a central theme of Western life. The drama of awakening to truth has not shaped the heart's longing of Western youth. The West is like a great caterpillar that wants to fly, but spends all its rich substance manufacturing mechanical wings instead of preparing a chrysalis for its rebirth as *psyche*—as a form evolved from within for natural flight.

Meanwhile the East feels and is affected by the tensions of the West. For now whether we like it or not, whether we believe it or not, the world is one. No longer is there a private individual salvation for nations and races. The East and West—how can we doubt it?—are destined or doomed to grow together, either inter-dependently and co-operatively, or locked in the bitter embrace of rivalry and mutual rejection.

No longer is there any room for pride of race and origin—not while this great synthesis is taking place. The Eastern and the Western races are alike struggling against tremendous obstacles—obstacles both material and moral. *Where are we going?* This is the big problem for both. Scores of little groups in the United States are giving profound study to this question. They are never heard of, or almost never, in other countries. To them, however, belongs the future. The Renaissance was once no more than a few "little groups" in the centres of European culture. Every great reform, as Emerson said, was once a private thought in one man's mind. There are groups in India, too—groups such as Mr Kumarama represents, and the several educational and other culture-renewing organizations founded by Gandhi or under his influence. Their fires may burn low, now that Gandhi is gone. India has been a land of personal leaders. Gandhi, perhaps, saw this, and was content to go, knowing that his work, if it could not survive as a Great Idea, could not, in the long run, survive at all. And this, perhaps, is what the East needs to learn from the West—that a great idea is more important than even a great man for men become great only through adopting and living by great ideas.

Meanwhile, our sympathies may go out to Mr Nehru, a man who typifies to an extraordinary degree the first steps, at least, of synthesis between East and West. He moves, it seems, not as Gandhi moved—by a great and powerful intuition of the heart's need—but more as a public, a population, moves, straining after meanings with its mind. What, he seems to be asking, is synthesis at the rational level? He can no more abandon his people to their own devices, because they will not follow Gandhi on the testimony of their hearts alone, than he can follow Gandhi on the testimony of his heart alone. He is trying to work with the West, and perhaps this means he must accept, or accept vulnerability to, a portion of the West's delusions. A public man cannot retire into the forest. A public man, unless he is what the Hindus call an *avatar*, is almost inevitably involved in some of the limitations of those whom he would serve—perhaps to show how to work out of them.

And so we ask, again, without much of an answer, What is happening in India?.....

[From 'What is Happening in India?'—*Manas*, May 7, 1952.]

WHICH WAY LIES HOPE ?

By Richard B. Gregg

This essay is a thorough examination of Capitalism, Communism, Socialism and Gandhiji's Programme, and would be of immense help to all the readers.

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TRAINING FOR HAPPY HOME

[Shri Rajaji is our venerable wise old man of India today. Whatever he speaks is always refreshing and has a ring of rare originality and affectionate wisdom, chastened by age and experience, profound learning and deep meditation. The other day at Madras he was called upon to address the All-India Home Science Conference which was having its second session in that city. In his unique simple style he gave to his audience some plain home truths which are worthy of our attention. Home Science is a new Art in our college studies, I think, imported from America. It is fast on its way to becoming fashionable in educational circles. It is therefore well to go into it. It seems it is taken for granted that this old art of home-keeping is a science and is meant for girls. Is it so? I think the art is good for boys as well. Much of this subject will, on examination, be found to be useful to us irrespective of our sex. The following is reproduced from the report that appeared in *The Hindu*, Madras, of September 24, 1952.—M. P.]

'Among the many things that confused a person like me who belongs to an older generation', Mr Rajagopalachari said, 'was the holding of such All-India Conferences.' It seemed to him that by such conferences, they were trying to make a very big country a small place of compressed size. They wished to have All-India conferences for everything conceivable. He thought that the limit was reached when somebody proposed an All-India Children's Conference! He could not understand how all the children could be brought together or the few brought together could be made to represent the whole of India. Home Science was again a matter concerning every home and they wished to have an All-India gathering to discuss principles of running homes which were different from one another and of infinite variety. So he would congratulate the adventurous ladies and gentlemen who had organized the conference.

Asking the gathering to forgive his ignorance of the subject, Mr Rajagopalachari said that "now all culture, especially home culture, in India has been raised about four feet from the old level". The old level was on the ground. They sat on the ground, ate on the ground, and taught on the ground. Now, they slept on a cot and dared not sleep on the ground. They ate from a table and sat on a chair. "In fact, we do everything four feet above ground level. That is the great difference between the old culture in which I was born and the present culture for which you are preparing through Home Science classes in secondary schools and colleges". Saying that he was not joking, but only expressing "a universally applicable truth", Mr Rajagopalachari observed that today even the fire-place was four feet above ground and they cooked either standing or sitting on a chair. "Do not go away with the impression that I do not like change. I like change. But let us not imagine that we have lifted the whole of India by four feet. We have raised only a few families to this extent. The older home science was practised entirely on the floor and it would be some time before you can fit the new science into it."

Science of Family Happiness

Nobody would imagine that Home Science was "taught", simply because one learnt laundry work or some cooking. Mr Rajagopalachari said. Home Science was a much bigger thing. "It is the science of family happiness. It includes quite a number of subjects." Good cooking, good house-keeping, and things like that by themselves would not make a family happy. "You must learn how to marry and live a married life. That is true Home Science. Home is made by married people and children and the science deals with that subject. Please remember that Home Science is not preparation for a profession or a trade; but it is preparation for marriage". They might imagine that he had said something funny or the laughter might be the natural reaction to mention of marriage. "I am telling the plain truth here. Home Science is conceived for helping young people to live a good married life and make the home happy."

Pointing out that training in courses like this was utilized by people to become teachers in such courses, Rajaji observed that, in this manner "most of their attempts in this world got amputated". They prepared a number of young people to serve as teachers in the very process without getting to the end of the training, namely, getting homes filled with mothers who knew how to make a home happy. Rajaji said that what he wanted was that the aim of the Home Science curriculum, whether in the secondary school or in the college, should be to deal with the science of happiness in the home and education should end in "a practical application of what they learn to the homes to which they go."

The first thing a girl should learn, Rajaji observed, was how to make her husband happy and her children happy. Most college girls easily lost their temper. The loss of temper was due to strain — the strain of too much study for the purpose of passing examinations. He would warn young girls that "married life will involve greater strain, more even than the examination-life you are going through. You must know how to control your temper and how to speak the truth. When speaking the truth to one you love and for whose feeling you care, truth must be soaked in affection."

Mr Rajagopalachari pointed out how strain made husbands lose temper when speaking to their wives and wives when speaking to their husbands, and said that the marital loyalty preached to them would enable husbands to bear with the temper of their wives and *vice versa*, but would not make for happiness or positively for joy in the family. They might be able to iron the cloth especially when they were provided with a four-foot high table. But it was difficult to iron out the wrinkles on the husband's face. For that, they

required an attitude of piety and self-control. All this was Home Science. These were aspects of the science which were difficult to teach. That was why he said that Home Science supplemented in certain respects what they had to learn generally. They had to learn self-control, kindness, affection and very many other things from literature and poetry. Thus what they learnt as Home Science was not the whole of Home Science. A truly scientifically trained young man would learn to work with very little apparatus or sometimes with no apparatus. Similarly, the Home Science must be capable of being practised without electrical switches and tables. "You must know how to get down from the fourth potential to a lower potential", Rajaji concluded.

PANDIT JAWAHARLALJI ON BASIC EDUCATION

Readers know that Pandit Jawaharlalji addressed the All India Basic Education Conference on November 1, 1952, at Sevagram, Wardha. A number of Press reporters attended the meeting and made records of the address. When it was published in the newspapers, it was found that the impression given of the Prime Minister's speech was misleading. It appeared to imply that the fundamental principles and methods of Nai Talim were still to be regarded as matters of debate and experiment. What Shri Jawaharlal said, as is made absolutely clear in his letter to Shrimati Asha Devi, the secretary of the Talimi Sangh, given below, was that the details of the syllabus must and should be planned in different states, localities and circumstances in accordance with local needs. This principle of flexibility and responsiveness to the real needs of the children is one which the Hindustani Talimi Sangh has emphasized from the beginning. It is implicit in the very conception of education for life, and we are glad that the Prime Minister has emphasized it.

Shri Jawaharlal in his letter (7-11-'52) referred to above writes:

"The Press report is not correct in many respects. The world situation does not come in the picture at all. What I said was (speaking from memory) that while the Government had generally accepted Basic Education, there were many varieties of it. Speaking in my personal capacity, I wanted to give my full support to Basic Education or Nai Talim. It had already passed the stage of experiment and had justified itself. It might have to be adapted to different parts of the country having regard to conditions there. We should proceed experimentally from this point of view, that is to say, the basis was accepted, but variations might be made where necessary. I was referring rather

to minor variations and not to anything fundamental.

"A very minor variation which appears to me quite necessary is, not to thrust down our songs, etc., as they are, on the tribal areas. Thus, *Raghupati Raghava Rajaram* is totally incomprehensible and without meaning to the tribes of the North-East Frontier. So also some other minor parts of the curriculum which might not suit there."

MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

A VERY INTRICATE PROBLEM

[Following is the text of the message sent by the Prime Minister to the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood, Bombay, Nov. 24, 1952.]

I am glad to learn that the Third International Conference on Planned Parenthood is going to meet in Bombay in the near future. Whatever individual views may be on this question, it seems to me clear that we should give it the fullest consideration from all points of view. The approach should be scientific and the aim social good. Any scientific approach must not be inhibited by preconceptions or convictions already held. We must approach the question with a completely open mind and examine every aspect of it. Any question that involves the intimate lives of human beings produces psychological and other reactions which must necessarily be kept in view.

The Government of India have an open mind on this subject and do not wish any discussion or consideration of it to be limited in any way. They are not committed finally to any special approach, although they may encourage experiments of a particular type.

In a country like India, with a very large population, this question has an even greater significance than elsewhere. It deserves, therefore, the fullest study here and the application of such methods as are found suitable from all points of view. There is one aspect of this, however, which should not mislead us. Some people imagine that almost all the ills of India are due to over-population and, therefore, the basic remedy for those ills is to try to limit the growth of this population. This approach, to some extent, diverts attention from important social problems to the population aspect of them. I think this is wrong. While I am convinced that it would be desirable to limit the growth of India's population by proper methods, where feasible, I do not think that social and economic problems are solved merely by this approach. The other day the President of the British Association of Science, a very eminent scientist, posed a dilemma of science. By the advance of scientific methods in dealing with disease etc., the death rate was falling and, therefore, population tended to increase. This, according to him, created fresh problems

and resulted in lower standards and even in gross poverty, especially in the less developed countries. Was science, therefore, to give up dealing with the eradication of disease etc. ?

Of course, science has another and harsher aspect also. It produces and deals with weapons of mass destruction. The dilemma posed by the British scientist is there, but only so if we have no other social aspect or solution of the problem. As a matter of fact, there can be and are social approaches. In regard to food and other necessities of life, there is no limit to production, if properly organized.

India is certainly heavily populated and yet taking India as a whole it is not as densely populated as many other countries with higher standards of living. The question is of higher production per capita and proper distribution.

There is another rather curious aspect of this problem. It is held by some scientists that poverty, hunger and undernourishment themselves lead to greater fertility and, therefore, to a higher rate of increase of population, even allowing for a higher death rate. This argument is based on biological reasoning. If this is so, then one of the methods of restricting population growth is obviously to raise standards and try to prevent hunger and undernourishment.

I have indicated some approaches to this problem which is obviously very intricate. Many people are inclined to look at it in a very simple way.

I wish all success to the Conference.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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