

HARIJAN

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

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AHMEDABAD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1954

TWO ANNAS

BUY KHADI HUNDIS

I

(By Rajendra Prasad)

For many years we have been celebrating Mahatma Gandhi's birthday with great enthusiasm. Mahatmaji himself desired that this day should not be celebrated as the day of his birth, but as Charkha Jayanti. Accordingly it is celebrated all over the country by spinning on Charkhas and by propagating Khadi. It is very essential that the occasion should be celebrated this year too with enthusiasm.

The Government of India has also decided to give aid to Khadi. A great difficulty always present in Khadi production is its high cost and therefore, Khadi prices are higher. The Government has now taken steps to make it available to the people at a lower price.

Khadi gives employment to those numerous people who have no other means of earning a livelihood and hence Khadi becomes a great instrument for the removal of unemployment. Keeping this particular aspect in view, propagation of Khadi, it is felt, is urgent necessity.

At one time the most prominent Congress workers hawked Khadi from door to door with a view to popularizing it. Now there are no obstacles of any kind in its marketing and sales. On the contrary it gets encouragement from all directions. For this reason, the Khadi Board has devised a scheme for the convenience of the people, which will enable them to buy Khadi of their choice at any time they like. This will enable the Board to know as to how much Khadi is sold during Gandhi Jayanti.

The Board will be selling Khadi hundis, which the people can buy and exchange them for Khadi of their liking either at a time or at convenient intervals. This time it has been decided that Khadi hundis worth one crore rupees should be sold during Gandhi Jayanti celebration.

It is hoped that all patriotic people will co-operate in this work and will contribute to its success.

Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi,
1st July, 1954

II

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

For many years past some Khadi organizations in the country have issued what are called Khadi hundis, usually at the time of the Gandhi Jayanti. This year a more organized and extensive effort is going to be made in this connection and Khadi hundis will be issued by the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, which is associated with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India.

These hundis will be issued in different denominations, the sales commencing on the 2nd October, 1954. The purchaser will be entitled to purchase cotton, woollen or silk Khadi at any time up to 31st March, 1955. The object is to make available a part of the capital required by the Khadi producing centres for enhancing the output of Khaddar for the next year.

It is proposed to issue hundis of the value of one crore of rupees and by the sale of these hundis it will be possible to increase the production of Khaddar by at least five crores of rupees. This will give employment to several lakhs of villagers.

I would commend these hundis to our people. To wear Khadi should be an honour and a distinction. It should be symbol of equality and of our lining up with millions of village folk in India. In addition to this, we help in giving some employment to a considerable number of persons. No one should need further argument and I hope, therefore, this venture will prove a complete success.

New Delhi, 13-8-'54

By Vinoba Bhave
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P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD - 14

VINOBA IN DARBHANGA—III

(By "Dadu")

"While we are dying on account of these unprecedented floods, you are asking for Bhodan," said an irritated, prosperous zamindar.

"That is the reason," replied Vinoba quietly, "why I ask for it. Won't you like to offer *dan* before your departure?" We all laughed and the zamindar could also not help joining us.

"But, Baba, at least you could wait for some time," he put in entreatingly.

"No, I cannot. I should not. The floods positively prove that all land belongs to Gopal. So I want entire villages now. It is only when the village as a whole owns the land in place of individuals that the right help can be provided to the right man."

"No logic can help us before you."

"It is not a question of logic. I talk but commonsense. Let the village people become one family, then the disaster turns into a blessing and you can live happily ever after." And thus Vinoba goes on conveying his message in the flood-affected parts of North Bihar.

On August 23 we were at Hathauri. On our way, a rich landlord presented his *dan patra* to Vinoba. Knowing, however, that he had evicted some families, Vinoba refused to accept it. He protested that all complaints against him were motivated by ill-will and malice. It was fixed that both parties should meet Vinoba after the prayer at 7 p.m. Vinoba listened to them and then inquired whether they agreed to accept the arbitration of some men trusted by them both. One name was suggested by one side and accepted by the other. Vinoba told them that that friend (the newly chosen arbitrator) would go into all details and that his decision would be binding. Thus the matter came to a close and it was only then that he took his gift-deed.

In his post-prayer address that day, referring to land evictions, he remarked that not man but some animal in him was doing all that. It was the duty of the Bhodan worker to approach him with love and patience. There was no need to get angry. We must always keep in view that the object is to raise the dignity of every man and appreciate his virtues. Gradually even the stone-hearted would melt.

Leaving Hathauri for Varanagar by boat at 4-50 a.m., we went on for more than four hours and then walked down two miles to reach our camp at 9-45 a.m. A happy group of children with Praja Socialist Party flags in their hands greeted us with loud cheers of "Sant Vinoba Amar Ho!"

In the workers' meeting, in the afternoon Congressmen complained against the Praja Socialist Party workers for demonstrating their flags, in spite of the instruction of the Bhodan Committee to the contrary. Vinoba soothed them saying, "I ban no flags. Come with as many as you like. But there is a condition of mine." "What's that?", they anxiously asked. "For every small flag my fee is ten acres of land and one hundred acres for a big one. No flag without fee!" All of them, Congressmen and Praja Socialists, burst into laughter hilariously.

There was not the usual calm in the evening meeting. Hawking of *pan* and *bidis* was going on. Vinoba asked them to close their shops and sit at ease. But the hawkers paid no heed. He warned them again, yet to no purpose. Then he left his seat, went to a hawker, took his *katha*-pot and threw it away. It brought home to all of them the seriousness of the meeting. Quietly they all sat down and Vinoba began his address.

He dwelt on the necessity of discipline and decorum in our everyday work, specially public work. He said that we were very weak in this regard and history showed how we fell down before the outsider because of it, e.g.,

thousands of Marathas lost Orissa to mere 600 Englishmen accompanied by 2,400 natives, the victors losing, only 60 men. "There is nothing surprising in it. We are so haphazard and uncouth, there are so many castes, sects and groups amongst us that it is natural for things not to be executed properly. Rather, their execution is something to be wondered at. But this would not, cannot continue in Swaraj. We should be wide awake and cultivate unity. We must generate strength to manage our own affairs ourselves. It is said that when somebody asked Napoleon, the great conqueror, (when he was in St. Helena) why he lost the battle of Waterloo, he replied, "Because the German commander who had promised me to send his forces for help sent them seven minutes late!" Thus you can see how small things count and mere numbers don't help. Strength accrues from unity."

We went to Veersighpur next day. There was workers' meeting in the afternoon. Vinoba remarked that he did not recognize parties, for parties do not possess a soul which the man does. Mere excitement or enthusiasm is of little avail. What is required is efficiency and single-minded devotion.

In his post-prayer speech, Vinoba said, "I want to tell you that our real problem lies not in excess of rain or in shortage of it, but in the ruination of our village industries. Why should a dignified man accept aid gratis? The terrible reality is that people in the flood areas are sitting idle. They know no crafts. They have no work on their damaged fields. Had we followed Gandhiji and carried on spinning, you could have spun on the Charkha even now and obtained cereals in exchange. Besides in a vast country like India, the peasant cannot survive by relying on agriculture alone. Village industries are very indispensable for our existence."

He went on, "But our Central Agricultural Minister says that there is so much excess of food in India, that its disposal is a problem. It is elementary knowledge that a country must have at least two years of food in reserve. If there be ample food in the country, let it go to the peasant. But he cannot get it because he cannot purchase it. His purchasing power is almost nil. Hence you should all resolve to prepare your cloth yourselves and raise your purchasing capacity. Should Village Industries flourish, people would have cereals in store lasting for two years and more."

On 26th we were at Waini near Pusa Head Railway Station. We encamped at the Saranjam Karyalaya (Charkha Production Centre) run by the Bihar Khadi Samiti. For half an hour from 11-30 to 12 noon, Vinoba went round the Charkha workshop. At half past two, he walked down to the Gram Sevika Vidyalaya, about two furlongs away. It is the provincial head quarter of the Bihar Branch of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund. About forty women workers are being trained there.

There was a very large gathering, about twenty thousand strong, in the evening meeting. After the prayer, in his usual address, Vinoba recollected that three years back there was famine in Gorakhpur. As the Government had sent there food there was no shortage of it. Yet the people could not buy it. In the absence of Village Industries the people know that they cannot meet their wants unless they grow money-crops. Hence the production of tobacco in this area as also in the best lands of the country. He said, "I used to hear the song:

"Bhai, kudali chalte chalo,
Mitti ka sona banate chalo!"

(Go on with the spade and turn clay into gold.)

"But now things go thus:

"Is tarah bekarai badhate chalo,
Mitti ki tamakoo banate chalo!"

(Go on raising unemployment and turn clay into tobacco.)

"The other day when I was at a village bazaar in a flooded place, I learnt that a businessman had raised grain-prices. On asking him the reason of it, he replied that

production was short. This is modern economics, capitalist economics, shameless economics. On the other hand, what is required in case of production-shortage is that there should be a reduction in ration so that all may get correspondingly less, otherwise the rich will get as usual while the poor will suffer from starvation for no fault of their own." He expressed the hope that the people of this locality would take the help of Khadi workers here, prepare their own cloth and establish Gram Raj.

He concluded, "Outsiders say that women of India are slaves to men. I feel just the contrary—our men have turned into slaves. They are slaves because they are victims of lust. They do not let the woman go out of her home. This has weakened Bihar immensely. Please get up now and give a full chance to them. And make the best use you can of the Kasturba centre here."

We were at Sadipur on the 27th—the last day in Darbhanga district in this round.

In his post-prayer address, he said, "When Bapu was alive I was busy in the service of the village people and did meditation. I never had any longing to go out. After Bapu's departure I felt I must come out with his message. And so I am here. I have no strength of my own. What I have comes from God and Bapu."

Saturday the 28th Vinoba entered Patepur in Muzaffarpur district. While on his way to this place, a stout and self-confident woman stopped him in the way. She related her whole tale of woe. She was a widow, with two sons, and having about two Kattas (one-tenth of an acre) of land out of which the zamindar was bent on evicting her. After giving her a patient hearing, Vinoba requested her to come to Patepur. He also called upon the zamindar in question to see him. They met him in the afternoon. It was decided that the zamindar should give the woman about four times as much land (and good land) in the vicinity, to which he agreed. And thus the matter was happily decided.

There was another case the same day. An old widow, owning about half an acre of land, came to Vinoba and lodged a complaint against the evictor landlord who happened to be present. The case had gone upto the High Court in which the zamindar alone had spent more than five thousand rupees. When both had presented their case according to their full satisfaction, Vinoba asked the landlord either not to evict the widow or grant her more land elsewhere. He agreed to give her about twice as much as she had, which she accepted.

In his evening prayer address, Vinoba remarked, "If the goodwill of man awakens at times of misfortune and he works steadfastly, this not only helps in meeting the calamity but it also creates new life. Let us forget our little selves and think in terms of the village as a whole." He then went on to state that the ruination of village industries in free India had aggravated our misery. India could not survive without village industries. He continued, "How painful it is that Muzaffarpur cinemas run as usual in spite of the unprecedented tragedy. What does it mean? Is this the symbol of a living people? Worry not for Bhodan Yajna. The moment you feel that humanity lies in sharing misery and happiness, you will be changed creatures and cannot help doing justice to the landless. The time has come to launch a social movement, to spread this religious thought. And it will also lead to Gram Raj."

11-9-'54

By Richard B. Gregg
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NOTES

Bhodon Figures

S. N.	State	(Up to 5-9-'54)	
		Total Collection (Acres)	Total Distribution (Acres)
1.	Assam	1,692	—
2.	Andhra	13,976	—
3.	Uttar Pradesh	5,16,387	59,693
4.	Orissa	1,00,909	708
5.	Karnatak	2,180	239
6.	Kerala	17,000	—
7.	Gujarat	36,170	942
8.	Tamilnad	25,104	256
9.	Delhi	9,245	41
10.	Punjab	9,520	—
11.	Bengal	4,634	12
12.	Bihar	21,02,500	1,492
13.	Madhya Pradesh	67,564	5,550
14.	Madhya Bharat	62,412	—
15.	Maharashtra	15,480	—
16.	Mysore	3,414	—
17.	Rajasthan	3,22,310	5,761
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	5,305	244
19.	Saurashtra	41,000	—
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,900	—
21.	Hyderabad	1,02,760	17,525
Total		34,66,462	92,523

(Total collection on 5-8-'54 was 34,50,200 acres).

P. B. No. 43,
Gaya, Bihar

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,
Office Secretary,
A. I. Sarva Seva Sangh.

Vanaspati and Ghee

To

The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir,

Your recent article on Vanaspati is very timely. As days pass, Vanaspati is penetrating deeper and deeper in our villages, killing the Ghee and Ghani industries.

If I remember aright, Shri Satishchandra Das Gupta had suggested one or two suitable colours for Vanaspati. The Government can also declare a big prize for finding out suitable colour. It is quite likely that it will be forthcoming.

But there are also other ways of achieving the object. All edible oils like *til*, groundnut, coconut, *sarsav*, have different taste and smell. Why not add a pleasant but distinctive smell and taste to the Vanaspati so that it cannot be used for adulterating Ghee?

If the manufacturers of Vanaspati are honest, in their contention that they also are against adulteration, they should have no objection, in accepting this suggestion; neither should the Government have any difficulty in enforcing this simple but effective measure to stop the adulteration of Ghee by Vanaspati.

PANNALAL ZAVERI

HARIJAN

Oct. 2

1954

MY FAITH AND BELIEF

(By Gandhiji)

[On the occasion of Gandhiji's birth-day, I have reproduced the following passages from his writings, under the above heading. Let us, in due reverence, heed to them which, in a nutshell, give us a glimpse of what inspired him and held him on through his whole life, and what he wished us to learn from him. His was a message not merely to achieve political Swaraj, but our own individual Swaraj as well, without which true Swaraj will not be possible. More than ever or anything else, we need today men, who find the object of their faith and life-pursuit not in politics, which seems to be the order of the day, but in living a noble life of disinterested service and morality. Ultimately this was Gandhiji's message to us. May we humbly harken to it and dedicate ourselves anew to this noble ideal.]

24-9-54

— M. P. J.

Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making. It may be that what I claim to be a science may prove to be no science at all and may well prove to be the musings and doings of a fool, if not a madman. It may be that what is true in Satyagraha is as ancient as the hills. But it has not yet been acknowledged to be of any value in the solution of world problems or rather the one supreme problem of war. It may be that what is claimed to be new in it will prove to be really of no value in terms of that supreme problem. It may be that what are claimed to be victories of Satyagraha i.e. Ahimsa, were in reality victories not of truth and non-violence but of the fear of violence.

These possibilities have always been in front of me. I am helpless. All I present to the nation for adoption is an answer to prayer or, which is the same thing, constantly waiting on God.

Harijan, 24-9-38, p. 266

Our existence as embodied beings is purely momentary; what are a hundred years in eternity? But if we shatter the chains of egotism, and melt into the ocean of humanity, we share its dignity. To feel that we are something is to set up a barrier between God and ourselves; to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God. A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent, although it is unconscious of it. But it is dried up as soon as it enters upon an existence independent of the ocean. We do not exaggerate, when we say that life is a mere bubble.

A life of service must be one of humility. He who could sacrifice his life for others, has hardly time to reserve for himself a place in the sun. Inertia must not be mistaken for humility, as it has been in Hinduism. True humility means most strenuous and constant endeavour entirely

directed towards the service of humanity. God is continuously in action without resting for a single moment. If we would serve Him or become one with Him our activity must be as unwearied as His. There may be momentary rest in store for the drop which is separated from the ocean, but not for the drop in the ocean, which knows no rest. The same is the case with ourselves. As soon as we become one with the ocean in the shape of God, there is no more rest for us, nor indeed do we need rest any longer. Our very sleep is action. For we sleep with the thought of God in our hearts. This restlessness constitutes true rest. This never-ceasing agitation holds the key to peace ineffable. This supreme state of total surrender is difficult to describe, but not beyond the bounds of human experience. It has been attained by many dedicated souls, and may be attained by ourselves as well. This is the goal which we of the Satyagraha Ashram have set before ourselves; all our observances and activities are calculated to assist us in reaching it. We shall reach it some day all unawares if we have truth in us.

Yeravda Mandir, pp. 47-48

I come now to what is called the 'Gandhian' ideology and the means of propagating it. The propagation of truth and non-violence can be done less by books than by actually living those principles. Life truly lived is more than books. I do not say that we may not issue books and newspapers. I only say that they are not indispensable. If we are true devotees of truth and Ahimsa, God will endow us with the requisite intellect to solve problems. That devotion presupposes the will to understand our opponent's viewpoint. We must make a sincere effort to enter into his mind and to understand his viewpoint. That is what is meant by non-violence walking straight into the mouth of violence. If we are armed with that attitude of mind, we may hope to propagate Ahimsa principles. Without that, book and newspaper propaganda is of no avail. You do not know with what indifference I used to run *Young India*. I did not shed a single tear when *Young India* had to be stopped. But Satyagraha, which it was intended to help, survived it. For Satyagraha does not depend on outside help, it derives all its strength from within.

Harijan, 13-5-39, p. 122

By Mahatma Gandhi

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GANDHIJI ON LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

At this time in India's history when we are in the happy position of giving shape to the future of our country, it is very important to be sure of every step we are taking. There is divided opinion today, for example, on the question of linguistic provinces. Some are impatiently clamouring for their immediate establishment, while others are for shelving the problem for the time being, till we have built up our nationhood on a stable basis.

When Gandhiji was alive, our leaders took such difficult problems to him for solution, and with unerring insight he guided them. It cannot be said that today without him we are left to fumble, for his writings remain with us to give us his mind and to disclose the principles which we should keep before us in arriving at a solution for ourselves. On this anniversary of his birthday, we cannot perhaps do better than to seek his guidance in regard to this problem of linguistic provinces which is agitating many of us.

A careful study of his writings and statements will reveal that today we are going about the problem in an entirely wrong way. We feel that the interests of a particular language group are not safe in the hands of another language group, that each group must therefore have self-determination. Thus the spirit underlying the desire for linguistic provinces is not unlike what brought about the partition of the country. If such a spirit of suspicion and jealousy is allowed to grow, it will be the end of our nationhood. Every true son of India must resist such a calamity, linguistic provinces or no. Gandhiji for one would never have given his support to linguistic provinces if this is the spirit of those who clamour for them. He would have opposed them tooth and nail, saying "My province must be co-extensive with the Indian boundary so that ultimately it extends to the boundary of the earth." (*Harijan*, 21-9-'47). He who in the light of Hindu philosophy dreamt of the unity of all mankind, nay of all living creatures, could never countenance a narrow local patriotism which exists only for itself against all others. He who lived and died for all India could not bear such dismemberment of the country. So he said: "Redistribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. . . . If such province began to look upon itself as a separate sovereign unit, India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well. . . . It would be fatal if it (linguistic redistribution) led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalries. The world outside does not know us as Gujaratis, Maharashtris or Tamilians, but only as Indians. We must therefore resolutely discourage all fissiparous tenden-

cies and feel and behave as Indians." (*Harijan*, 1-2-'48).

Yet it is also true that Gandhiji wanted linguistic provinces to be instituted without delay. Why? Because he knew from personal experience that cultural development of a people could not come about except through their own mother-tongue. For not only is the child able to imbibe ideas more quickly through his mother-tongue than through a foreign medium, but he also becomes less passive and receptive and more active and interested when he is taught in a language he readily understands, and is therefore able to develop initiative and capacity to think for himself. Accordingly Gandhiji wrote bitterly against the use of English in schools: "The foreign medium has caused brain fog; put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work. . . . The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land." (*Young India*, 1-9-'21). This last is the worst that can be said about a system of education, for it means that through it a gulf grows up, as Gandhiji saw, between the educated and the uneducated, the educated become isolated and estranged from their fellows, and the benefits of education do not filtrate into the community. So cultural advancement of the people is impeded.

Consequently Gandhiji felt that for the rapid regeneration of our people, the first and most needed step was straightaway to remove the foreign medium of instruction from our schools and replace it by the mother-tongue. "If I had the powers of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy." (*Young India*, 1-9-'21).

But what, it may be asked, has all this to do with the question of linguistic provinces? Everything, would be Gandhiji's reply. For the language of the schools must also be the language of the State. In a democracy you cannot have a State run in a language foreign to the people. Hence the States have to be re-organized on the basis of the language of the area.

Today most of our efforts are directed to economic development. Gandhiji realized that, as man does not live by bread alone, education and cultural regeneration were equally basic and urgent and could not be delayed. The freedom process he initiated was not to be merely political, or even economic but also cultural. The matter of instituting linguistic provinces was therefore for him of the utmost urgency. We must not then shelve the problem, but tackle it at once. The question is how?

In the first place, it would seem if we would carry out the spirit of Gandhiji, we would begin

with introducing the mother-tongue in schools immediately. There can be, according to him, no reason at all for delay in taking this first essential step. Much less reason can there be for a linguistic province, if it has been already established like for instance Andhra, to debate the question of the feasibility of replacing English by the mother-tongue, for the chief reason for instituting linguistic provinces is to revive the mother-tongue. The linguistic province therefore defeats the very purpose of its existence so long as it does not introduce the mother-tongue in its schools.

In the second place, those who are eager for linguistic provinces should like Gandhiji work wholeheartedly for the unity of India. Gandhiji realized, as perhaps few others, that lack of unity was what brought us under the foreign yoke, and it will do so again undoubtedly if we do not learn the lesson of history and regard ourselves as Indians first and foremost. Accordingly he sought from the very beginning of his national career to bring about Hindu Muslim unity and gave his life for that cause; he did all he could to abolish untouchability and caste; he wanted through Khadi to remove the distinction between rich and poor; he asked us all to learn Hindi-Urdu so that we might be able to communicate with each other; he urged us to respect our different religions, languages and cultures, learn of each other, and look upon ourselves as members of a single family. Unfortunately very little is being done today along these lines to break the barriers that divide us and to create a feeling of oneness amongst all the castes, creeds and languages of our country. It is a tremendous task for which even a separate Department of Government may have to be established, a Department of Indianization, whose one function will be to promote a feeling that we are Indians, irrespective of language, province, caste and religion. It is a task in which all patriotic citizens of the country, especially those who are anxious to establish linguistic provinces, must regard it their duty to join.

Without such preparatory work, mere clamouring for linguistic provinces must be condemned outright, for it sows the seeds of distrust and hatred between one language group and another. When the atmosphere is vitiated by linguistic antipathies and rivalries, as Gandhiji wrote, "even zealous reformers would postpone controversial issues to a more hopeful time when, in the interests of the country, the virtue of 'give and take' would be freely recognized, and all sectional interests would be subordinate to the one interest of the good of India, which will include the good of all.... Therefore, those who like me want constructive suggestions to come into play at this very moment, have to work to bring about a healthy atmosphere, promoting concord in the place of discord, peace in the place of strife." (*Harijan*, 30-11-47).

When this is done, then people of different language groups would, according to Gandhiji, without the aid of any Boundary Commission determine for themselves the boundaries on the new basis by mutual agreement and consent, and obtain the sanction of the Centre. To go to a third party in the shape of a Boundary Commission for a settlement would, Gandhiji held, be a negation of their independence. (*Harijan*, 1-2-48). Limiting boundaries would not then be a scramble, as at present, for the greatest amount of territory and wealth, but would be motivated by a desire to serve the best interests of the inhabitants of the area.

As compared with the technique laid down thus by Gandhiji for the establishment of linguistic provinces, how completely erroneous appears to be the way that many of us are going about the task. Let us pause and consider, and move with circumspection. Else we shall undo the marvellous work Gandhiji performed in making of us a nation, and what is worse, we shall be in danger of losing our freedom and of leading the country to anarchy and disintegration.

Lessons of Guatemala

[The following is from *Peace News*, London, of July 23, 1954. It will, I hope, interest those who love to establish peace and non-violence, as also those who rely on the armed strength of peoples to maintain and keep their security.

14-9-54

M. P.]

The lesson of the Guatemalan struggle is twofold. First, a small nation under threat of aggression can place no faith in UN protection. Such "protection" will only be given when the powers on both sides in the world power struggle are ready to face world war, and in that event it will be of no more advantage to the aggressed nation than to the rest of the world. Short of this, when the aggressor is a great power, UN, which is not impelled by moral considerations, will not make a pronouncement that will be of any help to the small nation. Secondly, if the small nation relies on armed power it will equally fail, for in warfare today, material counts for a great deal more than men.

Where men can make themselves effective as man is in the power of personal will expressed in non-violent resistance to any attempt to impose conditions by force.

Such a course requires discipline and a high degree of courage. It means a great readiness for personal suffering and sacrifice; not greater than the soldier faces, but without the aid of the illusion that helps the soldier on.

It has been shown that it can be developed, however; and if freedom is to live on earth it will have to be developed again.

ROOTS OF REVOLUTIONARY FERVOUR

The thing that frustrates so many would-be reformers and planners of social improvement is the unresponsiveness of the people they want to help. These people, we are told, won't even do anything for their own good, and the result is often a considerable amount of resentment on the part of those who set out upon works of welfare with high intentions.

It is of course true that some sort of basic lethargy afflicts the great majority of mankind, even in respect to matters of immediate and practical importance to themselves. There is the further fact that time is always a factor when large groups of people are called upon to assimilate new ideas and put them into practice. But after these considerations are allowed for, it is still apparent that great waves of progress have taken place in the past and it is logical to think that there are underlying dynamics involved in these forward steps which need to be understood.

Some dynamics which have accomplished revolutionary changes may not be desirable. The dynamics of the Communist movement, for example. The point here is that regimentation of mass self-interest by a tightly organized and ruthlessly determined minority such as the Bolshevik Party has consequences no intelligent man would wish to repeat for any reason this side of sanity.

(Taking the instance of the co-operative movement), apparently, the goad of want has been primarily responsible for the success achieved by this movement. But there are regions of the world where want is almost omnipresent, yet co-operation difficult to obtain. Shri S. K. Dey writes (in *The Economic Weekly*, 5-11-53, Bombay) at length to show that no ordinary programme of rural rehabilitation will solve the problems of hunger and want in the villages of India. Indian agriculture, he proposes, is not backward merely because it is "primitive", but because it represents a sort of dead-end of economic decline under which there has been a tragic loss of faith and self-confidence on the part of the masses who work with the soil.

In the light of these observations, one sees the practical wisdom of Gandhi and his programme of spinning for the villagers. While Western critics who quoted production statistics of textile mills to show how hand-spun and hand-woven fabrics could not possibly "compete" with manufactured cloth may have been technically correct, their claims were practically irrelevant. Spinning was something that the villager could start in to do *at once*. And it was a means of his *becoming productive*, of forging a new self-respect.

And here, it may be, is the key not only to the problem of the Indian villager, but to the

problems of human beings the world over; recovery of self-respect, self-reverence, self-reliance. It is easy to suppose, since relatively speaking, the United States is a land overflowing with material plenty, that the American people have no problems comparable to those of India. But it is no falsification to say that Americans are finding their material possessions tasteless and insipid, that the restlessness and neuroticism of the typical American community may be rooted in a similar loss of individuality. It is even possible to say that the problems of Americans are more difficult because they do not come to dramatic and self-evident focus in poverty and hunger. It is a starvation of the spirit gnawing conscience perhaps, and resulting fears and suspicions which exhibit human nature in its most unlovely aspects.

In India, before the formation of the Indian Republic, men like Gandhi and Nehru found in the idea of national freedom a key to the hearts of Indians. The key was turned, the freedom was won, and now there are hosts of new problems. But as Dey implies, the new problems—which in this case are not really new, but emerge as primary since freedom was obtained—are not capable of solution by the "group action" of a nationalist movement. Another level of human resources must be tapped to meet these new problems, and observers like Dey are pointing out that before such resources can be tapped, they must be *built up*.

This, quite evidently, is a long, slow process, for India, for America, for the world.

India has the advantage of the rest of the world in one respect. She had her man of the hour in Gandhi. Gandhi laboured for the dignity of the individual and his love of the Indian masses was felt by them. Through this touch of the heart, great things became possible for India. India *cannot*, even though she try, forget or erase the work of Gandhi. His inspiration has seeped into countless cracks and crannies of the Indian mind and its leaven is at work as it works elsewhere in the world. Even in neglect of Gandhian philosophy, Indians will be aware of his presence, if only in quiet moments of reflection. His greatness will haunt even the confirmed "rationalists" who suppose they know far better. And, through the centuries, his labours will have altered Indian history beyond calculation. But Gandhi's prime example, let us note, was that of a fearless, self-reliant individual. Unlike some other heroes of history, his was a *moral* power, his message that moral power can become a mighty force.

The thing to be remembered is that the moral authority of a single determined individual can sway the course of empire. It is this secret of individuality that is more important even than the world peace for which Gandhi laboured, for it is indeed the condition of genuine peace.

(Adapted from *Manas*, March 24, '54)

SECOND THOUGHTS ON TECHNOLOGY

Technology is the attempt to *rationalize* the economic side of human life subjecting every traditional method to the rule of science.

This seems to be the philosophical justification for technology. Technology on these terms, however, requires a similar discipline at a higher level among those who apply and enjoy the results of the technological process. Economics and technology without tradition are appropriate only to a society which has risen from traditional forms of behaviour to rational principles of conduct. The power of rationalized technology turns out to be uncontrollable when rationalized individual and social morality is lacking.

This problem has been anticipated by any number of wise men. Among contemporaries, it was recognized by Gandhi. Among the ancients, Lao-tzu saw it perhaps most clearly of all:

"Tzu-kung, the disciple of Confucius, after travelling to Ch'u in the south, came back by way of Chin. When he was passing through Han-yin he saw an old man who was engaged in irrigating his vegetable plots. The way the old man did it was to let himself down into the well-pit by footholds cut into the side and emerge clasping a pitcher, which he carefully emptied into a channel, thus expending a great deal of energy with very small results.

"There exists," Tzu-kung said to him, "a contrivance with which one can irrigate a hundred vegetable plots in a single day. Unlike what you are doing, it demands a very small expenditure of energy, but produces very great results. Would not you like me to tell you about it?"

The gardener raised his head and looked at Tzu-kung. "What's it like?" he asked.

"It's an instrument carved out of wood," said Tzu-kung, "heavy at the back and light in front. It scoops up the water like bale, as quickly as you drain a bath-tub. It's called a well-sweep."

A look of indignation came into the gardener's face. He laughed scornfully, saying: "My teacher used to tell me that where there are cunning contrivances there will be cunning behaviour, and where there is cunning behaviour there will be a cunning heart. The man who carries in his breast a cunning heart has smudged the pristine purity of his nature; he who has smudged the pristine purity of his nature has troubled the quiet of his soul; and with one who has troubled the quiet of his soul, Tao will not dwell. It's not that I don't know about this invention, but that I should be ashamed to use it." (From *Chuang-Tzu*, xxi-ii)

Just because this illustration of the terrors of technology seems so ridiculous, we have chosen to quote it, hoping to put the reader on his own in deciding whether it has any moral at all. Naturally, we think it has. There is a large and important moral in any anecdote which brings home the ultimate issue of ends and means. We live in a society in which the great majority are enslaved by the complex requirements of the society's technological means. Where, it may be asked, is all our productiveness

and efficiency leading us? To what end are we moving so furiously by motor, rail and air, and what are we saying and hearing by telephone, telegraph, radio and television? Those who claim that we have enshrined the trivial and the vulgar and work like men possessed to accumulate enough money to purchase forgetfulness of the kind of work we do seem very close to the truth.

Today it is almost a common place of criticism to note that while the scientific method has released modern man from traditional methods of economic activity, very little progress has been made in rationalizing the peculiarly *human* or moral side of life. As a result, the technical freedom gained through technology has not only been largely wasted, but has given ungoverned scope to the now traditionless and unrationalized motive for human behaviour.

Men, having abandoned tradition, begin to wonder whether morality and right and wrong exist at all. "When we talk, as we often do, about the breakdown of morals in the present age, I think it is this which we are thinking of. We no longer have either the firm enclosure within a traditional system which would give us certainty; nor have we the rational conviction which earlier ages thought they could put in place of this."

Yet we can hardly blame technology and science. The fault lies neither in our stars nor in our machines, nor can we turn back to the simplicity of the village to find our salvation. Yet the Taoist philosopher's counsels haunt the present with the insistence of a vital but forgotten truth. And the truth is not in the cult of primitivism, but in something Lao-tzu named the *Tao*. It has to do, not with the things men make, nor how they make them, but with the things upon which the heart is set.

(Adapted from *Manas*, 7-4/54)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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