

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

Vol. XVIII. No. 18

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1954

TWO ANNAS

HOW TO WARD OFF A BLOODY REVOLUTION

(By Gandhiji)

Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good.

(From Constructive Programme)*

"CONTROL THE EVIL OF THE CINEMA"

The Prime Minister of India today, (June 19, 1954) received a petition signed by about 13,000 housewives and mothers of Delhi demanding action to "control the evil of the cinema".

If the Government, they urge, do not have "sufficient constitutional powers" in this behalf, they should take steps to seek the necessary power.

Full names and addresses of the signatories are entered in the petition. The signatures of "those who wanted to sign but who did not know how to read and write" have been excluded from the petition. The latter, it is claimed by the signatories, would easily total another 13,000.

"The cinema films today" says the petition, "are becoming a major menace to the moral health of our children. Not only are they inciting them into precocious sexual habits, but are also serving as a major factor in incitement to crime and general unsettlement of society. Large numbers of children do not attend schools. They steal money somehow to go to the cinema. The juveniles are the most important element of cinemas

in big cities. Educationists have acknowledged that they do not know how to deal with this factor.

"The film which is becoming a means of mass communication and entertainment should be a contributory factor to social welfare and progress of society. If it is serving the contrary purpose, then it should have no place in the scheme of things. Foreign films which are coming here, more especially the American ones, are also adding to this social unit and incitement to crime and bloodshed. It is the duty of the Government to stop these things. If Government do not have sufficient constitutional powers, then they should equip themselves with such powers and take necessary steps to control the present trend of the industry. We have held dozens of meetings all over Delhi attended by thousands of persons demanding this from Government."

The Prime Minister is understood to have promised full consideration to the representation. (From a Press Release)

[The appeal deserves the backing of all who wish to see that our new generation grows up to be mentally and morally healthy and robust. It is a challenge to our censoring authorities as well. I learn that exhibition of certain sexual behaviour and nudity etc. is prohibited for Indian films, but it is not applicable to foreign or American films, even though the prohibited sexual behaviour is the same if not still more objectionable. If this is true it must be considered a surprisingly striking performance on the part of the censoring authorities.

In this regard of the mothers' petition it is as well that a Commission of parents and teachers is appointed to go into the question and report to the nation. We are sure the Prime Minister will give due attention to the matter and assure the nation that it will be duly protected from the dire consequences of the Cinema Industry although it gives some part of its profit to Government exchequer also.

23-6-54

M. P.]

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UNEMPLOYMENT

(By Maurice Frydman)

I am giving below an extract from a monograph "Unemployment" by Shri Chandulal P. Parikh, M. P.

"The implementation of the policy of small and cottage scale development of various articles will be easy if the following measures are adopted for establishing them:

"(1) After demarcating, it will be necessary to provide that an article earmarked for a particular field will not be allowed to be manufactured in a more mechanized field. In order that production of the same article in both the fields may be carried on a competitive and survival basis, it may be necessary in some cases to levy a cess on the competing existing industries where the cost of production is less owing to mechanization. Levy of cess, a differential sales tax, reservations of types of production, a ceiling on present production or a classification according to volume of production will achieve the desired result of expanding production in the demarcated field. In order that the consumers may not have to pay a higher price in certain products it is suggested that the proceeds of the cess may be utilized for subsidizing the production of certain essential products manufactured on cottage scale. The difference in the cost of production of cottage scale production will be thus reduced to the consumers to the extent of the subsidy. Exports cannot be jeopardized by these methods because cesses and excise duties are not applicable or are refunded when goods are exported.

"(2) Production of specific articles in specific states having suitable resources should be made so far as to lead to production of such articles in suitable locations at a reasonable cost with a satisfactory quality. Rough data are available in each state of the possibilities of manufacture by them and conclusions can be arrived at an early date.

"(3) Methods of integrating the production of large scale industries by manufacture of their particular component parts to be reserved for manufacture by small or cottage scale industries can be beneficially adopted in some industries.

"(4) Many large scale industries are preferring the imported products in preference to indigenous products on the plea of superior quality and lower price. This unsympathetic attitude has to be arrested by exercising compulsion on such large scale manufacturers to use local products while the indigenous manufacturers should be made to employ all their resources in improving quality and reducing cost.

"(5) Many large scale industries have different mechanized processes through which an article passes before getting complete and there are some industries in which each mechanical process can be conveniently and independently carried on on small or cottage scale by employing dies, blocks and patterns and the articles thus produced may be finally as good or good for the purpose. For example the component parts of umbrellas, bicycles and many other articles can be manufactured on small or cottage scale and thus assembled together and the product will be quite suitable. A committee of experts should be set up immediately to ascertain what articles can be manufactured in parts and then assembled together.

"(6) Immediate steps should be taken to reserve for small and cottage scale the production of the ten industries selected by the Planning Commission by passing necessary legislation. The existing industries may continue with such regulations as may be necessary.

"(7) Survey and scientific researches should be made by committees and by the Board of Scientific and

Industrial Research to manufacture or substitute by manufacture many articles that are imported.

"(8) All existing small scale and cottage scale industries should be strengthened by giving them necessary technical and financial assistance.

"(9) Use of mechanical and electric energy should be controlled in order that the demarcated cottage industries products are not ousted by under-hand manoeuvres."

Reservation of articles of primary necessity for home and village industries and elimination of all competition in this field between the individual and the centralized production is the only way to the creation in India of a new economic order based on neither State nor private employment but on self-employment with all the advantages of justice, stability and maximum return for one's labour.

MESSAGE OF LORD BUDDHA *

(By Vinoba)

Today it is Vaishakh full moon day. It marks the birth anniversary of Lord Buddha which is celebrated today throughout the world and specially in Asian countries. The message which Lord Buddha delivered to the world was fashioned by him not as a result of any speculative thinking but out of his experiences of life. It has stood the test of the centuries and shines even brighter today than ever before. India had not much contact with the world in those days. Besides, the world did not need it then so urgently. But today it needs that message.

What is that message? It is: Not by hatred is hatred appeased; not by anger is anger pacified; not by falsehood is falsehood eradicated. Hatred will only inflame hatred; and anger aggravates anger. Hatred must therefore be met by love, anger by peace, and falsehood by truth.

The world is today seething with discontent. There is no peace to be seen anywhere. Mankind is searching for it frantically but it eludes its grasp. Fear and distrust are on the increase. All the countries, whether weak or strong, are afraid of one another. Even countries like Russia and America, the two most powerful nations in the world today, are gripped with fear.

Never was there so much fear in the world at any time in the past. The countries in olden times were so far isolated from one another that they did not even know, much less could they fear, one another. At the present moment, however, if there is a slight stir in even a remote corner of the world, it affects the entire globe. This is due to science. Science has annihilated time and distance. Geographically the world is now one unit. Science has now brought us to the point where we may easily wipe ourselves out of existence by encouraging and aggravating the forces of violence and hatred only a little more. It is a terrible prospect that we face. We can avoid it only by choosing not to tread on this path any further. It is open to us to be wise while

* From a speech at Mohania (Shahabad) on 17-5-54.

there is yet time and rid ourselves of the vicious chain reaction of violence for ever and reconstruct a happier world on a new basis of love and peace. But there is now no halfway house available to us. Either we enter the abyss and get lost or change our direction and begin an ascent. That is why at this critical juncture in world's history we now need the message of Lord Buddha.

Buddha's message is not new. The Gita enjoins the same teaching when it says: One must be free from hatred towards all creatures. The Vedas also speak of it. The saints have always practised it. But the ways of the world have remained more or less unchanged. Because while the people respected whoever attained this ideal in his personal life, they did not consider it worth acting upon in practical life. They did not deny that it was an excellent thing to do, but they did not practise it.

There was another reason why this message did not spread among the mass of the people. It was this: Hatred is not likely to disappear as long as the factors which excite it are existent. Suppose some one is thirsty. In the first instance he will most certainly search for clean water to drink. But if he fails to get it, he is compelled to take unclean water. In the same way the world is not hankering after hatred, it does not love hatred for the sake of hatred. But it is faced with certain problems which it seeks to solve. If they can be peacefully solved, the world has now reached the stage when it is prepared to follow the path of peace. But it is idle to expect the people to keep peace without first solving those problems. We must therefore strive to find out the way to produce the power of peace so as to solve those problems and finally to establish uninterrupted peace. The world will not develop trust in the power of non-violence until this is done. Bhoodan is an attempt in this direction—an attempt for the peaceful solution of the problems which beset the emergence of peace.

The Bhoodan Yajna is following the path of peace—of freedom from hatred. It is aimed at solving one of our major problems—the problem of just distribution of land. We go from village to village and explain its message to the people and ask for land to be given to the landless. If the landless are thus restored to a just share in land, it will help preserve peace. Peace cannot be had merely by repeating—keep peace, get rid of hatred etc. Hitherto the people, that is, those among them who could, have been busy grabbing and hoarding. It was an expression of narrowness. But narrowness is not in keeping with the spirit of science. Science has been a force for the banishment or, at any rate, a great mitigation of narrowness in any form. But the narrowness of heart has remained. It is therefore necessary to educate the people in sharing their wealth with their fellow men which will dispel the narrowness lurking in their hearts and create in the society an atmosphere of love and freedom from hatred. Otherwise Buddha's message will remain

only a pious wish confined to words. It will not be put into action.

Lord Buddha, Mahavir and other wise teachers have told us of a few additional disciplines which need to be observed so as to achieve success in the implementation of non-violence. They are in fact the concomitants of non-violence which must accompany it whenever and wherever there is a sincere attempt at its realization in practice. They are *asteya* i.e. non-stealing, *aparigraha*, i.e. non-possession, and *sanyam*, i.e. control of mind and senses. These teachers have firmly laid down that in case these disciplines are wanting, non-violence will not last, and the structure of society based on non-violence cannot be built, far less endure.

The more I reflect on them the more am I struck with the insight and foresight of these teachers into this problem. For example, if people do not practise *sanyam*, if there is free indulgence in pleasures, selfishness, exploitation, envy against one another and an utter disappearance of inner satisfaction, all leading the society to a state of extreme disequilibrium and restlessness will become inevitable. Indulgence in the gratification of sex creates the problem of overpopulation which is one of the chief causes of war. *Sanyam* is therefore necessary.

Take *asteya* or non-stealing. This we have tried to practise up to a point. The thief who steals is put into jail. But there are other forms of stealing which are not mentioned in law. We do not take any notice of these. What are fat salaries, rich dividends, exorbitant interest, and the commissions of the middlemen, if not a form of stealing? We must eradicate all these different forms of stealing and put a limit on the amassing and possession of wealth. Concentration of wealth with a few individuals and non-violence cannot go together. This is not to denounce wealth as such. Wealth and abundance are good but they should be owned and used by the society and not by a few individuals. Here too we must be careful and exercise discrimination as to what constitutes real wealth. Wealth to be worthy of its name must add to the quality of life and not deteriorate it. It would not be an instance of wealth and affluence if lots of cigarettes were made available to the society and every one who liked was able to smoke to his heart's content!

Control of mind and senses, non-stealing and non-possession are therefore a pre-condition for the success of non-violence. Together, they will transform our earth into heaven. As a well-known Sanskrit verse puts it, "Verily they win heaven here and now whose mind is fixed in an attitude of equality."

(Adapted from Hindi)

By Vinoba Bhave
BHOODAN YAJNA
[Land-Gifts Mission]

Pages viii + 134 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 5
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

HARIJAN

July 3

1954

A SERIOUS QUESTION

(By Moganbhai P. Desai)

A fundamental question was raised by Shri Khandubhai Desai in his speech in Parliament, that was summarized in the *Harijan*, (p. 125) of 19-6-'54. He told us that of the total national annual income, Rs 4,800 crores were given by agriculture, Rs 900 crores by small-scale and village industries, and only Rs 550 crores by the much self-advertising and highly vocal large-scale industries.

But how are our Governments behaving in their respective attention to these three sectors of our industrial life and economy? Shri Desai has charged Governments that much remains to be done in this matter and it is now high time our national policies are immediately reoriented so as to attend more and more to agriculture and small-scale village industries which together annually yield 5,700 crores to the nation, i.e. 91 per cent of our total national income.

The question is important from another view-point also. How, why is it that what is most obvious and natural to do is not being done? And further, what should we do then to change this state of affairs?

We may not go into discussing here the how and the why of the problem. It is enough if we only note here that for the last few centuries the common man's life and industries, viz. agriculture and small-scale or village industries have been neglected by the powers that be and the poor common man is left to fend for himself in whatever way he can, if at all. This has killed all zest and hope in him to work and has made him docile and submissive and reconciled to what Fate might have in store for him. On the other hand, the large-scale sector monopolized almost all attention and capital to itself, as if it were the only part of industry that mattered most and was really wanted for national economy. This illusion must now be removed; a way must be found out whereby the long neglected and the largest part of our economic life might be restored back to its due importance and attention both from Government as well as the public.

To do this and restore self-confidence and self-help among the neglected masses is one of the chief aims of the Bhoodan-cum-Gramodyog movement. As we know, it aims at giving land to the tiller and so rehabilitate him that he secures his due place in our social economy. The way to do it is not through hatred, jealousy, malice or class-war, but through charity, self-help and co-operation. To achieve this so that

our villages are restored to the fullness of their economic life and self-sufficiency is the largest and the most difficult but necessary work before the servants of the people now. It means a real revolution through Bhoodan-cum-Gramodyog.
23-6-'54

ENGLISH AND SECONDARY EDUCATION COMMISSION

(By Moganbhai P. Desai)

A few weeks ago, I had an occasion to write in the daily Press about English teaching and forging of our new system of national education in the country. The occasion was the Press release of the Congress Working Committee's historic resolution on the language policy regarding the medium of instruction and of public services examinations. This was inter-linked with the question of English teaching in Bombay State, and a poser was raised in the Press regarding the place of English in our national education and allied questions, such as: When to introduce it in schools? Whether it has a place in our would-be compulsory primary education? Where does primary education end and secondary begins etc.? Relevant points from that discussion are re-collected below, in the hope that they will help consideration of these matters by our educational workers.

A prominent political leader of Bombay city said that "English has been and English will be one of our national languages." To which I replied that such a statement was really surprising, specially when the Working Committee's resolution expressly stated that English was one of the "important foreign languages of Europe."

It was further argued that as the secondary stage began at Standard V, English could begin to be taught from that stage. I contended that this was not right, and said that primary basic education on an all-India plan shall be for eight years and, as the Constitution prescribes, every child will have it up to the age of 14. The secondary stage will begin thereafter, which is, generally speaking, Standard VIII in Bombay State.

And therefore I averred that the decision of the Government of Bombay, when it prescribed English to begin at Standard VIII which is the first year of the secondary stage, is in accord with the Working Committee's resolution and the Constitutional Directive.

And I further said that, the study of Hindi as the second language began at Standard V. This invalidated, on sound pedagogic grounds, the introduction of a third language of study simultaneously. Therefore even from an educational point of view, free and compulsory primary education, which should last up to the 14th year of the child, cannot give any place to a third language, say English. Hence English teaching

can only come at the secondary stage, i.e. from Standard VIII onwards.*

Controverting my statement that from the educational point of view primary education cannot have a place in its curriculum for the study of a third language like English, a correspondent referred me to the Secondary Education Commission Report. Looking to the Report we find that the Commission agrees that Hindi and English *should not be introduced in the same year*. This means that English will be a third language of study in a non-Hindi area like Bombay State.

The Secondary Education Commission Report also says:

"Particular care will have to be taken to ensure that the education imparted during the first eight years in the primary (or junior basic) and the middle (or senior basic) stage forms an *integrated and complete whole*, so that when free and compulsory education is extended up to the age of 14, as envisaged in the Constitution, it will constitute a *uniform pattern of education*." (italics mine)

In the peculiar circumstances here Hindi and not English is the second language. And for a working knowledge of this lingua franca of India a pupil should have at least three years during the course of this compulsory education period, and obviously no third language can possibly be introduced therein.

Again, the Secondary Education Commission's suggestion to divide this eight years' stage of "an integrated and complete whole" into "junior basic" and "senior basic" is self-contradictory and it is right that this is not accepted by the Central Government Advisory Council of Education. It has rather laid down that the educational structure in the country should eventually consist of eight years of integrated elementary (basic) education, four years of secondary education, and three years of university education. When we are devising a system of national education we must keep this larger view of reorganization before us.

The Secondary Education Commission also says that Hindi should be taught during the middle school or senior basic stage, and adds that English might be studied on an optional basis at this stage. It is difficult to reconcile these two recommendations if it is agreed, as the Commission does, that no two languages should be introduced in the same year and there should not be more than two languages to be studied

during the middle school stage, as these two will be the regional language and Hindi.

Why then is English mentioned in the Commission? If I may be permitted to venture a guess, I might say that the two sub-stages of 'Junior' and 'Senior Basic' in one "integrated and complete whole" stage of free and compulsory education up to the age of 14, were perhaps admitted to accommodate English teaching in some way and as a concession to the urban clamour of the educated classes. It would have been really helpful for the clarity of educational thought if the Commission had not succumbed to it. The Central Government deserves to be congratulated for not accepting the reactionary suggestion of having two sub-stages in the one integrated whole of 8 years uniform pattern of primary basic education.

24-6-'54

A GROUNDLESS OBJECTION AGAINST HINDI

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri J. N. Borah from Gauhati has sent me a pamphlet in English discussing why Sanskrit should be adopted as our national language. It is really very surprising that though our Constitution has decided that Hindi in the Nagari script will be the official language of the Union, the question is still raised and debated.

Shri Borah's pamphlet discusses this question and recommends in favour of Sanskrit. I must confess that the arguments he advances in support of his suggestion are weak and difficult to accept. How are we to believe that learning Sanskrit is easier than learning Hindi? Again Sanskrit too, as he admits, will have to be simplified and developed, so as to become a fit vehicle of expression for this age. In that case why should we not spend all that labour on Hindi and develop it to make it fit for the purpose we have in view?

Shri Borah admits that there is at least one obvious advantage in favour of Hindi, namely, that a very large proportion—in fact some crores—of our countrymen will not have to learn it. This is no small advantage.

There is another advantage also. Shri Borah does not seem to take into account the fact that long since the English came to India Hindi was already in use as our *lingua franca*, which shows that it had the power and the capacity to serve this purpose. Again it shows that Hindi had the flexibility and the capacity for growth, so that it could be developed and moulded in such a way. The break in such a growth and development of Hindi or Hindustani, which would otherwise have become by now a settled reality, came during the British rule, when Hindu-Muslim communalism was introduced into our national affairs and our people were quite unwittingly caught in its meshes.

* It is noteworthy here that the All-India Conference of Education Ministers of all States in India, convened by the Government of Bombay, which met at Poona on July 30, 31, 1946, had unanimously passed the following resolution:

"This Conference is of opinion that English should not find a place in the curriculum of education of the child until it has gone through the full course of at least seven years, whether Basic or non-Basic, unless English is the mother-tongue."

And, as we know, this principle was accepted by the Bombay Legislative Assembly passing a suitable resolution in its last budget session.

Among the arguments which Shri Borah advances against Hindi, the following appears to me to deserve consideration. He says :

"Hindi is only a regional language. A large number of people know it, which is certainly a very great advantage. But as against this, 'if the spoken language of a province is made the national language of the Union, the languages and the literature of the States can never thrive. Not only that, people whose mother-tongue is Hindi will always get undue advantages over others in all spheres. It is natural that they will lead the country.'"

Then he goes on to illustrate his statement by showing, for instance, what would happen to Bengal if Hindi were to be made the national language. He says that Hindi will then be taught right from the lower classes in all the schools, and all its business in every sphere will be conducted in Hindi. As such, people whose mother-tongue is Hindi will naturally get more advantages than others. If, however, Sanskrit is made the national language, all provinces will be on the same footing, none getting any more advantage than the other.

Perhaps it is this fear which drives Shri Borah to make such an unrealistic and unpractical suggestion as Sanskrit being made the national language.

The fear, we must say, is entirely groundless. Why should public activities in Bengal be carried on in Hindi instead of Bengali? That all the work of education, administration, etc. in Bengal should be carried on in Bengali is not only natural but also consistent with the principle adopted by the Constitution in this regard. Hindi is sought to be a medium for inter-provincial and other all-India purposes for non-Hindi areas. Hindi is not the *swa-bhasha*—the first language of the entire country, nor can it be so, nor are we out to attempt to do it. Hindi is to be our inter-provincial medium; we are only required to adapt it for the purpose of our *lingua franca*. That is why the Constitution contemplates two different forms of Hindi: 1. The regional Hindi which is the *swa-bhasha* of the people in the North; 2. Hindi as Inter-State medium which will be the medium for all official work at the Centre and whose form will be developed in accordance with Article 351 of the Constitution. This point, as has been amply reported in the press, was clarified a few days ago by Shri Jawaharlalji in a speech before the Congress Parliamentary Party. If Shri Borah and others who share his apprehensions understand it quite clearly, they will arrive at the inevitable conclusion that, far from there being any danger or inconvenience in adopting Hindi as our inter-provincial medium of intercourse, there will be a lot of good and a very great deal of help and convenience to our entire people.

To summarize, let us bear in mind the following points :

1. The inter-provincial medium is not intended to dislodge or weaken or suppress the

fourteen Indian languages of the country, (vide Schedule 8 of the Constitution of India) but rather to help and supplement them.

2. It is also not intended to be the medium of State administration or education etc. in any non-Hindi areas. Nor should it be allowed to thwart in any way the progress of the regional languages.

3. But an inter-provincial language is necessary to serve as a common medium for all our people to come closer together and have intercourse with one another, and to conduct all business of an all India character. Necessarily, therefore, all our people must accept it and learn it to a considerable extent. It is therefore necessary to introduce the teaching of Hindi in our schools and colleges compulsorily and without delay. This language would not be the regional language of Uttar Pradesh but an easy, all-inclusive and growing language which Gandhiji advocated and called Hindi-Hindustani.

It would be good for our Hindi-speaking friends also to understand this point. Else the development of an all-India inter-provincial medium, as enjoined by our Constitution, will become difficult if not impossible, which calamity should never be allowed to occur.

15-5-54

(From the original in Hindi)

THE SURE WAY TO PEACE

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

Since the Atom Bomb was introduced and the H-Bomb has exploded and threats of Cobalt Bomb have been discussed, the fashion of the day has been to discuss the various methods of maintaining Peace. We have War Resisters' Conferences, Pacifist Gatherings, Peace Council Meetings, Statesmen's Conventions etc., putting forward conditions, resolutions and appeals and yet we are still where we were. All this proves the futility of these methods. The reason for such sincere and varied efforts being in vain is that all these are dealing with the symptoms rather than the deep-seated disease.

We have often pointed out that the basic disorder lies in our economic system which does not satisfy the basic needs of all. Hardly anyone is willing to face the facts.

Man is the only creature who makes his own environment and conditions the circumstances of his life. War is the result of our present economic systems based on injustice, greed and created wants, and of using wrong methods of satisfying our demand. We have to change radically our way of life if we would have peace as an inevitable consequence of our mode of life. This way is the Sarvodaya way which will generate non-violence as the necessary outcome of its practice. We give below a brief outline of this way of life :

Demand: Our main requirement of life should be natural and not one for making busi-

ness. It should be based on a strong spirit of Swadeshi restricted to localities under convenient political control.

Supply: The commodities to satisfy our needs must be produced locally, using available raw materials for the most part, with motive power not artificially made cheap so as to oust human labour. At present, we have coal, oil and electricity supplied at unfair prices which creates unemployment, poverty, and dissatisfaction. This cheap power enables centralized industries to produce standardized goods which create unfair competition.

All these sources of power are obtained from nature with very little human effort and sold at a price to cover this effort. These natural gifts are the patrimony of the people as a whole and so should not be sold to a few at bare cost. The price fixing must bear a comparative relation to the living cost of labour at least. Any excess over that price should be a source of income to the State, used for the general welfare of the whole population and should not be dealt with as a subsidy to manufacturers alone, as it is at present. Such a policy will immediately make commodities produced with such power more expensive and place human labour at an advantage and strike at the root of one of the principal sources of social injustice. It will relieve unemployment and alleviate poverty.

This one step alone will change the course of our economic order and lead us to self-sufficiency and self-help. Economic interference is one of the basic causes of war. If this is removed we shall be on the high road to permanent peace. Have we the courage to face this situation? It may simplify our lives and bring happiness to many. At present we have complicated our lives and brought misery and insecurity to all.

Money: Our price mechanism operated by money leads to all kinds of inequalities. We have to shear money of its quality of accumulating purchasing power and sterilize its nature of earning interest and so make unearned income a thing of the past. The use of money should be only to facilitate barter.

Markets: Exchange of surpluses, both of raw materials and consumer goods, should follow a natural course rather than be forced by political and other controls.

Adoption of these steps would leave no room for armaments. Minor disputes can be solved by negotiation. Only thus can man rise above the brute level and cease massacring his fellow beings. The Sarvodaya way of life holds out the only hope of ushering in world peace and saving humanity from committing suicide in a most barbarous, though "scientific" way. Let us deal with the situation with courage and faith it calls for.

(From *Gram Udyog Patrika*, June, '54)

UNFAIR FOR THE FAIR

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The Vanaspati industry is flourishing forward with leaps and bounds. Its products can be seen in places where they could never be dreamt of. The massive advertisements in our daily Press would have us believe that Vanaspati is the best food ever discovered by man, specially for a housewife. They have stimulated ignorant or helpless folk, many of them highly educated, to adopt it as a way of life.

Not content with its devastating propaganda, the industry has now taken to a new technique. It has employed our fair folk for the purpose. Immaculately dressed, these innocent and well-educated, almost charming, sisters of ours enter the household, take their seat unasked and begin to inquire about the welfare of the home, specially the health of the children. Slowly they turn on to the daily menu and then delicately come to the subject of the way the various items are prepared. In case they learn that Vanaspati has already found a home with their host, they dilate on its manifold virtues and the so-called miracle it has wrought in what is known as national health. But if they gather that Vanaspati has not yet stepped in, they make subtle suggestions for its trial, quote successful instances and point to its growing importance and significance. Thus they go on from home to home harping on the Vanaspati tune and carrying its message.

Obviously, the industry must have found this method 'paying'. So also must have our sisters, belonging as they do to the fraternity of the educated unemployed. But, may one ask, is it not unfair for our womenfolk to cheat others for the sake of money alone? When Vanaspati is a confessedly artificial product, possessing neither the qualities of pure oil nor those of ghee, does it behove our sisters to dupe our homes—their own homes—for a few chips?

Recently, in my Bhoodan tour of Nimar (Madhya Pradesh), I came across some very painful cases of the wrong being done by Vanaspati. I was at Barwani the other day. Not far from that place live the Adivasis, aborigines, innocent and stalwart people, men and women of character and courage. They breed their own cattle and prepare ghee. Selling milk or *chhaachh* (buttermilk) is a sacrilege amongst them. Their ghee commanded a wide reputation for genuineness and taste. But during the last two years or so, things have almost changed completely. The businessman from Khargaon and Barwani has spread his net in the interior. He does three things: (i) He makes the Adivasi sell Vanaspati in his own earthen pots in the name of pure ghee; (ii) Giving Vanaspati to the Adivasi, he asks him to introduce it while making ghee at his home and takes the new product back; (iii) Purchasing pots of ghee from the Adivasi, he

mixes it with his own Vanaspati and sells the whole product as pure ghee. The natural result is that the Adivasi has lost his old reputation and pure ghee is an impossibility in Barwani or the neighbourhood. And, what is worse, children, Adivasi or otherwise, and adults are now denied both milk and ghee. Will the Vanaspati industry congratulate itself on this emasculating development? Shall our sisters agree to thus destroying the health and morale of our people?

23-5-54

VINOBA AND HIS MISSION*

(By S. Radhakrishnan)

It is seven years since we won our political independence. It is a short span in a nation's life, but it is perhaps not less important than any other equal period. In the case of a human being, the period of the first seven years determines his character and so to a large extent his future. The same is perhaps true of a nation. There were many observers who forecast, at the time of the transfer of power, that the Indian State would not be able to survive the effects of partition, that the country would get disorganized, that the administration would break down, that there would be no rule of law and no security of life and property. Many people feared and quite a few hoped for a sudden collapse. But these friends and foes have been confounded by the results. The country is held together. Instead of disintegration there has been integration. There is no part of the country where the writ of the Government does not run. The administration is still intact. A foreigner can travel from one end of the country to the other without the least insecurity of life and property. Even in international affairs our stand may not be generally accepted, but it is widely respected. We have earned a reputation for honesty and independence. Our achievements in the economic and social spheres have not been spectacular, but they are not unsound.

It is not, however, for running things in the old routine ways, that we struggled for and achieved political independence. Our aim is to bring about as speedily as possible a social and economic revolution. We wish to build a society free from caste and class, from exploitation of every kind, social and economic, racial and religious. We must admit that our society still suffers from grave economic injustices, social oppressions, caste prejudices, communal jealousies, provincial antagonisms and linguistic animosities. These are a challenge to our competence, our courage, our wisdom. If we are to survive as a civilized society, we have to get rid

of these abuses as soon as possible and by civilized methods.

In the progress of societies three stages are marked. The first where the law of the jungle prevails, where we have the operation of selfishness and violence; the second, where we have the rule of law and impartial justice with courts, police and prisons; the third, where we have non-violence and unselfishness, where love and law are one. The rule of the jungle, the rule of law, the rule of love—these mark the three stages of social progress. The last is the goal of civilized humanity, and it can be brought nearer by the increase in the numbers of men and women who have renounced selfish ambition, surrendered personal interest, who die daily that others may live in peace and comfort. The good people sustain the world by their austere life. सन्तो भूमि तपसा धारयन्ति। In Acharya Vinoba Bhave we have one such *tapasvin* who is striving to introduce the law of love in our social and economic life.

It is because we cannot make all the people prophets that we have to depend on legislation to bring about changes in our social order. The Bhoodan movement acquires great significance in this context of urgent change. It underlines traditions that are implicit in the Indian way of life. It recaptures the idea of the social order as the family writ large. It appeals to our religious instinct that spiritual freedom can be attained only by those who are not attached to material possessions. The movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave is potentially revolutionary in character. The response to his appeal which has come from all levels of the social order shows that the moral reserves of our country are large. The movement is based on an act of faith. Even if it does not by itself bring about an agrarian revolution, it prepares for it by producing a climate of opinion in which courageous methods of land reform can be put through.

Shri Suresh Ramabhai has written a moving account of the way in which Shri Vinoba was led to this movement and the progress it has made. It should be read by all who are interested in this unique campaign, its objects and its philosophy.

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* From the Foreword to the book: *Vinoba and His Mission* by Suresh Ramabhai published by Sarva Seva Sangh, P. O. Sevagram, Dt. Wardha.