

HARIJAN

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

Vol. XIX. No. 4

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1955

TWO ANNAS

NOTES

English Teaching in Standard VIII

Apropos my note "A Gratuitous Instruction" (*Harijan*, Feb. 5, 1955, p. 391) regarding a Bombay Government Circular about teaching of English in Stds. V, VI, VII outside the school hours, I have further information about this ill-advised move. I learn that the hours of work in these standards are lessened by every period of 40 minutes being reduced by 5 minutes. This is obviously a queer thing to do, because other classes in the school will have 40 minutes periods, thus causing unnecessary inconvenience for the school management. A correspondent asks, is it not just to accommodate the so-called outside-the-time-table English and provide time for it? In the absence of any reasonable ground from the Education Department justifying the reduction of the periods by 5 minutes, the inference is, I think, pardonable.

A friend gives further information in regard to this move. He says that in answer to a query to the Director of Education, Bombay State, what syllabus in English should be adopted for Std. VIII, in view of the fact that there will be those students from Stds. V, VI, VII who might have studied English outside the school hours along with those who might not have, the Director of Education in his letter replied as follows:

"Pupils who have studied English in Stds. V to VII on a voluntary basis outside school hours, will not be allowed a separate division when they come up to Std. VIII. Even such pupils are expected to follow the prescribed courses in English in Stds. VIII to XI.

Why then the 'gratuitous instruction' from the Director of Education to schools about voluntary English for Stds. V to VII pupils outside school hours? And why the reduction of time in their periods? — are obvious questions. We hope the Director of Education will clear the point to the people, and remove the confusion created for the students as well as the school management.

18-3-'55

M. P.

Dangers of Urbanization

"It is faintly ironical that at a time when psychiatrists in the West are advocating larger, closely-knit families in order to give children more emotional stability we are proceeding in the opposite direction.

Growing industrialization and progressive mechanization plus more and more social mobility are steadily making for smaller families and neurosis."

"A warning about this danger now comes all the way from the columns of the London 'Lancet' where a contributor has mentioned that Africa and China face the same problem."

"Unfortunately, though the awareness is there the country is woefully deficient in the facilities for treating the maladjusted. It has been estimated that there are at least two such patients needing hospitalization per thousand of the population." ("Current Topics" — *The Times of India*, February 12, 1955).

Industrialization has led to the destruction of cottage and village industries, and has created unemployment in villages and small towns. The people in search of employment rush to cities. And this in turn leads to partition of families into small units. Hence the dangers noted above are apparent in urban India also.

If the younger generation is to be prevented from neurosis the parents should not move out from their places to cities for the sake of finding employment. This is possible if the work is given to them wherever they are; and it can only be through developing agriculture-cum-cottage and village industries. Gandhiji, taking into consideration the different facets of human life, very wisely suggested cottage and village industries as the solution of unemployment problem of the country. Let the Planners take this aspect of life into consideration also.

17-2-'55

GIRIRAJ KISHORE

Correction

Harijan February 26, 1955, Page 418, Col. one in Article "The Ghanai Industry in India" line 3, please read 'three and a half crore tons' and not '...lakh...'

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P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD - 14

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS OF NAVAJIVAN TRUST

Balance Sheet of Navajivan Trust as at 31st December 1954

FUNDS & LIABILITIES	Rs. as.ps.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS	Rs. as. ps.
Income and Expenditure Account		Land (at cost)	
Balance as per last Balance Sheet	8,56,577-15-9	As per last Balance Sheet	3,12,150-9-0
Machinery Depreciation Fund		Additions during the year	11,016-0-0
As per last Balance Sheet	1,52,095-0-0		3,23,166-9-0
Addition during the Year	35,000-0-0	Buildings (at cost)	
	1,87,095-0-0	As per last Balance Sheet	16,42,211-1-6
Employees' Provident Fund	1,17,988-6-3	Furniture and Fixtures :	
Building Fund :		As per last Balance Sheet	40,000-0-0
As per last Balance Sheet	1,65,219-2-3	Additions during the year	2,072-13-6
Addition during the Year	32,602-13-3		42,072-13-6
	1,97,821-15-11	Less Misc. sale 23-15-6	
Deposits :		Less Depre. during the year 2,648-14-0	
Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi:			2,672-13-6
Amount to be given to it in terms of Gandhiji's will according to annual accounts	6,754-12-9		39,400-0-0
Subscription of Journals and Copyright fees etc.	1,27,776-10-1	Machinery :	
Salaries	47-14-0	As per last Balance Sheet	3,15,585-11-6
Sales Tax	567-11-6	Additions during the year	30,419-9-0
	1,35,147-0-4		3,47,005-4-6
Loans - (inclusive of interest)		Types :	
Secured - From Shri Mahadev Desai Memorial Trust on the equitable Mortgage of land plot No. 96.	9,82,869-2-0	As per last Balance Sheet	91,058-4-9
Unsecured - From individuals Subject to confirmation	11,28,638-14-0	Additions during the year	21,998-1-6
	21,11,508-0-0		1,13,056-6-3
Liabilities -		Less Misc. Sale 1,558-4-0	
For expenses	53,116-13-9	Depre. during the year 20,100-0-0	
For Goods, Books, Misc. debts etc.	1,69,784-12-6		21,558-4-0
	2,22,901-10-3	Type foundry, goods etc.	
	Rs. 38,29,040-0-6	Type foundry, goods and types manufactured in the process as valued and certified by the Managing Trustee	12,500-0 0
		Stock in Trade (at cost)	
		As per inventories valued and certified by the Managing Trustee :	
		Books	7,73,000-0-0
		Paper	1,72,000-0-0
		Press Materials	5,800-0-0
		Binding Materials	4,800-0-0
		Khadi	1,490-0-0
			9,57,090-0-0
		Advances to Translators, Deposits against purchases including unadjusted balances	1,19,362-3-0
		Sundry Debtors (unsecured) :	
		For sales of books etc.	1,52,077-5-0
		For loans, advances to staff against Provident fund	4,200-0-0
		Misc. advances to staff	765-1-0
		Outstanding rent from buildings	1,270-0-0
			1,58,312-8-0
		Deposit against rent, telegrams etc. with the Governments	8,039-4-0
		Investments :	
		Fixed Deposit with the Ahmedabad People's Co-operative Bank Ltd. out of employees' provident fund	1,10,000-0-0
		One Fully paid share of the Ahmedabad People's Co-op. Bank Ltd.	15-0-0
			1,10,015-0-0
		Interest accrued on fixed deposits	1,601-13-6
		Cash and Bank Balances :	
		In current a/c with Banks :	14,906-11-0
		Postage Stamps on hand :	540-0-0
		Cash on hand as per cash book	3,391-7-9
			18,838-2-9

We have audited the above Balance Sheet of the Navajivan Trust as at 31st December 1954 and the Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended upon that date with the books of accounts. We have obtained all the informations and explanations we have required. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the Trust's affairs according to the best of our information and explanation given to us and as shown by the books of the account of the Trust.

Dated: 28-2-1955
51, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay

NANUBHAI & CO,
Chartered Accountants

R. B. DAVE
Accountant

Rs. 38,29,040-0-6
JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

Income and Expenditure Account of Navajivan Trust for the Year Ended 31st December 1954

EXPENDITURE	Rs. as.ps.	INCOME	Rs. as.ps.
To Salaries and Wages (inclusive of Provident Fund contribution and interest)	2,93,988—0—3	By Excess in Printing, Binding, Paper, & Type Foundry etc.	5,96,742—0—6
To Postage, Telegram Charges, Despatch, Library and Stationery	8,541—8—9	By Excess in Sale of books	78,800—6—3
To Telephone and Electric Charges	12,830—9—3	By Excess in Proof Reading, Translations etc.	16,918—2—0
To Travelling Expenses, Medical Charges, Auditor's Fees and Miscellaneous Expenses	8,184—13—3	By Excess in Copyright Fee	15,493—13—3
To Land Revenue	40—5—0	By Rent	2,140—6—3
To Insurance Premium	5,063—14—0	Rent of Buildings	17,214—11—0
To Machinery, Spares, Repairs and Equipments etc. expenses	29,966—5—0	Less Municipal Tax and	
To Building Repairs	3,473—10—9	Rent paid By Branches	15,074—4—9
To Interest :	59,796—10—6	By Excess of income in Journals, (Exclusive of Salaries, Wages, Postage, Stationery etc.)	1,327—2—3
Paid	66,928—10—0	By Income of Land, Khadi and Miscellaneous receipts,	715—9—6
Less Recd.	7,131—15—6		
To Depreciation	57,548—14—0		
On Machinery and Types	55,000—0—0		Rs. 5,12,137—8—0
Furniture & Fixtures	2,648—14—0		
To Balance taken to Building Fund as Depreciation	32,602—13—3		
	Rs. 5,12,137—8—0		

Dated : 28 2-1955
51, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay

NANUBHAI & CO.
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Accountant

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

(By Arthur Foster)

Dr. Harold Urey, Supervisor of the work on "U-235", and a member of the Uranium Commission, wrote an article which was published by the National Committee on Atomic Information in the year 1945, in which he said :

"I write this to frighten you, I am a frightened man myself. All the scientists I know are frightened — frightened for their lives, and frightened for your life."

The fright to which he refers is a natural, normal, human reaction. Man has always feared the elements: floods, fires, hurricanes, lightning, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions. A great deal of this fear is of a protective nature, and is the result of Man's sense of self-preservation — an instinctive sense which he shares with all other organisms. Man's sense of self-preservation has caused him to identify himself with his physical body, and to fear its injury or annihilation. And then a great deal of his fear is the result of his failure to "think things through", and his failure to carefully consider what we may well call Fundamental and Unavoidable Alternatives. What are those alternatives? Here they are — in the simplest and fewest possible words :

Either Love can overcome Hate, Courage can conquer Fear, Truth can supplant Falsehood, Kindness can dissolve Cruelty, Faith can expel Doubt, and Christianity* and Democracy can convert Materialism and Communism, OR — there

* We may well substitute here the spirit of true religion or the Religion of Man. — Ed.

is no Intelligent Governing and Guiding Power in the Universe. If the latter alternative were true, Creation would be nothing but a Catholic Monstrosity; Existence would be nothing but an Ignoble Nightmare; and Man would be nothing but a hopeless, helpless, fearsome, frightened, senseless, insignificant organism. Life would then indeed be "but a walking shadow; a poor player, that struts and frets his hour upon the stage, and then is seen no more; *** a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." It would mean that Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Pythagoras were either knaves or self-deluded fanatics. It would signify that Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman were literary racketeers. It would imply that all Bibles contain nothing but specious fallacious nonsense. It would mean that Marx and Lenin were supermen, and that all the great spiritual teachers and prophets were imposters. But why go further?

In the last analysis it all comes back to Logical Reasoning and True Faith — faith in Life, faith in God, faith in Mankind and in one's Self, faith that we live in a Universe that is fundamentally benign. Men who have that reason and logical faith, and who act in accordance with it, are not only blessed themselves, but they bless everyone with whom they come in contact. The others are indeed frightened.†

† I request the reader to read this in continuation of the article 'Fear and Modern Life' that completed its last and third instalment in the previous issue. 143-55.

— Ed.]

† (From the *New Outlook*, January, 1955).

HARIJAN

March 26

1955

PLANNING FOR COUNTRY-WIDE PROHIBITION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

We may congratulate ourselves that the Planning Commission has at last seen its way to appointing the Agarwal Prohibition Inquiry Committee and that the latter is not going to allow the grass to grow under its feet. As the Chairman, Shri S. N. Agarwal gave it to the press the other day, the Committee hopes to submit its report by the end of June or in July. He further said that on the submission of the report the Central Government was expected to convey its recommendations to the States to enable them to announce their policy on prohibition on October 2, Gandhiji's next birthday. If, as we ardently hope, this comes about as announced, surely Gandhiji, wheresoever he might be, will thank us for this birth-day gift, which though late, will ever be welcome.

It is also very good that Shri Agarwal made it clear again that the Committee had not been appointed to go into the 'merits' of prohibition. Rather, he said, its function was to examine the experience gained regarding measures adopted by various State Governments to promote prohibition, which is their constitutional obligation under Art. 47 of the Constitution of India, and to analyse practical difficulties—administrative, economic, social, etc.—in discharging that obligation.

The Committee is also expected to make recommendations for a programme of prohibition on a national basis and to indicate the manner and the stages and the machinery through which this programme should be carried out.

With this end in view the Committee has circulated a questionnaire to officials as well as non-officials, asking them to give their replies to it.

The questionnaire is a comprehensive one covering various aspects of the problem like the effects of prohibition on the drinking population—industrial and otherwise, illicit distillation, machinery for enforcement—administrative and judicial, extent of the drink habit extending or otherwise and particularly among women and students, response of the public, the question of unemployment, and lastly the financial implications for the States due to loss of drink revenue.

I leave the consideration of these matters for a later issue with saying at the end that, it is good the question of prohibition has been taken up as a measure for an all-India planning for the Welfare State. As the question is a State subject, an agency for thinking out a plan for an all-India co-ordinated endeavour to implement this constitutional directive was necessary. Obviously,

the Planning Commission was the proper one for that. We hope the Agarwal Committee will rise to the occasion and submit its report for an all-India plan for achieving complete prohibition within the next 3 years.

It may be worth while to note here that this great and noble experiment is having its good effects outside the country also. For example, Ceylon is going in for this laudable reform. We hope Pakistan and Burma will follow in the near future. Just as the noble example of the faith and courage of conviction of our great prohibitionists, Shri Rajaji and Shri Morarji Desai working as Chief Ministers in their respective States, Madras and Bombay, brought about a salutary and desirable change in the outlook of our country, so also we hope in years to come the whole country will show the way to the world how prohibition can be made a regular virtue of the human family. It will be, at that stage I hope, a concern for international agencies like the WHO to join with us and go forward. A body like the Africo-Asian Conference may not at this moment of our history be moved to go into such issues. But it is surely possible to bring it in its realm when the time is ripe for it. All this entirely depends upon our leading ourselves to a fully successful country-wide prohibition.

18-3-'55

SYNTHESIS OF RELIGIONS

[In course of his post-prayer address at Rajgunj (Dist. Manbhum, Bihar) on Christmas Day, Sant Vinoba Bhawe spoke on Jesus Christ and on the synthesis of religions. The sermon was a historical pronouncement on the status of Christianity and Islam and their future role in India. The following is a free rendering of the original speech in Hindi.

—S. A.]

The 25th of December is a sacred day for us all. The Son of Man, as Jesus loved to call himself, was born today. He belonged to all mankind, for he was above all barriers of race, colour and creed. He represented the human race and strove to raise its stature. He paid with his life in his attempt to redeem it.

Most of you may not know, but not long after Christ's crucifixion a Christian Mission came to Malabar in South India. The word 'Communism' has been derived from 'communes' which once were tiny settlements of early Christian communities who lived as one joint family and shared all their earthly possessions in common. Ever since its arrival here Christianity has flourished. Unfortunately, during the past few centuries Christian missions in India linked themselves with Portuguese, British and other imperialist adventurers and suffered in prestige and stature.

Jesus strove to establish upon earth the Kingdom of Heaven. He fought to conquer hatred by love. If we return love with love what virtue is there in it? That is the way even with the animals. Besides, if I must return like for like, I yield the initiative. I surrender my choice in the ordering of my conduct. It is then for the other fellow to determine it. Where

is the wisdom, one may ask, in leaving our own course of action at the mercy of others?

Jesus called upon us to love our neighbour. But though this has been extolled as a great virtue by all nations, few have been found prepared in practice to accept it as their immediate obligation. Today science has taken great strides and man is coming upon means and instruments of remarkable potency which are promising him the millennium,—or, total destruction in the alternative. Human destiny seems to lie prostrate at the feet of science trembling at man's discoveries, only because he has failed to raise himself to a conscious and willing acceptance of Christ and his message. We talk of love and non-violence and One World, but devote the bulk of our resources to piling up armaments for mutual destruction. We despair of our neighbour. This is cowardice. Jesus refused to give way to it. He bore the Cross—the burden of our sins—and embraced martyrdom.

Luckily, this teaching of Jesus is not alien to India. We have been the meeting ground of a multitude of races, creeds and cultures; a land of synthesis and fusions. Our Gurudev Tagore sang of this land as a great ocean of fusion and unity of tribes and races, out of which was to emerge a model refined and worthy to receive the world's homage. There has been in the life of our people an underlying unity which transcends nationalism and all other bars and barriers between man and man.

I therefore unreservedly declare that Jesus Christ is our own, that to us in this country Jesus and his teachings have never sounded strange or unpractical; that we regard Jesus as one of our family.

Indeed, the merciful providence has blessed India throughout her long history with an unending galaxy of saints and holy men who loved their neighbour and stranger and enemy alike, and laboured for their good, regarding their own self as less than dust. Their number indeed is legion. But for the moment I am reminded of one such,—the Tamil saint. There he lay, the story goes, in his tiny little cell, chanting the name of Lord. Outside, the night is dark and a fierce blizzard is raging. A wayfarer knocks, seeking shelter. 'Hail brother! Come in,' says the God's good man, 'there is no room here for two to lie, but there is enough for two to sit. You are welcome.' So saying, he gets up and the two sit huddled together. The storm continues. And behold! yet another man, cold and shivering, knocks. 'Come in, guest!' says the saint, 'thou art the Lord Himself! Sorry, there is no room for more than two to sit, but surely there is enough for three to stand.' And the three good men pass the night standing and chanting and praising the good God.

"And verily, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," so said Jesus. He thus is nothing less than our own kith and kin. And I

claim in all humility that no country in the world except India has made on so vast a scale a collective effort to follow his teachings as did India under Mahatma Gandhi.

I confess a good deal of our practice falls far short of our ideal. I am deeply aware of the failings in our behaviour. God alone knows the remorse we feel for our many sins. I only wish to submit that the teachings of Jesus are familiar food to every Hindu who is taught from early childhood not to kill, and to look upon the least of God's creature as one's self; and that we have accepted Christ long ago.

It is for our Christian brethren, now that their foreign trappings are shed, to subscribe to the indigenous background suited to our own genius. And I also suggest that similar processes of wholesome assimilation may also take place among the followers of Islam and other religions; that Christians and Muslims of India who have hitherto held fast to their moorings and their traditions outside India, may no longer remain strangers to the Hindu cultural background, but assimilate the Indian Brahma Vidya with profit. It would broaden their outlook and confer a wholesome spirit of quest and tolerance to their religious and ideological approach and add lustre to their culture. Such a consummation, I submit, will render easier what each one of us wants to propagate, and would make a worthy contribution to the growth of our common culture. Let us realize that we have come of age now. We no longer belong to the past dawns; we belong to the noons of the future.

Every one agrees that a unique spirit of brotherhood and comradeship pervades the teaching of Islam, and that Islam means PEACE. This is why the moon is its symbol. A man who has no passion for peace and has no compassion in him is not a Muslim. On the other hand he who has peace and compassion in him, is a Muslim, whether he carries such a label or not. I should call him and regard him a true Muslim.

Similarly, love and service are the two characteristic features of the Christian way of life. Now I do yearn to live up to these ideals in everyday life. So I am willing to sit at the feet of their prophets and their holy men and learn. And I should love to regard myself, or call myself, part Christian and Muslim, and look upon it as my good luck to be so, and endeavour to be worthy of all that this means. This I can do, I claim, without the least harm to my Hinduism. I rather feel my Hinduism will bloom and blossom forth and add to its lustre and gain in stature for my doing so. Even so, Christianity and Islam, reinforced in the manner I have just explained, will assume a special significance in preaching universal love and brotherhood and service of all God's creatures.

Throughout her history of five thousand years, India has never attacked another country. Non-violence has been her badge and her sheet-anchor. It is in her blood and her marrow. Thus

there is nothing novel if we accept Jesus as our own kith and kin and refuse to regard him as an outside influence.

I am glad the Christian churches of Malabar have declared Bhoodan Yajna (The Land-gifts Movement) as on the lines of Jesus Christ and have commended it for all to follow. I submit that Bhoodan will carry to every home Christ's message of loving one's neighbour, disregarding his denominational label.

With me it is also an article of faith that the modern man has got to attain, sooner rather than later, an adult status when he shall kill no creature of God for food or sport; when he will refuse to look upon any living being as his food. This is a special contribution of the Indian Brahma Vidya, to the evolution of human thought and behaviour, of which the world may not have taken much notice hitherto, but which in good time it shall learn to appreciate better. For, the mankind must reach the conclusion soon enough that vegetarian food is the best food for man so as to outgrow the beast in him. I am also aware that enough vegetarian food is not available in the world today. Nonetheless, I submit that the reform is essential for the evolution and perfection of man and for the unity of religious and spiritual endeavour of all mankind.

ROAD TO SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY

(By Vaikunthbhai L. Mehta)

Despite the attention that the Resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Avadi session has evoked, it is pertinent to point out that it is not only one political party that plans to establish in India a socialistic pattern of society. There is scarcely any responsible group of political thought in India to which this goal does not appeal. To most, it appears as implicit in the preamble to the Constitution of India. But even before the Constitution was adopted, our national aims were set forth by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (in the Report of the Economic Programme Committee of the A. I. C. C. submitted to the Congress President in January 1948) in terms which even today will command general acceptance:

"Our aim should be to evolve a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with individual liberty and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without the operation of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth and which will create a proper balance between urban and rural economies. Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a totalitarian State."

The Tests

Writing nearly forty years ago, Mr Bertrand Russell in his *Principles of Social Reconstruction* averred that there were four main tests which should be applied to judge the social value of an economic system:

"Whether the system secures (1) the maximum of production, or (2) justice in distribution, or (3) a tolera-

ble existence for producers, or (4) the greatest possible freedom and stimulus to vitality and progress."

These tests, more or less, coincide with those that have led the leaders of the nation to think in terms of a new social order. But there is this main difference that, owing to the existence in our midst of unemployment on a colossal scale, the objective of maximizing our production has to be made subordinate to the objective of eliminating the evil of unemployment.

I

The Predominant Sector

If we interpret socialism to signify democracy in the sphere of economic life, it should be our aim to ensure that all sectors of that life are informed by the spirit of democracy. The predominant sector is the agricultural one, which roughly contributes nearly half of the national income. The question may be asked whether the socialistic form of organization connotes the nationalization of all land or an immediate resort to collectivization. Farming is carried on today, in the bulk, by self-employed persons operating mainly small-sized units. If we keep in mind the broad objectives referred to above, the conclusion is inevitable that it will be unwise — and it is unnecessary — either to nationalize agricultural lands or to establish collective farms all over the country. Social control can be introduced through other means. The process of abolishing feudal rights in land, eliminating individual intermediaries or conferring tenancy rights has now been in operation in almost all States in India and should be expedited.

Land Policy

Along with it, there should be ceilings fixed for land holdings, in harmony with the general intention to place a limitation on incomes from all sources. At the same time it will be necessary to define the minimum unit of farming below which cultivation becomes unproductive and uneconomic. Out of these uneconomic units and the surplus lands available for re-distribution with the imposition of ceilings should be constituted consolidated blocks which should be available for cultivation by the landless workers on the land and the holders of uneconomic units of cultivation. The cultivation of these consolidated blocks should be through co-operative farming societies. The formation of co-operative farming societies for this purpose or for the cultivation of reclaimed *khar*, desert, or forest lands should be encouraged by State Governments in accordance with a planned programme of development. The development programme may also cover tenants' farming societies or voluntarily constituted holders' farming societies or societies accepting joint village management. The aid that Governments extend should be both financial and administrative and the *quid pro quo* would be their acceptance of social control, that is, willingness to implement a common policy evolved in the national interest.

Social Basis of Democracy

It may, however, be that a large section of the agricultural community will be outside the range of this programme. It is unlikely that these will constitute any anti-social elements. In fact, as a social thinker has asserted, only "a community which is predominantly rural has the social basis of democracy secure". This strata of the community consists mostly of the under-privileged with their economy under-developed, possessing poor resources and usually subject to gross exploitation.

To meet a similar situation in Ireland at the commencement of this century, when the country was not free, its Poet-Seer-Statesman, George W. Russell (A. E.) visualized the creation of "a number of free associations of workers and producers which would produce more beauty, happiness and comfort than", as he picturesquely phrased it, "the gigantic mediocrity which is synonymous with State socialism".

These co-operative organizations that we also wish to see developed in India, undertaking activities connected with rural production, consumption and distribution, will, as they grow more comprehensive in their aims, make the individuals constituting them more conscious that their interests are identical with those of the community. That is the form which community development should increasingly take when we plan for a socialistic order of society and not merely for the Welfare State.

Outlines of a Programme

For this form of development, there has to be a properly phased programme. What the broad outlines of such a State-sponsored programme should be in the field of credit and marketing—two of the most vital aspects of an agricultural producer's life—has been indicated in the Rural Credit Survey Report of the Reserve Bank of India. But there are aspects of agricultural organization it leaves untouched, such as soil conservation, irrigation, animal husbandry all of which, as the Economic Programme Committee of the Congress advocated seven years ago, could be suitably handled through the encouragement of co-operative enterprises according to a planned programme. It is only when we have such a programme that we may hope, in the course of the next ten years, to fulfil the recently expressed determination of the Planning Commission that we double the quantum of production and withal double the *per capita* income in the country. Only then can we hope to provide increasing opportunities for employment in the rural setting to those who are under-employed or seasonally unemployed on the land. No increase in the *per capita* income can be contemplated without providing aids to agriculture on a basis which stimulates self-help and mutual aid and at the same time reduces, if it does not remove, the scope of exploitation.

Social Justice

Democracy, as a writer has said, will prosper

only if it learns to use every agency created by the people to advance the cause of social justice. These agencies, such as the co-operative forms of organization recommended for adoption, must be fully utilized as part of the process by which the social ideals of democracy are realized. Nationalization in this context or collectivization, under the direction of a centralized machinery, will be plainly in conflict with the basic objectives of our Constitution and will prove inflexible and unworkable in practice. The method that we adopt should not be such as points in the direction of serfdom, but must be the way to greater freedom and a fuller and better life for each individual.

It is not only in the field of agriculture that we should plan to introduce and develop the co-operative form of organization. The observation of the Planning Commission on the suitability of the co-operative method for various forms of economic activity are spread over 16 chapters of its Report, exclusive of the chapter devoted to the subject of co-operation by itself. For dairying and horticulture, for fisheries, for the felling of trees in forests and the collection of forest products, for provision of labour on small and large construction works, for rural and urban housing and, lastly, for the better functioning of village industries, handicrafts and small-scale industries resort to the co-operative form of organization is favoured by the Planning Commission.

Balanced Progress

In some respects, the Economic Programme Committee of the Congress went further. It took the view that in certain spheres, "no State aid should be allowed to an individual except through his co-operative society". In the opinion of that Committee, the promotion of co-operative distribution was necessary to secure a balanced progressive economy in which regulated distribution would form an integral part of a comprehensive economic plan for the country. That process, it was recommended, should be encouraged and assisted by the State by the grant, where necessary, of special facilities for transport, storage, etc.

Very similar is the attitude taken up elsewhere also by those who plan for a socialistic order. In a *Collection of Essays* published by the Fabian Society in 1948, the view is expressed that

"the voluntary co-operative system of industry (economic?) both productive and distributive..... is nearer their (socialists') own ideal than semi-corporated industry. Far from regarding co-operation as a mere step to State ownership they should in some fields, at any rate, regard State ownership and control as the first step to a more complete co-operative socialist system."

In a Statement of Policy issued by the British Labour Party in the same year, the aim of the Party is defined as that of securing for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry upon the basis of the "common" ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, thus accepting the position that nationalization *per se* is not a pre-requisite of socialization.

The structure of the co-operative movement provides for free public participation and control and brings public control into closer relationship with the consumers of the products than through a scheme of State trading. Besides, the co-operative method of participation in trade surpluses is more direct and socially more acceptable than under a system of State or municipal trading. Hence the need for evolving a system of retail and wholesale trading which, though conducted by the consumers themselves, does not stand apart from the State, but functions in close contact with the State as an organized part of the mechanism of socialized enterprise. That, as observed in a Statement of Policy issued by the British Co-operative Union, would be the proper way to ensure social justice in the sphere of distribution.

(Continued)

"SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY"

(By S. N. Agarwal)

Ever since the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress adopted the important resolution on the Socialistic Pattern of Society, Congress workers as well as others interested in economic planning are, naturally, asking the question: "What is exactly meant by the 'Socialistic Pattern'?"

The study of the Avadi resolutions, the objectives of the Congress Constitution, and the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution enables us to form a fairly comprehensive idea of what is exactly meant by a Socialistic Pattern of Society. I would summarize the contents of a socialistic pattern in the following terms:

- (a) The basic objective of a Socialistic Pattern of Society would be the establishment of social and economic order based on equality of opportunity and political justice;
- (b) Such a society would do away with all distinctions of caste, creed, sex or social and economic status and would ensure the right to work and a living wage to all able-bodied citizens. In other words, a Socialistic Pattern of Society would create conditions for full employment;
- (c) The State shall own or effectively control the principal means of production and material resources of the community in the best interests of the nation;
- (d) The society shall organize economic system in such a manner that it does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;
- (e) Systematic attempts are made to increase and speed up the total production of wealth in the country;
- (f) It is also necessary that there should be equitable distribution of the national wealth and the existing economic disparities are reduced to the minimum;

- (g) Such a transformation of the social and economic order must be brought about through peaceful and democratic methods;
- (h) A socialistic pattern of society would necessitate a bold decentralization of economic and political power in the form of Village Panchayats and the organization of small-scale and cottage industries on a very wide scale.

It will not, however, be right to interpret Congress economic policy in a very rigid and dogmatic fashion. Our approach is basically a pragmatic and not a doctrinaire one. The broad objective of our policy is, indeed, quite clear and unmistakable. But it is dynamic and not a fixed and a static policy.

The basic objectives of full employment, maximum production and social and economic justice can be achieved in our country in a certain manner under the existing circumstances. A change in the economic conditions would necessarily mean certain changes in our methods and programmes. This policy is, more or less, based on the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. The Socialistic Pattern of Society is broadly based on Sarvodaya. The Congress has, however, not used the word 'Sarvodaya', because it has no desire to exploit this noble word for political purposes.* But it is quite clear that the Congress sincerely desires to pursue the ideal of Sarvodaya as best as it can under the existing circumstances.

The "Socialistic Pattern" does not in any way imply the establishment of a highly centralized and regimented society. Socialism, as it is generally understood in the West, is, therefore, not our cherished goal. A centralized economic order based on large-scale production necessarily generates forces of violence and class conflict. The Congress is wedded to the methods of peace, democracy and non-violence and would firmly resist all attempts to create a totalitarian or authoritarian society in this country.

(Adapted from A.I.C.C. Economic Review, 1-3-55).

* The Congress Constitution lays down its object as, "the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights." As the reader will easily note, the term 'Co-operative Commonwealth' is a mere paraphrase in English language, of the word 'Sarvodaya' of our languages. If we had begun to function in Hindi, we would have naturally used this beautiful word, which also expresses that our ideal is not merely economic or materialistic but is integral or composite of all the aspects of our individual and social being. It contains the ideal of world peace and non-war also.

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