

HARIJAN

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

Vol. XVIII. No. 47

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1955

TWO ANNAS

RICH GETTING RICHER?

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A news item in the press says that

"India's national income in 1951-52 increased by Rs. 460 crores as compared with the previous year.... It is placed at Rs. 9,990 crores. The per capita income at current prices thus works out to Rs. 274.5, a rise of 3.5 per cent over 1950-51."

One of the pertinent questions regarding this increase is, which sector of our economy or which class of our people is particularly benefited by it? The news item says on this point:

"The estimates indicate a small increase in the income in the agricultural sector, but a large increase in factory establishments in 1951-52 over the figures for the previous year."

So then, it is a case of the industrial, i.e. the rich sector getting richer, the poor agricultural one almost remaining as it was!

The result is not surprising, as the cult of industrialism and cry for more production anyhow really means it. What is really wanted, therefore, is a plan that will deliver to the poor section of our people, whose need is first and greater, the new wealth that may be produced under the national Five Year Plan. The Plan should particularly see how wealth that is aimed to be increasingly produced distributes itself. It is therefore that the village industries and Khadi are pre-eminently suited as agents for a real industrialization programme in our country. It is here that Sarvodaya differs intrinsically from Socialism and such-like things from the urban West. In this context, it is heartening to read the following in Shri Nehru's speech (vide the *Hindu*, 25-12-'54) at the Shantiniketan Convocation meeting on 24-12-'54:

"Human mind all over the world was searching for a way out—an escape from the terrible fear of total destruction which atomic power constantly held up before them. Although the Western people had received all the blessings of mammon worship, they were not mentally happy. Materially they had progressed but had lost all the happiness of a fearless soul. Material progress seemed to have killed the essence of their soul.

"India had to take a lesson from the West in this matter, he said. A new India was in the making. All over the country all the knowledge which science had bestowed upon mankind for material progress was being harnessed. Big factories were being set up; river

valley projects costing millions of rupees were being pushed through; science was being utilized in the fields and factories. But India could not afford to forget the essence of the Indian way of life—the spiritual and moral attainments which had helped them survive the rise and fall of civilizations through the ages.

"Mr Nehru said that was the biggest problem which was facing the Indian mind today. How to achieve a synthesis between the two—science and moral values? Indian youths, their teachers and, in fact, every Indian, must try to find an answer to this query. On a correct answer to this depended the future of India as a whole and to some extent the whole world.

"Mr Nehru said that India would, therefore, have to achieve a synthesis. Science and moral values must have equal place of importance in Indian life, Indian youths and their leaders should strive to think independently and not become mere imitators of Western life. India should assimilate the good in Western life, but must not ape it. The introduction of carbon copies of Western Socialism or Communism would not only be a misfit but definitely inimical to the growth of India's own way of life.

"Indian problems should be studied in the indigenous background, Mr Nehru said. The soil of America or Britain or Russia might be good for the flowering of their respective ideologies, but Indian soil might not be suitable. Transplantation of ideas would be harmful.

"Mr Nehru said that the present was the age of science and the age of machine. On the other hand, they were also aware of the fact that mammon-worshipping nations had lost their soul and even though they had acquired great wealth they were constantly thinking in terms of war. The problem, he pointed out, was how to achieve the synthesis between India's concept of moral and spiritual standards with those of the machine power."

28-12-'54

Our New Publications

By Mahatma Gandhi
UNTOUCHABILITY

Pages, iv+16 Price As. 4 Postage etc. As. 2

FOR WORKERS AGAINST UNTOUCHABILITY
Pages, iv+34 Price As. 8 Postage etc. As. 3

THE REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY
Pages xii + 304 Price Rs. 3-8-0 Postage etc. Re. 1

NATURE CURE
Pages, viii+68 Price As. 12 Postage etc. As. 5

HOW TO SERVE THE COW
Pages, vi+109 Price Re. 1-4-0 Postage etc. As. 6

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD - 14

TWO IMPORTANT POINTS

To
The Editor of the *Harijan*
Sir,

May I express a personal opinion on two recent points of considerable importance in our lives? (1) Shri Mavlanakar's support to armed resistance against aggression; and (2) your leading article "What is a Socialist Pattern" in the *Harijan* of 8th January, 1955.

I am not aware of any differences on the point of weak people not being able to keep out a conqueror; but I think the idea that soldiers like fighting is exaggerated. Soldiers, especially those who have been in war, prefer peace and home and playing with children. Gandhiji used to say fighting is better than cowardice; he taught it is better to serve Rama than Kubera, and that what mankind should learn was non-violence of the strong. He used to call himself a soldier (*sipahi*) and the army he served in was of soldiers of non-violence. I have said elsewhere that we need this "army" as a second line of defence to our armed forces. After all, fighting services are only as strong as the civil population behind them.

Regarding "Socialist Pattern" I agree with you that people should understand what this means so that they can choose; but does the march of events today allow our electorate, mostly illiterate, time to understand Socialism and Capitalism? Because when a choice is to be made a general knowledge of both is necessary.

It would be a great help all round if a way could be found to avoid controversies that only hamper or sidetrack work that should and must be done. In any basic reconstruction all who are willing to do a minimum standard of work should be able to get employment in which they, and their dependents, should be secured a minimum standard of health and happiness. There are no differences of opinion on this, neither does it matter under what name (or names), such an order of things is sought. As I understand it, what Government mean by "Socialist Pattern" is this, and this only, in order to distinguish it from the class, caste and economic pattern that has been generally accepted so far as the right one. And we all know that this has not made India healthy, happy or strong.

One last word, if I may. In our country (as in other countries of Asia, Africa and the world over) search for a better life has already begun under stress of social (*samajik*) forces beyond individual or group control. We should take note of this simple fact.

10-1-'55

A. P. P.

[Regarding Shri Mavlanakar's view of getting armed in self-defence and being rifle-minded and its value for discipline and defence etc., I may only say that the point made by me in the *Harijan* article was the simple proposition that (i) Gandhiji did not agree to that view and hence to associate his name with it would be wrong and doing injustice to him; and that (ii) for one who presided over the Gandhi Memorial Fund, it would not be proper, at the same time, to preside

over and propagate the cult of the Rifle Club and all that it means. Integrity in public life requires that one cannot have both ways in such matters.

Regarding the second point of the correspondent, viz., the capacity of the illiterate masses to understand Socialism and Capitalism, it may be said that the understanding is not to be of an academic nature, but it must be in the simple language of the people and about how any 'ism' that is thought for them will affect them. The people are illiterate for no fault of theirs; however they are intelligent enough and know life at its direct and most consequential points. It is up to their leaders to tell them what it will mean when they say that they plan to establish a 'socialist pattern' in India. It is in this context that I have said that we should rather have words from our own languages and clear enough to be understood by them. It is no use talking for them and yet over their heads.

12-1-'55

M. P. J

MAN AND MODERN ECONOMICS

"Economics," according to the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, "deals with social phenomena centring about the provision for the material needs of the individual and of organized groups." Originally, economics was concerned with household management, and the study was eventually applied to communities and States, becoming known as political economy.

As an analysis of the segment of human life having to do with practical material needs, economics is of obvious importance. However, the odd thing we have noticed about many people interested in or enthusiastic about economics is that they seem to regard it as a means of getting to heaven — that is, as containing the primary secrets of the Good Life. Even the famous economists of history were moralists at heart.

There is also a curious sectarianism which develops around a special interest in economics. An atmosphere of the One True Doctrine often appears, and the True Believers manifest an ill-concealed impatience with the rest of the world which has failed to see the light. So far as we can see, this strenuous concern with economic theory ought to be classed as a kind of religious phenomenon, since the accompanying emotions and psychological attitudes are so similar to those of fanatical sectarian belief.

Men like Edward Bellamy and Henry George, it seems to us, were primarily humanitarian reformers rather than economists. But other enthusiasts of economics assume that the "facts" of human nature are well known, and that a proper economic system based upon the known facts is all that is needed to set the world straight.

The most familiar claim of those who come out for the over-riding significance of economics is that human beings cannot be expected to lead happy, constructive lives unless their material needs are properly taken care of. We find no special reason to debate this point, although it often seems exaggerated beyond the call of duty. Our objection is rather to the fact that, with the exception of one or two writers on economics — Ralph Borsodi and Scott Nearing, for example — the champions of "sound economic knowledge" consistently neglect matters of which the formulas of the economists take no account at all, and

these matters are, it seems to us, of transcendent importance.

Take the question of the modern industrial system of manufacture—not the question of ownership, nor of distribution of the profits, but of the *system* of manufacture. Some years ago, during the war, several Australian textile mills experimented with the use of subnormal labour. The managers of the mills were surprised to find that the girls brought to them from institutions for the mentally deficient were as good or better workers than so-called "normal" help. These girls were paid at the same rate as normal girls, and were found to be successful in practically every process involved in the mills.

Hearing of these things, public institutions in Australia began to initiate experiments of their own, sending out mentally deficient people to work in various industries. The reports were uniformly excellent. As a result, the administrators charged with the care of such unfortunates experienced a sudden access of morale. They saw that if the mentally deficient could be gainfully employed in industry, one of the greatest obstacles to their happiness would be overcome. For to be equal to the common tasks of other people is the longing of all those who are defective in mind. Here was a means to help them to self-respect.

A young Australian writer, however, Niall Brennan, found in the success of this programme a stimulus to study the impact of modern industrial practice on people's lives. Regarding the use of mental defectives in industry, he remarked :

"When morons can be fitted into industry, on an immediate parity with normal employees, the question, on whose level this equality has been achieved, must also be asked. It may be good to discover that in a modern industrial plant there are conventional processes which can be performed by a boy with a mental age of less than eight years, and a severe lack of muscular co-ordination. It may be fine for the boy. But what were the "normal" adults doing in this same process before the crippled and retarded boy came along to do it for them? No really normal person can afford to ignore the frightening implications in the discovery that many "normal" men and women are working in jobs at which subnormals are equally and sometimes more efficient."

This conclusion stirred Mr Brennan to extensive research, in the form of taking job after job to experience personally the sort of work men do to earn their bread, to determine how they do their work, and what their work does to them. His findings, reported in a sprightly volume, *The Making of a Moron* (Sheed and Ward), are devastating, and on the whole accurate, we think. Its pertinence to the study of economics is that, while it deals with "the social phenomena centring about the provision for the material needs of the individual and of organized groups," the facts Mr Brennan reports are consistently ignored or held to be unimportant by most advocates of education in economics. We however, take the view that edu-

cation in economics which overlooks these facts is very largely a waste of time.

The point, here, is that the concepts of value which are under criticism in this book are held in common by practically all economic systems and theories of modern times, whether conservative or radical. As Brennan puts it :

"The important point at this stage is that these premises, the virtue so-called of efficiency, and the end so pursued of wealth, are creating a situation where morons and sub-normals might have more value than sane men. That is a moronic state of affairs. It does not seem to me to demonstrate progress of any sort."

Brennan went from plant to plant, in both England and Australia. There was always the same story. The low grade of responsibility felt by many of the workers—their lack of a sense of participation in *making something worth making*—had proved itself a degrading influence. Bitterness, pettiness, and general contempt without any particular object were common phenomena. The book is not unjust, nor is it merely a crack-pot attack on modern industry. It is a deeply perceptive study of men at work for money instead of in response to an inner drive to engage their productive powers in chosen activities. It is a photographic account of a certain stage of the corruption in a social order which practises a religion of economics. In Brennan's words :

"The effect of industrial philosophy upon human society has already been shown. The objective of "business" clearly stated in every textbook of economics is the satisfaction of the self. The satisfaction of the self is the law of the jungle. The existence of the resultant jungle is clear from the effect of industrial society upon human society."

Actually, Brennan found that some of the plants where the mental attitudes of the workers were worst were plants regarded as "ideal" from the "welfare" point of view. The result, in this book, is a new kind of economic analysis, in which human values are raised to the preferred position.

Mr Brennan has no dramatic solution to offer. The time is probably not ripe for an over-all solution. But what he has done is to call dramatic attention to conditions which have been staring us in the face for generations, yet which the theoreticians of economics have disregarded as either beyond repair or not coming within the province of their science. This is the time for an assembling of the facts. We should like to see a lot more books given to the collection of such facts. Then, if enough men start thinking about them, we may get to work at changing the pattern of our lives. But the solution will not lie in the design for a new "system". It will lie in the formulation of worthy ideals and occupations for human labour. And then, we think, it will be possible to have economic theories which do not take for granted doctrines of human nature which when applied on a large scale, first degraded, then destroy, the human species.

(Adapted from *Manas*, 28-4-54)

HARIJAN

Jan. 22

1955

CONTROL OR COMPENSATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Those who stand for encouragement to the hand-pounding of rice are often asked — "What is then to be done to the rice-mills, hullers and shellars etc. that are already there? If you compel them to close down, won't you have to pay them compensation?"

The question applies not only to the hand-pounding industry but to all other village industries with which the respective mill industries compete. It may, for example, be raised in the like manner with respect to oil-mills and cloth-mills. The question arises naturally at the present juncture when we are engaged in planning and building up a new economy for our country.

Let us first take up the question of compensation. Looking at it a little more closely this demand for compensation on the part of the owners of factories and mills appears strange. Let me explain why: Does it ever occur to them how many homes and villages did they throw out of employment and reduce to dire misery when they started their mills and factories? What did those poor people get by way of compensation except unemployment, under-employment and starvation? The State should have made amends for the injustice done to them either by giving them suitable compensation or by offering them alternative employment. That the then alien Government did not do it and did not care for it does not mean that there was no question of the payment of compensation or of any loss. On the contrary, the fact that the number of those who thus suffered was very large invests this question with greater public importance. And the present Government, as the true representative of the people, must now take up their cause and plead for it.

The factory-owners are a rich class. The shareholders too are apparently men who have adequate income to save at least the amount of money which they have invested in shares. Besides, they must have accumulated with them substantial sums as depreciation and reserve funds etc. If they still demand compensation from the nation when they are now asked to act in the interest of the poor in whose unemployment and consequent poverty they have played a large part, it is, I think, clear that their behaviour is most strange.

But lawyers say that, however it may be from the point of equity, justice or morality, if you force the factory-owners to close down their factories, then you must pay them such compensation as they may be legally entitled to. You

may, of course, short of banning them out of existence, put on them any amount of reasonable restrictions and regulate them in the larger interest of the country.

If this legal view of the question is right then either we must change the law or, remaining within its present limits, try to encourage and promote the home and village industries.

The first would mean changing the Constitution to the effect that private property may be appropriated for the good of the people without giving compensation. That would however be too drastic a measure at the present time. It may be contemplated only when the way of regulation for some reason fails and there is no other course left open for achieving our purpose. Even then, before we embark on so basic and far-reaching a change, it would be necessary to examine its deeper implications for the society and the individual.

However in the new economy which is being built up one thing should now be made clear beyond doubt: There can be no room for large-scale centralized industries to compete with the simple decentralized industries concerned with the people's food, clothing and housing. The oil-mills, rice-mills, cloth-mills etc. should be kept under control and regulated with this broad principle in view. Of course, in deciding what restriction is to be placed on them one would have to take into account the quantity of their production, the quality, the consumption, as also the price and many other things. With the protection thus assured to them the home and the village industries will naturally prosper and spread out over a larger and larger area in their respective spheres. And as they spread out and necessary steps are taken to make them economically sound and self-supporting, the problem of unemployment will ease and lessen. Simultaneously and to the extent that home and village industries increase the factories will decrease and their work shrink and their production earmarked for export if it is possible and proper. The rest will automatically wither away in the same way as the mechanized industries once drove out the village industries. This means that the import and installation of new industrial plants will have to be stopped and the work of the existing ones to be restricted within proper limits.

It is not to be understood from this that I am enumerating all the steps that will have to be taken. The list is only illustrative. The point is that the Planning Commission has now accepted the principle of pursuing such a policy of controlling large-scale industries in the interest of the small-scale and village industries. For example, they have recognized that the mills may be taxed for finding the necessary finance to promote the handicrafts, and even to equalize the prices of their respective products so as to set off the handicap under which the latter have otherwise to suffer. We may even expect that if this policy

is consistently pursued, then the wiser among the factory-owners will themselves recognize the change in the situation and transfer their capital to industries in other more suitable spheres.

If, however, it is found from experience that this policy is not proving successful or that it is too irksome or cumbersome to work it, then the Government should itself acquire these factories in the interest of the people, give reasonable compensation to the owners and work each of them till such time as may be necessary with the over-all aim of eradicating unemployment and rehabilitating the small-scale and village industries. To turn to the rice industry, those who know about it say that the investment in the existing rice factories is not more than ten crores of rupees. It should not be difficult to provide for this amount from the Second Five Year Plan. In return lakhs of our people will get employment and crores of rupees of income will get naturally distributed among them.

6-1-'55

(From the original in Gujarati)

VINOBA IN SANTHAL PARGANAS — II

(By "Dadu")

Our Backward Tribes

Few of us are perhaps aware of the sad fact that most of the so-called backward tribes in India are those who refused to bow down before the British might and held their own against all odds. This is particularly true about the brave and truthful Santals inhabiting the Santal Parganas district and parts of Chota Nagpur, areas of Bihar as also of West Bengal. They are a noble people with their characteristic and charming social life. Both men and women share together the life of the home as also the one outside and can well give a lead to the educated and 'civilized' by their community life. Special mention must be made of their firm custom of not selling land which they do not regard as a private property. Perhaps this explains why Vinoba's message of social ownership of land easily appeals to them, and of the hundred villages donated in toto in Bhoodan, more than half belong to our Adivasi compatriots, miscalled 'backward'.

In the Santal Parganas district, the Santals listened to Vinoba's appeals with devoted attention. Some of them also promised to work in the Bhoodan movement. When we reached Boyarijoar on Sunday, the 28th November, 1954, a well-known slogan echoed in the air:

“जयप्रकाशका जीवनदान
सफल करना भूमिदान”।

(Jayprakash's *jitandan* will accomplish the Bhoodan revolution.)

Vinoba confirmed the truth behind these words, but, said he, that was not enough. "You the workers must also gather courage and dedicate your life for Bhoodan. Hence you must say:

“हम लोगोंका जीवनदान
सफल करना भूमिदान”।

(*Jivandan* of we people will accomplish the Bhoodan revolution.)

Common Ownership and Weal

In his post-prayer address Vinoba explained the secret of Bhoodan in very simple words: "Suppose you are five in a house with three earning members, earning, say, Rs 3, 2, and 1 respectively. Now the one who earns Rs 3/ does not claim the same exclusively for himself. So also the other two make no claims. That income belongs to the whole house and is shared by everybody in the house

according to his or her need. Thus there is no individual ownership in the house. That is why you feel happy therein. The secret of homely pleasure lies in the fact that there is no ownership there, no vanity. But just outside the house, you claim ownership and get vain. Consequently you do not find any happiness outside the home. The endeavour of casting off ownership and pride inside the house has yielded you happy dividends. I ask you, will it not yield greater dividends if you try the same experiment with the whole village as your basis? To each family according to its need, as you do at home. And you will then find that you are far happier than ever."

Settle Your Own Disputes

He added, "Your disputes, if any, must be settled in the village itself, even as in a home. You do not broadcast your household differences. But the differences in the village get a world-wide publicity. Why should you run to courts at all? Have you no regard for the honour of your village? You alone can save it. But you become your own enemy when you flatter vakkils who aggrandize differences. Let you resolve that no outsider will be allowed to interfere in your village affairs. Let them be settled by some *sanjan* (truthful man) in your village itself. When there was one Vibhishan in even Ravan's Lanka, won't there be, I ask, a *sanjan* in your village? Approach him, seek his advice and behave as members of a family."

Vinoba closed with the words, "I am not saying something difficult. Unless you live unitedly, you cannot stand, specially in these days of scientific advance. When you can live and work unitedly in your house, why can't you do so in the village? Otherwise, one's wit will clash against the other and your village will break down, the outsiders exploiting it to the very core. When wits clash, neither side gains. Suppose you and I have twelve and ten seers of *aqual* (wisdom) respectively. If we work unitedly, we reap the benefit of 22 seers of wisdom. If we are not united, your twelve seers will collide against my ten, while you will win, I will lose. And the world would get the benefit of two seers only. Thus while God gave us 22 seers of wisdom, we transform it into two. Now who is responsible for this? This is common everywhere in India today. The Government wits clash against those of businessmen. Consequently, the country suffers. Let you live in your village as one solid family. Every village would then become an impregnable fort."

A Lesson in Self-help

Our camping ground was very beautifully situated. It looked like a small hill. In the evening Vinoba walked up over to a small village nearby. Many people accompanied him. Before reaching the village he saw two fields with stones scattered all over. He began to pick up those stones and all the rest followed. Within half an hour these fields became as clear as a newly ploughed land. After it was over, Vinoba recited the famous *mantra*, repeated in Ashrams all over the country at the meal hours, "ॐ सहनो ववतु....." The whole concourse joined him and it verifiably proved to be a labour gift bath.

Adivasi's Woes

Next day in the noon at Boria a delegation of Adivasis met Vinoba and describing its tale of woe; it presented a memorandum containing their major grievances, viz., they had to pay large amount of interest to the money-lender, they had been deprived of their lands, there was no arrangement for irrigation, and they wanted prohibition to be enforced. Vinoba gave a very patient hearing and dealt with these points in his post-prayer speech:

"Society will march onwards if wealth is handed over to the deserving. In place of keeping it with you, pass it on to your neighbour. We lose nothing thereby. Everybody would say that whatever he or she has belongs to his or her neighbour."

Decrying the system of realizing interest, Vinoba observed: "You should be grateful to him who utilizes your money. By lending him money or what you have, you really earn a friend. Charging interest is

immoral and irreligious. Those days are gone when people felt honoured in doing nothing. Now we all have to work together and live with love. The wealth with you is a source of strength to win others' love. I, therefore demand *Sampattidan*."

As regards land, Vinoba pointed out, "I know that you (the Santhalis) have been deprived of your land. It is why I ask the *Sahukars* to keep some land with them and donate the rest. That would be distributed among the landless Santhalis. Mine is a call of love. And not only land I would also ask for bullocks and seeds etc., to help the new land-getters."

Touching a very delicate point, Vinoba went on, "I am told that there are *mukhiyas* among the Santhals. These *mukhiyas* control land and give it at their sweet will. But times have changed. Rajas and Maharajas have disappeared. So *mukhiyas* also must change. As pointed out by Tulsidas, *mukhiyas* should be like mouth which passes on whatever it gets to the stomach. Likewise, a *mukhiya* must distribute everything. The present custom of *mukhiyas* who only eat and usurp must go. People must select their *panchas* by unanimous consent. These five people should advise in village management." Irrigation is a country-wide problem. "You must be prepared," suggested Vinoba, "for hard work. Offer *Shramadan* (labour gift) and dig out wells; brick laying etc. would be provided for through *Sampattidan* or by the Government."

Vinoba expressed his extreme joy at the demand for prohibition. He proposed that they must organize a regular campaign for its enforcement and also prevail upon their friends to practise it strictly.

Among Muslim Friends

There is a good number of Muslims in Boria. They are mostly weavers. Learning that Vinoba knew Arabic well, they expressed a desire to get some extra time for them. Vinoba gladly acceded to their request, and gave them time after the prayer meeting. He told them that he had himself been a weaver for several years. But who purchased the cloth they wove? If they were not prepared to use the local *tell's* oil, how would the *teli* have their cloth? So they all must make it a point to use the village-made things and boycott such city goods as can be prepared by them in the village itself. He also asked them to spin yarn and use self-spun. Next, Vinoba pointed out that Bhoodan Yajna was '*Deen-ul-Huq*' (path of truth) as it emphasized on comradely love and self-help. It was the straightest route — '*sirat-ul-mustaqim*' — to prosperity and betterment. As the Quran enjoined, the '*rizq*' provided by God must be utilized for the service of the poor. He concluded, "I want to wipe out landownership. To make a claim of ownership is nothing short of heresy. I trust that the people of this locality would readily offer land and wealth for the sake of the distressed and they will thus earn the *fazl* (blessings) of God."

Right Education

In his post-prayer speech at Brindaban, Vinoba said, "Santhals if rightly educated would be able to produce remarkable leaders and pioneers, even as a dry soil, lying waste for years and years, yields a plentiful crop if properly cultivated. They are full of life already. Right education or *Nal Talim*, — not the current education which adds to the heap of the unemployed, — would generate *vichar-shakti* (thought-power) in them, which together with *pran-shakti* (vital power) would accomplish wonders. Let *Brahma-Vidya* be taught to them so that they may recognize their inner force or soul power." He added that the various differences met in the country would become our strength provided the unifying thread of *Atma-Gyan* fused them all. *Brahma-Vidya* can close these differences, while *vigyan* (science) would aggravate them in a way. *Vigyan* can lend colour to the various elements in our life, but only *Atma-Gyan* can connect them all. And the two together would render our society gay, noble and strong. The Sarvodaya ideology proceeds to incorporate them both. For that Bhoodan is the first step."

Land for Ameliorating Lot of Bhangis

Referring to the scavengers' life, Vinoba remarked, "How curious it is that the so-called high caste people have taken to all the occupations of the Harijan community but none enters the Bhangis' profession! To earn money, man has taken to tanning and shoe-making but not scavenging. This only shows that this is not regarded as a man's job. It should, therefore, disappear. And I want that the Bhangis of India should get land for cultivation and lead a prosperous life. The only possible reform in this profession is to eradicate it altogether. The city people would have to keep night-soil carefully and pass it on every morning to the municipal conveyance which would take it away for proper disposition and conversion into manure. The village people would have their own pits or trenches for the same. I am told that Bhangis themselves are fond of this work. This is not true. And even if it be true, their children can very well be diverted from this inhuman task, whereby within ten to twenty years this curse would be no more. Hence I ask you to donate lands to root out the various growing differences."

Self-reliant Villages

We were at Atapur on the first December. Addressing the evening meeting Vinoba said that the strength of our villages consisted in mutual love, self-sufficiency and self-reliance. But all these three forces were now conspicuous only by their absence. Love had been replaced by money. We were not using village-made articles. We sent our children for education to cities or abroad. Nor did we settle our disputes ourselves. We ran to Vakils and courts. Vinoba warned them that if this continued villages would be crushed out of existence. "You must," said he, "stand on your own feet. You can turn your village into heaven if you like. You can grow into a strong unit only if you cast off land ownership. What is true in the home should be true in the village." At night Vinoba began a study of Santhali language. A Hindi-knowing Santhali youth offered to teach him. Vinoba devoted an hour to this work daily.

Barharwa was the next halt. Addressing the students and teachers gathered to receive him Vinoba pointed out that if the public workers gave four months sincerely to Bhoodan Yajna, the land problem would be easily solved.

To Students and Teachers

In the evening meeting he said that students and teachers could take a very effective part in the movement. "If the teachers grasp," pointed out Vinoba, "its significance, they can give a practical shape to the idea of social ownership."

He continued, "Gradation is at the base of the present structure. There are grades everywhere, in salaries, in marks, etc. and even in medals. The Government have introduced 'Bharat Ratna' and 'Padma Vibhushan'. There are three grades in the latter! Sheer fun! Likewise, there are grades in education. But it seems so natural to us as it is common in the society. You allot marks to students. Just ask a mother which child she loves No. 1 and which as No. 2. She would reply, 'I know no differences. I can only tell you which quality is in which child.' So also should be the attitude of a teacher."

The route from Barharwa to Kotla Pokhar was very dangerous. Vinoba went along the railway track crossing several bridges consisting of bare corrugated iron sheets, mostly corroded. In his post-prayer speech Vinoba stressed on the necessity of order and method in our work otherwise our Swaraj would not stay. He said that our society was very weak. In spite of freedom and the right to vote, common man did not feel the glow of Swaraj.

Aim Co-operative Common Weal

"There are," he added, "some who are happy but others are not. Suppose a mother has five children. One of them goes somewhere and strays away. Then the mother weeps for him. If you tell her that she should not worry for she has four (i.e. 80 per cent) with her, she will say, 'But why, what about the fifth?' Likewise, we should know no happiness until everybody in the village is happy. You very well know that if one member of your family

is seriously ill on, say, *Divali* occasion, you do not light *Divali* lamps. This is religion. It must be practised on a social scale. Hence the landless must get land. And all those who have land, less or more, should offer it. As everybody contributes a piece of timber for the *Holi* fire, everybody must contribute his or her mite in the *Bhodan* *Yajna*."

Learn the Neighbour's Language

Pakur, the sub-divisional headquarter was the last half of the week. Not far from Pakur is the Bihar-Bengal border. In his post-prayer speech Vinoba advised the people to learn at least one more language, particularly one of the neighbouring area. "I would recommend the teaching of Bengali in every educational institution of Bihar. This will enrich Hindi. It would foster love and fellow-feeling. The strength of the society does not depend on its outer or satanic wealth, but on its inner or angelic wealth. Countries with satanic wealth seem to go up. By *a-dharma* they do seem and prosper to conquer their foes. But ultimately they are vanquished. So the right path must always be followed. What we have to do is to rise spiritually, set up economic equality and establish social comradeship."

We are for about a fortnight more among the Santhals.
6-1-55

FREEDOM FROM FEAR OF POVERTY

(By William James)

What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself incompatible. I have often thought that in the old monkish poverty-worship, in spite of the pedantry that infested it, there might be something like that moral equivalent of war which we are seeking. May not voluntarily accepted poverty be the "strenuous life", without the need of crushing weaker peoples?

Poverty indeed is the strenuous life — without the brass bands or uniforms or hysterical popular applause or lies or circumlocutions; and when one sees the way wealth-getting enters as an ideal into the very bone and marrow of our generation, one wonders whether a revival of the belief that poverty is a worthy religious vocation may not be the "transformation of military courage", and the spiritual reform that our time stands most in need of.

Among us English-speaking peoples especially do the praises of poverty need once more to be boldly sung. We have grown literally afraid to be poor. We despise anyone who elects to be poor in order to simplify and save his inner life. If he does not join the general scramble and pant with the money-making street, we deem him spiritless and lacking in ambition. We have lost the power even of imagining what the ancient idealization of poverty could have meant: the liberation from material attachments, the unbridled soul, the manlier indifference, the paying our way by what we are and do and not by what we have, the right to fling away our life at any moment irresponsibly — the more athletic trim, in short, the moral fighting shape.

There are thousands of conjunctures in which the wealth-bound man must be a slave, whilst a man for whom poverty has no terrors becomes a freeman. I recommend this matter to

your serious pondering, for it is certain that the prevalent fear of poverty among the educated classes is the worst moral disease from which our civilization suffers.*

PASTEURIZATION — A DANGEROUS FALLACY

To
The Editor of *Harijan*,

Sir, Shri Dinkerrao Desai, Minister in charge of milk, says that in Bombay Legislative Assembly which meets on February 15 he will bring a Bill for compulsory pasteurization of milk. I beg to draw the attention of people of Bombay and other Provinces of India and of various Indian Governments to the following extracts from October 1954 number of *Nature Path* magazine published in New York City, U.S.A.

".....Of all the fallacies about milk, pasteurization is the most dangerous.....Mothers insist upon pasteurized milk for their children without knowing that they are in reality depriving them of many of the essential elements for growth and health.

"Just what is pasteurization and what is claimed for it? It is a process of heating milk to destroy bacteria. The usual procedure is to heat milk to a temperature of 145° and retain that temperature for 20 to 30 minutes. Then the temperature is rapidly lowered to 45° or cooler.....

"It is claimed that tubercular bacilli are killed by this process. However, the law also provides that all tubercular cattle be killed and that all herds must be inspected periodically to discover cows so affected. If this law were strictly enforced, there would be no need for the nutrient-destroying process of pasteurization. The claim that pasteurization is also necessary to destroy typhoid bacilli can be similarly disposed of. If milk is produced under sanitary conditions, there is no necessity for artificial processing.....

"There are two extremely important facts that few people consider when they tamely submit to the advertisements of the milk companies. True, most harmful bacteria and lactic acid bacteria are killed. Spores are not killed, however, and if the milk is not kept cold or is allowed to stand too long putrefactive organisms develop. In other words the milk does not sour — it rots.....

"There is no way for the consumer to know how long the milk has stood about or if it has not been kept at all times at the proper temperature. Thus thousands of people are putting rotten (pasteurized) milk into their stomach and then they wonder why they suffer as much from digestive and intestinal disorders.

"The second important fact is that pasteurization destroys some of the most essential elements in milk. Time and again people have been warned not to cook too many of their vegetables or else their precious vitamin C will be lost. Yet they allow laws to be passed which require the cooking of their milk.

"This vitamin is the one which maintains the health of tissues and cells. If it is denied a person he is apt to show a quick deterioration in his bony structures. His teeth will crumble and develop cavities.... More and more scientists are coming to believe that lack of whole unpasteurized milk in the diet may be one of the causes of hardening of the arteries.....

"The nutritive value of milk especially as food for children can hardly be overestimated. Let us not destroy it by pasteurization. Milk is a valuable source of protein throughout the entire period of growth....."

* From *The Varieties of Religious Experience Lectures*, 14, 15.

In view of what is stated above regarding uselessness and dangers of pasteurization of milk it is to be hoped in the interest of good health of people that the idea of compulsory pasteurization of milk will be abandoned.

The pasteurizer has a financial motive in demanding pasteurization. He wants to sell milk that is several days old. That is the motive behind this demand for pasteurization. British medical journal says editorially :

"Pasteurization is confession that milk is not pure at the source. It is a confession that the authorities have sadly failed in their duty to the public as regards the milk supply. He who pasteurizes good milk is a fool; and he who pasteurizes bad milk is a rogue."

Woodhouse Road, SORABJI R. MISTRI
Colaba, Bombay

IN FACE OF THE ATOMIC DANGER

(By Clement R. Atlee)

(From his article 'The Political Problem' in the *Listener*, June 17, 1954.)

I suppose that most of us in our time have read of the great civilizations of the past, and reading with a knowledge of the event we say, "What fools these people were not to realize what was happening"—the rival emperors struggling for power in a Roman Empire with the barbarians ready to break in and usher in those centuries which we call the Dark Ages. Great civilizations have been destroyed, some times from internal weaknesses, sometimes from external attacks. The Roman Empire came down through the forces of the uncivilized world. The destructive force today is something which we have ourselves made, and it is operating in a one world civilization more closely linked than ever before. Would not a visitor from another planet say just the same of us, "What fools to keep quarrelling in face of this danger?"

Russia is engaged in building up her social system and an economy, which we do not like, very different from our own. It is not our way of life, but it is their concern. We in the West have our way of life, our different economies, and we do not wish to see them destroyed. But the threat that we meet hangs over democracies and autocracies alike—Communist countries, socialist countries, semi-socialist countries, capitalist countries, all are exposed to danger; and unless there is some change, I believe that the danger of world destruction is very real. The forces of destruction will keep piling up. We cannot stop these things. It may be that the knowledge of how to make these weapons may get more and more extended. Incidents leading to war continue; the burden of armaments presses on the nations and causes impatience.

The world today cannot afford to have any more wars. The only way open to us seems to be to make a new approach to world problems with the consciousness of this great danger. After

all, all other problems are really dwarfed by this. But I do not think it can be done just by discussing weapons. One must discuss causes. Inevitably there must be a real effort to effect some understanding, to live and to let live. If all the peoples of the world realize this great danger they must take action to avoid it. They must realize how small, in comparison to this, are squabbles about bits of territory and the like. Those things can be settled if there is the will to settle them. But everything depends on acceptance of the need for toleration and upon the renunciation of all attempts to force particular creeds on other people. I believe that democratic socialism will succeed on its own merits. If the Russian Communists and the American capitalists have as strong a faith as I have, they will believe that in due time their views will be accepted everywhere, but until then they must accept the fact that other people have different ideas.

The time has come to make the United Nations organization a reality and to realize the high hopes entertained at San Francisco. This must mean a gradual renunciation of the idea of absolute sovereignty and the building up of international organization. It means, too, that the ideal of dreamers of the past has become the necessity of the atomic present. Civilization can be saved, but only if the peoples of the world are roused to action.

Planning for Country-wide Prohibition

The Planning Commission has appointed a Committee with Shri S. N. Agarwal as Chairman, to examine how the Directive Principle of State policy viz. prohibition, is being implemented by various States and what should be done to further it in the near future. So, the fears of some that this will be a Committee to see whether prohibition is successful or no, or whether it is wise to lose drink income at the present time,—have been falsified, which is a matter of great joy indeed. The Constitution of India expects that the Committee will submit a plan for the implementation of complete prohibition in the whole land within the next few years. We wish all success to it in this its noble task.

1-1-'55

M. P.

	CONTENTS	PAGE
RICH GETTING RICHER ? ..	Maganbhai P. Desai	373
TWO IMPORTANT POINTS ..	A. P. P.	374
MAN AND MODERN ECONOMICS ..		374
CONTROL OR COMPENSATION ..	Maganbhai P. Desai	376
VINOBA IN SANTHAL PARGANAS—II ..	"Dadu"	377
FREEDOM FROM FEAR OF POVERTY ..	William James	379
PASTEURIZATION—A DANGEROUS FALLACY ..	Sorabji R. Mistri	379
IN FACE OF THE ATOMIC DANGER ..	Clement R. Atlee	380
NOTE: PLANNING FOR COUNTRY-WIDE PROHIBITION ..	M. P.	380