

HARIJAN

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

Vol. XVIII. No. 38

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1954

TWO ANNAS

THE IDEA OF A RURAL UNIVERSITY

(By Morarjibhai Desai)

[The following is from the speech of Shri Morarjibhai Desai, the Kulanayak or the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, on the occasion of its 13th Convocation held on 14-11-'54. M. P.]

Shri Kulapati, on the occasion of your previous visit for the Convocation held in March, 1952, I had mentioned that we proposed to provide for the entire education from the 1st Standard up to the Snatāk (i.e. the Graduate) course. I am glad to say that we have been able to achieve the target, and we are now teaching the students from the 1st Standard up to the 11th Standard of the Gujarat Vidyapith Vinit course or the S.S.C.E. Standard of the Bombay Government, and thereafter up to the Snatāk Examination of the college section of this Vidyapith. And, we have decided to institute the M.A. or Parangata course henceforth.

The Graduate or Snatāk course being conducted at present is only in one branch of studies—sociology. Besides, we have decided to start the Snatāk Examination in English, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sanskrit and Urdu. Vidyapith does not intend to provide for the study and instruction in all the branches of learning. Because it can obviously undertake to do only what is dictated by its aims and ideals.

In a way, such restriction of one's field of activity is today generally necessary for all the universities. The number of old-type universities is increasing in various parts of the country and it is now becoming clear that if all of them would want to provide for education in all the branches of learning of Arts, Sciences, and Technology, there would be much overlapping and needless waste of effort. Every university must now find out what it is specially fitted for and decide its specific field of work. They should co-ordinate and adjust their activities so as to yield the maximum benefit to the country. In this respect the Gujarat Vidyapith has defined its area of work from the first, and that emerges clearly if we look at its aims and ideals.

The aims and ideals of the Vidyapith were set down by Gandhiji at the very start. And even after a lapse of 30 years today, they have proved so far-sighted and prophetic that we may still get inspiration and guidance from them for reforming our system of education and adapting it to the needs of Swaraj. Unfortunately our education is not yet making satisfactory progress in this direction. And so long as this has not been achieved, we believe the need for the function of the Gujarat Vidyapith in the field of our nation's education will remain.

I am here reminded of what Gandhiji used to say in regard to English education prevailing in our country, since his return to India from South Africa. He said that the prevailing system of education was such that it was futile to expect it to give us citizens inspired with the spirit of service and willing to devote themselves to the nation's work. It is now admitted by all that this old-

type English education can only produce job-seekers or at the most provide candidates for such white-collar professions as those of the lawyers, doctors, engineers etc. This tendency has so strongly dominated our education that it has not yet been able to shake itself free of it. And since this education touches only a very limited section of our people, it cannot even be called broad-based. It has simply remained, so to say, 'careerist' throughout, both in its nature and aim. Its evil consequences are now clear as daylight. As you said, sir, a few days back at Pithi, this type of education has an adverse effect on the discipline among our students. Many other such evils directly traceable to it can be mentioned. To put it very briefly, however, this 'careerist' bias possessing our education cannot now serve the nation's purpose under Swaraj. And the more we are advancing in the direction of rebuilding our country, the clearer does this fact emerge before us.

It was in view of this fundamental defect of the system of English education in Government schools and colleges that Gandhiji started his experiment of national education. And this was expressly mentioned in the aims and objects of this institution which he had himself formulated and which he tried to inculcate in its working and development. I think, may be aptly remembered here:

The principal object of this Vidyapith is to prepare workers of character and ability who will be cultured and dutiful.

It will have its face turned towards the villages and it will aim at disseminating in the villages such education as may truly serve the interests of the country. This means that in preparing the courses of study to be used here, the principal consideration will be given to the needs of the villages.

It will be seen that these two conditions together determine, so to say, the character of the Vidyapith and the nature of its work, viz., that the Vidyapith will frame its programme of teaching work from the primary up to the higher stage of education with an eye on the needs of our village people. To use a current term, it will work as a 'Rural University' and will view the problem of our people's education from the same standpoint. Thus the Vidyapith has accepted as its object the education of the vast rural population of India. That means that it will evolve and adopt a system of education which will serve the interests of the 90 per cent of our people. Needless to say that real education in our country must now advance in this direction. The Radhakrishnan Report has sufficiently drawn the attention of the country to this need. It is a matter of gratification that the Government has started giving some attention to this problem. This Vidyapith is doing its work keeping this object before its eyes.

Along with this object, the Vidyapith has accepted, as part of its ideal of education, certain principles of fundamental importance which it considers necessary and should constantly aim at. Some of these may be well mentioned here:

1. The same importance should be given to education in handicrafts or manual training as to intellectual training.

2. Only such handicrafts should find a place in its programme of education which are useful for the general life of the nation and not others.

3. Instruction in religion should be imparted bearing in mind the principle of equal regard for all religions, as well as truth and non-violence.

4. Regional language should be given the first place and it should be the medium of education though in the teaching of other languages, the use of those languages would be quite valid.

5. Teaching of the national language—Hindi-Hindustani—will have a compulsory place in education.

6. Physical exercise and bodily labour will be considered compulsory.

As you know, all these principles are now universally accepted in the educational world, because it is commonly held that they can make valuable contribution in removing the defects of the prevailing system of education. The implementation of these principles in our education is one of the biggest tasks of reconstruction which we face today. I feel that the time has come when we should firmly decide our policy in this regard and try to implement it in coming few years, with singleness of purpose and unflinching persistence. Any evasion or slackness on our part in this all-important work will, I have not the least doubt, greatly impede our national advancement.

It should now be clearly realized that real national education means nothing less than the all-round education of our vast masses. In a way, our circumstances—the fact that we are a democratic State where every adult, man or woman, has the right of vote—will themselves not allow us to forget it. Unfortunately our educationists have not yet fully realized how deep and far-reaching are its implications and how radical the changes which it should demand in the reconstruction of our education. Discussing this point, the Radhakrishnan Commission has rightly observed:

“Our present universities—besides some qualitative limitations—touch only the fringe of what is required in the way of higher education in the world's newest and most populous democracy.”

If we want to remedy this defect, we must take an integrated view of our education. We should plan the entire structure from the point of view of the interests of our whole people in such a way that each higher stage will emerge naturally from the lower one and, not have, as is the case today, an inverted one of these three stages. Gandhiji conceived his scheme of basic education from this point of view and for this purpose. Greater speed and a more devoted faith are needed in the implementation of that scheme than are in evidence today.

In the coming five years we have to plan for the free education of all children up to the age of fourteen. I have no manner of doubt that this cannot be accomplished unless we accept Gandhiji's scheme and implement it faithfully. We can hardly hope to persuade our poor people who have to work hard for the barest living to send their children to school unless the old careeristic view which underlies the prevailing education is purged out. They are in such dire straits today that they simply cannot afford to send their children of the school-going age to school. About the most tragic feature of this situation is this that they believe that their boys, if they are sent to school, will be rendered unfit for any useful work.

Looking at the problem from this angle, we realize afresh, in a new light as it were, how very revolutionary was Gandhiji's suggestion to introduce into education such handicrafts as are of basic importance to the nation. How can any system of schooling win the parents' acceptance, unless they are satisfied that their boys, after they finish their education, will become better able to do their work and will do it with great zeal? It is hardly necessary to point out how the present system of education has done incalculable harm to our progress as a nation by drawing

all our educated men and women to cities and city-industries. In this respect also, the Radhakrishnan Report has made a very important observation deserving of serious consideration:

“The chief issue is not where young people *come from* to get an education but where they *go* with their education.”

If drawing out our young people from the villages, collecting them in the cities and swelling up the ranks of the unemployed with fresh streams of the educated men and women each year is all that the present education can and will do, then obviously it cannot last long. In this connection I am glad to tell you that most of the graduates on whom, sir, you are today conferring the degree go to work in the villages and have proved competent for various types of work in the Sarvodaya and Gram-vikas (i.e. Village Development) schemes of the Government and in the service of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes, etc.

Another feature which deserves notice is that they get their education here in their own language and learn Hindi as a compulsory subject of study. It is good that the universities are now giving serious consideration to this question. It would not do for us to forget that there are many linguistic groups in our country, for each of which its own language is the most natural medium. Of course, along with its own and as complementary to it, it will also have to learn compulsorily the national language. If one thinks in terms of our masses, it becomes clear we cannot ignore their different languages. At the same time, it is necessary to view our nation as one whole. Despite all superficial differences India is one nation. Therefore an inter-provincial medium is also of equal importance. For this reason, it is necessary to lay equal emphasis on its study and to see that it is introduced in all the schools and colleges in the country as a compulsory subject of study. It is beyond doubt that the teaching of this language, viz. Hindi, will greatly help us in building up the feeling of national unity.

From the same point of view, our people, multi-religious as we are, should also consider the need for cultivating equal regard for all religions; which means that they should instil it and integrate it with the new system of their education. If we want everyone of our citizens to be a concrete example of the spirit of national unity we must take active steps to root out the consciousness of religious and caste distinctions which has taken deep roots in the mind of our people. Needless to say that education alone can accomplish this task.

Wiping out of religious distinctions does not mean that like Communism we will cast away religion as something contemptuous. If there is one characteristic which distinguishes our people more than any other, it is this that they cannot imagine being hostile to religion, much less endure it. Our cultural traditions are completely against this kind of thing. On the contrary, their attitude in this regard is so very sensitive, that we have to have a salutary corrective about it. What I mean by rooting out the consciousness of religious distinctions is this that it should be tempered with thought and discrimination, so that every one will consider his duty to observe his particular religion, if at all, only as a variant of the universal religion of man which consists in the main in human brotherhood, equality and liberty. If the study and pursuit of arts and sciences will go on without faith in man's innate religious or spiritual nature, it is as clear as daylight that the ideal of one humanity will for ever remain beyond the pale of our achievement. The sense of the moral imperative and faith are the only things in men which can dissolve all their seeming differences and pacify their antagonistic urges, and pull down the barriers which divide them and blend them all into one brotherhood. The educational world should now take up this ideal in this light and carry it out in practice. Just as in the interest of

national unity we have adopted Hindi as the national language, in the same way the principle of equal regard for all religions, should be our national religion. Apart from it, we have hardly any solution for the evil of communalism and all that it means.

It would not be out of place here to say something about that great bane of our social life—the practice of untouchability. From its very inception the Gujarat Vidyapith has firmly held that there can be no room for untouchability in education. In the beginning for some years the Vidyapith had to face a great deal of social displeasure, but it never flinched from its chosen path. We know that even though our Constitution has abolished untouchability, the practice has not altogether disappeared from the society. A great deal still remains to be done in this respect. Education can and must play its due part in achieving this objective. The first need in this connection is, of course, for the teachers themselves to examine and reform their own mental attitude in regard to this matter.

I have already referred to the inevitable place of handicrafts in any scheme of education. It would be worthwhile to say more about it. The idea includes bodily labour. In our colleges, students not only dislike doing things which demand bodily labour, they even do not know how to do them; and what is most distressing is that they seem to take pride in the fact. This is a serious defect. The system of education introduced by Gandhiji gives an important place to bodily labour. Today college students spend fifty to sixty rupees a month on their maintenance and even more if they have started smoking—a habit which has now become almost a fashion. This too requires correction. This would not be possible unless the boys in schools and colleges are so trained as to love physical labour and simplicity. Today the educated have become a separate class which has produced a most harmful division in our society. The way out of this difficulty can be found only by inculcating in our students the habits of simplicity and physical labour.

This training in crafts and manual labour is not what is called vocational or technical education. It is on the contrary a part of the liberal education which we propose to provide to all our boys and girls so that they may be better citizens. It has to be conceived as a force which strengthens our power to live a nobler life and we want it to be given a place in our education so that it may become an established ingredient of the character of our people. I believe that this quality has hitherto lasted to some extent in the domestic training of our girls which is why they show a greater maturity of mind and a better capacity for the conservation of culture. Just as I said above that training in handicrafts is different from technical or vocational training, in the same way this domestic training is different from what is taught today in the name of home or domestic science. We should not be surprised if the latter training in colleges also turns out to be just a training in some kind of a profession. But the domestic training, I am speaking of, is the inculcation of a mental attitude—an attitude which has great economic, social and cultural importance for us.

If so, why should our boys be deprived of this great asset? If we believe in the desirability of an equal and an essentially similar education for our boys and girls, then the society must be prepared to take necessary steps for removing this defect. Training in handicrafts as a part of the educational curriculum can help to achieve this. It will train students in the use of their hands and feet and go a long way in forming the habits of systematic and orderly work and carefulness.

Training in handicrafts and physical labour will have also another great advantage: It will enable us to realize our unity with the masses and bring us into intimate relation with them. The question naturally arises—which are those crafts and industries?

In the statement of the aims and ideals of this institution it has been asserted these crafts and industries must be such as *will strengthen the life of the nation*. This qualifying clause discloses a particular point of view which has great significance. The fact is that majority of our people depend for their livelihood on agriculture. But agriculture by itself cannot support unless each family has enough land for the purpose which we know they do not have. Therefore they must have, along with agriculture, other by-industries for producing articles of common household use. If this is done, it will increase the efficiency of the Kisan as a worker, give him education and also provide him with work, when he has nothing to do. And then only will he be able to live with self-respect. In deciding which industries are likely to strengthen the country, we must then be guided by this great national need. Cloth and wood-work of the more common kind and such others which relate to our daily needs are the only industries which will serve this purpose. We can improve our agriculture and save our village life from decay and disintegration only if our national education is so designed as to equip our people to do these things. We should not forget that by and large the pattern of Indian life is that village life. Our villages are at present the home of poverty, ignorance, hunger, disease and idleness and the people there seem to have lost all zest for life. Despair and listlessness are writ large on their faces. 'Education through Craft' was Gandhiji's brief formula for the eradication of all these evils through the power of knowledge. We believe that the Gujarat Vidyapith is working to achieve this ideal.

(From Gujarati)

ANDHRA AFFAIRS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A press report says that Shri C. M. Trivedi, Governor of Andhra, in his address to the State Legislative Assembly hailed the revenue of Rs. 150 lakhs forgone on account of the exemption granted to ryots paying a land revenue of Rs. 10 or less per year, as "an act of social and economic justice". He saw in it "a step which is without precedent in any part of the country".

Andhra can surely claim this unique distinction in the country. It is but meet that the poor peasant comes in for a just deal of this nature. Well may other States consider this.

The latest news from Andhra are disturbing enough. The Prakasham Ministry has resigned, as it was defeated on the no-confidence motion about the prohibition issue created by the notorious Ramamurthy Report. This is a good thing — to face the Legislature on a bold issue of a principle and policy of national welfare.

The unhappy part of it is that there does not seem to be that rectitude in the voting etc. that took place on the motion. Much opportunism and indiscipline on the part of political parties and party-groups seem to be undoing the clear effect of the issues involved in the episode. It must be clearly realized that the issue is whether Andhra goes off prohibition or sticks to it, whatever group or combination may hold the reins of government. The Congress in Andhra should now go to the people and tell them that their government, whichever it may be, cannot forsake the poor people by letting down prohibition.

10-11-54

HARIJAN

Nov. 20

1954

DOES PARDI RAISE A NEW QUESTION?

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Pardi (Dt. Surat) is again in the news of the country. A sort of a strike has been organized by the local Praja Socialist Party against landholders. This is the season when the latter are required to reap their annual harvest first in rice and then in grass. It must be finished within a few months. Therefore labour is in great demand in this season.

If I remember aright, this was the time a year back which the P. S. P. had chosen for the so-called Khed Satyagraha. The nuisance value or the favourable pressure position in the timing of the step is apparent.

But that is one side of the picture; it may be a one-sided view. It is better to assess the position on general or objective grounds.

The plea for striking field work on the part of Pardi labour, put forth under the guidance of the P. S. P., is that labour is not paid just wages; therefore, a demand has been made that they should be paid one rupee and a half as daily wages. Otherwise they will not come for work.

As I learn, the normal rates in vogue at present are somewhere about 12 to 14 annas. Landholders say that the wages demanded are too high for them; and they offer about a rupee or a little more, or are prepared to refer the question to arbitration. Either offer is not accepted by the strike leaders. And, I learn that those who wish to go to work are intimidated in various ways and thus prevented from going to work in the fields. Resort to violence or illegitimate means by the strikers is also reported.

The question, to my mind, is simple: if the landholders are ready to submit the question to arbitration, it is absolutely clear that the strike leaders should agree to and accept it, and end a step which, to say the least, is rendered superfluous and is in nobody's interest.

Why then is this obviously reasonable course not resorted to, is a question. As I am told, is it that the P. S. P. has in mind to link up the question of wages with its old demand for land, for which it had staged the Khed Satyagraha last year? Is the weapon of strike intended to make the landholders give up land? If that is so, surely the question becomes complicated and more serious, as it confuses the apparent issue of higher wages. It would mean the change of front from last year's Khed Satyagraha against landholders to non-co-operation with them, with the object of getting their land for the landless.

Will the P. S. P. clear this point?

The P. S. P. has been associating itself with the Bhoodan work in the district. Has it decided to act through non-co-operation and social boycott as the means for Bhoodan? It is always good to be clear about public issues and specially so in controversial causes. For Pardi it becomes unavoidably necessary to do so, if, as I am told, the strikers are not prepared to accept arbitration offered to them by the landholders. In that case, Pardi P. S. P. raises the larger question of Bhoodan through N. C. O. by the landless against the landholders.

13-11-'54

VINOBA IN KOSI AREA

(By "Dadu")

The Kosi Area

Of all rivers of north India Kosi is most talked of these days. Coming from the Himalayas in Nepal, it enters the plains at Chatra (in Nepal) and joins the Ganga at Kursela in Purnea district. About forty years back it flowed almost vertically downwards from Chatra to Kursela, serving almost as the boundary line between the district of North Bhagalpur (now called Saharsa) and Purnea. But these days it flows along the two sides of, as it were, an isosceles triangle—having for its base the old course and its apex near Supaul in Saharsa district. Thus it now covers the whole of Saharsa and eastern part of Darbhanga too. In fact, when Vinoba went round the flood-ravaged parts of Rusra and Singha thana of Darbhanga district in August last, we were shown places affected by Kosi waters. And they were afraid that if she continued its pranks, her main current might one day flow in that district too. It is to control its wayward course that the Central Government are devoting their serious attention. They propose to build two massive embankment on both sides of the present course to contain her waters and stop their zig-zag movements. Vinoba spent full two weeks in this area from 3rd October onwards, three days in Darbhanga district and remaining ones in Saharsa. The impression left over on one's mind after a tour of this area is that it is the most neglected and forlorn part of Bihar. At several places in this fortnight we were told that no leader of note or minister had ever cared to visit that side. Particular mention must be made of Laukaha (our halt on 4th October) which we were told, had not been graced by anybody during the last three decades except by Rajendra Babu (now our President) in 1933 or so!

We were at Narhalya on October 3, 1954. The Union Planning Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda saw Vinoba in the afternoon and also after the evening prayer. Vinoba while welcoming the project of controlling the Kosi, stressed the need of completing the task within this year instead of the proposed two. He also emphasized to begin the work as early as possible, in no case later than the next Sankranti, falling on the 14th January.

Awake, Arise and Be Self-reliant

In his post-prayer speech he said that the people like the beasts of the jungle cared more for their petty interest rather than the interest of others. The oil-man of the village did not consume the cloth made by the weaver, while the weaver did not use the oil produced by the former. Thus they became the enemies of one another. The process of exploitation started by the Britisher still continued unabated even in free India. One village industry after another was collapsing as days passed. "The truth is," he said, "that you are the architect of your own fortune and no party wants you to stand on your own feet. They all want you to vote for them and remain as sheep and ask you to have them for your shepherds. I want to tell you that you are not sheep but men, and must behave with the dignity

of man. During this time, all the villages appeared to me like helpless orphans. People have no work to do. At some places they gave me in writing their demand for work and expressed their dislike of free rations. But who can give them work? When God has given us hands who else will provide us with work? The key lies with us provided we shed our craze of money printed in the Nasik Press. We have succumbed to its false charm. You must stop selling your raw material to the city people. So you must also avoid using their finished products. You must turn your raw material into finished goods in your own village, consume them yourselves and send only your savings outside. Then the city people will run to you for their basic needs and request you to teach them the art of productive labour."

"You carry on your head," Vinoba continued, "the burden of that idle fraternity called the vakils, judges and police. You are self-sufficient in picking up quarrels but not in solving them. Why can't you find a virtuous soul in your village to settle your disputes? But you go to Darbhanga and Patna. Finally you go to New Delhi where rivers of liquor and wine flow. I am giving vent to my feelings of pain. The consumption of liquor in New Delhi is simply bewildering. Thank God you do not go to London now, which means we have some Swaraj. I want you to resolve your disputes in the village itself without going to Delhi, Patna or Darbhanga."

Referring to the visit of Shri Nanda, Vinoba observed, "The Government framed a Five Year Plan. After its working for two and a half years they found that it has resulted in more unemployment. The reason is that their head and heart go asunder. While the heart is moved by the teachings of Gandhiji, the mind is taken up by the activities of the nations of the West. They want to impose foreign models on us. However, the Planning Commission has accepted the idea of planning on a village basis. I am glad at this development and hope that we shall be able to generate such a peace in India as would be the solace and hope of the world."

Population-Increase-Phobia

He added that India had plenty of man-power and her population was increasing. Some took it as a sign of danger. He did not. He said, "I am not able to follow why we should worry at this increase when for every mouth we have two hands. Had God given us two mouths for one hand, there would have been cause for anxiety. But God had made just distribution. If we work hard on our fields, develop our village industries and make arrangements for irrigation, we can support a double population and even more. Our Shastras tell us that the earth is not burdened by its population but by the sins of man. Just as the hair on my head is no load on me, so also no population can be a load on the earth. In the whole world, the load is only of indolence, envy and indulgence. If we cultivate self-control and behave in a manly way we can live happily and produce the greatest of men."

Turning to the Kosi project Acharya Bhavé said that the officials were doubtful of getting requisite number of labourers. He had told them not to worry on the point. They would get plenty of workers and the work could be finished in one year. Darbhanga district alone had a population of over 37 lakhs. Other districts in this area were also thickly populated. There was no likelihood, therefore, of dearth of labour for the work.

He closed with the words: "Besides, I want one well in every five acres of land. My proposal is that in every marriage the gift of one well should be made. Finally I would request you to offer your life for this Bhoodan mission and become the torchbearers of this revolution."

Threefold Non-Violent Force

Walking down ten miles from Narhaiya, we reached Laukha at eight on Monday morning. Workers came to see Vinoba at about ten and expressed their misgivings about obtaining land from the big landlords. Vinoba told them that they would have to plan independently for the same.

They had three forces at their disposal. First, force of the very big ones like the Maharaja of Darbhanga and others who had offered creditable gifts themselves and who could well approach these people. Second, force of the very small landholders who must be requested to cast off land-ownership and thousands and lakhs of *dampatras* be collected from amongst them. These two forces would serve as two arms of tongs to catch hold of the big ones. In case of failure, they had the third force of non-violent non-co-operation. But he stressed that of these the second force was the most effective and important and advised them to concentrate on the small landholders.

The Power of Arms

Addressing the vast assemblage gathered for the evening prayer, he observed, "There are several powers working in the world today. Among them is the power of the sword which has now taken the shape of the atom and hydrogen bombs. The power is the same, only its form has been magnified to a staggering degree. When man wielded the sword, he had some command over it. But in the face of these stupendous forms he has lost all control. If we teach our children to obey the rod, it would mean that the stouter the rod, the more they would obey it. Such children will carry out the behest of those who can threaten them to an appreciable degree. Consequently they will succumb to the atom bomb. On the other hand if they are taught to turn into practice what they actually follow they would be able to face all the devils and the bombs. If we oppress others we shall doubtless be oppressed by others."

The Power of Money

Vinoba went on: "The other power is that of money. These days money can purchase all and kill man. Some people wrongly believe money as a religious symbol. They regard money as synonymous with Lakshmi. The truth is just the reverse. Lakshmi symbolizes productive labour power. While money exploits life, Lakshmi preserves it. As we require soul power to face the atom bomb, we require labour power to face money."

The Power of Intellect

Next he said, "The third is that of intellect, which can be utilized for good or for evil. If we use it for evil we reduce our strength and endanger peace; but if we make use of it with love, distribute Lakshmi with love and face violence with love, we can increase our strength."

The All-embracing Power of Love

"The power of the sword, money or intellect is only with a few but that of love is with all. For everybody attends the God-designed school of love. There is universal education of love. If we utilize the power of love we can establish the rule of all, i.e. Sarvodaya."

Vinoba further remarked, "Take, for example, Russia. There is not the rule of people there, for the powers they made use of were those of sword, money, and of intellect (which is half evil and half good). In America, there is said to be democracy which, in fact, is not. The power is in the hands of a few. At the top is a military man who, with his few advisers, runs the whole administration. Thus there is no country where people's rule is a reality. The reason is that nowhere has been employed such a power as is universal and all-accessible. People ask me: how long would you go on asking for gifts? I say: how long would you go on trying the sword which has been there for the last ten thousand years, but peace is nowhere visible? The moment you realize that it is only love-power which should be employed henceforth, you will not ask the question. Only then you will understand the significance of Bhoodan Yajna. Intellect, money and sword have been tried long, long enough. But now the experience of science teaches us that love-power alone should be employed in our activities and dealings. I strongly hold to this view and submit that through love-power alone we can do anything successfully. The Bhoodan Yajna is based on love-power and seeks to develop it. It also offers the way to self-realization. There is only one condition attached to it, there should be no conceit or pride in us."

At night some very prominent landholders of the village met Vinoba with their giftdeeds. But as their offers were very unbecoming, he regretfully refused to accept them and requested them to give more thought to the subject.

Fifth October—Vinoba's last day in Darbhanga district. We were at Bharpohri at the extreme north-east corner, just on Nepal border. In his evening speech he remarked,

"As waves rise and fall in the ocean so also new issues crop up before people from one generation to another. Movements like Bhoodan have been there in hundreds and will be henceforth in thousands. I am not the least worried about it. This world is God's and it runs according to His will. We all dance at His will. We all move at His will. I, therefore attach no value to this work. But I value very much that Bhoodan is helping to unite hearts. Sundered hearts are coming together. People of various political parties are also taking some interest in it. As its *punya* (goodwill) rises up more people will join it and the process of heart-unification would be speeded up." He added, "No doubt this work involves hard labour and suffering. Who knows that more suffering may be in store for me? But I am very happy at it. I read in the Koran that God told the Prophet that his was only to convey the message or thought. The latter had no responsibility save that of conveying. Hence he called himself Rasool. As a postman's it is to carry the post, so mine is to explain to you the mission. That I have done and next morning I leave your district."

Students and Bhoodan

Next morning we entered Saharsa district and encamped at Kanauli Bazar. Some students of Nepal saw him at noon and asked several questions. One of them was: What should students do in Bhoodan? Vinoba suggested four things: (i) Study of Bhoodan or Sarvodaya literature, (ii) regular body-labour for some time every day, (iii) contact of the near-by villages and study of the local people and conditions, and (iv) polite behaviour towards all specially with the villagefolk.

It was Dasherah, the great festival, on Thursday, the 7th October. We crossed the main current of the Kosi by boat in half an hour. I had seen Kosi at Kursela where it quickly submits itself into the bosom of the Ganga. But here she was roaring and one could feel her sublime presence from a distance. We were informed that in mid-August or early September when she was in her full fury, at once terrible and repelling, only a very tried boatman, prepared for every risk, could dare cross it. We walked ten miles and reached Karzin Bazar at nine.

True Sacrifice for Durga Pooja

Thanks to Dasherah those in the meeting wore new, coloured clothing and gay, cheerful faces. Addressing them, Vinoba said, "Our Rishis and learned men devised a unique method of imparting religious instruction to the people and making them versed in the spirit of religion. They set apart a few days in the year called festivals, for exclusive religious work. This day is among them. Once upon a time our country abounded in jungles. The then Rishi taught us to clear off these jungles and make land cultivable. They instituted the goddess of Durga to help in this great work. Durga means the goddess of the forest. Hence in worship of Durga, people began to cut off trees and clear forests. Thus millions of people took to this work and burnt out jungles whereof burning trees took the form of *yajna*. Besides they had to face wild beasts in the jungle. Then the devotees of Durga hunted them out in order to make the people fearless. Now when there are jungles no more, there is no need of burning wood to perform *yajna*. Also there are not many wild beasts whence their killing is meaningless. Then the people seized upon the ideas of killing the poor goat in sacrifice—an idea devoid of religious wisdom. This would never please Durga. Our Shastras teach us that not man or animal but our differences must be sacrificed. Wipe out the

differences. Dasherah comes after four months of rain when it is not easy to meet each other. Not the goat, but our differences have to be sacrificed."

He concluded with the words, "There are differences of several kinds—high and low, rich and poor, landlord and landless, millowner and labourer, etc. All these must be eliminated. Bhoodan seeks to take up one of these first, viz., of landlord and landless. The idea of Bhoodan would succeed when all these differences evaporate away and we become one. The land problem has been taken up first since land is the basis as also our common mother. We have to abolish individual land-possession and transfer its ownership to the village."

Next day we were at Daulatpur, so named perhaps for being the home of many a big landholder. As we had reached the place at six o'clock, Vinoba addressed a few words before those gathered to receive him. He pointed out that he demanded his share as his right as a member of the home. "If you do not recognize it I am prepared to wait until you do it and give me my full share. In fact I want you to grasp the secret of it and transform your life accordingly." Later he expressed the hope that landholders would take up the work as their own. For, "I claim that this is as much in your interest as in that of the poor. Again, can there be a cheaper bargain for such a great revolution as is sought to be achieved through this movement?"

Poor Brother's Right to Land

At night came some of the big people whose *dan-patras* had been refused in the day. Vinoba was adamant on his share as a member of the household. What was remarkable in that one hour discourse was that those people accepted Vinoba's right as a member of the family. When Vinoba asked one of them to give only good land, he said, "Baba, now that I agree to your right as a brother, you will have to accept both good and bad land."

Vinoba rejoined, "All right, then provide me with all other requisite means and materials so that I, your poor brother, may also stand up and flourish as you do."

This rendered our friend simply speechless and he promised to offer good land.

We were at Ganpatganj on Saturday. The prayer was held as usual at four in the afternoon. In his address, Vinoba remarked, "We have the convention in our country to show some charity to the poor occasionally and treat them very cruelly. The social structure is of that nature and the life of the rich is so cast as to exploit the poor. They do show some pity on occasions of calamity. Bhoodan bids fair to make all this a thing of the past. This movement seeks to eliminate the difference between the rich and the poor and to change the standing socio-economic structure. All should live as members of a family. Thus Bhoodan wants the rich to confer their right upon the poor. The right of the landless is now recognized in Bihar. Nobody can refuse to offer land. Only it is a question of the required number of people reaching the landholders. This is a great achievement for Bihar."

Next, he added, "Today I read in the paper the announcement of an important Japanese spokesman to the effect that his countrymen did not want arms. That is a very refreshing and happy news. But mere wish won't do. The question is what the people want to take place in lieu of arms. Are they ready to change swords for ploughshares? They must be ready to do productive physical labour. In India also, time has come when the so-called haves and high-caste people must get ready to work on the fields. Those who don't want to work on land cannot keep land, even as those who don't want to read a book cannot keep a book. Manual labour will lead to good health and sound mind. So besides redistribution of land and wealth, you must be prepared to work on fields."

NARAKASURA UNSCATHED

(By A. V. Barve)

Nearly two years have passed since I wrote 'Kill this Narakasura' in the *Harijan* (14-2-53). I would again like to draw the attention of the public and the Governments, both Central and State, to this most necessary reform.

Our Bharat is a poor nation and must try to stop waste and economize on all possible fronts. 'Money saved is money gained' goes the saying. That adage applies not only to money but to all kinds of wealth.

India is losing, at the present price level, about 200 crores of rupees worth of national wealth in the form of natural manure and bears the stigma of being an unclean nation into the bargain. How can this immense loss of national wealth be stopped and this stigma of being unclean removed?

There must be passed legislation, both on the Central and State level, providing in rural and suburban areas for the cheapest types of latrines and urinals. This duty must be enjoined on the Village Panchayats and Municipalities and Corporations. In a given period, say three years, the Panchayats and the Municipalities must provide for all non-provided residents within their respective areas.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the beloved Prime Minister of India, is aware of this important national problem. As he has written in his *Discovery of India*: "It does seem odd to me that in their enthusiasm for the artificial product, people should forget natural manure and even waste it and throw it away." But it seems he has not got time or the help of able assistants who have got a missionary zeal for this subject, to pursue this matter to its logical conclusion.

As the learned editor of the *Harijan*, in his footnote to my above-mentioned article has pointed out, "It is not good that persons should have to let go privacy for want of latrines in the villages; it is worse if they by force of habit, have been dead to the need of such privacy. It is also a practical proposition, that just like the cities, the villages too, should be organized through their Panchayats to look after and arrange for their water supply, drainage, conservancy, sanitation etc. It should be a part of the national health programme as well. The C. P. A. of India should try to work out this suggestion and give to Government a workable scheme for carrying it out on a national scale."

So far as I am aware, the Ministry for Planning, Irrigation and Power have not been able to do anything in the matter. It seems they have not got some one with a missionary zeal for this subject to be entrusted with this urgent reform. Even the second Five Year Plan takes no heed of this matter. Why should they be so supine to a matter which, if properly attended to, will give the nation additional wealth to the tune of about

200 crores of rupees in the form of excellent manure and remove the stigma of uncleanness on the fair face of India?

So I again appeal to the public and the Central Government, both in its Ministries of Sanitation and of Planning, to make up their minds to kill this Narakasura who is stalking the land unscathed and bury him in the bowels of the earth, where, lo! within a few months, it will be turned into 'gold'!

B. C. G. VACCINATION

II

The possibility of dangerous reactions following the vaccination is recognized.

In the Medical Memorandum issued by the British Ministry of Health reference is made to 'distressing complications which, although temporary, can last for many months.'

Abscesses and ulceration may follow B. C. G. inoculation. K. N. Irvine, D.M., B.Ch., Oxon, a leading protagonist of B. C. G. vaccination, admits 'too many unpleasant reactions'; 'a high percentage of cold abscesses at the site of inoculation' a 'palpable mass...which frequently breaks down to form a cold abscess'; 'local lesions frequently ooze for a considerable period and sometimes ulcerate'; 'large numbers of cases have a serious discharge for several weeks'. Summing up his remarks under the heading of complications Dr. Irvine says:

"With all forms of vaccination the regional glands are involved; with a parenteral vaccination the subject may notice a feeling of fullness in the glands affected, but usually no discomfort...Occasionally the reaction may be so marked that a cold abscess results, usually 2 or 3 months after vaccination; Kretzuri, Rosenberg and Park, reported a high percentage of suppurative adenitis"....

Do not forget, says Dr. Bayly, that B. C. G. vaccine, unlike many other vaccines, contains living micro-organisms. These go on living and multiplying after having been introduced into the body by vaccination. There has never been and never can be any guarantee that the bacillus of tubercle, attenuated in virulence by being cultured on oxbile medium, will not at sometime regain its virulence in the human body. The late Professor von Pirquet, the greatest school medical authority of his time, declared:

'The tubercle bacillus can establish itself in the organism through the Calmette system and the result cannot be foretold. Such a dangerous process cannot be approved or tolerated.' This statement was made at the time of the Lubeck tragedy when 73 out of 249 children died as a result of being given an emulsion of B. C. G. in their food. But years before this Professor McIntosh, Professor of Pathology at London University stated (1926):

"It cannot be disputed that from every point of view the injection of virus capable of multiplying in

the body of the individual is bad. When such multiplication occurs, there is no possibility of estimating the dose to which the patient has been subjected. Thus the effect cannot be controlled, and in susceptible subjects this may lead to unforeseen results."

Commenting upon this, the *Lancet* wrote: 'The reintroduction of the use of an attenuated living virus in tb. was described by Professor McIntosh as a retrograde step. Who knows, he said, for how long an attenuated virus can be dormant and then assume its former virulence.'

Here is the crux of the whole matter, says Dr. Bayly, the susceptibility of the individual, a factor which cannot be estimated until the damage is done. In an article in the *Lancet* Professor Murray observed (1954) that it was the 'soil' in which micro-organisms were planted that determined the pathological effects. It was therefore idle to compare bacteria in their natural state with those grown artificially on a culture medium. Further on he said, 'I cannot think of a worse slum than our test-tubes in which we confine our cultures bathed in their own urine and faeces mixed with what may well be a bare subsistence diet. (Why should not bacteria suffer deficiency diseases just as much as we do?). Then we subject these slum children to exacting tests, supposing them to be athletes. It would be as sensible to enter a cab-horse in the Derby.'

J. W. Rainey, in an article published in the *Veterinary Record* (1951), dealing with the tb. problem wrote: 'It was thought that B.C.G. might be the answer, but in the medical section of *Time* it was stated on high American authority that B.C.G. was found to have its *unmeasured and uncontrolled dangers*'. (Dr. Bayly's italics).

Dr. W. H. Tattersall, M.D. Cantab., wrote in the *Lancet* (1952):

'Wide use of B.C.G. in England cannot be unreservedly advocated until it is possible to prove the safety of every batch manufactured; contamination or change of virulence is a theoretical, if remote possibility. If a few weeks after the widespread use of B.C.G. a whole batch were found to be virulent, the situation would be appalling, and whether contamination or loss of attenuation was the cause would hardly matter.'

Last but not least of the dangers associated with B.C.G. vaccination, pointed out by Dr. Bayly, is one shared by all forms of vaccination and inoculation, that of rendering the subject more liable for some months to develop poliomyelitis when that dread disease is at all prevalent.

V. G. D.

(To be continued)

LOSE LIFE TO SAVE IT

(By Gandhiji)

When a woman is assaulted, she may not stop to think in terms of Himsa or Ahimsa. Her primary duty is self-protection. She is at liberty to employ every method or means that comes to her mind in order to defend her honour. God has given her nails and teeth. She must use them with all her strength and, if need be, die in the effort. The man or woman who has shed all fear of death will be able not only to protect himself or herself but others also through laying down his or her life. In truth we fear death most, and hence we ultimately submit to superior physical force. Some will bend the knee to the invader, some will resort to bribery, some will crawl on their bellies or submit to other forms of humiliation, and some women will even give their bodies rather than die. I have not written this in a caving spirit. I am only illustrating human nature. Whether we crawl on our bellies or whether a woman yields to the lust of man is symbolic of that same love of life which makes us stoop to anything. Therefore, only he who loses his life shall save it: *तेन त्यक्तेन संजिज्ञाः*. Every reader should commit this matchless Shloka to memory. But mere lip loyalty to it will be of no avail. It must penetrate deep down to the innermost recesses of the heart. To enjoy life one should give up the lure of life. That should be part of our nature.

Harijan, 1-3-42

Hindi Examinations

The next Hindi Examinations, Pahl, Dusari, Tisri, and Vinit will be held on Feb. 5, 6-1955. The application-forms would be filled in the centres upto December 5, 1954, and they should reach the office at Ahmedabad through the local organizer. Wrongly and incompletely filled forms will not be accepted. Detailed information can be had from the Bodhpatra which can be had from the office on remitting annas four by Money Order to the undersigned.

Gujarat Vidyapith
Ahmedabad-14
13-11-'54

GIRIRAJ KISHORE
Secretary
Hindi Examinations

CONTENTS	PAGE
THE IDEA OF A RURAL UNIVERSITY	.. Morarjibhai Desai 301
ANDHRA AFFAIRS	.. Maganbhai P. Desai 303
DOES PARDI RAISE A NEW QUESTION ?	.. Maganbhai P. Desai 304
VINOBA IN KOSI AREA	.. " Dadu " 304
NARAKASURA UNSCATHED	.. A. V. Barve 307
B. C. G. VACCINATION - II	.. V. G. D. 307
LOSE LIFE TO SAVE IT	.. Gandhiji 308
NOTE:	
HINDI EXAMINATIONS	.. Giriraj Kishore 308