

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

THE REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF TRUTH

(By Leo Tolstoy)

[A reader of the *Harijan* sends the following immortal words of Tolstoy to share them with others.]

Heroic deeds are not required to effect great and momentous changes in human life. It is not necessary to have millions of armed men, or new railroads or new machinery, or new expositions, trade unions, revolutions, barricades, dynamic outrages, or airships, and the like; nothing is required for the purpose but a transformation of public opinion. In order to bring about this transformation, no new efforts of thought are required, it is not necessary to overthrow the existing order and to invent something new and extraordinary. All we have to do is to resolve not to submit to the false, to the dead public opinion of the past which is artificially kept alive by the governments. It is only required that every man should say what he really thinks and feels, or else abstain from saying what he does not really believe in.

If only a small group of men were to act in this manner, then the old public opinion would disappear and we should have the new, the living, and real public opinion in its stead. With the change in public opinion would follow easily the transformation in the inner life of men. It is shameful to think how really little is required for men's deliverance from oppressing evils; they must only not lie. Let men not submit to the lies that are suggested to them, let them say only what they think and feel, and then there will come such a change in our life as revolutionists would not be able to bring about in the course of centuries, even if they had the power.

A free man may utter truthfully what he thinks and what he feels in the midst of thousands of men who by their actions and doings show something quite the opposite. It would seem that the truthful man must stand alone, yet it happens that the majority also think and feel the same, only that they do not express it. What was yesterday a new opinion of one man, today is the joint opinion of the majority. As soon as that opinion establishes itself, men's actions commence to change slowly, and by degrees.

NOTES

"The Crowd at the Top"

As readers know, there is at present in session an UNESCO Seminar on "Contribution of Gandhian outlook and technique to the solution of tensions between and within nations". Shri Jawaharlalji inaugurated it. In the course of his address, he said:

"I do think, and I do say with all respect, that there is so much talk of peace everywhere, but very little of it is honest talk. I do not say about the multitude or the people. People in every country want peace. But I am referring to the politicians and statesmen and all that crowd at the top. I have no doubt at the back of their own minds they also want peace. But nevertheless, either through fear or something else, they do not work for peace, though they talk about it. And even that talk for peace becomes manoeuvring for position. So we see the world going step by step towards some tragic disaster."

(From *The Leader*, Jan. 7, 1953, as reported by P. T. I.)

We must congratulate our Prime Minister for such bold expression of the reality that confronts all peace-lovers and workers in the field. Speaking for our country, it might be said that it is a call for self-introspection by our "politicians and statesmen and all that crowd at the top" and to realize for themselves whether they really work for Gandhiji's principles which, they declare, are the ideal for the nation.

10-1'53

M. P.

Gandhiji Speaks

"In this land of ours, fabulously rich in natural resources, there is the lofty Himalayas with its ever-lasting snows where they say, dwells the Lord of Universe. It has mighty rivers like the Ganges. But owing to our neglect and folly, the years' rains are allowed to run into the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. If all this water is trapped and harnessed to irrigational purposes by the construction of Dams and Tanks, there should be no famine or food shortage in India. Similarly, cloth shortage can immediately be removed by planting a miniature mill in every home in the form of a spinning wheel or a *takli*. That would give us all the cloth that we need almost for nothing. I have cried myself hoarse in pressing this solution on the Government. It is immediately feasible, and it is my claim that not a single person need go naked, if necessary steps are taken to put it into operation. *The only*

obstacles in the way are the inertia and prejudice in high places." — Mahatma Gandhi

Will the masses awake, arise, and stop not till the goal is reached? The question is, who is there to electrify the masses?

▲Jmer, 27-12-'52

H. N. MANCHANDIA

BHOODAN MOVEMENT AND THE LAND PROBLEM

(By U. Keshava Rao)

It is often said that the Bhoodan movement will result in sub-division and fragmentation of land thereby affecting the produce of the land. In order to find whether there is any truth in this allegation, it is necessary to know about the method of distribution of lands by Bhoodan Yajna Samiti (Hyderabad).

The Samiti has laid down the following rules for the distribution of donated lands:

1. Lands should be distributed at the rate of one acre wet land per family or one acre dry land per head. But the Samiti has the discretion to reduce or increase according to local conditions.

2. If the donated land happens to be in possession of a landless tenant, then it will be given to him only, the Samiti can take necessary action if the donated land is disputed.

So far the Samiti has been able to collect 33,000 acres of land and distributed 8,119.25 acres. The table given below gives some idea about the distribution of the lands among the families:

Units of Distribution	Dry Land		Wet Land	
	Families	Acres	Families	Acres
Below One Acre	5	3.29	95	58.0
One Acre	4	4.0	34	34
1 to 2 Acres	15	27.7	60	67.14
2 to 5 Acres	92	469.15		
5 to 10 Acres	165	1038.2		
10 to 25 Acres	63	745.37		
25 to 50 Acres	5	204.32		

These figures show land distribution among some individual families. Apart from this, lands are distributed for collective farming also. 1339.2 acres of dry land and 65.17 acres of wet land have been distributed among 90 and 23 units respectively for collective cultivation.

As regards collective farming the question of sub-division does not arise. As for the distribution to individual families the above-mentioned statistics reveal that some families have got 25 to 50 acres of land also.

Wet land is much valued in Telangana. The Settlement Office has numbered even the smallest portion of the land upto one *gunta* in its survey. It has been noticed in some places that the poor cultivators till small holdings with spades and labour hard by manuring it to get a maximum yield out of it. So in case of fragmentation, the

yield of wet land is not so much affected as that of dry lands. But in some special circumstances the Samiti has to allow small bits of dry land and the donees also received it with much gratefulness. At one place it was found that the Harijans have got wet land but have no dry land for grazing their cattle. Similarly some small bits of dry land have been distributed in Adilabad district for housing purposes and some donees are benefiting by cultivating them as 'Perads' i.e. growing vegetables and *makai* etc.

As for the distribution of the leased lands the Samiti has adhered to the principle that the land should be given to the lease-holders. So there is no fear of sub-division in this respect.

Thus there has been less fragmentation of land and it was done only at a time and in such a manner that it may be fit for cultivation, otherwise the donee himself does not accept it. It is found in two or three places that the villagers refused to accept the lands as they are not profitable. Consequently the lands still remain undistributed.

Another criticism levelled against this movement is that it is of no avail to distribute lands among the poor who have neither bulls nor agricultural implements for cultivation, that they cannot profit by these land gifts unless they are provided with necessary capital. This is an outcome of utter ignorance of realities that exist, at present, in the villages.

Generally the cultivators may be grouped as:

1. Those cultivators who own lands:
2. Those cultivators who are tenants: (as per Tenancy Act the leaseholders have been given some special rights; more or less they may be called as permanent cultivators of leased lands).
3. Those who are neither tenants nor owners of the land, but take part in the cultivation and share the produce as co-agriculturists.

The third category of cultivators may aptly be called as landless cultivators. They have their own bulls and agricultural implements but they have not got any right on the lands cultivated by them directly or indirectly. During the distribution work it is found that the villagers also recommend such landless cultivators as deserving for land gifts. The Samiti has also distributed most of the donated land among this type of landless cultivators.

There are, in all, 22000 villages in Hyderabad State. If we estimate an average of ten landless cultivators in each village, the total landless cultivators of the State works out to be more than two lakhs. If each cultivator has to be provided with, at least, five acres land, we shall have to acquire, at least, ten lakh acres of land. To this extent we need not worry about the supply of any agricultural implements. Experience

shows that this type of cultivators welcome any small bits of land gift.

If we go to villages it will be revealed to us that there are a number of persons cultivating small holdings since generations. In most places it is also found that these small landholders, by putting hard labour, produce more than the big landholders.

Shri R. K. Patil, the then member of the Planning Commission, Government of India, during his tour in Nalgonda district put questions to the villagers as to how many acres of land should be allowed for a family and a plough. At one place the villagers said that ten or fifteen acres of dry land should be allowed; at another village, the villagers told that it is better to have one acre of wet land and ten acres of dry land, as the wet land is much valued in Telangana. When questioned in the light of standard of living, they said that two acres of wet land and fifteen acres of dry land are necessary for ordinary middle class life and opined that it is neither desirable nor obtainable to have more than this. An old woman of about sixty stated that instead of complicating things by taking land from one person and giving it to another, it is better to grant permanent rights to the tenants and the rate of the *kowl* (rent) should be fixed equal to land revenue. She also said that it is not necessary for Government to act as a sales agent between the landlord and the tenant, when there is no material gain in it. In a third village the Harijans told that it is essential to distribute the lands and requested that they may be given even an acre of land to each house, as the landless people have neither credit in market nor status in villages.

These are being mentioned here merely to show the view of villagers on the land problem and to clear that the land problem cannot be solved only by administrative orders or by enactments of specific laws. There is a lot of difference between the holdings of not only a village but a holding itself differs in fertility from one end to another. Therefore the problem has to be solved according to local situation, general condition of the soil and as far as possible in conformity with the views of the landowner. It should also be borne in mind that except in special circumstances, the agricultural produce may be increased by keeping an average holding with the cultivators. Generally, it is not necessary to keep big holdings.

The land problem which is a very complicated one, may be solved in a healthy atmosphere if the agrarian reforms are based on the above-mentioned lines. Bhodan Samiti is following the same in its distribution work. So it can be said that this movement will lead towards solving the land problem of the country.

Bhodan Yajna Samiti,
Hyderabad, Dn.

SOCIAL SERVICE AND CHARITY

[The following is culled from the address of Rajkumari Shri Amrit Kaur, Minister of Health, Government of India, and Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sixth International Conference of Social Work, at Madras, on December 14, 1952.]

Social service has always held a revered place in the tradition and heritage of the culture of India. It may be said to have reached its high watermark in recent times in the life and example of Gandhiji. Fighting as he was for political rights and independence for over half a century, in South Africa to begin with and then in India, he never once forgot that man had to serve his fellow man in order to find himself. Indeed, the salvation of India for him lay in what he termed the carrying out successfully of his "constructive programme". Drawn up pre-eminently for our country, I believe it is in greater or lesser degree applicable to the entire world. We have embodied the principle of social justice in our Constitution and are anxious to realize this ideal with deference both to our genius and tradition as also to the advances made by the progressive Western nations.

As in every other sphere of life we have witnessed in our homeland too a gradual change in the concept of social work. It is gradually being realized that in addition to charity, social justice must be the mainspring of all welfare activities. Charity or assistance has always been regarded as a noble sentiment and has been enjoined upon all religious groups in every land. Kindness and sympathy towards human weakness and suffering are motivated by a noble attitude of mind. Charity is at all times a commendable attribute of human character. But when it is dispensed in terms only of material goods, it cannot but help to draw pointed attention to the unfortunate distinctions which do exist in society. Social charity may even be said to impinge sometimes on the self-respect of the receiver. Social justice, on the other hand, seeks to give to each individual his due in terms of equal opportunity and growth according to individual aptitude and social good and is thus consistent with the dignity of human personality and the highest democratic ideals.

Nevertheless legislation or ideologies alone are not enough. In order to make social justice all-embracing, the motive force must be love and by love I mean here the virtue that blossoms as the rose in the desert, that makes life possible for those whose existence might otherwise be dreary, that blesses the giver more than the receiver.

I need hardly emphasize that social work is an ideal platform for international co-operation, for the human heart is quick to respond to suffering. It is for social work to relieve and alleviate suffering and herald the creation of a world order when people can live in peace and happiness. Indeed I have a feeling that U.N.O. holds out a ray of hope in a world darkened by war clouds

solely because of the splendid humanitarian work of its specialized agencies. Only by love can we serve one another and only through service can we get to know and appreciate each other.

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CATCHING UP THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Pandit Jawaharlalji initiating a debate on the Five-Year Plan in the Parliament described the aim of the Plan in the following words: "In fact we are trying to catch up as far as we can with the Industrial Revolution which came long years ago in Western countries and made great changes in the course of a century or more."

And he added further, "Now this Industrial Revolution has a long history in the past and we are apt to think in terms of European history when we look at India. Why we should repeat the errors of the past is not clear to me. Obviously, we have to learn from the past and avoid these errors." (*The Hindustan Times*, December 17, 1952)

What these errors are and what we should learn from them so as to avoid them was not told by Panditji in any clear terms. When he spoke, he seemed to have in mind some pattern of weaving together big industries with smaller village industries in order to create an era of industrialization in our country through the Five-Year Plan.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe is not an isolated phenomenon in its history. It was born of a certain philosophy of life evolved there during the last two or three centuries. Science in alliance with the power-driven machine and large capital has been the instrument for translating that philosophy into an industrialized society. The process was one composite whole.

It was about this Industrial Revolution of the West, that Mr. Wilfred Wellock said (*Harijan*, 27-12-'52): "The Industrial Revolution has developed contradictions it cannot resolve and tensions it cannot remove except by war, which however, produces still greater tensions. . . . From this impasse neither politicians nor Divines have any means of escape." He said that the Industrial Revolution was now in reverse and the civilization that has been brought about by it is in decay. (*vide* his articles in the *Harijan* of 13-12-'52 and 20-12-'52). Many more thinking people in the West have been similarly expressing themselves about the Industrial Revolution.

If this is the verdict from people living under it and if we are trying to catch up that thing, how we can escape or avoid its errors is a

big question. If the Five-Year Plan is aimed at bringing about 'the Industrial Revolution of the type which came long years ago in Western countries', one does not know how we can escape the tensions and contradictions inherent in the economy born of it.

However, surely, we must industrialize ourselves or we perish with hunger and crushing poverty. But it must be in a different manner. The question is: Is there any way of doing it differently from the one known in the West? The Five-Year Plan appears to be taking to that beaten track and not any new way. Therefore it is difficult to follow how its errors will be avoided by us. Why should industrialization mean necessarily succumbing to the machine and money bringing about capitalism either private or State? Industrialization should, no doubt, mean mass-production and we may say that we in India need it. But should it necessarily follow that the way to do it is the one shown to us by the machine and developed in the West? If errors of the Industrial Revolution which are patent to it are sought to be avoided, another way must be found out and attempted leaving off the easy beaten track. There is another way of mass-production also, and that is the way Gandhiji showed us as the best and most suited to our country.

Industrialization, if it is worth the name, must ensure full employment. The way shown to us by Gandhiji is based on this basic need of our people. To quote him: "If you multiply individual production to millions of times, would it not give you mass-production on 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 elementary type which I can put in the homes of 'the millions.'" (*vide Harijan*, Dec. 6, 1952, *Mass-Production and World-Crisis* by Gandhiji).

The Five-Year Plan raises this question of Man v. Machinery not in a pure or academic manner as it was before we were free but in a real manner. There is no doubt the answer to this question must be in favour of man and the way of maximum production with a view to full employment of all our people. No dogmatic belief in the way of the West either in the name of Science or in the name of mass-production achieved by the West can be said to be truly scientific. The aim is not production anyhow or at the cost of man for whom it is meant. Panditji in his address to the Parliament, rightly said and emphasized the true aim of the Plan in the following words: ". . . . Ultimately, you have to deal not with steel and cement and things that you can measure, but you have to deal with 360 million individual human beings in this country, each different from the other."

The way of industrialization through machine and money leaving the human beings to fill in the picture as best as they can will surely not meet our great problem, very beautifully worded by Panditji. We require a plan that meets the needs of that objective. The Five-Year Plan should keep this great objective before it and should be accordingly amended in the course of its implementation. It is a great responsibility — that of evolving an Indian way of industrializing our people without repeating the errors committed in the West.

8-1-'53

PLACE OF ENGLISH IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

In the last All India Educational Conference held at Bombay, there was organized a symposium on the above subject in which I was invited to participate. The following is a summary of what I said on the occasion :

It is hardly necessary, much less relevant in a discussion on the place of English in our National Education System, to dilate upon the importance, expanse and beauty of English and its literature. The English language is highly developed, its literature is vast and is daily growing. Various branches of science and knowledge are almost daily being enriched and enlarged in that language. The English people are a virile race, patriotic, progressive and heroic and possess the unique knack of expressing in their literature their national specialities in an exquisite manner. It is probably for this very reason that we are called upon today to think what place should this language occupy in our educational system.

But there is a limit to such glorification of English and this should be very clearly understood by us at present. Unseasonable and unnecessary praise creates wrong values in the popular mind, and the common man labours under an impression that the old supremacy over our educational and cultural life that English has been having would and must hold on in free India too. This hallucination clouds our thought and creates needless complexes. Therefore instead of disserting on the greatness of English, we should rather try to visualize with clarity and precision its place in education. I fear very much that the continuance of the old order is likely to cripple our educational system. But the situation as it faces us today is potential and if rightly handled may usher in a revolution in education.

It would be desirable at this stage to cast a glance at our modern history of the last one hundred and fifty years. It would help us examine the question clearly.

The introduction of the study of English was an outstanding event of that period. From a study of the leaders of thought who were responsible for its introduction, we find that the following three view points dominated the field :

1. Indian savants and scholars like Raja Ram Mohan Roy thought that India was already in possession of rich literatures in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic; if the English literature is also made available, we can have access to the newly developed arts and sciences of the West. The study of English language and literature, therefore, should be promoted.

This view had emphasized the acquisition of learning or knowledge. This may, therefore, be named a 'scholastic view'. The Raja laid stress on the acquisition of western learning which he welcomed with that end in view. The followers of this school of thought are in evidence even now. They are the moderates or the liberals or social reformers, and some educationalists — the relics of the above tradition — who go on harping in season and out of season upon the excellence of the English culture, knowledge and tradition.

Besides this, there were two other schools of thought which were different from it. Their aims and objects differed from those of the first. They represented the views of our English rulers then.

2. Lord William Bentinck wanted English language for administrative convenience. He could see even then that if Englishmen wanted to rule over India, the administrative language must be English. Foresighted that he was he introduced English as the language of administration and resolved upon the initiation of English education in India. Education was thus allied with Government service and as a result English study became the fashion of the day. This transformed not only our education but also our social set-up. This view became more dominant than the first, and it is so till now.

3. The third view, resembling and helping the second one, was represented by Lord Macaulay. He thought that English education would make Indians look upon the English people with respect and awe. They would turn to western ways of life and thought and would accept the leadership of the English as an enlightened people. It was Lord Macaulay who made English the medium of instruction, which continues till today. This step drastically effected our education and well-nigh sapped it of its creative vitality. It created the English-knowing class as apart from the large mass of the people.

If the first view is scholastic, the other two — those of Lord Bentinck and Lord Macaulay can be said to be administrative and cultural respectively. These three notions cumulatively worked up the introduction of the foreign language in our land. How these three ideas worked their way through the Indian society during the last one hundred years and more, what they wrought and what they ruined, present a none too flattering chapter of our history, to which we may not turn today. But it is certain that our nation has now come out of the above maze and has taken definite decisions regarding its future

progress. It is, however, tragic that our will and our effort to implement them do not come up to the mark. But the decisions are part of our freedom and are unalterable. They are as follows :

1. Hindi shall replace English as the official language of the Union of India within the next 15 years.

2. English shall not continue to be the medium of instruction.

This means that we have now decided to eliminate out of the three viewpoints noted above the administrative and the cultural ones, retaining only the scholastic one. Raja Ram Mohan Roy rightly counted upon the English language as a means of acquiring knowledge and enlightenment, and we even today heartily endorse it.

After the attainment of independence we can be said to have come in a happy condition, when we are able to think of the place of English in a natural manner as free people and are sufficiently awakened to shake off the slavish incumbrances of the intervening period. It is up to us now to avail ourselves fully of this refreshing change. Instead of this some good friends from amongst us still continue to believe that English alone can be the medium and *lingua franca* in India. They cling to this superstition with an amazing mental laziness. Imagine the tragedy when these champions are regarded as of advanced views ! English education gave rise to some vested interests which continue to dominate us even today. Need I say that these interests also hail mainly from the above class ? The assurance that English will be retained for knowledge should ordinarily suffice to silence their clamour. The question before us, therefore, is : how to adjust English in our educational set-up henceforth in a way which would help us to realize our goal as would also set the vested interests at ease. That the study of English is useful to us is beyond dispute. As a matter for that we aspire to study the great literatures of various other nations of the world also. What to say for English which history has given us ? It is, however, for us to determine its extent.

Is it possible for all to study the great English writers ? Should all of our people start English study for that end ? How many of us have learnt the language even after its study during the last hundred years ? The long and short of the argument, therefore, is that treasure which English has should be made available to everyone of us in one's own mother-tongue, and it is for this that we have to think out a scheme of education.

The result of what goes on today is quite the contrary. The English-educated formed a caste by themselves. They become officers or take to some such respectable professions. What is sought through English education is more the gainful benefits and advantages accruing therefrom than love of knowledge. This has brought about high-and-low mentality and inequality among our people. In education a separatist

tendency has been created. The question of the place of English in education is, therefore, not merely educational, but has become a step to social and administrative revolution. Our National Governments, therefore, are called upon to decide this question in the context of these wider issues.

The ideals of the National Education and the constructive efforts, therefore, developed under the inspiration and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, do point out a way to this revolution. Unhappily our intelligentsia have been found to be extremely reactionary in point of education. But it should be remembered that without the promotion of National Education our Swaraj would neither be secure nor progressive. The prevalent system is decaying and cannot be saved. The time for educational reorientation has, therefore, come. It has become inevitable.

The place of English in our educational set-up may be briefly stated. It should be as follows :

1. English should have no place whatsoever in the curriculum of the first seven years (i.e. from standard first to standard seventh). From the fifth standard the study of the National language should begin. It is obvious, therefore, that an introduction of a third language at this stage is undesirable.

2. From standards 8th to 11th, i.e. during the four years of the High School, English be introduced. It need not necessarily be compulsory. Those not taking up English, may take up, besides the mother-tongue, any one of the Indian languages, e.g. Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali etc. Many students give up education after the 11th standard. That they know the language of their neighbouring province is more necessary and even useful than the knowledge of English. The more we live in Swaraj, the more we feel the need of knowing Indian languages other than our mother-tongue. We must remember also that these widely based linguistic studies would help us to further mutual intercourse and unity. That many today might take up English is not objectionable. Those who would not, should have the freedom and the convenience to do so.

3. The capacity to understand English is necessary now-a-days for students desiring to continue their studies in a college or a university. This would enable them to make use of English books, in the present undeveloped state of our languages. And it would also help in enriching the Indian languages with the help of English. Provision should also be made here for those, irrespective of the number, who want to continue their education without English. This experiment would be a valuable contribution in the reorientation programme.

There is nothing novel about the above scheme. Gandhiji has before long incorporated it in the national programme. It is quite natural that reactionary forces in the Government and the people are trying to assert themselves in

favour of the *status quo*. The above ideas would, however, help us countenance them successfully. In this great task cities like Bombay, which are great strongholds of English educated people, could render real help to the national cause. It would also be a great service in itself on their part if they do not become centres of reactionary forces.

(From the original in Gujarati)

THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO WORLD PEACE

[From a speech delivered by Shri J. C. Kumarappa before the World Congress for Peace at Vienna on December 13, 1952.]

As we are meeting here to explore all ways and means of attaining world peace I wish to place before you, for your consideration, the methods worked out in India by Mahatma Gandhi and his analysis of the reasons for friction among nations and the way to smoothen international relations.

The Hindu Way of Life

The philosophy of non-violence and truth of Gandhiji has its deep roots in the way of life developed over thousands of years by the Hindus to lead us to peace. Hence to understand the Gandhian way to peace it is necessary to remind ourselves of this ancient background.

Peace Is Dharma of Man

They held Truth is God and Dharma is the purpose of existence of man. Nay, each creature—sentient and insentient—has its own Dharma. The Dharma of man is to express himself in peace. Dharma is neither religion nor duty as is often indifferently translated. These latter are but expressions of Dharma but not all of it. Just as to produce flowers is the nature of the rose plant and to exude fragrance is the very nature of the rose, so should the production of peace be the very existence of man. We may say flowering is the Dharma of the plant and sweet smelling is the Dharma of the Rose and peace is the Dharma of man. Anything that produces conflict is Adharma (non-Dharma).

Modern Man's Degradation

Modern philosophy of life has turned man into an economic animal. It has made production of goods the Dharma of man. This is a degradation of the mission in life of man. We may say, if we choose, that the Dharma of the machine is to produce goods. But man is something nobler. Life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess. Man does not live by bread alone and much less by unwanted things made into necessities by artificial pressure of salesmanship and advertising. Thus has man fallen from his Dharma and has brought conflict into the world of humanity by introducing false values and priorities. If we wish to restore peace we have to reorientate our own lives. This may involve forgoing many material things which we have come to regard as essentials. In the restoration of Dharma lies the hope of World Peace.

The Dharma of the strong is the protection of the weak. The all powerful America fighting small nations like Korea is Adharma. It belongs to the animal kingdom. The Dharma of the tiger may be to kill but not that of man. We have to diagnose this virus of poison that has entered human life and has produced this phenomenon of nation warring against nation and man's personality being buried under a mountain of consumer goods. This finally leads man to seek a way out by blowing up this mountain by a ceaseless activity of producing instruments of destruction. To a cool thinker production of the atom bomb would seem the height of midsummer madness and what shall we say of hydrogen bombs and germ warfare!

Man has thus fallen from his Dharma and wandered into the jungle of violence. Hence it is necessary to restore the values that make for human development and fuller expression of personality. To do this was Gandhiji's search for Truth and the non-violent way of life.

Roots of Modern Malady

The malady the world is suffering from today is mainly due to economic factors. We have forgotten the end of man in life and are running after things that do not matter. In the few minutes at our disposal I shall attempt an analysis of the situation from a practical point of view and see how we can remedy it and implement the suggestions.

If the way of Dharma leads to peace, then any act that is Adharma will lead to violence. These global conflicts are not isolated incidents. They are the culminations of innumerable small acts performed by simple people innocently. Though the responsibility for wars may immediately be placed on some leaders, yet the real causes can be traced to our daily acts. For instance, city people buy milk without asking whether the calf has been fed or the children of the milkman had their quota. When the milk we buy is not a surplus but has been squeezed out of the mouths of calves and children with prior claims, our acts are *adharmaic* and we create violence which when accumulated breaks out into world catastrophes. Hence we see the real remedy lies in the consumer being closely associated with the producer and the distributor. This means decentralization of production and a move towards self-sufficiency. This has been Gandhiji's suggestion for banishing the causes of wars.

On the production side today, the goods are turned out on a mass scale with standardized methods from raw materials secured from the ends of the earth from underdeveloped people. All this is *adharmaic*.

Similarly, distribution has no natural urge but is stimulated by all manner of salesmanship leading to the creation of artificial multiplicity of wants. This again is *adharmaic* and leads to violence.

The pattern of consumption has no relation to real needs of the consumer nor is it related one to another nor based on any priorities. The consumer pattern is calculated to subservise the needs of the producer and distributor. Hence periodic explosions are called for to set the system on proper lines. These again lead to wars.

As long as the capitalistic and imperialistic interests persist and production follows centralized and standardized methods wars will form an integral part of human life and no amount of petitions and protests will bring about lasting peace. Because of these underlying causes the atmosphere is surcharged with a fear of acquisitive interests being upset by a spreading sense of social justice.

The Remedy

What then is the remedy? The causes themselves suggest the way out. We have already seen that Gandhiji had suggested self-sufficiency and decentralization of production.

This course of action brings promotion of world peace within the reach of every single one of us. We need not feel helpless before the great ones of the earth. Everyone can contribute his mite. This is a great privilege and a responsibility. It calls for self-control and sacrifice in the cause of peace. Are we prepared to shoulder our share of work?

All this is based on the assumption that we shall have enough basic character to organize each nation into behaving in co-operation with the rest of the world on a high level of moral and spiritual standards. The education of the children must be recast to enable us to raise a nation of stalwarts who will depend on character rather than armaments to maintain peace. Only such peaceful relations founded on co-operation, understanding and goodwill will lead us to lasting peace.

In such a world there can be no exploitation of the weak by the strong, oppression of the underdeveloped by the highly organized, or overpowering of the small by the mighty. Such human relations alone can lead to peace on earth and goodwill towards man.

Hotel Mozart,
Vienna, 16-12-'52

THE CRY OF AN ANGUISHED SOUL

"Have the Gaya people forgotten their pledge? To none have I explained so much as I have done to them. But it is now more than a month and a half and not much worth mention has been done there. When on board, people remember the Lord, but when on shore they seem to forget Him. That is the state of the people's mind!"

These words full of agony were expressed by Acharya Vinobaji in his prayer speech this evening. Some workers of Bihar State had come to see him and it was as it were his loud thinking with them.

Continuing Acharyaji said, "People do not seem inclined to do any concentrated effort. That is the tendency I am witnessing. They are more enthusiastic to listen to speeches than to act up to the teachings implied in them. Much more work would have been done if there were a band of workers engaged in Bhoodan work. Revolution demands selfless workers prepared to sacrifice their all. To me it is not the land that matters, for land is surely going to come to me. I am anxious to see workers who have faith in this mission. The more the workers the greater and deeper the work."

Vinobaji in the beginning stressed that good men should now relieve themselves of the allurements of institutions. In this connection he illustrated how Hinduism laid down stages of progressive renunciation from *grihasthashram* to *vanaprastha* and then to *sannyas*. That was the only way for doing some valour without which transformation in society was an impossibility.

Referring to the conditions of the present day institutions, Acharyaji said that although these institutions were supposed to have been founded for the sake of service to the people, they were not free from the bondage of party and group politics.

Expressing his deep agony over the recent happenings in Bihar Congress, Acharyaji asked, "Have these quarrels helped anyone in the least? They have only helped in increasing mutual distrust and foulness. Congressmen have neither been able to serve anyone nor could they purify their own minds. Other institutions also are not free from this disease. They all have but one programme and that is of mutual fault-finding and decrying each other. They take pride and feel meritorious in doing so.

"The lesson that I have taken from all this has given me protection and brought me salva-

tion. That is the lesson that Hinduism has given through the preaching of *sannyas*. Salvation is impossible if there is slightest attachment for any notion whatsoever. People start institutions which in the end overpower the founders themselves. Unrighteous and bogus men capture these institutions while the founders have not the courage for disillusionment. They cannot free themselves from the bonds of institutions. They get themselves involved in the problems of minority and majority. Rule of majority is the law of the day. Whether the majority has or has not scruples and character, it does not matter at all. Is not majority only brute force? How can you differentiate between the rule of the regiment, rule of money and rule of majority? What is it if it is not brute force? The only way to get rid of this is that those who are good and respectable should resign from the institutions and behave as plain men. That is the path the sages have trodden. Buddha, Kabir and Tulsi did the same and that is why they could uplift society.

"In spite of such an inspiring programme like the Bhoodan-Yajna, I see people speaking in terms of sparing either four days or five days for this cause. They have leisure enough all the 365 days in a year, to look after their domestic affairs. Did Shivaji and Shankaracharya who brought about revolutions think in terms of four days or five? They worked hard and constantly too. Only such workers can make this revolutionary programme a success",... the Acharya concluded.

Chandil, 4-1-'53

D. M.

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