

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN GOA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Two foreign Governments — the French and the Portuguese still retain some tiny bits of our land on our sea-coast under their rule. As was natural, the people of these foreign settlements have grown conscious of their right to freedom and for the last few years since the attainment of freedom by India have been striving to throw off the foreign yoke. The problem has now become very pressing and demands an immediate solution.

As was hoped, the new French Premier, having resolved the Indo-China tangle, has now given his attention to the settlement of the question of French possessions in India. That is the reason why this problem, unlike that of Goa, Diu and Daman, has not drawn much attention nor caused anything like bitterness between the two parties. And there are definite indications that with goodwill on both sides it will now be amicably settled through peaceful negotiations.

Portugal, however, has chosen to follow a totally different course. With characteristic intransigence she announced, "Goa is Portuguese territory and we will not give it up, come what may." India on her part made it clear that the territory is part of the Indian land and its people are one nation with the Indians. It is not the Portuguese who live there and the days of colonialism and imperialism are long over.

In the process, a strong popular movement has grown up among the Goa people to liberate their territory from the hold of the Portuguese Government and to merge it in India. It is not yet fully known — future history, when it comes to be written, will alone reveal it — what measures the Portuguese Government must have adopted in order to woo or to intimidate them into silent submission. But it has not availed her. The struggle for liberation is now proceeding apace led by Goa's own leaders. This is an important development. These leaders have already seized a part of the territory. The Portuguese authorities consequently find themselves in serious predicament over the question.

It is a characteristic of freedom struggle that once it gets started there can be no stopping it

until, sooner or later, it has succeeded in its mission. A factor of great importance which will decisively affect the issue of this development is that India has announced her moral support to this struggle. The world opinion too, in greater or lesser measure, is bound to come round to the side of the people, though Portugal does not seem to have left anything undone to win it in her favour. But that is a tale by itself which we may not enter here.

The first in the series of the developments which have followed was the breaking off of diplomatic relations between India and Portugal. Portugal recalled her consul from India and India, as a counter-measure, recalled hers from Goa. Thus the door was almost closed for direct negotiations.

Next, Portugal launched a campaign of slander and misrepresentation of India using for this purpose the States which are friendly to her. Notable among those which have played some part in this design are Britain, the U.S.A. and Pakistan. Britain had the audacity to ask India to settle the question peacefully as though India were preparing for war. India sent a vigorous reply that it was not India but the Goan people themselves who were carrying on a fight — that too non-violent — against their foreign rulers and if England really desired to help settle the problem the best thing they could do was to advise Portugal not to resort to the uncivilized methods of the past against the Goan people. India also made it clear that she was certainly giving moral support to the people as she regarded the issue as one of ending imperialism on the Indian soil. The time has come, she added, when Imperialism must wind itself up both in Asia and Africa. The problem thus constituted a test for the nations of the world in that it would show up what were their inner motives and on which side they were likely to be ranged at a critical moment.

This outspoken reply had the desired effect of clearing the air of the miasma of misrepresentation and wishful thinking.

It is also notable that the Goan people are carrying on this fight non-violently. It is a factor which is bound to affect the international opinion in its favour.

A development which is rather astonishing is the desire of some of the Indian political parties to join the struggle. Some have even gone to the extent of making the misguided suggestion that India should seize Goa by military force. They refer in this connection to Hyderabad and Kashmir as parallel examples.

The examples are inapplicable. Both Hyderabad and Kashmir, though each in its own way, had associated themselves with the Indian Union. They were not separate States like Goa. If the Indian army were to enter Goa, it would be regarded as an invasion against Portugal from the view-point of international law, as the entry of Pakistan troops into Kashmir was against India. And that would at once make it an international issue. In that event, it is hardly necessary to point out the serious repercussions which it may lead to in the modern world. Besides, what has been India's own attitude in regard to such armed invasions as means of settling political differences? What would happen to the no-war policy which we have been constantly advocating ever since our entry into international politics? And what would happen to the moral strength India enjoys at present after she herself undertakes to violate her policy?

Indians have been kept back from joining the Goan struggle for freedom so that our policy in regard to such questions in the international field may be the more clearly seen by the world. There are parties in our midst which have raised a lot of outcry against the stand of the Indian Government in this respect. It is a sign of political purliness if some of our political parties see in the struggle an opportunity to raise their status. This attitude in regard to a matter concerning our foreign policy is to be greatly deprecated. It will not do to forget that it is an international question and must be resolved through appropriate international means. Peaceful means are more effective and ultimately more potent for resolving all such disputes in the best possible manner and with minimum of suffering. Only they must be pursued with understanding and patience.

24-8-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

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SOCIAL WELFARE AND HUMAN LIBERTY

[Every man aims at happiness or welfare and yet for the most part it is an individual problem, because one man's idea of happiness differs from that of another. Of course, in a limited sphere and to a limited extent, there are certain needs relating to our collective or social life which admit of being provided for collectively, e.g. Transport, Railways, Post and Telegraph, Public Sanitation etc. But there remains a large area of our life in which it is best to follow the principle enunciated in the oft-quoted maxim, viz. the Government which governs the least is the best.]

Today it is considered desirable to secure health service to the people in a collective manner. The Welfare State specially regards it as its duty to do so. But the matter is not as simple as it appears. In fact, it raises a whole series of considerations with an intimate bearing on the question of individual liberty, as will be evident from the following interesting discussion reproduced here from an American periodical, *The Interpreter* (June '54).

20-8-'54

M. P.]

Suppose in our small group someone asks, "Are you in favour of socialized medicine?"

"Sure, I am," says George. "Many people are too poor to pay doctor's bills. Only the hard-hearted would object to socialized medicine."

"But since government-employed doctors have a guaranteed salary," I put in, "won't they get lazy and people not get good treatment?"

"Seems to me we are considering two important problems here. Couldn't we rephrase our question to get them out in the open?"

"How do you mean?"

"Aren't we really dealing with both a problem in health and one of government?" you ask.

"That's what I say," repeats George. "We can't let people be sick. When they can't pay for their health, the government must do it for them."

"Must it?" you ask.

Here I suggest that poor people can join a private insurance agency, but George says they are too poor for that. We go on, while you mentally note, "But government is legal coercion. It forces many unwilling persons (me among them) to pay the doctor's bill of others. If we took time out to examine the real nature of health or of government, we wouldn't so glibly accept the question we're arguing."

So you ask, "Do you mind if I raise another question or two?"

"No, fire away."

"What is health? How do we maintain physical-mental wellbeing, and recover it when sick?"

"You go to the doctor, of course," says George. "And poor people have to have government help."

"Some people believe differently," you say. "They believe that each person is responsible for his health and can have it if he lives a normal life."

"Come again," says George.

"I may seem to have wandered from our subject, but I think we must get answers to two underlying questions before we tackle this business of socialized medicine," you continue.

"You want us to ask, how do we maintain health, and is either medicine or government necessarily related to it?" I queried.

"I'm beginning to see what you mean," says George (we hope). "But there's more to it than that. I'm concerned about the poor. What can we do about them?"

"Exactly!" you explain. "Now you've hit on another major problem of living. The one that has to do with poverty and possessions. Don't you see how our original question is a surface one, and tangled up with three major problem areas, and how we need to have some idea of what's underneath before we can make good decisions about socialized medicine?"

DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIALISM

The problem of America, as Mr Bryson sees it, is that the rise of industrialism and technology has seriously interfered with the practice of democracy. Because of the complexity of modern industrial production, the manufacture of goods for mass markets has gravitated to the control of experts. With experts at the helm, industrial organization has become increasingly collectivist in character. 'Collectivist', in Mr Bryson's vocabulary means organization in which the opportunity for individual choice has been radically reduced. Not only bigness in organizations, but the machines themselves, create this imperative. Significant decision, therefore in industry, becomes restricted to fewer and fewer persons. The great majority of workers do what they are told; they have nothing to say. They are tenders of machines. In a wider sense the economic system itself imposes this condition on American society as a whole. Men become tenders of the system.

Bryson points out that democracy exists only when individuals have opportunity to make decisions and to act upon and learn from their decisions. The growth of human beings, he points out, is an individual undertaking. It cannot be accomplished for them by the corporate acts of organizations. Democracy is that form of social organization which is devoted to protecting and fostering the right and need of the individual to choose. Democratic legislation must always have this end in view; when it does not, it ceases to be democratic.

Pretended democratic legislation is legislation which claims to be democratic because it is intended to serve the good of the people. It may serve some secondary good, such as economic betterment, or greater efficiency in the carrying out of public business. But if it takes away from the people decisions from which they may learn

as individuals, it is nevertheless anti-democratic legislation. Bryson's point is that while we may decide that we must have such legislation, we should not deceive ourselves by calling it 'democratic'. As he puts it,

Democracy is not a success. Democracy is a way of regulating all experience so as to involve and expand, and educate human character, to preserve man's ability to think for himself and to act with his friends, to keep the restrictions that are created by the needs of common action to the minimum in order to keep thought individual and free; above all, to give men a chance to learn the value of their own free thinking by testing it out in the action that will produce direct results and pass upon hypothesis the judgment of experience. Collective ways may be efficient, they are not democratic."

The problems so brought into existence are not ideological problems. They are simple, non-political consequences of modern industrialism and the pattern it has imposed upon the life of human beings wherever large-scale economic production prevails. They exist in Russia under Communism and they exist in the United States. Under Communism, however, the loss of democracy is more absolute, since the ability of the individual to choose has been curtailed, if not destroyed, by political means as well as by the fundamental economic causes.

What Mr Bryson is really saying, in effect, is that we are in trouble because we have fallen into the habit of supposing that our economic ends are the most important ends in life. Let us make amends. Let us find true ideals and seek their fulfilment by democratic means.

Bryson proposes, in short, a concentration on those activities and perceptive powers which are unique to human beings. He also proposes a renewal of community democracy, as more within the reach and control of individuals. These are means by which to develop new opportunities for self-education and growth. It is surely true that a cycle of intensive reflection on the higher qualities of human beings—the creative qualities implied by practice of the arts, the moral and psychological qualities which have play in human relationship—would tend to give human energies a more constructive focus. It is even possible that the periodic dislocations and sometimes disasters which overtake our economic life would tend to disappear from a society in which such interests came to dominate. For one thing, a human community in which economic achievement ceases to be the mark of "success" should soon be relieved of the ruthlessness of economic competition. Quite possibly, all men could be "comfortable" if nearly all men did not worry so much about their economic status. Perhaps the neuroticism which afflicts our struggle for economic achievement is precisely what is wrong with our economic system, as such.

(Adapted from *Manas*, 14-4/54)

HARIJAN

Sept. 4

1954

PALM GUR AND SUGAR INDUSTRY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The following piece of news from Andhra deserves to be noted by all who wish well with our village people and their home-industries :

Karnool, Aug. 27.

"A pilot scheme for the direct conversion of neera into sugar was adopted by the Andhra Government yesterday.

The scheme envisages the establishment of one palm products development centre in each of the 11 districts where hand-driven centrifugals will distill jag-gery out of neera.

Each centre will license about 100 tappers who will be required to supply 10 to 15 gallons of neera daily.

Each gallon of neera, it is estimated, will yield half a pound of jagger and still less of sugar, and the Government has agreed to pay three and half annas for each gallon of neera." (*The Times of India*, Aug. 28, 1954).

It is estimated that the scheme will provide employment to about 1,000 tappers. Which means that, if the scheme is successful, it will be extended to cover the entire area of the State and thus it would easily provide permanent employment to about 3 lakhs of Andhra's tappers, who are unemployed at present on account of toddy being prohibited in the State. This will surely be a distinct step in the right direction.

As we saw in a previous issue ("Development of Palm Gur", p. 210, *Harijan*, 28-8-'54), there are crores of palm trees in our land which constitute our real and permanent wealth awaiting to be exploited in a suitable manner. These trees require neither irrigation nor manure. Not only do they give nectar-like juice, but they are useful to villages in other ways also. This enormous wealth of our villages must be exploited to its full capacity. The fear that people might abuse them for illicit use as toddy should not stand in the way as an argument against adopting this policy, though, surely, this is not to minimize such a danger nor to deny the need of care and vigilance on our part when implementing this policy. The point is that a negative attitude and approach to this policy, which might be apprehended to be born of such fear, should not stop us from exploiting this fruitful source of wealth to its full capacity.

For example, we learn that a District Congress Committee in Bombay State has suggested the closure of all neera centres in the district, on account of such fear. It is also suggested that they could be reduced in some other districts as well. The Bombay State uses neera as a drink. It does not seem to have adopted gur-making. If licence-holding tappers are required to deliver neera at suitable numbers of gur-making plants

in the village-side, abuse of neera for toddy purposes might be under due control and we might secure both wealth and employment for ourselves. It is from this point of view that the Andhra idea is worthy of attention. Science should lend its helping hand here by due research and guidance. It is a venture worth undertaking, requiring us to take a new path in industrial advancement.

During the Dandi March days, it was the view that palm trees were the sources of poison, viz. toddy; that they had no other healthy use and hence should be all cut away. Consequently hundreds of them began to be cut away in Gujarat. It was then that we learnt that neera cannot only be a good healthy drink, but also that gur can be manufactured from it as from sugar-cane, and that actually, in our country tons of palm gur was manufactured yearly in Bengal and formed a nourishing food of the village people there. Gandhiji at once declared that palms should not be cut; it will be wrong and doing violence to do so. And he started to propagate manufacture of palm gur as one of the village industries under the All India Village Industries Association. Since then, the idea has come to stay and we have a department of this industry maintained at present at the Centre, which quietly minds the propagation of the idea in the country. Therefore, it would be well if we turn our palm trees wealth to giving us gur and sugar as decentralized village industries. Industrial Department must go into due research for doing this, and necessary technical and economic aids must be provided by Government, so that in a few years time we may succeed to prohibit the use of toddy in the most constructive and positive manner, by establishing a rural trade and industry of healthy and nutritious food, over and above giving full employment to a large number of village people.

29-8-'54

Help the Flood Victims

Big rivers in North-East India are in spate ravaging vast areas of the countryside and making the lives of lakhs of our countrymen there miserable and causing serious danger to their life and property. It is human to keenly feel for them and the milk of human fellowship and kindness should naturally flow to them in this nature's calamity to them. Unlike previous occasions when we had no government of our own, we are in the happy state of having our own government today which has been bravely doing its part of relieving the unforeseeable distress. The Centre is also wide awake to cope with the situation of unprecedented floods that are to be seen this year. However, non-official efforts and help should also come forth in equal abundance. School and college students also should contribute their mite by organizing *shrama-dan*.

30-8-'54

M. P.

ABOLISH OWNERSHIP OF LAND *

(By Vinoba)

A man lives in and by the society. Service of the society is therefore his most important duty. It also betokens true devotion. People have an idea that devotion has to be practised in a temple. What is practised in a temple is mostly pseudo-devotion and not the real thing. Service of the society is real devotion. As you know, Lord Narayan is seated in the heart of all beings — of men and women, of children and old people. We have been given this body for His service. And how can we serve Him except by serving the beings in whose heart He dwells? We must therefore use this body for the service of the society — of the suffering humanity. The body falls in its purpose if it is not so used. The scriptures say the human body is a rare gain. Why? — because it can be used for service.

Some people who came to see me today said, referring to the suffering caused by the floods in this part of Bihar, that the misfortune had hit all alike and they did not know who was to help whom. I replied that some were in greater distress than others and it was our duty to help them. What happens today is that he who has a thousand rupees thinks of him who has five thousand and the latter, in his turn, of him who has ten thousand and so on. This makes for envy and loss of peace and satisfaction. Instead of directing their gaze upwards, if they undertook to direct it towards those who were less fortunately placed, they would thank God for what they had and feel happy and contented. It will make for generosity and kindness and love.

It is true that none has totally escaped the effects of this great calamity. But it is obvious that it would not do for anyone to shirk his duty — the duty to help our less fortunately placed brethren — on this account. Suffering should bring us closer to one another. Let us be brothers among whom none will be older and none younger. Let us all be equal; that would be the right use of this calamity. It would be a gain beyond comparison. The Gita says that he who achieves this capacity to regard all as equals wins the world. We may not be able to achieve it all at once, but try we must leaving the fruit of it in His hands.

The Bhoodan Yajna, for which we have come here, is intended to teach you the attainment of this equality and is as such the way to eradicate all such suffering for good. Just as everyone has free access to the use of water, air and sun, so should everyone have an equally free access to the use of land. The scriptures say: Land is the mother and I am her son.† How can a son be prevented from serving his mother and seeking the gift of her love? Ownership of land is therefore wrong, nor was it ever in operation in our

country until about a century or so ago when the old pattern of our village life began to break up. Before that land used to belong to the whole village. Some of the villagers worked on the land while others such as the carpenters, smiths, potters, weavers, etc. carried on each their own vocations which were complementary to agriculture. The crops were shared by all equally and according to needs. They had more when the crops were good and less if poor. So it went on and all were happy.

But now they sell and buy land like any other commodity. A few days ago, someone remarked to me very sorrowfully that the price of land had gone down. He added that it was now about half of what it used to be. I told him: This means that as yet we have accomplished only half of our work. It would be fully accomplished when land had ceased to fetch any price at all. I explained to him that it was wrong to make of land a commodity for sale and purchase. Land was the source of life and it must be freely available to all who want it and have the capacity to use it. Today they value everything in terms of money. Not only are milk and curds and such other things sold, but boys and girls are also sold. The reprehensible practice of *tilak* prevailing in Bihar is nothing less than the selling and purchasing of boys and girls. This habit of assessing the worth of everything in money has done incalculable harm to human society. We must know that there are things whose importance to us cannot be assessed in money. Land is one of these.

It should be recognized that everyone who wants has a right to ask for land and the society is duty-bound to give him land. Just as he who is thirsty has a right to ask for water; even so a cultivator has the right to ask for land. And just as a thirsty person must be given water, so should a cultivator be given land. It will be asked: Where is the land which the society may give him for his use? I would say that it is to be given out of what is being held by the present landowners. Poverty will first have to be shared before it can be entirely eliminated. The principal aim of the Bhoodan Yajna is to abolish the individual ownership of land. Land should belong not to individuals but to the village community. It may be a matter of shame to ask for food but there is no shame in asking for land because that shows readiness to work for one's living. Land does not yield its gifts unless one is ready to put in hard labour. In asking for land, one is merely asking for work which it is everybody's right to demand. The Lokamanya said, "Swaraj is our birth-right"; even so do I declare that he who is ready to work on land can ask for land as his birth-right.

You are perhaps aware that the Government is now levying death duties. It appropriates a substantial portion of a person's property after his death. Why not then *donate*, what the Government is sure to appropriate after your death, while you are still alive? The kings in ancient India used to distribute all their wealth among the poor from time to time. It is on record that King Harsh did so every year at Prayag on the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna. It is

* From a prayer-speech at Narhan (Darbhanga) on 17-8-54.

† सता भूमिः पुत्रोऽहं भूमिः ।

sad to reflect that though born to such glorious traditions we should still be so hard of heart as not to be able to give even a small portion of our wealth to our suffering brethren.

I request you therefore to fulfil our humble demand by surrendering one-sixth of your land and wealth to the Bhoodan Yajna.

(Adapted from Hindi)

VINOBA AT THE BIHAR JIWANDAN WORKERS' CAMP—I

(By "Dadu")

On account of the Bihar Jiwandan Workers' Camp which ran from 24th July to 28th and the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh held from 28th July to 31st, Vinoba stayed for eight days (from 23rd July to 30th) at Sarvodayagram, the constructive work locality on the outskirts of Muzaffarpur city of Bihar.

Inaugurating the Camp

Vinoba inaugurated the Jiwandan Camp on 24th July. Early next morning, he participated for some time, in spite of some pain in his left shoulder, in the Shramdan Yajna (physical labour gift mission) programme of the Jiwandan campers. While on his way back to Sarvodayagram, he was presented with some land-gift deeds by the Praja Socialist workers of Muzaffarpur. Vinoba lamented the apathy of public workers to the poor man's cause as also at the sheer inactivity enveloping us all. He said that when there were about 35 lakhs of landholders, big or small, in Bihar, he would not be satisfied with less than 30 lakhs of *Dan-patras* (Gift-deeds). He expressed the hope that we would grow resolute and march ceaselessly onward in this non-violent revolution for economic and social liberty.

Significance of Sampatti Dan

At nine, leading businessmen of the city came to see Vinoba. He gave them a detailed talk on Sampattidan Yajna and explained how it sought, as a religious thought, to transform the standing economic values and structure. It was a function to be performed regularly.

Buy Village Goods Only

In the afternoon, Gramodyoga (Village Industries) workers of Bihar met Vinoba. He told them that presently our cities were exploiting our villages by preparing those things which could very well be made in the village itself, while the city markets were dumped by such foreign goods as could be made in the cities. Vinoba observed that this process would have to be reversed and all those articles for which the raw material was there in the villages and which could be turned into finished products by the villagers themselves, should be prepared in the villages and that the village people must take a vow not to use such city-manufactured goods as could be made in the village.

At the Prayer Meeting

Before the evening prayer some zamindars of the district saw Vinoba. Tracing the growth and development of the Bhoodan movement, Vinoba pointed out that the movement was as much in the interest of the rich as in that of the poor and that the rich or big people should take it up as their own cause.

It rained heavily during the prayer, held all standing. Addressing the assemblage after the prayer, Vinoba exhorted them not to be afraid of rains as they were but arrows from the bow in the sky, arrows to kill our lust, anger, greed and attachment. He pleaded for a liberal enjoyment of this grand "shower-bath". He concluded saying:

"It was the rule in our country that the teacher took the student on the completion of latter's education, to a river for bath and the student was thereafter declared as his graduate or *snatak*. These days they use gowns for convocation purposes. Bathing was our popular custom. So also you have had your bath today. And you are my *snataks* now. I am sure you will henceforth do my work." They all had a hilarious laugh at this unique *diksha* or convocation.

Future Khadi Work

On the morning of the 26th, Jiwandan workers from Gaya district met Vinoba. At about eight, more than 150 Khadi workers of Bihar sought Vinoba's guidance on Khadi work for the future. Vinoba remarked that long ago he had reached the conclusion that at least 10 per cent of the cloth requirements of the country should be met with Khadi. At present, it amounted to about four annas in a hundred rupees. But if they worked hard and devotedly, they could arrive at the ten per cent mark. "But that won't," said Vinoba, "satisfy me. For, it would not reveal the strength of non-violence. The non-violence accruing from the ten per cent Khadi would be dependent upon violence. That much Khadi will not help us to do away with wars for all time. We want such Khadi as can establish exploitation-less and State-free society."

He also stressed the basic importance of the *Sootan-jali* programme,—one hank of self-spun yarn from every one above four years of age.

Salary of Workers

As regards the salary of workers, Vinoba suggested that they must have three categories of them: (i) those joining as probationers should be provided with a stipend not exceeding thirty rupees; (ii) full-fledged workers (having passed the probationary stage and found fit) should be paid between fifty and hundred rupees according to their family responsibilities; and (iii) old and experienced workers (drawing presently above a hundred rupees) should, handing over their household affairs to the charge of their sons, give up all institutional responsibilities, help those institutions (if required) by their advice, be whole-time public servants and accept a small sum by way of pension to meet their personal needs. He also said that if all of them took to Bhoodan work they could easily fulfil the Bihar quota during the next five months.

Health and Nature-Cure

In the afternoon, Vinoba spent some time with some of those practising and interested in Nature-Cure in Bihar. He told them that as he could claim to have used nothing but Khadi during the last 35 years, he could not make a similar claim in the sphere of Nature-Cure. Nor he knew any man who could do so. In a very interesting talk, with references from the lives of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Raman Maharshi, Gandhiji, Socrates and ancient scriptures, Vinoba said that Nature-Cure was a way of life which required us to identify ourselves with nature through physical labour. He added that of all foods, man needed sky most. Next air and then water, and the least he needed was *anna* (cereals or grains). But in actual practice the order was sadly reversed. That was the main reason of all disease, for *anna*, in Sanskrit means that what is eaten and what eats. Hence we should consume cereals as little as possible. In that case they would not be required to keep much land with them and could easily offer it to him in *dan*. Everybody rocked with laughter at this closing remark. And Vinoba proceeded straight to attend a meeting of the Jiwandan Workers' camp.

Who is a Jiwandani?

He told them some very hard truths. Vinoba observed that the object of the camp was to bring all workers on a common background and think about future work. He also warned that all of them were going to be put to severe trial. "I won't examine you," said he "but the examination will take place of its own accord and would be a very severe one indeed. Violence would not bear non-violence. Nay, the former will firmly resist the latter. If our work is ineffective it would be ignored, otherwise it would be doggedly opposed. Those who are our friends today and whose friendship we cherish would cease to be our friends. You should, therefore, be prepared for a very hard life." He also pointed out that their main implements were walking-on-foot and performance of bodily labour. He implored the Jiwandanis to be tolerant, generous and full of love.

A more touching speech from Vinoba to the Jiwandan workers was yet to follow. But recollecting this and

the inaugural address (given on the 24th), I wondered whether Shakespeare did not, at least in part, define a Jiwandani when he said:

"Who doth ambition shun
And loves to lie i' the sun,
Seeking the food he eats
And pleased with what he gets—
Come hither, come hither, come hither!
Here shall he see
No enemy
But winter and rough weather."

Organize Ideal Sarvodaya Centres

In his post-prayer address that day, Vinoba suggested to the workers to have some such centres in every district where one could see Sarvodaya in practice. In case it were not possible to do so in every district, some spots must be chosen in each province for intensive work so that Grama-raj or Sarvodaya might be a living reality there.

Bhoo-dan and the Law of Love

The same night a lady Socialist worker from West Germany saw Vinoba. He told her that through Bhoo-dan he wanted to extend the idea of family from the home to the whole village. If they could follow the law of love in the family, why should they not do so in society where competition was more prominent today? There should also be no such differences in wages as in vogue today. Nor should the classes be differentiated as intellectual class, labour class, etc.

When questioned whether there was a likelihood of the emergence of violence, Vinoba replied in the negative. He said that if village problems could be solved through the Bhoo-dan technique, there was no chance of violence in the village. In the international sphere, one found a strange attitude not among the masses but among those who controlled the Government. A fear complex dominated them. But if internal problems were solved by non-violence, external ones would also be solved. He aimed at creating a new psychology altogether. "The assumption that people cannot change," said Vinoba, "is wrong. All through history man has been changing. I hold human psychology is not a fixed thing and can be altered. The scientific attitude demands that we should rise above the material plane. I have always held that as science progresses it will lead to non-violence. But if science and violence go together, there is no hope for men. On the other hand, a marriage between science and non-violence will bring heaven on earth."

When the fair visitor asked him whether he would aim at changing the State at later stages, Vinoba smiled and said, "After all, State is the product of the will of the masses. If people or a good number of them change their attitude State will change." Explaining it further he concluded, "If Bhoo-dan proceeds in a way to change not only the outer form but inner spirit, we can change the State as we like."

Vinoba's Future Programme

Most of the 27th was spent in private interviews with Vinoba. For some time Vinoba sat with Shri Gopabandhu Choudhary, the well-known constructive worker of Orissa, and other Orissa workers and fixed his programme for Orissa tour provisionally. Vinoba stays in Bihar upto 31st December next, enters the Bankura district of Bengal on January 1, 1955 and then passing through the districts of Bankura and Midnapore, steps into Orissa on 28th January by the district of Balasore.

Need for Self-Inspection

After the evening prayer, Vinoba addressed the workers advising them to devote fifteen minutes to half an hour each day for self-inspection. Without turning the searchlight inwards, and self-examination, the daily prayer would be reduced to a mere external routine. At night, he called some hundred workers from different districts and asked them to chalk out schemes for work at their respective places until the end of December.

(To continue)

A KILLER ON WHEELS

The following is taken from Dr. Robert V. Seliger's article in *Magazine Digest* of July 1954, pp. 52ff.:

'The Judge (who tried a drunken driver) said the pedestrians were struck by a man who, perhaps, if he had not been drinking, would not have struck them.' Scientific tests corroborate this remark. They show that alcohol diminishes the acuteness of sensory perception, delays motor performance, and weakens physical co-ordination. A few drinks make a man react more slowly in emergencies. He is inclined to be less cautious at the wheel than he would ordinarily be. He takes more chances and generally drives at a greater speed than usual.....

'Don't drive if you drink, and don't drink if you drive' is an urgent plea in view of the increase in the number of motor vehicles and licensed operators....In 1952 Magistrate Canudo of New York city observed that 'the motor vehicle.....is the greatest single instrument of death in our community.' The annual auto toll in New York alone runs to 500 deaths, 33,000 personal injuries and millions of dollars of damage to property.

In a ten year study in Cleveland Dr. Gerber discovered that the use of alcohol was involved in more than half of the automobile fatalities during that period, and the greatest number of killers at the wheel were in the so-called 'moderate' drinking class.

One insurance company, noting that 8,000 people were killed in 1951 in traffic accidents where liquor was a factor, is offering casualty insurance at a preferred rate to non-drinking drivers. It has realized that the total abstinence is a better risk as a driver.

In the field of mass public transportation, the drinking driver is taboo. Railroads, bus services and airlines know that alcohol is a killer when it controls the throttle, and have forbidden their operators to drink. The driver of a train is responsible for the safety of several hundred people at the most. He is not alone at the controls; he does not have to anticipate oncoming traffic; he is guided by automatic switches and signal towers. Yet he must remain sober. How much greater is the responsibility of the automobile driver, who in the course of a short run may encounter thousands of people!.....

If a killer with a loaded gun stalked the streets, the public would be aroused to a frenzy and every available policeman would be out trying to track him down. The auto is as lethal a weapon as a loaded gun. The drinking driver has his finger on the trigger and in any small emergency he may pull it. In him we have a potential enemy loose in every city and capable of taking thousands of lives!.....

To help curb this mounting danger, these steps are recommended:

1. Passage of stronger laws providing stiffer penalties;
2. Permanent revocation of driving licence upon conviction of a drunken-driving offence;
3. Compulsory tests for the detection of alcohol in every fatal traffic accident;
4. Provision for the use in court of the evidence of drunken-driving test devices.

V. G. D.

By Vinoba Bhave

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HULLER AND HAND-POUNDED RICE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Hand-pounding of rice is one of the big items of cottage industries. Even today most of the rice is pounded by hand. But in the present machine age this industry also has fallen on bad days and the huller has begun to encroach upon this field. Our aversion to physical labour and the greed of big profits would, I fear, lead to disease and unemployment. I use 'disease' advisedly, for it has been proved that rice when pounded by huller loses some of its nutritional value.

To protect this industry from competition with the huller, the Khadi Gramodyog Board has recommended that a control should be imposed on the huller-pounding and licences for further import of hullers should not be issued.

The Bombay Government has accepted the recommendations and has taken the necessary steps. But in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh where this industry of hand-pounding is still in vogue on a large scale, no such steps are taken to check the huller menace.

I receive complaints of this nature from Madras also. On enquiry I learnt from Shri Ravji-bhai Patel, Secretary, Gramodyog Samiti, Gujarat, that these complaints were genuine and constructive workers in many States demanded the ban on the huller. He gives one good news, viz., that the Central Government has appointed a committee to go into this question and report:

"The Planning Commission have attached great importance to the hand-pounding of rice and their proposal is that rice mills of the huller type should be gradually eliminated. On the other hand, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, though they had previously accepted the policy of gradual elimination of rice mills of the huller type, have not been able to make progress in implementing this policy owing to various difficulties.

"The Government of India have decided to appoint a committee with the following terms of reference:

(1) To examine the working of the different types of rice milling now in vogue in the country from all relevant aspects such as technical, nutritional, consumer preference, economic and employment; and

(2) To make recommendations as to the future policy that should be adopted and to indicate the administrative, financial and legislation measures which may be needed on the part of the Central and State Governments to give effect to them."

Let us hope the Committee will fully investigate the question of the hand-pounding industry and make proper recommendations and suggest a programme for rehabilitating this industry by helping it to be on a sound basis.

18-8-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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WASTE NOT WANT NOT

(By Harin Shah)

Admiration of the skill and ingenuity of Japanese industrial economy by every Indian of consequence who visits Japan has nearly become a part of our public virtue. The fact, however, that such admiration has now become a routine practice does not in any way invalidate or abridge the appreciation which is due to Japan in her gallant efforts to maintain economy which both her expanding population and her poverty in raw materials make extremely vulnerable.

One important feature of Japan's ingenuity which is often missed in this appreciation of Japan, is her deftness in utilizing all materials including scrap and condemned junk which either because they are in such abundance or have such casual existence are often overlooked by the people.

In the pre-war days the feverish way in which Japan lifted scrap iron and cotton waste from India and other countries while none else would look at those dumps had already provided a testimony to this impressive trend of the Japanese mind.

During my visit last week to Japan I found yet another interesting illustration of the gentle creative touch of Japan. I saw beautiful pictures of Japanese landscape cast on black cloth background and made of just ordinary hay. The simplicity of raw material like ordinary hay with its golden yellow tinge provides a superb expressiveness to these Japanese pictures in which the tranquil life and the friendly companionship of Nature are invariably present. The palm tree and the golden moon of the autumn provide relief to these pictures.

Indicating a similar liveliness to the material at hand in the country, China has made a moving success of the famous woodcuts.

Our constructive workers, handicraft boards, Community Projects and village schools can do a lot in utilizing dried grass and other similar materials which are at hand in the villages for creating objects of art like the Japanese pictures.

New Delhi, 10-8-'54

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