

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

Vol. XVIII, No. 34

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## VINOBA COMPLETES MUZAFFARPUR TOUR

(By "Dadu")

### Vinoba's Birthday March

Though Vinoba abhors all ceremony or display on his birthday occasion, yet this has always marked a refreshingly new chapter in the book of his life. On September 11, 1951, he started from the Paunar Ashram on his historic mission to Delhi; a year later, when he was at Kashi Vidyapith, he resolved not to return to his Ashram until there was no landlessness in the country; on the same day last year he began the Sampatidan Yajna programme when a devoted worker promised to offer one-sixth of his monthly income all his life. And this year, he gave a new turn to his Bhoodan demand. Instead of asking for the hackneyed one-sixth from a donor, he now addresses him in these words:

"I am one of your family. Won't you accept me as your brother? And accordingly give me my share: half if you are alone, a third if you are two brothers, a fourth if you are three, and so on."

### Share with Your Landless Brother

The magic of this demand of loving brotherhood was conspicuously seen during the week commencing on 12th September, his last week in the Muzaffarpur district. A regular programme in the day was the meeting of the landholders of the locality, specially those whose *dan patras* were returned because of their niggardly land-gift offer. Vinoba calls this programme 'Sat Sang' (company of the virtuous). Another fitting name would be 'Love Exchange'. I cannot resist the temptation of describing two such meetings.

### Two Remarkable Incidents

An old man, about sixty, having only one son, came to Vinoba with an offer of one and a quarter bigha out of the thirty he had. Vinoba refused the offer saying that he demanded 15 bighas as his brother or ten bighas as the third member of the household.

"There is *moh* (attachment) inside, which cannot be easily got rid of," said the old man.

"But at this age you must come forward bravely to offer *dan*," encouraged Vinoba.

"True, yet the *moh*. . . ." and after a pause he added, "Take two bighas."

"Two! I want ten and you give me only two! Do I not deserve it?"

"Baba, all right, close with three."

"Perhaps you have forgotten that I am asking now as a brother."

The old man was silent. Then Vinoba spoke: "Well, I will suggest a compromise! You and your son own 15 bighas each. I shall deal with your son separately. You give me  $\frac{7}{8}$  bighas of my share as your brother. The rest I will take from your son."

The friend blushed, he had no words to reply. He offered five bighas — one-sixth — and begged leave. Vinoba told him that he (Vinoba) had not only taken a *dan* from him but also taught him the method how to ask for one and he closed with the words, "I hope you would become my co-worker henceforth."

The second story is that of two young brothers, who owning 20 bighas each, were ready to offer ten *kathas* (half a bigha). When they saw Vinoba, they asked him the reason of returning their *dan patra*.

Vinoba replied, "First let me know why did you quarrel and divide your property?"

"With the growth of the family. . . ." said the elder.

"Oh! your wives compelled you to do so." He nodded.

Vinoba then observed: "You know what my demand is?"

"Yes."

"So I demand ten bighas from each of you."

"Baba, each of us has a big family to support."

"Do you think I have no family? Had it been so why would I ask for land at all?"

"We admit, Baba. But you must take into consideration our meagre income and large burdens."

"The same is the case with me."

"All right, have one bigha."

"That is a meaningless offer. Had I been asking for an Ashram, school, temple or mosque, I would have accepted anything. But in this case I want you to atone for your past, transform your life, and treat the landless as your own."

"That is true. But we simply can't."

"I have, therefore, no option but to regretfully reject your offer."

"That is impossible. We cannot afford you to leave without making our donation to you."

"Then open your heart and make a dignified donation. I want but ten bighas each from you and 15 bighas if you get together."

The talk went on like this and they at last raised their offer, gave one-sixth,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  bighas each and parted with joy.

### The Family Share Formula of Bhoodan

We were at Bathnaha on the 12th September. In the workers' meeting in the morning, Vinoba placed his new formula, the family-formula and he demanded his share. One worker agreed to one-fifth, another to one-third, and all confessed that his demand was right and justified.

In his post-prayer speech, Vinoba observed that these are the days of equality when nobody can claim any special privilege. There is a rare charm and sweetness in comradely living. "Our *rishis* and *munis*," said he, "have taught us that we are all inspired by God, and the same eternal lamp burns in all of us. Of course, the emergent light is different in each case, — not because of the excess or dearth of flame of the lamp but because of the difference in the glass-case without. The clearer the case, the greater the light. If we could provide the means of living, proper education and good company to all people, we would find jewels and diamonds coming out from amongst the poor."

Bhoodan, he remarked, was an attempt to bring men nearer each other and remove differences. "My work does not finish with land re-distribution even as your work does not terminate with marriage. In fact, it only begins in both the cases. The moment you give the land for the landless brother as his right, you make the resolve to

serve the poor all your life, and be one with them. This will generate *Iswar-bhakti* (devotion to God) too. It is the object of Bhoodan that we may get a chance to carry out the will of the Lord and be His devotees. Today money-devotion is quite popular. But it does not satisfy the soul. You will find that Bhoodan does offer that satisfaction."

#### The Dharma of Loving Distribution

At Sootihar, next day, the prayer was held standing on account of the rains. As the gathering included a lot of children, Vinoba taught them a *shloka* from the Shastras:

कलिः शयानो भवति । सजिहान्स्तु द्वारपरः ।  
उत्तिष्ठन्नेता भवति । कुत संपद्यते चरन् ॥

(One who sleeps is in the *Kali Yuga*, one who sits is in the *Dwapara*, one who stands is in the *Treta* and one who walks is in the *Sat Yuga*.)

Vinoba beautifully explained it to the whole assemblage and asked them to get up from slumber and begin moving in the right direction. "Today people," he remarked, "collect and not distribute. Whence all this conflict, pain, misery. Abandon collection and begin distribution. If you continue collection, the thief, the police, the army and the *vaikl* would all make a loot. But if you distribute and share your things with others, love and strength will accrue."

Illustrating this from the life of Krishna, he said, "Krishna shared his butter and milk with others. His mother warned him that he was not on the right track. Curds and butter were meant for sale in Mathura and to earn money. Krishna was not convinced and replied, 'If there is money in Mathura there is also Kamsa. Money and Kamsa go together. So I would not sell but only share with my friends.' This had a healthy effect on them. Ultimately, as you know, Kamsa was killed. So also you should not sell your raw material but convert it into finished product yourselves and abstain from mill-made goods or city-products."

In the end Vinoba again repeated the above *shloka* and made his audience recite the same. It appeared as if a hoary saint, plucked out from the bygone ages, was teaching his students.

#### Vinoba Expects Bihar to Do Her Duty

September 14, Parihar: Vinoba completed two years of his stay in Bihar. In this period he has maintained his programme with a sunlike regularity except for three months when he was ill and lay in bed at Chandil. I do not think that any outsider of note or eminence has served Bihar in this unique manner during the last millennium and given two continuous years of his precious life. In times to come, Bihar may well claim a place of pride and distinction in the annals of the development of the new gospel of free India. To mark the great occasion, as it were, a most inspiring event came to pass.

An old man, blind and with sunken eyes and shrivelled face, saw Vinoba at noon. He offered the six *kathas* (about one-third of an acre) of land he owned. Vinoba hesitated to accept his gift. "How will you pull on without this?"

"I have to labour for my living and these six *kathas* do not help me much," said the blind man in a clear voice.

Vinoba agreed to take his offer but wrote the following on the back of his *dan patra*: "This blind devotee has offered his land in a religious spirit. It is returned back to him as a *prasad* (blessings)."

The old man's joy knew no bounds. Leaning on the shoulders of his grandson, he walked back to his home some six miles away.

Recalling his entry into the Shahabad district of Bihar two years back, Vinoba said in the evening, "I had hoped that two years were enough to complete the task in Bihar. But friends insisted and now I am here upto December, 1954. And on January 1st next, I enter Bengal. Enough work has been done here during these two years, but much more is to be done. A prominent worker of this thana filled his *dan patra* today. It means that work would begin in this locality now and two years have passed

away in vain, in spite of the fact that both the State Congress and Praja Socialist Party have passed resolutions for filling the quota. This is not the way to carry out religious obligations. One has to do it with speed and regularity. But no use lamenting over the past. In the three and a half months now before you, if the workers take to it sincerely, the quota of every thana can still be completed. This will earn a name for Bihar as the torch-bearer of the country. It will raise India's dignity."

#### Threefold Idea of Bhoodan

On our way to Sursand, next day, we halted for a few minutes at a small village, Sonkhi, where Vinoba briefly explained the importance of 'right thought' and urged upon the workers to grasp it themselves and convey it properly to the people before they asked for the land-gifts. A very picturesque scene presented itself during the prayer, a clear blue sky overhead, tall and dark *Shisham* trees standing in front and green grass below. And silence was far beyond the usual expectation. This enthralled Vinoba and he spoke for forty minutes, describing the threefold idea behind the Bhoodan *Yajna* movement.

He began saying that man differed from animal in that whereas the latter was content to lead a physical existence of *bhog* (consumption) and reproduction, the former, besides this material life, had before him an objective whose fulfilment was his life-mission. The objectives differ from place to place and from time to time, and thus man marches ahead. "By the blessings of God, no sooner we realized the objectives of *Swaraj* than another of *Sarvodaya* is there before us. *Sarvodaya* is a very attractive name. It is the name of this age. In fact, the seeds of the new objectives were sown, when we were busy fighting for the first. As moonrise precedes the sunset on the full moon day, and sunrise precedes the setting of the moon, so also I notice the full moon view on the Indian horizon."

Vinoba continued, "What is the *sadhan* (means) to attain *Sarvodaya*? Increasing production, as in a community project, is no *sadhan*. Every production increase is not *Sarvodaya*. The secret of *Sarvodaya* lies in the word *sarva* (all). Increase production and distribute all you have or produce. Mere rise in the standard of life is not our *sadhan*. Everybody knows it. Every creature knows it, even an ant. Both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. raise production. But that is not *Sarvodaya* and we will not imitate either. We will have to develop on our own lines, seek our own way. Our *sadhan* consists in land distribution by non-violent and peaceful methods.

"There must be some thought to attain this end. And that is *aparigraha* (non-possession), *asteya* (non-stealing) and *shareera shrama* (body labour). Non-possession means that possession would be vested in the society. All production would be dedicated to the society. Non-stealing means avoiding thieving. Not the familiar thefts committed at night but the cunning ones practised in broad daylight. And those thieves are regarded as *sahookars* or bankers while the guilty ones are called judges, vakils and Kotwals. Bodily labour implies productive physical work regularly performed. He who eats must work for two hours if not for eight hours or at least for an hour. The intellectuals, the poets, the learned, all must do *shareera shrama*. If they cannot avoid their body, why should they avoid bodily labour which produces food that sustains their body? That is the threefold thought behind the Bhoodan. It is a revolutionary work. Not institutional or party devotion but faith devotion is required to fulfil it."

#### Who Have More Should Give More

When we reached Rusepur on the 16th, there were many schoolboys among those who had gathered to receive Vinoba. He asked a boy why he (Vinoba) had come there. "To demand land," said he. "How much," said Vinoba. "One bigha out of six," replied the boy.

"And out of twelve?"

"Two."

"And out of thirty?"



"Five."

"And out of sixty?"

"Ten."

"How is it? The same for every body! Does not a big cow yield more milk?" asked Vinoba.

The boy thought for a while, and burst out, "Fifteen."

"That's it," smiled Vinoba. "Those who have more should give more than one-sixth."

Vinoba asked all those present whether his demand as a brother was justified. They raised their hands in assent. Vinoba asked them to carry out their decision in practice and to collect land in the day and come in the evening meeting.

#### "Lethargy in the Tribe of Workers"

Referring to the morning story, Vinoba said in his post-prayer address that once truth was accepted it was bound to turn into a reality. Hence land should occupy its due place of our common mother shortly. If the small landholders came forward with their gifts, the bigger ones would follow. It was a non-violent battle in which nobody lost. "But the delay," said Vinoba, "in the work is due to the lethargy in the tribe of workers. Swaraj has lulled them to sleep. When I enter a district for the first time, M. L. A.'s and M. P.'s come for a day. People mock at them and say that the 'leaders' come out not for work but to maintain their seats in the next elections, and so they want a photograph with Baba. A worker confessed to me that he knew only three periods—pre-election, election, and post-election. In 1954, the first of them had begun and hence the anxiety for the photograph. People come to tell me all this. I look at this drama from a distance. But when I find that after my departure from his constituency or district, the 'leader' is no more visible, I begin to realize the truth behind the words of the public. No less pitiable is the plight of the constructive worker who is caught in his own old ruts and refuses to learn new things." Vinoba closed with the words, "I have seen the same goodwill of the people here as elsewhere. I have no doubt in my mind that if the workers of this district get to their task seriously, they can easily collect the required number, three lakhs of *dan patras*."

#### A Fair Visitor's Questions

"Friday, the 17th—our last day in Muzaffarpur district. We encamped at Pupri, which is also a railway station. So there were several visitors from outside. Mention must be made of Shri Anugraha Narayan Singh, Bihar's Finance Minister, Shri Lakshmi Narayan, Bihar Bhoodan convener, and a New Delhi representative, a fair one, of a London daily. The last of them had never seen a spinning wheel all her life, nor seen one spinning at it. When she met Vinoba, he had just finished spinning. She was amazed at the simple tool, tried it herself with the help of Mahadevitali. I must say that she did well and would do very well after a little practice. She asked Vinoba some questions, one of them being whom he would choose his successor for the work. "I would choose even you as my successor," replied Vinoba instantaneously. "Anybody who is one with the people of the world can be my successor. There is no successor whom I would name. It is a God-inspired movement. He who has inspired me is ever living. Of course, I shall die one day and He will inspire some other man fit for the work." She also inquired about Vinoba's experiences of the floods, in fairness to her, I must add that of all journalists, leaders, officials or public men, she has been the only good soul to inquire Vinoba about his impressions of his tours in the flood-affected parts of Bihar. Painfully, I must further add that there is much tall talk of public co-operation in tackling the flood menace, yet our Government at New Delhi (or its subordinate ones in the States) can afford not to consult an eminent man of the masses as Vinoba. In any other country, a Government would have simply halted the impressions of one like him.

Workers of the district met Vinoba at 2 o'clock in the day. He told them that he first came to this district in January last, but no work had been done during the past eight or nine months. He came across some thanas where there was no subscriber of the weekly, *Bhoodan Yajna Bihar*. He also referred to his new move of returning *dan patras* which had produced a very salutary effect. "Yet people come running with their gifts," he observed. "I have met abundant faith in the people here. My faith in human nature is growing day by day. There is no dearth of workers here. What is wanting can be gathered by you from your own heart. Just see how many hours or days you have given to this work. In short, the work suffers from want of proper planning."

#### Efficacy of Love

In his last speech in Muzaffarpur district, Vinoba dwelt on the efficacy of love. "It must," said he, "flow ceaselessly. If it is confined to the home, it gets clogged up like the water of a stagnant pond and turns into lust. There has been no dearth of love in our country. But for some time past its flow has been held up and money has taken its place. Hence our progress has been blocked. Love is there in abundance even today, otherwise how could I obtain so much land in these few years? This means that love can flow. Once the rock of greed is broken, the cascade bursts forth."

He also pointed out that love generates the qualities of self-sacrifice, fearlessness, co-operation, courage and devotion. In the end he stated, "I want you to regard me as one of your household, a representative of Daridra-Narayan. This will give you the education of love. My father always kept a Harijan in the house and both he and my mother treated him (the Harijan) just as they treated me and other brothers. I feel that I am obliged to my parents for the inspiration of Bhoodan Yajna. And also to those noble souls and good books whom I came in contact with. Whence I want you to share this inspiration which is all sweet and sweet. Take to this work with an open heart and you will obtain rare contentment."

#### MILL-CLOTH

The week closed with our entry into Darbhanga district. We stayed in the Doghara Ashram in the Jale thana of Darbhanga Sadar sub-division.

In the afternoon, local spinners and schoolboys gave a spinning demonstration. Vinoba referred to it in his evening discourse and regretted that all of them were putting on mill-cloth. He told them, "On the foundations for Bhoodan Yajna we have to erect the Gram-Udyog House. And at its top will fly the Sarvodaya flag, a flag not of cloth but of right thought." For this they would have to abandon mill-cloth for good and consume only village-made or self-prepared articles. He appealed to the people to spin as much as they could. "You can," he added, "obtain many things in lieu of that yarn. And the burden of taking the extra yarn left over with you must be entrusted to the Government. I think that if the Government were to refuse the yarn it would declare its bankruptcy and unfit for Swaraj."

This is Vinoba's third and last round of Darbhanga district where he stays upto fifth October next.

3-10-54

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# HARIJAN

Oct. 23

1954

## THE REAL CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

I draw the attention of the reader to the article 'Democracy and Lure of Offices' that appeared in the issue of Oct. 9, 1954. I do so on reading some very relevant observations which have been made by 'Insaf' in his 'Political Diary', in *The Hindustan Times*, Oct. 6, 1954. The reader must have read about Shri Jawaharlalji's expressing a personal feeling of tiredness and fatigue these days. 'Insaf' scanning this in his rambling way says:

"The main difficulty is that most Congressmen want to cash in on their sacrifices or political affiliation. And those in office, whether as Governor, Ministers or Deputy Ministers wish to be maintained as political pensioners for life.\* On the other hand, younger men and women keep on pressing for recognition and do not hesitate to reinforce their claims on territorial, communal and even caste considerations.

"Then, there are people who exploit the soft side of his character. He is intensely human and one has only to establish nearness to him socially or officially to get some benefit. A woman has to bring only tears into her eyes to make him give up a firm resolve based on principles. All that adds up to a pattern which does not make for a healthy atmosphere."

Having put his finger on the points of weakness and vulnerability both in the Congress fold and its leader, 'Insaf' remarks:

"Mr Nehru realizing that the people who had access to him were exploiting him, has been drawing further into his shell and has for some time taken no one into confidence and kept his counsel to himself. But that has had the effect of further isolating him and making him feel the strain of work even more than before!"

And therefore, 'Insaf' very pertinently asks himself:

"But how long can this one-star performance last? Perhaps Mr Nehru feels that he cannot go on indefinitely being here, there and everywhere opening exhibitions, conferences, children's shows and what not. If a Special Marriage Bill is to be got through Parliament or the edge of the attack about women's right to man the Indian Administrative Service has to be blunted, he must intervene. And as the only interest Parliament's proceedings excite is when the Prime Minister intervenes, his colleagues have retreated from the field. No wonder the treasury benches were mostly empty even when Supplementary Demands for Grants of unparalleled magnitude (involving over Rs 200 crores) were discussed."

\* Shri V. V. Giri, speaking in Bombay (10-10-54), similarly remarked: "We must learn when to resign and how to resign. In this country, there are some people who feel that once he is a minister he should always be a minister. This is wrong."

And lest he might be misunderstood, he adds at the end of these his remarks:

"All this is said not to lend weight to those detractors abroad who ask, 'What after Nehru?' A country where Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, Whips and the rest total about a thousand; where legislators number about 5,000; where 1,00,000 constitute membership of local bodies, and over a million of village panchayats has no dearth of experienced hands to fill positions of power and responsibility. What is lacking is the urge to build the nation." (Italics mine.)

Many of us know full well that the position is surely grim and grave enough for searching our own hearts, as 'Insaf' has tried to do in the words quoted above. It is a challenge to our moral and spiritual worth without which no nation can be built. When I say this, I am tempted to quote a similar analysis of a foreign observer of our present position. He discusses Nehru's successor, but not like 'detractors abroad' whom 'Insaf' rightly sets aside.

In a long article, 'Asia Between Malthus and Marx' ('Encounter') the foreign observer, Raymond Aron by name, talks about the Indian situation as follows:

"For some years to come, Nehru's State successor to the one the English built up after the great Moguls, is not likely to be threatened by a Communist electoral victory. It is threatened only by the disintegration of the party in office. However, as the democratic regime lasts, the masses will be disturbed by the propaganda of the various parties, the economic changes, and the creation of linguistically homogeneous States. Will the democrats be able to hold the masses? Will they manage to eliminate gradually the habits and traditions incompatible with the spirit of industrial civilization? Will they manage to bring India out of her poverty, free her from the caste system and other superstitions, without appealing impatiently—and futilely to drastic discipline?"

"In order to spread certain institutions from one society to another, it is never enough to transfer experts or technical formulas; the essential is to change ways of thinking. Irrigation, factories and aeroplanes are pitiless to certain beliefs. Machines do not exclude or impose any religion, but if they destroy an old one without giving birth to another there is a vacuum. Economic development by democratic methods does not only presuppose the efficiency of elected rulers and deliberating assemblies; it also demands men who find the object of their faith and the principles of their morality outside politics. To develop such men, with such faith and principles, is the real challenge to Asia." (Italics mine.)

The last sentence contains the warning and gives us the message which, in another way, epitomizes for us what Gandhiji told us all through the years he was with us. Surely, we cannot afford to forget it when he is not with us in flesh and blood. If at all the Congress is found wanting in meeting this challenge of democracy in India, it will be due to lack of the faith and the principles which made it the greatest and the most potent instrument of the Indian revolution under Gandhiji's leadership.



## RICHES HINDER MORAL GROWTH

(By Gandhiji)

Rome suffered a moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockfellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality, but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance as did the poor. The rich men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show how possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth.

*Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 350*

## A GOOD BEGINNING

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

We learn from the daily press that the Poona University will allow its students of the First Year in all the faculties to use the medium of Marathi in the examination from the year 1955.

This is surely a good beginning. It may be noted in this connection that we negotiated the changeover of the medium from English to the regional language in secondary education, by allowing both teachers as well as pupils to use the latter if they so choose. The result was that in the course of only a few years we not only succeeded to change the medium, but also we began to have necessary text-books in our languages.

Let us hope other universities also begin similarly. This is bound to have a very wholesome and salutary effect on the standard of university education which is very low indeed.

A few days after the above news appeared, we came to learn that the Karnatak University will allow English, Hindi, or Kannad as the medium! Surely, this is a very queer thing to do on its part. And its Vice-Chancellor has further advised that in the degree classes it might better be Hindi. All this only shows that a serious beginning for solving this problem is still to be made by that University. We hope the University will abide by the enlightened opinion in the country that the rightful medium for a region is its own language. One may well ask, what for then are the Kannadigas agitating to have Samyukta Karnatak? If at all such a

demand is tenable, it is only to secure to themselves conditions wherein they can be free to advance culturally and educationally through their own tongue, which is the only right and proper way for a democracy.

We learn that the mother University of Bombay also is showing signs of some movement in this matter. It is good it shakes off the inert weight of age and conservatism. It is said that it has passed a resolution saying to the Government that Vice-Chancellors of the State be called to confer on the matter. Now surely this is avoiding to take the courage of a decision, to say the least. The matter is being discussed for some years by now all over India, and particularly in Bombay State. The daughter universities have been deciding it for themselves. There need be, therefore, no such delay nor hesitation on the part of the Bombay University to make its own decision.

The Baroda University is a type by itself. It has the unique position of being the only residential and teaching university of the State. It is, comparatively speaking, in a good financial position. Being a unitary organization, it can easily decide and make a success of the changeover of the English medium to Gujarati. In our onward march to the achievement of true or democratic Swaraj, if at all a beginning has to be made by way of the next step, the responsibility for taking it vests now in the Universities.

13-10-'54

## NOTES

### Racialism in South Africa

In spite of the U. N. O., South Africa, under the governance of Dr. Malan, runs on its race of racial hatred. It would not heed to the advice that the arrogant ignorance latent in it is only leading South Africa to its own doom. Nor can the U. N. O. or the English Commonwealth make it do so. In such circumstances, only Nemesis can give it the surest lesson; but at what cost of human misery and devastation! An Indian friend in South Africa who is in intimate touch with the terrible things brewing there writes to say as follows:

"The position here is getting worse and worse.

The present reactionary Government is well entrenched and it will be no wonder if we see a repetition of German Nazism in the very near future.

We may have to die fighting. May God give us the strength to pass through the test is our fervent prayer."

All lovers of peace and humanity will surely join in this fervent prayer. We only add, may God grant light to those who, blinded by racial arrogance and fanaticism, seem to be repeating the Nazi story in South Africa.

11-10-'54

M. P.

### Geology of World Politics

"World politics, like a geological formation, shows several layers: a trend towards world unity and peace and freedom acts at the top; a conflict between freedom and Communism creates a tension beneath it; a conflict between the Western powers for securing the big trade and business with the East works below; and

lower still a conflict for sheer power between all the big nations, Eastern and Western, rages and cuts across all the other lines of force."

This is what Salvador De Maderiège said recently. (*The Leader*, 6-10-'54). And it is nothing to wonder about, for is it not also said that all that goes by the name of civilization or culture is a mere gloss or a thin good-looking layer hiding underneath all that is primitive in us—the biological brute brandishing his club for survival, come what may! An uncontrollable commotion underneath may well erupt, like a volcano, into a blaze if the lower strata of world's political geology are not becalmed and made stable. This is what India stands for when she says that she will join no 'collective security' bloc, as the other side of that 'shield' is collective war-preparedness; but that she will strive to extend the area of total peace, rather than that of war which 'collective security' as it is understood at present seems to mean and signify.

10-10-'54

M. P.

### A Vicious Circle

Educated unemployment is a peculiar feature of our socio-educational sphere. To relieve its alarming intensity recently, Government, as is revealed in the Five Year Plan Progress Report for 1953-'54, employed 28,880 rural school teachers and 1,808 social education workers up to the end of March 1954.

The said report also complains that the conversion of primary school into basic schools and the opening of new basic schools, as stressed in the Plan, has been considerably impeded by the lack of properly trained personnel and of well-established methods and techniques and suitable guiding literature.

Which clearly shows that the new teachers are only unemployed 'educated' hands just taken in to man new schools; they are surely not trained nor do they enter the profession for the love or liking of it. There is, as is admitted, no progress in changing the system of education. The new schools, therefore, will only tend to swell the ranks of the unemployed, so long as they are not basically reformed. Opening more schools by way of relieving acute unemployment is obviously not an educational measure. It rather creates a vicious circle—the unemployed employing themselves to create more of them. It pays neither education nor the production of more wealth.

5-10-'54

M. P.

### Khadi and Government Purchasing Power

The Finance Minister of Bombay, in reply to a question in the Assembly, said that the total cost of textiles purchased by the Government from 1946-47 up to the end of last year was Rs 2,24,70,012, the cost of handloom cloth being Rs 13,10,772.

For what kind of cloth need this large sum was used is not known. Whether it could be met largely by Khadi and handloom-cloth or not is, therefore, difficult to say. What amount, if any, was spent for buying Khadi is also not known from the press report.

Surely, one may say without fear of contradiction that a fairly good amount could have been used to buy Khadi. In that case the purchasing power that Government holds in abundance could have been put to the best and most profitable use, which it is the duty of the Government to do. Government should surely encourage Swadeshi and in regard to cloth Khadi is true or cent per cent Swadeshi.

26-9-'54

M. P.

### "WHY KHADI"

(By Indulal H. Shah)

The Swadeshi movement was started as far back as 1906 and till 1948 it went through various stages. The movement was meant for the purpose of attaining Swaraj and was mainly confined to the boycott of foreign goods.

For nearly five years after attaining Independence practically no attention was paid to this question. But we now find a ray of hope from our leaders who are bestowing some attention to Swadeshi, as can be seen in the acceptance by the Planning Commission of the indispensability of Khadi and Village Industries in the national economy, the establishment of All India Khadi & Village Industries Board, 25 per cent price preference for Cottage Industries products given by State and Central Governments, revival of Swadeshi movement by different social organizations, etc.

What is Swadeshi? Swadeshi means anything which is our country's own made with the help of indigenous capital and labour. In these, there will be classifications, viz., 100 per cent Swadeshi and less percentage Swadeshi, goods for necessities of life, luxury goods, etc. 100 per cent Swadeshi means goods produced without the help of machinery and goods other than these will fall under the second category. The necessities of life will include food, clothing and a dwelling-place. We are now concerned with 100 per cent Swadeshi goods for necessities of life as that alone can solve our main problem of mass unemployment.

The table below shows the population of our country and how many depend on (1) agriculture and (2) on industry, commerce etc. to maintain themselves:

Total population of India—35,68 lakh—divided into:

Cities over 1 lakh population.	Urban (Towns)	Rural (Villages)	Depending upon Agriculture		Depending upon Industries, Commerce & Misc occupations	
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
241 lakh	376 lakh	295 lakh	1263 lakh	1229.1 lakh	570 lakh	506.1 lakh



It will be seen from the above table that 82 per cent of our population is in villages, 10.5 per cent is in urban areas i.e. in towns having less than 1 lakh of population, and 7.5 per cent in 73 cities having a population of more than 1 lakh. Out of the 82 per cent in villages, about 70 per cent earn their livelihood from agriculture, which occupation lasts only for 5 months in a year and for the rest of 7 months, 70 per cent of this population have to be provided with occupation so as to make them fully occupied to earn their bread for the whole year. About 20 per cent out of these 70 per cent, i.e. about 5 crores of people have no occupation at all, the rest 20 crores of people have got occupation of agriculture only for five months in a year.

How is the problem of unemployment amongst this vast population to be solved? Can we feed them by giving one meal at least? Will Government give them doles? Or are they to beg for food and shelter?

In many countries, there are schemes of social security which protect all citizens against unemployment. In India, when schemes of social security are devised, we think mostly in terms of industrial labour employed in large-scale industries or other large-scale enterprises. But the number of such industrial workers is relatively small, the large mass of our manual workers being engaged in the agricultural industry, for whom and for whose families under-employment and partial employment are not a residual problem, but are a constant nightmare. To devise schemes of social security for one section of workers and not for others would be unjustifiable discrimination and would obviously be against the interests of national solidarity. To provide against unemployment in rural areas is, however, a tremendous financial undertaking, practically beyond the capacity of the Central or State Governments to undertake.

The problem therefore is to give these crores of people work to make them produce consumers' goods not entailing outlay of capital expenditure on any considerable scale.

Production of Khadi and village industries can provide such employment in rural setting to surplus or partially employed labour in villages. Today, in Re. 1/- worth of Khadi, as. 2-6 forms cost of cotton which goes to the agriculturist, as. 6-6 towards cost of spinning, as. 4 for weaving and the balance of as. 3 is spent on transport and sales expenses. Thus it will be seen that as. 10-6 in a rupee i.e. nearly 66 per cent goes to villagers, i.e. for manual labour. In no other occupation such a percentage will go as direct wages. Hence if Khadi manufacture along with other village industries is to provide additional occupation for 7 months over and above agricultural occupation, this great problem of enabling the 70 per cent of our population to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life can be solved.

But this is possible only if every individual in urban area can render aid by extending patronage to Khadi and to products of cottage industries. Shall we prefer Khadi to mill or foreign cloth? It is up to us to create a situation so that foreign cloth does not find a market in India. Government can buy Khadi and as a matter of fact some preference is now being given. But whatever Government may do, that cannot solve the problem. It can only be solved by our people in urban area taking to Khadi and village industries.

But the question comes up, Khadi is dearer than mill cloth. This question should be discussed from different points. It is true Khadi is dearer, but it can become cheaper if more demand for Khadi is established. Reorganization, improvement in technique and extension are hardly possible if Khadi and other products fail to find a market. Hence, till such time, some price preference and some quality preference are inevitable. Those who cannot afford to have the whole of their requirement in Khadi, let them take some percentage of their requirements in Khadi.

Today, Government through Khadi Board is giving us a rebate of as. 3 for every one rupee. That is to say if one yard of Khadi costs Re. 1/- it will cost us as. 13 as against as. 11 per yard of mill cloth. Even then it is as. 2 more per yard. But then, it has to be remembered that out of the as. 13 spent on Khadi as. 10-6 will go to villages as wages, to two families to whom it will mean a meal for one day. While out of as. 11 paid for mill cloth only as. 3 will go as wages. The extra as. 2 paid in purchase of one yard of Khadi is our 'Supatra Dan'.

The following table will make an interesting study as to how many persons were employed by all the 29 industries in our country in the year 1946:

Total Industries	Total Factories	Workers	Employees Persons other than workers	Total Employees
29	5,013	13,87,010	1,27,372	15,14,382

It will be seen from the above table that about 15 lakhs of people are employed by industries.

Khadi can be made cheap if one takes to spinning for an hour a day. That will give him yarn worth 22 yards of cloth a year.

If 4 crores of urban population decide to devote one hour of their time for the sake of nation and spin for one hour as 'National Hour', one man will produce one anna worth of yarn per hour, i.e. 4 crores of annas a day or Rs 25 lakh per day or Rs 7,500 lakh per year. Let us donate this to our National Government.

If the buyer also manages to reduce the yearly demand of cloth, Khadi industry analysis, will not be dearer. This will help to build the Indian economy.

## YARN-OFFERING AND SARVODAYA

(By Vinoba)

The more I reflect over the idea of Sutrnanjali the more I realize the tremendous power which lies hidden in this programme, as also the huge effort which would be needed to promote its spread among our people.

Outwardly, it appears to be the most ordinary thing to offer—just one hank of yarn to the country in a year. But it must be of the donor's own hand-spun yarn and the yarn must be of good quality. Besides, it has to be secured from every man and every year. When these conditions are taken into account and their implications understood, we begin to see the almost infinite scope for work which it will provide to us once it gets into stride.

The idea came to be adopted first at Shivrampalli where it was decided that as a small beginning we should collect two and a half lakh hanks from all over the country. It has taken us three years to fulfil that modest decision. In the first year only one lakh hanks were collected; in the second, one and a half lakh; and this year two and a half lakh. It is a matter of satisfaction that albeit after three years we could fulfil our resolve. We have now to go ahead. I feel that 30 lakh hanks of yarn at the rate of one hank per hundred persons could well be taken to be the proper target now.

A friend told me that it was doubtful if there were such a large number of spinners in the country. To which another replied that there must be because in the 1930 movement *takli* had entered every village. The first one replied, that was long ago. Now we must take it that we would be required to teach spinning to the people in order to obtain so many hanks.

It is clear that spinning will have to be taught to our people under any circumstances. Without spinning, the Indian Kisan shall not survive. To take an instance, I am at present touring the flood-stricken parts of Bihar. The question which forces itself on one's attention is, what work can help them tide over their suffering? Charkha is the only and the inevitable answer to this question. Again, the Kisan has no work for the whole year—he remains absolutely unemployed for some months. What are we going to do about it? I had therefore said to the Government (I do not ordinarily ask anything of the Government; I place my demand before the society which includes the Government) that everyone—be he a villager or a city-dweller—must be taught spinning as a national discipline.

To resume, besides teaching spinning we will also have to plan for approaching all, approaching all so as to educate them in our work as a task which is as important as that of Bhoodan as in this case. It is

so big that no organization can accomplish it. It can be accomplished only through faith and dedication. For that we will need to seek co-operation from all.

All people working in the various constructive work institutions, in which I include also the workers in Gram-panchayats and the teachers in schools, must acquire proficiency in spinning and spin daily. I expect all of them to work for the spread of Sutrnanjali.

The offering of Sutrnanjali is a first step towards Sarvodaya.

17-9-'54

(From Hindi)

## BHOODAN FIGURES

(Up to 5-10-'54)

S. N.	State	Total Collection (Acres)	Total Distribution (Acres)
1.	Assam	1,692	—
2.	Andhra	19,812	—
3.	Uttar Pradesh	5,16,819	63,552
4.	Orissa	1,00,909	708
5.	Karnatak	2,180	239
6.	Kerala	23,000	—
7.	Gujarat	36,170	942
8.	Tamilnad	25,104	256
9.	Delhi	9,245	41
10.	Punjab	9,722	—
11.	Bengal	4,735	32
12.	Bihar	22,17,559	1,500
13.	Madhya Pradesh	67,564	5,550
14.	Madhya Bharat	62,412	—
15.	Maharashtra	15,480	—
16.	Mysore	3,763	—
17.	Rajasthan	3,23,038	5,761
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	5,315	331
19.	Saurashtra	41,000	—
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,900	—
21.	Hyderabad	1,02,760	17,585
Total		35,90,179	96,497

(Total collection on 5-9-'54 was 34,66,462 acres).

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,  
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