

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

Vol. XIX No. 10

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1955.

TWO ANNAS

COW-PROTECTION AND COW-KILLING

(By Gandhiji)

The central fact of Hinduism is cow-protection. Cow-protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomenon in human evolution. It takes the human being beyond his species. The cow to me means the entire sub-human world. Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives.

Young India, 6-10-21

Musalman claim that Islam permits them to kill the cow. To make a Musalman, therefore, to abstain from the cow-killing under compulsion would amount, in my opinion, to converting him to Hinduism by force. Even in India under Swarajya, in my opinion, it would be for a Hindu majority unwise and improper to coerce by legislation a Musalman minority into submission to statutory prohibition of cow slaughter.

Young India, 29-1-25

Cow-slaughter can never be stopped by law. Knowledge, education, and the spirit of kindness towards her alone can put an end to it.

Harijan, 15-6-46

A large number of vocal Hindus have begun to believe the superstition that the Union belongs to the Hindus and that, therefore, they should enforce their belief by law even among non-Hindus. Hence an emotional wave is sweeping the country, in order to secure legislation prohibiting the slaughter of cows within the Union.

Harijan, 31-8-47

Let us at the outset realize that cow worship in the religious sense is largely confined to Gujarat, Marwad, the United Provinces and Bihar. Marwadis and Gujaratis being enterprising merchants, have succeeded in making the greatest noise without at the same time devoting their business talent to the solution of the very difficult question of conserving the cattle wealth of India.

It is obviously wrong legally to enforce one's religious practices on those who do not share that religion.

Harijan, 31-8-47

How can the cow be saved without having to kill her off when she ceases to give the economic quantity of milk or when she becomes otherwise an economic burden? The answer to the question can be summed up as follows:

1. By the Hindus performing their duty towards the cow and her progeny. If they did so, our cattle would be the pride of India and the world. The contrary is the case today.

2. By learning the science of cattle breeding. Today, there is perfect anarchy in this work.

3. By replacing the present cruel method of castration by the humane method practised in the West.

4. By thorough reform of the *pinjrapols* of India, which are today, as a rule, managed ignorantly and without any plan by men who did not know their work.

5. When these primary things are done, it will be found that the Musalmans will, of their own accord, recognize the necessity, if only for the sake of their Hindu brethren, of not slaughtering cattle for beef or otherwise.

The reader will observe that behind the foregoing requirements lies one thing and that is Ahimsa, otherwise known as universal compassion. If that supreme thing is realized, everything else becomes easy. Where there is Ahimsa, there is infinite patience, inner calm, discrimination, self-sacrifice and true knowledge. Cow protection is not an easy thing. Much money is wasted in its name. Nevertheless, in the absence of Ahimsa the Hindus have become destroyers instead of saviours of the cow. It is even more difficult than the removal of foreign rule from India.

Harijan, 31-8-47

HOW TO SERVE THE COW

By Mahatma Gandhi

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SHRI VINOBA IN ORISSA—III

1

People from various countries of the world who come to Shri Vinoba repeatedly ask him the question: "When will the world be free from war?" A socialist youth from England put the same question to him at Tarakot.

Replying to this usual question Shri Vinoba said in his speech, "Why do you ask the question as to how wars will end to a man who is devoting himself solely to the problem of redistribution of land in this country? The reason is simple. The method applied to the solution of the problem facing us is one of peace and love. People all over the world feel that if the method succeeds here it is going to have some influence on the world at large and it may be able to find a way to peace."

The Bible has been buried deep under the earth. In order to save their great religious book the Tripitaka from destruction by the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb the followers of the Buddha in Ceylon have decided to carve out the whole of it on copper plates and bury them safe under the ground. Referring to this interesting piece of news Shri Vinoba told his audience, "These hydrogen bombs and other such means of destruction have created such terrible danger for the world that hardly anyone will remain here to take out the Bible and the Tripitaka from under the ground and read them. All these activities mean that an awful terror has caught hold of the minds of men all the world over and they are trying to estimate the destruction facing humanity. But if instead of burying these great books under the ground their teachings were applied to life by men the world will begin to feel confident and save itself."

Appealing to women to exercise the power that is theirs he said in his speech, "Sisters, it is for you to put a stop to wars. Please come forward. You have been managing your households till now but take charge of the world also. Bring home to your brothers that land should be available to all; so distribute it. Also control them. If they refuse to solve the problems of your villages by adopting the way of love and persist in their squabbles tell them that you will not cook food for them from now on and that you yourselves will also give up food. You have the upbringing of children from their childhood onwards and so you have everything in your hands. If you sisters begin to manifest and exercise this power which is yours, the Bhoodan Yajna movement will succeed in India, Sarvodaya will be established here and wars will come to an end."

When Shri Vinoba explained his Sampattidan scheme to a Swiss journalist the latter doubted the possibility of its working in Europe. Vinobaji replying to his doubt said, "It is feasible everywhere provided we began with our own selves and practised in our own lives the ideas we seek to propagate. Every moral movement has its origin in the life of an individual to begin with, then it influences his friends and then as a matter of course it finds its way in the whole of society."

21-2-55

2

Vinobaji's heart was filled with gladness when he heard the new slogan, 'Victory to land revolution', at Saldipur. Readers remember, I am sure, that when Vinobaji entered Utkal (Orissa) he had declared that here in this province he expected to see the full clear picture of the land revolution. The revolution meant that there could not be any personal ownership in land. The meaning of the land revolution was to accept the idea in actual practice and transfer the ownership of all the land in a village to it as a whole.

Someone asked him the question: "What is your plan to achieve this revolution?"

In reply Vinobaji said, "The plan for a revolution consists in not having faith in plans. Where you have a plan organization follows in its wake, where you have an organization thought does not remain free, and where thinking is not free you set a limit to its propagation. The

faith that revolution can be achieved in mankind only by thought or thinking is very essential for achieving one. We go about on the land and ask for it. But our faith is in the psychological atmosphere and I am sure this atmosphere will ultimately lead us to success."

At Ramachandrapur on the bank of the river Brahmani there is an *ashrama* in the midst of groves of co-coa-nut, cashew-nut and mango trees. The spot is beautiful and peaceful. Vinobaji camped in this place where there is no disturbance from outside. Here they are conducting a basic education school and a Kasturba Trust Centre. On the anniversary of the day on which the mother of the nation Kasturba departed from this world Shri Vinoba visited the Kasturba Trust Centre at Vari. Paying his homage to Ba in the meeting of women Shri Vinoba said, "We believe that the day, on which a person who has spent her days in performing her duty on this earth dies, is the day for her to meet God and a sacred occasion for us all, who have remained behind. Ba, as you all know, was not a learned woman. But she had a very deep sense of religion or duty and was fearless. Our women should cultivate this primary virtue of fearlessness. It is generally believed that women are timid and have to be protected. But they can become entirely fearless by taking God's name. The idea that women have no right to knowledge and to independent endeavour and that their whole duty lies in serving men is wholly baseless. It is certainly a great good fortune for man as well as woman to have an opportunity to serve. But surely, such relationship of service should not mean slavery. True service is possible only in freedom. Otherwise, it does not remain service but degrades itself to slavery and bondage. One who aspires to serve should of course be humble but along with humility the aspirant to service has also to cultivate a spirit of freedom and fearlessness."

The day at Pritipur was marked by the visit of Mrs Chester Bowles (wife of Mr Chester Bowles, once United States ambassador to India) to Vinobaji. She passed a day along with all of us on the march with great pleasure. She asked Vinobaji, "Do you really perceive signs of peace in the world?" Vinobaji replied, "Signs of peace are definitely observable. People have begun talking in terms of 'one world' these days and science too has advanced so much that its experiments will either destroy human society or man's good sense will prevail and the very hands that have forged these mighty weapons will destroy them. These are the two alternatives facing man." Then with a smile he continued, "And then science will surely achieve what the Bible has failed to do!"

25-2-55

3

Vinobaji had entered Manpur, the hamlet that had shown the courage to be the first to transfer all ownership of the land in the village to itself as a whole in this brave land of the Kalingas who had converted Emperor Ashoka to non-violence. The hearts of the residents were full of joy and the purity of those hearts was evident in the cleanliness of the entire surroundings of the village. Blessing them Vinobaji said, "All of you together have indeed performed a great religious duty. God will bless you. I have always dreamed of an ideal village and I fervently hope my dream shall come true at least in Manpur. I have this faith because you people here have given evidence of your faith in God and humanity. Now, you people of Manpur have to learn the duty of love which lies in dying in the service of others. This duty or religion of love demands only one thing of us. We must all perform some productive labour and you ought also to realize that now not only has your land united into the ownership of the village as a whole but your hearts too have been united into one."

Vinobaji went on to point out to the residents of Manpur that man invented money as an instrument to carry on his affairs of mutual exchange of goods. And then he went on to give it the chief place in his life. Money has a place in life, no doubt, but it is very small. And man has

been misled into giving it the most important place in his life and has devoted himself to its worship. As a consequence real power passed into the hands of those who were indolent and they came to be masters of the means enjoying the world without performing labour merely on the strength of possessing money. As money usurped the place of love in the affairs of men humanity took leave from the life of man. That is why I have always nursed the dream of the villages of India who have freed themselves from the fraud that is money and who will manufacture or produce most of the goods and things they need for themselves.

Vinobaji immensely enjoys answering questions put to him by students. One day a student put the question: "Do you think the world will benefit by the way science is advancing today?"

Replying to the question Vinobaji said in the course of his speech of the day, "Being myself a worshipper of science I wish science to advance as much as it can. But we must remember that science has two powers; it is a double-edged weapon. One of these powers destroys and the other conduces to the progress of humanity. Science can serve man as also destroy him. Science has no sense whether fire should be put to the use of cooking food or destroying the homestead by arson. This sense of what to do and what not to do is possessed by the science of the soul. Just as a bird flies on two wings man progresses forward by the power of the knowledge of the soul and the power of science. We know that the motor car has two instruments—one for generating power for its motion and the other for indicating the direction in which the car has to go. If the motor car lacked any one of the two it would not be of any use to man. Just as we see and determine the direction of our progress in walking by the eyes and have the power to move by means of our legs knowledge of the soul is man's eyes and science his legs. I do not know why man lacking the knowledge of the soul should not be deemed blind. Without science man will not be able to achieve anything and without the knowledge of the soul science will not have the sense of proper direction.

"If the scientists of today pledged themselves to the vow of refusing to be bought by money and of non-cooperating with the activities of making weapons of destruction the world will be saved. But scientists will develop this sense of their responsibility to man and humanity only when the heart of human society begins to cry for it.

"The world will surely destroy itself by a combination of science and violence. If we desire science to progress we will have to associate it with non-violence. Only then could we hope to bring heaven on this earth. This in essence means that problems which arise and have arisen between man and man should all be solved by the way of non-violence and peace."

2-3-55

4

Vinobaji always emphasizes the need for the workers to purify their minds. He is never tired of repeating that the outside world is like a mirror. If our hearts and minds were full of goodness how could the mirror reflect evil instead of goodness? At one place a worker had asked how our work could progress unless the army of the workers went on constantly increasing. In reply Vinobaji declared that if the purity of the minds and hearts of the workers went on increasing new workers would be drawn to them by their contact. Did not, he asked, one lamp light itself from the flame of another? Elucidating his point further by giving the example of the Vaishnavas i.e., the devotees of the Lord, he said that the workers should have that devotion in their hearts which the devotees had for the Lord. He assured the Bhoodan workers that such devotion would be easier for them because the Vaishnavas devotees had to imagine the existence of their Lord in images of stone while the Bhoodan workers had to experience their Lord in the starving human brother. It was easier, indeed, to see the Lord in the human *dardranarayan* than in the inanimate *stone-narayan*. But the workers, he

exhorted, should constantly think, contemplate, study and have mutual discussions in order to strengthen and stabilize their sentiment of devotion. Then laying down three distinct phases of behaviour in actual practice Vinobaji said, "You workers should constantly strive to keep your hands and feet, your speech, your mind and intellect, and your senses under strict control. You should constantly practise self-inspection. The other part is regarding your behaviour with others. When dealing with them always remember that we Bhoodan workers never condemn anyone. Indeed, we make it a rule to respect the feelings of even those who do not give. We should have faith that the work we are carrying on being for the good of all God will inspire all to do the right thing if not now, surely hereafter. The third thing to remember is that we workers should have full confidence in and love for each other. We should realize that all of us are engaged in devotion to the same Lord. If, therefore, we had differences in small matters we should not stretch them too far in our obstinacy. We should always strive to tolerate and correct the mistakes of others; but our love for each other must never be shaken, it should always abide."

At Thakur Patna Vinobaji said in his speech, "If after Swaraj we could not cultivate non-violence i.e. fearlessness independence would have but little meaning for us. We should, therefore, take two vows: The first thing to do is to merge our individual selves and interests in the social self and interest. The other thing is not to submit to threats, not to give up our cause for fear of harassment to our bodies. If we could fulfil these two vows we would save not only ourselves but also the world. Then we would not have anything to fear if some nation secured to itself a whole box of platinum or even ten whole boxes of the rare metal. We will have to learn that we are not these bodies and that if some one were to harass and persecute them it was no reason to submit to him. We must all realize that we are not bodies but we are souls and the soul unlike the body is deathless, eternal. The philosophy of Bhoodan rests secure on two fundamental principles: one, that the soul is universal and the other that the spirit has nothing to fear." Concluding his speech he appealed to the mothers in India, "These two principles are the foundation of our ancient *brahmavidya* or the science of *brahma*. Feed your offspring on these two principles of the science of *brahma* along with your milk right from infancy. Teach your offspring, 'O child, you are born in this society and are of it; you are not this body, nor are you an individual; you are the soul, you are society; and you have no cause to fear anyone or anything.'"

The Education Minister of the Orissa Government had come on a visit to Vinobaji. They discussed for three hours Nai Talim, reform in the Udiya alphabet, decentralization, higher or university education among various other problems of the day.

About university education Vinobaji said, "Our universe is in our villages. Therefore, we can have our universities in our villages. A village however small represents the whole world in itself. And the whole of the world is present in it in some part. As the villages are directly related to creation and nature we can easily organize the teaching of biology and zoology in them as also of agriculture and village industries. As human society has been living in our villages for ages past the knowledge of history as well as sociology is in evidence in them. People who inhabit the villages come in close contact with each other. We can, therefore, easily develop the knowledge and teaching of ethics and the science of religion in them. The villages are under the sky which shelters the whole world. The planets and the stars and the constellations which reside in it therefore show themselves in the villages too. The development and progress of literature and the literary art, therefore, is more possible and easier in the villages than elsewhere." "Could we," he asked, "imagine a Vyasa or a Valmiki, two of our mighty ancients of literature singing and writing their poetry in our cities?" He went on to point out to the Minister, "We would have no need to

labour much or elaborately to develop the knowledge and organize the teaching of all these varied subjects in our villages. What we would need more is observation and experimenting. Such an arrangement would afford an easy opportunity of exchange of students between the rural and the urban teaching centres and these students would derive mutual benefit in knowledge and experience. The chief thing to remember here is that all good men should cultivate faith in and loyalty to our villages. Our ancestors had devised the institution of the *sannyasi* whose duty was to be constantly on the move among the people and in the land. A *sannyasi* can aptly be described as a walking university." Concluding his thesis Vinobaji said, "The homestead of every villager and every field is a laboratory, every *vanaprastha* is a teacher, every travelling *sannyasi* is a university and the students are the young men and women in the villages who are eager for knowledge and anxious to have it.

7-3-55

K. D.

HARIJAN

May 7

1955

• MEDIUM FOR ALL-INDIA SERVICES EXAMINATIONS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri Rajaji has come out with a strong protest against the proposal to conduct All-India Services Examinations through Hindi. He opposes this on the ground of deprecating any tendency towards compulsion in the matter of language. As he says, 'If we are to achieve unity and success in solving our own problem I hope our Hindi advocates will realize this.' Shri Rajagopalachari is right when he says this. It may be noted here, that he agrees that there might be introduced a test in Hindi for these examinations.

The Constitution provides for a dead-line of fifteen years for substituting English by Hindi. Shri Rajaji says it is not wise if we exploit this to threaten people; and he hints that we may have to alter this dead-line itself.

Shri Rajagopalachari has another reason also for his opposition. He says that Hindi has still to raise its level. 'It is not equal to English. It is not equal to Tamil, Bengali and Marathi.' Therefore its level should be raised. One may as well ask, are the latter even equal to English? Such comparison is, I think, not relevant to the point under discussion.

To examine Shri Rajaji's argument, obviously, till Hindi achieves the desired level English continues, according to him. Does that mean that education and, particularly higher, would continue through that medium? It is queer that Shri Rajaji is silent on this aspect of the question.

Nor does he discuss how and when Hindi is going to raise itself. And who will say that the desired level is achieved? And who will achieve it for whom? Does he expect the North Indians to do it for the whole of India? Or he contemplates that all of us including the non-Hindi

people also will take their due share in the development of our common language Hindi, as the Constitution has very wisely anticipated? To do this it is up to the non-Hindi regions to get prepared for playing their due part in it. Surely, this can be best done by immediately introducing the teaching of Hindi in schools and colleges, which Shri Rajaji, I think, approves.

There is another side to this question—a very vital one indeed from the national point of view. All admit that English is the language of the microscopic minority among us. Still it dominates the field to the exclusion of all our languages. This is surely most undemocratic. All of us suffer equally under this relic of our ex-British rule. It has to be changed so that all our people may come to their own in the affairs of the country as soon as possible. This can be done only if not only Hindi but also all the important regional languages scheduled in the Constitution are requisitioned to play their part in the new set-up to be built up.

As our Prime Minister has very beautifully put it, all of our great Indian languages are our national languages. Among them Hindi is our common language for inter-provincial and all-India purposes. As such, it must be learnt by all. But its being the only medium for competitive examinations is a different thing, as it would place a certain part of our people in a more favourable or advantageous position. English had an advantage over our languages in this respect that all were equally placed, it being foreign to all alike, unlike Hindi.

What should be done then? Surely continuing English is no remedy. The most natural way is to adopt the regional languages also as the medium of examination along with Hindi. In the near future our schools and universities are to have these as the medium. They will also teach Hindi as a compulsory subject upto the first degree course. Therefore, candidates for the All-India Competitive Services will, of course, be prepared to be examined through their regional languages. These must surely have that status in free India. Hindi can no way steal a march over them in any manner. Its status is that of an *antar-bhasha* (अन्तरभाषा). It is not the only national language to the exclusion of others recognized as India's languages by the Constitution.

Let this suggestion not frighten our "one language fanatics" who would have only Hindi for the universities and for the All-India Services Examinations. Only Hindi will be resented, as Shri Rajaji does, and worse; if imposed, it will disrupt India's unity and wreck even the language chapter of the Constitution. Surely to run this risk is neither necessary nor to be desired.

The most natural thing to do in India, therefore, is to adopt bi-lingualism at the university

and eventually at the All-India Services Examination stage. This will put the Hindi and the non-Hindi speaking candidates on a basis of equality vis-a-vis the competitive examinations. During the transition, English may also continue as a third alternative. Only thus can we progress in the implementation of the Constitutional requirements to replace English by the judicious use of our Indian languages supplemented by the All-India common medium.

It will help nobody to postpone this important reform or even to think of changing the deadline fixed by the Constitution. To do this would be slackening our efforts for adopting the natural medium for truly democratic government and administration in our country.

Nor will it profit anybody to say that our languages are not up to the level of English or for the matter of that of any other language. Language is the expression of the mind and the spirit of the people. If we really have chosen to be a free people, our language is quite fit to express that urge and grow with it. Every language energizes itself and develops as it comes to be used by its speakers. And Indian languages have amply shown this capacity even under an alien rule when there was no official encouragement for their progress.

It is therefore not a happy thing to dub Hindi as inferior to this or that. That it is the spoken language of crores of our countrymen is its unique qualification to be our *antar-bhasha*. It worked as such in pre-British days. It had been the vehicle of the sublimest of thoughts the human mind could come to in those days.

Therefore while agreeing with Shri Rajaji that Hindi alone cannot be the medium of All-India Services, it is difficult to agree to his hint of continuing English and of changing the deadline of the Constitution. It behoves us to begin, here and now, to wield the instrument of our own languages and also to learn as soon as possible the all-India medium.

Working this way we shall attain the status and the level where Hindi for all-India purposes will be as powerful, if not more, as the foreign medium English. The whole point is to substitute English by forging a common language Hindi as contemplated by the Constitution (Sec. 351). It is up to us as a people and the Government as the people's instrument to achieve this as soon as possible. Hindi only as the medium, however expedient it may appear on the analogy of English as it works today, will mar this purpose. The all-India medium can survive and develop only in alliance with other Indian languages which also must be equally honoured as the natural medium of All-India Services Examinations. Let us remember the wise and sagacious lead given in this matter by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in its resolution passed in April 1954, which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

1-5-55

PRICE FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Both the Government of India as also the big industrialists aspire to set off something like an industrial revolution in India on the lines of the European Industrial Revolution. In this connection, a reader of the *Harijan* sent me the following editorial note in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (9-9-54). As the reader will see, it is by way of advice to our Government also. Unwittingly enough, it reveals the main lines of our budget policy as also the meaning of the device of deficit finance that is undertaken by the Finance Minister. The note says:

"In the current issue of 'The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies' Professor W. Arthur Lewis asks a question which is topical in the learned journals, and also happens to be critical to the political future of Western civilization. What is the real key to unlocking the cumulative process of economic development in the backward countries; to releasing them from their stagnant, low level, equilibrium; to setting off in them something like an industrial revolution?

'The central problem in economic development (he says) is to understand the process by which a community, which was previously saving and investing 4 or 5 per cent of its national income or less, converts itself into an economy where voluntary saving is running at about 12 to 15 per cent of the national income or more.'

The bottleneck is not labour. Of unskilled labour there is a plentiful supply, hidden in "disguised unemployment," in the subsistence sector of the economy. Nor in the last analysis is it skilled labour:

'Skilled labour is only a temporary bottleneck in the sense that if there is capital available for development, the capitalists or their Government will soon provide the facilities for training more skilled people. *The real bottlenecks to expansion are capital and natural resources.*' (Italics mine)

There is usually already some industrial development, a number of tiny industrial islands surrounded by a sea of subsistence workers, but further progress is hung up for lack of capital.

The originality of Professor Lewis's contribution (partly disguised as an exercise in classical economic analysis) appears to lie largely in a sociological observation:

The subsistence workers are too poor to save, as we all know, but also, he says, the rich are the wrong rich: 40 per cent of incomes are in the hands of the richest 10 per cent of the people; yet savings are low and industrial investment lower, because these rich are largely a landlord and merchant class which has not the taste for industrial enterprise. The only people who can be expected to make productive use of increased incomes are the existing industrialists, or new ones imported from abroad. *Their profits must be allowed to increase, to be reinvested in further factories which can make more profits for further reinvestment, and so get things going. In some cases it would be safe to assist the process with investment financed by a little inflation, provided the inflation is kept under control and provided that the increased incomes generated by it can be kept out of the hands of peasants, merchants, and landlords (who would only spend the money on luxuries or in driving up the prices of land or of scarce commodities).*

Professor Lewis's policy for a Government which really wants an industrial revolution appears to be, then, a series of measures which will yield a shift of the distribution of income in favour of industrial profits and away from the rest of the community, particularly from landlords and merchants. In the case of labour real wages need not be reduced, but they must be prevented from rising, except very modestly, until the cumulative development process has got so well under way that little can stop it. At the same time, of course, everything must be done to encourage new industrialists into the country with promises of high, largely untaxed, profits and what taxes there are should, presumably, discriminate in favour of reinvestment.

Professor Lewis's arguments seem sufficiently plausible to be well worth the consideration of the new Colonial Secretary and others—for example, the Government of India."

So then, what Prof. Lewis suggests is the orthodox economist's way to industrialization of the Western type. Are we prepared to pay the price for having it? The professor has shortly quoted it in all its aspects.

He says that the industrialist should be allowed to make more profits at the cost of others; these may be ploughed back in his expanding industry to his still further gains. Peasants and merchants should not be allowed increased incomes. Guarded inflation may be fostered in the interest of the industries and not agriculture etc. Labour must not be allowed more wages; etc. etc. In short, all except the industrialist should not be allowed nor helped to profit so that the phantom of industrialism might flourish!

Speaking for our country, we can easily see that this has surely nothing to do with a socialistic pattern; it will rather be a right royal capitalistic order of free enterprise for the private sector.

Mr Lewis discusses possible bottlenecks for such a policy. He forgets to note the availability of markets and the endemic absence of purchasing power in backward countries. In a predominantly agricultural country like ours the ideas of Mr Lewis look quite queer. They were born in and for a country having colonies. They are, therefore, woefully conditioned and outmoded also to an appreciable extent. The advice to the Colonial Secretary is significant here. It is hopelessly wrong for India, which does not want to have colonies but desires to live as a peaceful country living in her villages. These can prosper only if we have an industrialization quite of a new type. That is the one envisaged by Gandhiji, viz. it must be a labour-intensive programme and not capital-intensive as Prof. Lewis prescribes without noting the peculiar position of India and the role that the new Democracy desires to play in world affairs. Oh, the orthodoxy of industrial economy!

27-4-55

SECONDARY EDUCATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A reader sends the following extract from a Press Conference addressed by the representatives of the following organizations—The Bombay State Federation of Head Masters' Associations, The Bombay State Federation of Secondary Teachers' Associations, The Bombay Head Masters' Association, The Greater Bombay Secondary Teachers' Association, and asks for comments on it. The extract says:

"During the regime of Shri B. G. Kher certain far reaching and educationally sound changes were effected in our educational system. One such was to set up the S.S.C.E. Board with a view to offering a variety of subjects for pupils to choose from, according to their interests and aptitudes. Every year the number of pupils electing non-university subjects is slowly but steadily increasing. The pupils have to offer two compulsory subjects and five voluntary out of about sixty-six subjects for the S.S.C. Examination. This was in 1949.

"In 1953, under the new regime, the Government wanted to make six subjects compulsory and one subject voluntary. But because of protest from all quarters they climbed down and they managed to get the S.S.C.E. Board agree to the proposal of two subjects compulsory, two more out of the three specified subjects and three more subjects from amongst the rest. This is putting the clock back.

"Another change was change in the syllabus. Syllabus in each subject was so recast that overlapping was avoided and it was based on concentric plan. No doubt it was over-ambitious in a few subjects and required a little pruning. Now not only shall we have new syllabuses for all subjects and all standards but we shall have new subjects like General Science which includes all sciences under the sun and social studies which includes History and Geography and Civics. And these subjects the teachers will have to teach in Std. XI without text books as text books for these subjects for this standard will not be ready by June 1955 and the Government cannot wait till 1956.

"Again, in order to lessen the burden of Head Masters the Government have fixed the numbers of periods for each subject and have also fixed the duration of each period. A Head Master can deviate from this plan only on pain of a penal cut in the grant. And the fun is that when all this was finally decided upon no representatives of any teachers' or Head Masters' Association were consulted."

I have not with me up-to-date study of the S.S.C.E. syllabus and rules etc., as also of the high school courses. The whole thing seems to be in a state of flux. However, for what little I know or learn from friends, I feel that there is something vitally wrong about what is going on at present and the school world is not happy about it. For example, the item of allotment of periods for specific subjects. I do not know why it must be *rigidly* imposed from above and as the extract says, "on pain of a penal cut in the grant". If at all, a model allotment may quite do as a suggestion, leaving freedom to Head Masters to suitably change it according to local needs of students' requirement.

The whole thing leaves on the mind a feeling of unhappiness about the way of such imposing from above allied with 'penal cut' threats which,

I am told, are growing very common. This is specially so when the field concerned is education.

During the Kher regime there was a welcome practice of non-official contact through various educational committees. They thought out certain lines of planned work and recommended programmes to Government. These have unfortunately been in abeyance at present.

It is also very necessary now to consider secondary education as a post-basic stage of four years from Std. 8 to Std. 11, and begin to reform it accordingly both organizationally and in its curricular content. This had started in Bombay State, which at present seems to be put in cold storage along with the programme of rapid expansion and implementation of Basic Education in the primary stage in the whole State. Therefore, what I think troubles both the teacher as well as the average citizen at present is that they fail to envisage any shape or picture of the educational system emerging clearly well from the orders and explanations, plans etc. that are issued from time to time at present. Such a picture must assure a progressive policy for securing a sound national system of Basic Education for all our people from Std. 1 to Std. 11. To do that it is necessary that teachers must feel free to act in their own field and Government educational inspection work must be more and more educative and creative and not administrative armed with 'penal cut' powers.

21-4-55

NOTES

Are We Free ?

To

The Editor of *Harijan*

Sir,

Can we be truly said to be free when Congress Governments of all States of India including Bombay, Madras, Bengal refuse to abolish *compulsory* primary vaccination law under pretence of the public health? To make medical prescription of filthy and dangerous vaccination compulsory by law on those who hate it as useless is contrary to the freedom and liberty granted and guaranteed by the Constitution of India in 1947 to all Indians.

Mr Lincoln said: "I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors and shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views."

British eminent Professor A. R. Wallace, O.M., LL.D., D.C.Z., F.R.S. says: "The abolition of all laws enforcing or encouraging vaccination is of more immediate and vital importance than any party dogma or any political programme."

Bombay

Yours faithfully,
Sorabji R. Mistri

Unjust Evictions

[A Resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh]

The All India Sarva Seva Sangh notes with concern and sorrow that some time past in several parts of the country actual tillers and *bataidars* have been evicted from their land. In fact justice demands that an actual tiller should have complete and continued right to the use of the land under his tillage, and no one else should have any right to share the fruits of the tiller's labour. Besides, it is against the spirit of the age that while on the one hand a countrywide movement, in the form of Bhoodan, is in progress aiming at giving land to all the landless people, on the other hand actual tillers should be evicted from their land and rendered landless.

So long as the land system is not radically changed, landownership and *bataidars* (share-cropping) are likely to exist in some form or other. A number of State Governments have felt the need to make special laws protecting the *bataidars* and they have taken steps too. In view of this out of fear and greed, the owners of land seek to evict their *bataidars* who in return, and naturally, try to stick to the land they have held so long. A situation of conflict like this cannot be resolved by legislation alone. Whatever the legal position, social justice demands that as children have equal right to their mother, similarly all the sons of the soil have equal right to Mother Earth.

Provincial Bhoodan Samitis should, therefore, bestir themselves and make efforts, in co-operation with the political parties and the people concerned to establish a relationship of trust and goodwill between the landowners and the *bataidars*, but based on the basic position laid down above. The Bihar Provincial Bhoodan Samiti has taken steps in this direction keeping in view the circumstances prevailing there. The Sarva Seva Sangh hopes that landowners will respect the basic right of the *bataidars*, indicated above. But if they fail to do so the *bataidars* must face the trial and stick to their right at all cost.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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TERRORISM IN KENYA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

General Erksine, retiring Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in East Africa, has submitted his report of the 'terrorist' activities in Kenya that "8,362 terrorists had been killed since the beginning of the emergency in Kenya in October, 1952. The security forces had lost 535, while the number of African 'loyalists' killed was 1,431."

And he said, "that the war against Mau Mau was now 'in its last phase' and he had no doubt that 'we can look forward to a situation being reached in 1955 not so very different from that existing in Kenya before the emergency and in many respects it will be better.'"

The above is noted from Reuter's message from Nairobi, April 12, 1955. One wonders how the situation in 1955 will not be different from that in 1952. For, does not the "terrorist" killing by the British forces itself make difference? It may be therefore truer for the General to say that it might be better, which some others might hold to be worse. But surely the legal killing of the aggrieved African population by the imperialist army of occupation did make a world of difference in the situation. The sort of difference made by it may be adjudged and assessed by the two parties concerned in the episode, viz. the British rulers and their African subjects, each in their own way and according to their own light.

There is a third party also to this to whom also it should make a difference. It is the world in general; for it must feel concerned. Humanity is growing to be one world. Is such imperialist terrorism a help to that growth? Asia and Africa which came to suffer the scourge of imperialism the most in the previous two or three centuries of world history demand an answer to this question.

An imperialist or colonial racist voice from South Africa recently replied in a challenging mood to say that India aspired to swamp the African territory which at present was held by European civilization. To say the least, such counter-accusation is no answer to the question noted above; it is only evading the real question. The question is, has the 19th century idea of imperialism, colonialism or racialism ended now or not? Does Europe close that undesirable chapter of its past history or continue its arrogant avarice still as in Goa? Is the European in Africa prepared to live with the African on terms of equality and friendship or does he still think in terms of his overlordship and continues to do so with the help of his mighty arm and armaments?

21-4-55

By Vinoba Bhave
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THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION

[The following resolution on the subject of the medium for All-India Services Examinations was passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in its meeting in New Delhi on April 4, 5 last year.]

"In view of the fact that the Constitution of India has recognized Hindi as the all-India national language and has fixed a period of 15 years for the transition to Hindi for official all-India purposes, it is desirable that progressive steps should be taken to make Hindi the language of examinations for the all-India Services.

"These steps should be so phased as not to cause any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. While Hindi as well as the regional languages must be given every encouragement to develop, it must be remembered that a knowledge of foreign languages, and more especially English will continue to be essential for persons in the higher services.

"The Working Committee recommended that progressively examinations for the all-India Services should be held in Hindi, English, and the principal regional languages and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations. In the event of a candidate choosing Hindi, or a regional language for the purpose of his examination, he should pass separately in English also.

"All candidates who have been successful in these all-India examinations will have to pass a test in Hindi at an early stage, unless they have already taken Hindi in the examinations previously.

"The next stage should be a continuation of option to use Hindi, English or the regional languages in these examinations in the manner stated above, but with the addition of a compulsory paper on Hindi for such candidates whose language is other than Hindi, and a compulsory paper in some other Indian languages for candidates whose language is Hindi. In both cases, English will be a compulsory subject for those who appear in the examinations in Hindi or the other regional languages.

"In this way, Hindi should progressively replace English as the language of examinations for the all-India Services."

CONTENTS	PAGE
COW-PROTECTION AND COW-KILLING ..	Gandhiji 73
SHRI VINOBA IN ORISSA - III ..	K. D. 74
MEDIUM FOR ALL-INDIA SERVICES EXAMINATIONS ..	Maganbhai P. Desai 76
PRICE FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION ..	Maganbhai P. Desai 77
SECONDARY EDUCATION ..	Maganbhai P. Desai 78
TERRORISM IN KENYA ..	Maganbhai P. Desai 80
THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION ..	80
NOTES:	
ARE WE FREE? ..	Sorabji R. Mistry 79
UNJUST EVICTIONS ..	79