

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

## LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE AND HINDI

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking from the chair on the occasion of the Second Anniversary meeting of the Hindi Association of Parliament, laid his finger on one of the chief dangers to be avoided by those who wish well to the spread of Hindi, particularly in non-Hindi regions. He pleaded for linguistic tolerance on the part of Hindi enthusiasts. These should hasten slowly, though surely not too slowly or not at all as some seem to unknowingly do on account of their lukewarm attitude to the growth and development of our national language.

There is a second danger also of which we must be constantly aware, and that is about the place of the national language and its all-inclusive and broad-based form and character. Hindi is meant to be our inter-regional and all-India medium of administration and intercourse. It must, therefore, grow and develop accordingly and free from the shackles of the regional Hindi. It must be free to assimilate all that is good and helpful in the vast treasure-house of Indian languages. If Hindi enthusiasts, in their over-zeal, say that it should also be the medium of the regional administration and education in non-Hindi areas, they will frighten away the non-Hindi people from adopting it as the common language and drive them to lose all zest for its propagation. So also if the Sanskritist school of linguistic development says that Hindi should be Sanskritized even to the exclusion of words from so-called foreign sources, they will harm the cause of the spread of the all-India common language. Hindi must grow by the all-India common efforts of our people and along with all our regional languages and in no manner of any rivalry or superiority. As the news have it, the Orissa legislature has decided well in adopting Oriya as the language of administration. The Orissa University should follow suit and decide it as its medium of instruction and administration, and introduce the compulsory study of Hindi up to the first degree course, beginning from Standard V of a boy's studies.

14-9-54

## 'GOAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM'

[The following is the Publisher's Note to the pamphlet\* recently published by the Navajivan Trust, under the above title.]

Modern European history began with the discovery of India and America, and in its wake an era of mercantile and colonial expansion set in in the Indian and the Atlantic Ocean areas. The maritime supremacy in the Indian Ocean became a prize worth its weight in gold and European powers began to combat for it among themselves. The four that came to the Indian shores were the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, and the English. Of these the first went over to the East Indies leaving the field to the rest. The Portuguese turned their eyes more towards the New World and contented themselves with being allowed to possess their three maritime outposts on our Western coast. The French were defeated by the English and they settled down as friends of the English in their outposts on our Eastern shore.

This peaceful co-existence arrived at by the three colonial powers was shaken from its very foundations by the stirring events of this century and the two World Wars laid at rest the insulting idea of colonial occupation or imperialism. The English people realized this betimes and they departed from India leaving us as their friends and collaborators in the achievement of world peace and prosperity. The French have begun to realize it and they are revising their position and status in their erstwhile colonial territories. Not so the Portuguese. And hence they have created a problem even for themselves, in Diu, Daman, and Goa. As we are free now, our people of those occupied areas resent to be any more under the foreign rule, and they want to merge themselves with the motherland even politically now. This natural urge has assumed a serious form and it cries for its speediest fruition.

The movement to such an end actively began in the early forties. Gandhiji was with us then, and he had occasion to write about and direct the Goan movement at that time. From the small beginnings then, it has now come to declare that

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Portugal should quit India. However, the ideas and the principles that Gandhiji enunciated then through his few articles on the problem, as the basis for the struggle for freedom from Portuguese rule, have vindicated themselves to be the true ones for the larger movement as well. They define not only the aim and object but also the technique of the fight; they also lay down sound advice for the Portuguese rulers as well. And it is gratifying to note that these have naturally embodied themselves in our present foreign policy vis-a-vis Portugal. It is necessary and interesting, therefore, to remember them in the words of the Father of the Nation. This booklet is issued with this aim, and the Prime Minister's statement on the Goan situation, made in the Parliament on 25-8-'54, is also appended therewith. It is hoped the brochure will help the readers to understand and appreciate our foreign policy in the wider perspective of world's history and its ultimate aim of co-prosperity and co-operative peaceful co-existence of all its peoples.

6-9-'54

### FREE WORLD'S PROBLEM

(By Roy C. Kepler)

[The following is from *Manas*, Dec. 30, '53. The question raised in it is fundamental and provokes serious thought on the part of those who are madly aspiring to Americanize the Indian people, when we are out to rebuild our economy and polity. The writer of the article tries to pose the problem that is created by and for the American world, in spite of its technology, excessive wealth and well-armed freedom. Ultimately the problem for mankind is man himself, and unless he is at peace with himself, i.e. from within himself, he might go on quarrelling with others and complaining about his material environments, like the bad carpenter quarrelling with his tools.]

4-7-'54

M. P.]

A present characteristic of the American people, as of so many people in the so-called "free world", is a certain flatness of tone in all their political activities. Few people now have much of a taste for politics even though many take part at various levels. One of the chief reasons for participation in politics is a kind of external social pressure that requires it, and not a keen enjoyment of fulfilment flowing from such activity.

Outside of small, localized issues, we all feel pretty ineffective anyway and have felt that way for some time. As a kind of compensation for political ineffectiveness, there has been a retreat to private life which in recent years has seen more home activity than has been in evidence for a couple of generations. The move to suburbia; putting around the house, adding a room, tilling the garden, building the house. In a world that is so big and alarming and out of control, it gives us some satisfaction to be able to grapple with man-sized comprehensible situations.

We might consider, however, that our world is out of control, not only because societies have learned how to mobilize scientifically into totali-

tarian forms, nor because they have developed the perfect totalitarian weapon of the H-Bomb, but because in another aspect of our life, *we have run out of utopias*.

The feeling of helplessness that is now so widespread among us is the result of several factors; immense social forces which seem to work themselves out regardless of the wishes of individuals; a technology that tends to lend itself primarily to mass manipulation and largeness, to the continuing detriment of individual uniqueness, and there is also the fact that we seem to have reached a point where fresh thinking is no longer possible. It is not difficult to see that, in the eyes of a member of the present college generation, it might be dangerous psychically to aspire to anything better than securing a career job with some large corporation or the government, or to suppose that life might hold richer promise than the workaday chores such a career promises. A job, a home in suburbia, two cars, a wife, two children, one cat, and one dog, almost boxes the compass.

So it is that, in a period when the knowledge and techniques that were to set men free have blossomed to an extent that dwarfs the predictions of earlier utopians, the men themselves seem to have shrivelled and shrunk. Bold minds and daring thinkers give way to cautious clock-punchers and prudent realists. The last stronghold for imagination and hope for a better world seems restricted to science fiction. Outside of that field of literary endeavour, there is hardly a writer or a critic who would contemplate imagining a set of conditions that go beyond the present accepted limits. We are invited by most of our contemporaries either to accept the world as we find it, or to retreat to some earlier condition which, we are told, was good because simpler and more "integrated"; in such a world, it is said, we could have peace of mind and security.

What is needed, it seems to me, is neither the *status quo* nor mediaeval integration, but a new unleashing of fantasy and imagination. The world and the universe in which we live are not simple. Life is complex. There is contradiction, tension and conflict in our lives. To long for peace of mind or of soul in this kind of world, if by peace we mean the elimination of conflict and tension, would be to accept the counsel of cowardice. An easy conscience in our world is the invention of the devil. But integration is possible if we do not shrink from the challenge of living in a complex world. The problem is not to eliminate conflict, but to find ways of resolving specific conflicts fruitfully, and therefore peacefully. New conflicts will arise as old ones are resolved. Peace, in this context, can mean neither passivity nor the adjustment of people to a set of diabolical social arrangements that

destroy human dignity as they destroy human life. In the effort to resolve specific conflicts, we are faced with the job of reconciling men with irreconcilable philosophies. But this is a possible task. Irreconcilable philosophies will remain. But it is possible, and it has been possible historically to reconcile men and communities of men holding utterly opposed philosophies. To do this, however, new meanings and symbols will have to be searched for and found; specific human and social problems will have to be solved. One of the first steps, therefore, will have to be that of fresh thinking.

We are faced today with a variety of cataclysmic possibilities; what we need to find are some non-cataclysmic methods of avoiding the disastrous possibilities. Since, in America, so few of our institutions have been able to avoid the corroding effects of fear, conformity and prudence, there is no great likelihood that courageous searching and a liberated imagination will appear on the scene without some special nurturing. The task then falls to us as individuals to be alert to and solicitous of every sign of these qualities.

One useful effort we can all make is to consider afresh, not just the problems, but the way we state these problems to ourselves. For example, as a result of the Great Depression that preceded the second World War, it is now a generally accepted axiom that one of the tasks facing America and the world is that of providing full employment. Only a few voices have dared to suggest recently that this may not be the problem at all—that, as a matter of fact, the problem for us is rather that of full unemployment! How, in other words, can we adjust ourselves and our institutions to the conditions that the new technology has not only made possible but probably inevitable; a society in which the masses of men will not have to work, at least, nowhere nearly as hard as they have had to work in the past. It is strange indeed that we have not heard the demand from either the labour unions or the intellectuals for a greatly reduced work-week. Yet in the next few years the problem of how to organize a society in which the chief work is done by machines may be one of our major problems.

But beyond restating the problems, we need that creative imagination and human aptitude for fantasy which can lift us out of our present flatness and tonelessness to aspire for a better way of life for ourselves and all men.

Berkeley, California

By R. K. Prabhu

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## OUR HEALTH FREEDOM

(By K. Lakshmana Sharma)

Our Constitutional Law recognizes our right to own our own bodies free from interference by others, which is the essence of what is called Personal Freedom.

This includes our right to live according to the teachings of Natural Hygiene, and to reject whatever is repugnant to it.

Mahatma Gandhi was himself a follower of Natural Hygiene, and condemned the medical procedures, vaccinations and inoculations. This was in perfect harmony with his insistence on Non-Violence as the guiding principle of life. While Natural Hygiene is based on Non-Violence medical science is an out-and-out repudiation of that principle, and vaccinations and inoculations are acts of violence to life and health.

We thought that because Gandhiji was one of us, we had hopes that when the foreign rule came to an end we would automatically regain our God-given freedom. But this hope was falsified.

The Health Minister of the Central Government is about to clamp down on the public servants a medical service to which they must contribute even when they do not want it. And she is persisting in it even though many thousands have protested against it.

It is also heard that she is hatching a medical service for the whole nation on somewhat similar lines, without regard to the people's right of free choice.

That these are acts of tyranny inconsistent with democracy is plain enough to all enlightened persons.

It may be difficult for us to have recourse to the legal remedy, namely to take the issue to suitable courts of justice, so that these abhorrent tyrannies may cease. But we must be prepared to do so if and when necessary.

We have challenged these health departments to give us an honest guarantee that these filthy procedures are harmless to life and health. But they remain indifferent.

Also the Madras Government is about to frame a new rule for imposing isolation as a condition for granting exemptions to conscientious objectors to vaccination, though there is not the least evidence to show that the vaccinated are in any danger of infection from unvaccinated persons and also without regard to the fact that compulsion has ceased to be Constitutional.

It behoves us therefore to become strong by organizing ourselves into a Health Freedom League, along with followers of Homoeopathy and others who share our objections.

(Adapted from *The Life Natural*, Volume XII, No. 5)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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## HARIJAN

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## SELF-SUFFICIENCY vs. FREE ENTERPRISE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Local self-sufficiency in production of essential goods through small-scale industries, so that economic power is decentralized and equitable distribution is maximized, is an ideal pattern for our country which mostly lives in our villages with agriculture as the basic industry.

This is, — this should be, — more or less the shape or the order of things to come, according to those who stand for the philosophy of Khadi and village industries or for our old ideal of the village republic. However, in the modern world it appears to be a new doctrine, contrasting itself, as it does, with the capitalist one of 'free enterprise' or private capitalism on the one hand and the Communist one of State-planned enterprise or State capitalism on the other. Both the latter ones are the offspring of the Industrial Age. They aim to secure large-scale production with the aid of machine and centralized money-power, even in disregard of man to serve whom they are meant to be, if at all. They therefore have to be predatory and exploiting in nature, and thus they provoke tensions and rivalries — individual and corporate — leading to perennial war relationships in the international world.

The ideal of local self-sufficiency through decentralized production, on the other hand, keeps man and his needs in the forefront, and uses science to so help him that he is not over-powered by it. The production is governed and directed by the actual social, economic and cultural needs of the community, unlike merely commercial and mercenary, i.e. for profit or markets. Therefore, it regulates distribution in a very natural way and does not breed inequality or social injustice, but provides an automatic equalizing agent in itself.

A criticism of this state of things that is formulating itself in some minds at present is that such an economy will be a poor economy. Obviously, this is said in comparison to the economy of insulting inequality and inhuman domination of the haves that the machine and money together conspire to bring about. This economy does not bring riches to all but only to a few, and through predatory means under the aegis of centralized economic and State power, either democratic or dictatorial. It is a class economy. On the other hand, the economy of self-sufficiency is really not a poor economy, because it aims to supply to all people the essentials of life and thus becomes a satisfying and co-operative economy. It would be wrong to dub it as poor. It is, really

speaking, the economy of equality and contentment.

Such an economy only can tend to be for real peace also. The other two economies of 'free enterprise' are bound to arm themselves, at least in self-defence, and if so needed for attack. Disarmament cannot be their aim nor declared policy. Competitive as they are and will always remain, unless they change their fundamental nature, they will be in constant fear; and without freedom from fear disarmament and no-war are impossible. Therefore, under their order, security will only be a temporary feeling and not an abiding source or bedrock of social happiness and real progress.

Again it must be realized that mere production is no progress; there must be automatic distribution assured by full employment which should govern production as its basic law and principle. Production should not be abused to be merely a mechanical process or result of the power-driven machine and the gamble of surplus value accumulated by a few with the cunning devices of Company Laws working in the interest of those few. Production should be a vital human activity, satisfying and creative, and not merely remunerative in cash. Such a productive activity can be really the giver of real happiness and contented prosperity; such only can be co-operative.

On the other hand, the law of free enterprise, either of the individual or of the State as it is today, breeds predatory competition and the prosperity that it brings is exclusive and unsatisfying, restricted and mechanical; it can exist only on the under- or un-employment and consequent wretchedness of millions either in the same country or in other unfortunate countries which are described as undeveloped or under a backward economy. Surely it is impossible to visualize a state where all countries would be industrialized like America. Modern industrialism is a competitive and combating social doctrine; it can be made a co-operative creed only if, not the machine and the money-mechanism, but man and his creative happiness are enshrined as main and central objectives.

Such self-sufficiency is a new idea and ideal given to us by Gandhiji. It is a world ideal of human happiness and brotherhood. It requires to be studied and actualized by us now in diverse ways. It is basically different from both the American or the Russian way which are, from the point of view of war or peace in the world, equally situated; both of them stand for war as we actually see today. Both deny God and man, one professedly, the other in actual practice. Thus viewed, both are materialistic and mechanistic, not human or spiritual and creative or vital like the man-centred economy of self-distributing production for use and creative happiness.

## VINOBA IN DARBHANGA

(By "Dadu")

Inscrutable are the ways of God. While North Bihar suffers from terrible devastation wrought by the floods, South Bihar is languishing on account of severe drought. As we proceeded into the interior of Darbhanga district, more and more horrible tales of flood-disasters began to reach us.

We reached Mohuddinagar on Sunday August 8. In the evening post-prayer address Vinoba said that he desired that land should no more be a marketable commodity. Land is our common mother claiming our service. He pointed out "There should be no landless in Mithila. So also there should be none not knowing spinning. We should be able to prepare our cloth as we prepare our bread."

On our way to Mau-Wajidpur on the 9th, it rained all along. As we reached the village, school children greeted us warmly.

In the workers' meeting in the afternoon a worker (none else than the convener of the Thana Bhoodan Committee) remarked that of the quota of 8,000 acres fixed for his Thana about 4,000 could be realized and that too in about a year and a half. This was enough to provoke Vinoba who said, "This is not a work of leisure. A religious duty has to be performed without delay. Whatever you do you must do ceaselessly." He went on to say, "When there is a flood we feel pity. But we are quite oblivious of the tortures we inflict on others in our daily life. Land ejections continue. Our religious activity has gone astray. It is confined on the one hand to fasting on Ramanavami, Krishnashami and Shivaratri and, on the other, to paying some coins to the Brahmana priest on the occasions of birth, marriage and death. It is nowhere conspicuous that religion is a part and parcel of our being. Likewise, in the political sphere our activities are confined to flag-salutations on certain dates viz., 26th January, 6th April, 15th August etc. Our only engagement is temporal activity in whose mire we are entangled. This is not the way to meet the religious calls." He concluded, "The valiant soldiers carried out the resolve they made on 9th August. Accordingly we should also make a resolve today and accomplish the task before us." It was announced after the meeting that every landholder in the village Khanna had offered some land in Bhoodan.

While going to Dalsinghgarai on the 10th Vinoba visited the *samadhi* of Vidyapati, the renowned seer and poet of Bihar. He said that Mithila has great traditions of learning. It was a Malkhili savant, Pandit Vachaspati Mishra, who wrote the first commentary on Shankaracharya's *Gita Bhashya*. He called it '*Bhamiti*' after his wife. Then followed successive commentaries viz., *Kalpitaru*, *Suman*, *Parimal* and *Bhramar*. Vinoba also opened a charitable dispensary and a library. At the latter place he remarked that even as bad people could not be allowed in an Ashram or institution, bad books should not be allowed in a library and that books should be collected with due discrimination. As we proceeded to the halt of the day, it rained slightly. Vinoba ran up reciting Dukkha's song, "*Rahi, mandhi gati na pade*" (Traveller, let not your speed slacken). The rains had stopped before we reached the local High School.

"Whether Bhoodan would solve the problem of the poor?"—was a question posed at the workers' meeting. Vinoba replied it at length in his evening discourse. He said that the exploitation carried on during the last two centuries has ruined us and resulted in extreme poverty and unemployment. Certain basic operations would have to be performed to wipe out the same. First was the idea of ownership of land which had deprived millions of their birth-right to land. We would have to root out landlessness. Together with it, we must make suitable arrangements for water-supply. He wanted one well in every five

acres. Hence his appeal for *Koop-dan* (well-gift) and for one well in every marriage. Secondly, stopping old education for all time and new education incorporating new values, would have to be imparted on new lines. Thirdly, village industries would have to be resuscitated. "Village industries are as intimately connected with land-redistribution as Sita with Rama. They go together." He added that village people would have to take a pledge to boycott all such goods as they could make in the villages of their own accord. Fourthly, damage wrought by river waters must be checked and in ventures like Bhakra Nangal, people should offer their labour freely. Fifthly, we should make our social life healthy and religion-conscious. On the one hand, the age of marriage must be raised and on the other, husband and wife should, at the age of forty or forty-five, observing self-restraint and living as brother and sister, lead a life of public service. He warned, "We must go to bed early, leave it early, maintain purity of speech, thought and action: we must resort to books like the Gita, the Koran and the Ramayana, and most of the current literature, all indulgent and exciting, would have to be burnt off." Vinoba closed with the words, "Fortunate were those who took part in the struggle of political freedom. Not less fortunate would be those who participate in this non-violent social and economic revolution."

From 11th August onwards began our march in the thick of the flood-devastated area of the Samastipur subdivision of Darbhanga district. On account of the floods, the evening prayer began an hour earlier at 4-30. Addressing the vast crowd assembled at Pateli village, Vinoba said, "In spite of the floods you are here in no large numbers. This shows that you know that God-made calamities like the flood are transitory while those inflicted by man are rather permanent. There is sympathy for the victims of the former, while there is no getting out of the latter."

Referring to the evictions going on in the villages, he remarked, "I quite follow that ample ignorance and fear are working behind it. Once they are gone evictions would disappear. But what about the safety of the workers until that time? And what about the evicted landless labourer? The time has come when Bhoodan committees should plunge themselves in this work as their own. They should approach the evictor landlord, appeal to him to donate the land till recently cultivated by the evicted peasant for returning it back to the latter. But if, in spite of persuasions he does not yield, there is no harm in going to the law-court. Vakils must be requested to offer *Buddhi-dan* and fight for the poor. Besides, Government officers must be approached, brought to the scene of occurrence and be posted with true facts. What I mean to say is that the Bhoodan worker must feel that there is a definite force behind him and that he is the symbol of a certain order of moral strength. And the general people should also feel accordingly."

Asking villagers to stand on their own feet and get rid of money-slavery, he added, "The city people do not take bold steps onward. They always remain behind. The revolution has to be done by the village people. Today Ganga flows from cities to villages. We have to reverse its direction. From the cities flows on the Ganga of *bidis*, wine, cinema, fashion, idleness, etc. We have to turn the tide and make the Ganga of love, co-operation, hard work, non-ownership, etc., flow henceforth from villages to cities. I am sure that with your support and assistance, this non-violent effort for a socio-economic revolution is bound to succeed."

We encamped at the local Middle School at Rupaull on the 12th. It was a green gay scene all over. Addressing the post-prayer meeting, Vinoba said, "While rapt in prayer, we all become one and both the happy and the miserable, forgetting their happiness or sorrow feel joy (*anand*). God has so designed that the moment we rise above differences we feel oneness that leads to joy. Hence

we should always bear in mind the God-given formula for happiness viz. cast off the idea of being small or big and merge yourself in the bigger whole, and become one with all. Let the whole village be one family and share joys and sorrows together." He went on, "If you earn money but lose love and goodwill you gain nothing. Money has its value but not at the cost of love. Wealth alone can never bring peace."

On the 13th we walked from Rupauli to Samastipur, a sub-divisional town. We covered about a mile and a half in knee-deep water and took a little more than an hour. Vinoba in his discourse there said, "It is true that we obtained freedom by means of non-violence. But we must confess it was not a magic of non-violence alone. Had it been so, we would not have been given to that idleness that we find rampant today. Nor would we have committed the black deeds that we did after freedom. World events, therefore, contributed a large part to our independence. That is why our people have not that glowing faith in the power of non-violence which we ought to have. We do not feel that we have given a new method or technique to the world. We have not realized the might of moral strength. Our non-violence as Gandhiji said, was not that of the strong, but that of the weak and the helpless. But now we can make our choice and choose either the way of non-violence or that of violence. This is freedom. Freedom means freedom, to adopt the course we like."

The week closed with our visit to Hansa. We encamped at the Basic School, now under the direct guidance of Shri Ramsaran Upadhyaya, former Deputy Director of Education in Bihar. We were fascinated there to see a giant banyan tree with no less than 54 branch-trees. That hoary tree is said to be 200 years old. It has stood the whole might of the British Empire! We met for prayer under its sublime shade.

Next week we go round the Rusra and Singha thanas where people have not only been a victim of the severe wrath of the current floods, but are among the poorest and most long-suffering in the whole of India.

28-8-54

### A CRITIQUE OF TECHNOLOGICAL CIVILIZATION

The great forward movements of history go sour because men do not have sufficient awareness to recognize when a progressive force loses its positive energy and begins to eat into the fabric of civilization with the acids of aimless self-indulgence and pious pretence.

One of the primary problems of our technological society has been that we have no idea how to render the social and economic forms of this society into means to genuine culture. The shiny fruits of technology are produced without reference to cultural values and create states of mind which are oblivious to them.

Our theories of the good life all date from an epoch in which modern technology was in the making—when it was naively supposed that scientific and mechanical progress would at last bring on the Utopia of which philosophers and poets had vainly dreamed. An almost religious fervour was associated with these expectations, and now, as we begin to see that they are not coming true, we have nothing to fall back on, no alternative theory of the good life to give us a new hope.

Hope, then, lies in only one place—in searching criticism of the intellectual and moral foundations of our technological society.

To represent critical thinking in technology, we have a passage from a recent address by Charles Lindbergh. Lindbergh, it seems to us, is an appropriate choice in this respect. Here is no blind admiration for technology, but a call to scale the exploits of science to human dimensions:

"This mid-century generation we represent stands on amazing accomplishments, but faces alarming problems. We have wiped out a city with a single bomb; but how can we use this fact to heighten our civilization? We build aircraft by the tens of thousands in our factories; but what will our factories build in the character of their personnel—not only in our generation, but in our children's and their children's? We tie all countries together, put each doorstep on a universal ocean; but how are we to direct these accomplishments to improve the basic qualities of life? In emphasizing force, efficiency, and speed, are we losing a humility, simplicity and tranquility without which we cannot indefinitely hold our own even in worldly competition?

"These are the problems of human power, of long-term survival upon earth. We have shown what man can make of science. Now it is a question of what our scientific environment will make of man, for an environment affects the form and thought of each new generation.

"To date, the results of science have been primarily materialistic. We have measured success by our products rather than ourselves. A materialism which over-emphasizes short-term survival detracts from the humanism essential to long-term survival. We must remember that it was not the outer grandeur of the Roman, but the inner simplicity of the Christian that lived on through the ages.

"The excessive materialism in modern world is a reflection of the excessive materialism in modern man. Nothing is gained by attacking the reflection; we must concentrate on the source; and in doing so, we can be successful only by bringing to our assistance the factors of trend, faith, and time. Unexpended by the time dimension, flattened on a momentary mental screen, the chaos of our modern world is staggering.

We desired a mechanistic civilization, and we achieved one. To achieve a civilization based on human values requires the desire within ourselves. If we actually have that desire, our scientific, industrial and military forces will fall, automatically, into line behind it, supporting with material strength the human qualities essential to over-all power and permanent survival.

"But we must have more than an intellectual desire, filed away in the archives of idea. It must enter the roots of our being until it shapes our action instinctively as well as through the conscious mind, until we see the producer as more important than his product, and find it no sacrifice to renounce material standards of success—until we realize in our bones as well as our brains that the character of man still forms the essential core of lasting civilization."

Lindbergh certainly has the right to speak to our technological condition. While his criticism and proposal are in a sense 'abstract', they do place first things first by insisting that technology is for man, that man is not for technology.

(Adapted from *Manas*, 17-3-54)

# ECONOMICS OF THE VILLAGE GHANI

Oil is an indispensable article used in cooking in every home in India. No matter whether the cooked food is vegetarian or non-vegetarian and the homes are of the rich or of the poor, oil cannot be eliminated. It is an article of universal use in cities, towns and the villages. Great care has, therefore, to be taken in the selection of edible oils and ensure its purity.

Edible oils are of various kinds. They are extracted out of oil seeds and copra. India is an important producer of these oil seeds in the world. The total world production of important oil seeds is estimated at about 36 million tons per annum. Of this our country produces about 5 million tons.

Of these 5 million tons of oil seeds, 3 million tons are pressed in the country. Registered mills press 15 lakh tons while 5 lakh tons are pressed by small factories. Thus 2 million tons are consumed by the mills. Only 1 million tons are available for being pressed by the bullock ghanis in our villages.

Have you at any time paused to ponder over the economic consequences of mill and factory pressing of edible oil seeds? Here are some facts which will speak for themselves.

There are in our country 4,00,000 bullock ghanis. Ghani pressing is a family occupation. Four hundred thousand families thus eke out a living through ghani oil pressing. Each ghani is capable of crushing about seven tons of seeds per annum. On this computation, the 4,00,000 ghanis will require 28 lakh tons of oil seeds. But we have seen that they get only 10 lakh tons. In other words, the ghanis are not even half employed.

It follows, therefore, that the 4,00,000 families, that is, two million souls, have to subsist on half their normal earnings. A point to be remembered, however, is that a large number of these half employed ghanis do not get an even quota of seeds for oil pressing. In several parts of the country numbers of them have been rendered virtually idle and numerous families are facing penury and destitution.

Now, let us see what life could be to a Teli family if its ghani is fully employed. In a year the ghani can press, say, some 30,000 lbs. of oil seeds yielding 12000 lbs. of oil. Let us assume that 1 lb. of edible oil costs on an average Re. 1. The price of oil pressed by the Teli comes to Rs. 12,000 per year. Besides oil, he gets oil cakes which, when sold, fetches him Rs. 2,600. His gross annual income, therefore, comes to Rs. 14,600.

But all this money is not his. He has to spend over Rs. 13,000 to make this gross income. These expenses are roughly as follows:

1. Oil seeds	Rs. 12,000
2. Maintenance of bullock	Rs. 720
3. Maintenance of the ghani	Rs. 100
4. Interest charges	Rs. 120
5. Depreciation	Rs. 100

Total .. Rs. 13,040

Thus a Teli family has a net annual income of Rs. 1,560, or Rs. 130 per month, provided the ghani is fully engaged.

But, as we have seen, the ghani today does not press even half its capacity and a large number of them have virtually gone out of use. To restore to the village oil industry its rightful place is a task of great urgency. As a means of relieving unemployment of about 15,00,000 souls, the village oil industry has an importance of its own in our national economy.

Let us see what blocks its rehabilitation and development. It has already been pointed out that 20 lakh tons of edible oil seeds are pressed in mechanized mills and factories, which employ among them hardly 60,000 workers. These mills and factories have great resources in capital and credit facilities. They are in a position to corner the oil seeds produced in the country at prices favourable to them. Against their money-power, the village Telis are helpless. Expansion of the pressing capacity of the mills and factories will destroy the village oil industry completely. Imagine what it will mean in terms of economic distress to thousands of human beings and the social tension and strain it will create. Prudence and demands of social justice call for rehabilitation of the village oil industry.

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has, after a comprehensive study of the problems of this industry, chalked out a development programme and has recommended several measures. Among these are:

1. Non-expansion of the pressing capacity of the mills and a ceiling at their present pressing quantity.
2. Reservation of edible oil pressing to the village ghanis and allotment of the additional edible oil seeds production to them.
3. A cess of Re. 1-4-0 per maund of oil pressed in the mills to offset the price difference.
4. Supply of oil seeds to Telis at fair prices.
5. Subsidy to the ghani industry.

These together with availability of cheap credit to the Telis and a marketing organization, can go a long way to set the industry again on a sound basis.

The Board has side by side, plans for research and technological improvements to increase the productive efficiency of the ghanis.

Ghani pressed edible oils are in every respect superior to mill pressed oils. The family, which owns the ghani, takes care first to clean the oil seeds and remove all foreign matter and dirt from the seed piles. There is less chance of adulteration and it is possible to make ghani oil available to the consumer under a guarantee of purity.

Rehabilitation of the ghani oil industry, therefore, is of national importance. It benefits those engaged in the industry and those who use this oil alike.

(Reproduced from A.I.C.C. Economic Review, 15-8-54)

## NOTES

## Two Timely Publications

The Navajivan Press has issued these two booklets,\* which are very timely. Shri B. Kurnappa has in them presented to us Gandhiji's ideas on the burning question of the medium of instruction and the reorganization of States, generally speaking, on a linguistic basis. As Shri Kurnappa says in his Editor's Note, "the two are inextricably tied up with each other," though for purposes of convenience, the matter on the two topics is separately issued. It must be remembered that, according to Gandhiji, the whole question is not political, but essentially educational and cultural. Unhappily, however, it is mixed up with much that should be held irrelevant and confusing the real issue, to such an extent that what could have been easily achieved has created a highly dangerous situation for our national unity and peaceful progress.

As Shri Kurnappa says:

"Gandhiji was convinced that education did not adequately fulfil its function of developing the powers of the child and of enabling him to contribute fully to the life of the community to which he belonged unless it was imparted through the medium of his mother-tongue."

"Moreover it is obvious that cultural growth of a people cannot take place except through the medium of their own language. Hence Gandhiji's concern that without undue delay provinces should be reconstituted on the basis of language and that education should be imparted through its medium."

The two pamphlets deal with this idea of Gandhiji. I hope they will help us to harken to the voice which we can heed to now only through the medium of the written word.

13-9-54

M. P.

## A Noteworthy Obiter Dictum

The following observation made by Justice Agarwala of the Allahabad High Court in deciding the case of detention of Dr. R. M. Lohia, I think, strikes a new line of approach and interpretation in regard to the constitutional law *vis-a-vis* a citizen's freedom of speech:

"In my opinion, our Constitution safeguards to every citizen of India the freedom to preach non-violent disobedience to civil laws, not being laws mentioned in clause (2) of Art. 19."

Laws mentioned in that clause are—

"In respect of seven matters: (a) Security of State; (b) friendly relations with foreign States; (c) public order; (d) decency or morality; (e) contempt of court; (f) defamation; and (g) incitement to an offence."

6-9-54

M. P.

## \*Medium of Instruction and Linguistic Provinces

By M. K. Gandhi, Edited by Bharatan Kurnappa, Pub. Navajivan Publishing House, pp. iv + 16 and 16, Price and postage etc. As. 4, and As. 2 respectively. P. O. Navajivan, Ahmedabad-14.

## STOP EVICTIONS BY GREATING LOVE BETWEEN OWNERS AND TENANTS

(By Vinoba)

There are a large number of evictions taking place at present. Zamindars are prompted to take this step mostly out of fear, namely, that in case there was no eviction the particular piece of land might pass into the possession of the tenant. I would ask them to give up this ignoble fear. They should not evict the tenants and in case eviction has already been carried out they should rectify the mistake. The way they could easily and very honourably do it would be to donate that particular piece of land to me and note down on the back of the gift-deed that it should be allotted to so and so who has been cultivating it from before. It will both set right an injustice and bring them the satisfaction of having made a donation. So much for the evictors.

To those who are being evicted my advice is: Hold on and remain peaceful even though you are beaten or otherwise intimidated and harassed. You must not take to counter-violence whatever the provocation. And in this way stick on to your place and to your work. If you have been cultivating that land for the past two-to-three years and if you have no other land to fall back upon, there is no reason why you should leave it because the owner asks you to do so. I am not inciting the people for violence as has been alleged against me by some. I am only speaking the truth, and showing the way to real peace. And I am sure that if the peasants act on this advice, if they refuse to give up the land and at the same time remain quite peaceful, they will succeed in converting the heart of the owners.

The workers have to play an important part in bringing about a peaceful settlement of this problem. They should inform me of the cases of evictions taking place in the area where I may be touring. In other places the local workers themselves should work for the solution in the right spirit. The approach which they should adopt towards such disputes has to be based on the faith that both the evictors and the evicted are our brothers. They are to work for creating love between them. They are to act as messengers of truth and if they set about the task in the right spirit, humbly and yet firmly, they cannot fail.

(From Hindi)

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