

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

"BUILDING FROM BELOW" — II

[Continued from the last issue]

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

So then, as we saw in the last issue, if we should build from below, a plan for such a way of reconstruction should centre round the most important sector of national economy. All else can revolve in its orbit, filling up the picture of an integral and really human plan as contrasted with an economic or mechanical plan with money and machine as its chief instruments. In short, the plan should put all the needs of villages first where most of India's teeming humanity lives in idleness, ignorance, enforced unemployment — partial or whole, squalor, dirt, disease, scarcity of potable water, etc.

The problem thus viewed is not economic or technological, but is pre-eminently human. A plan worth the name must therefore directly touch and tackle it. It must be rooted in the soil of India's peculiar problem and distinct conditions and circumstances. The tentative plan-frame placed before the country jointly by the Economic Division, the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission, in consultation with the Central Statistical Organization and the Indian Statistical Institute, does not do so. There is much in it which may be termed as wishful planning. It is "to try and reverse the historical process", which is not only an uneconomic proposition, as is obvious from the need of deficit finance and foreign aid creating an unstable equilibrium and imbalance; but also it is socially bad as it will immediately create more problems than it will solve, if at all any. This is so because of wrong emphasis it puts on capital-intensive industrial programme. It as if puts the cart before the horse. It mainly takes up questions the rightful place of which is to be round the central question noted above. Therefore the whole picture of the plan-frame is as if out of focus. It is like a planetary system in which the sun may be required to revolve round a planet! How else could the framers of the plan-frame miss to work immediately to rehabilitate and vitalize and develop the main sector of our economy, which is that of self-employment, as the B.F.B. Plan under summarization here does?

The B.F.B. examines the economic efficiency and social significance of self-employment and describes its virtues as follows:

"Self-employment does away with the distinction between employer and employee, because in it the owner and the worker of the tools of production coincide.....At one stroke (it) destroys (or say minimizes to the least degree) the pernicious money nexus in man's relation with man and effects not only a psychological change to maximize productivity but also a structural reorganization of the economy that ensures an equitable distribution of the benefits of higher productivity." (*Ibid*, para 15)

"The organizational pattern in this system makes for the early attainment of economy of men, machines, materials and management or the traditional economies of productive organization because the allocation of work between the members of the family is on the basis of their respective capacity, and economic needs coincide with individual interest and ability." (*Ibid*, para 18)

"The social significance of self-employment is two-fold: it assures equality of status and opportunity to all and consequently social stability and evenness of social development. In a social order of multi-craft self-employed families, social stratification based on economic inequalities or superiority and inferiority based on employer-employee relationships is not possible. Consequently, social relationships tend to be based on exchange of services, and social interdependence tends to be based on higher intellectual and/or emotional levels. Social justice, equality of status and opportunity and such other goals of social policy become, thus easier of attainment. Moreover, social interdependence based upon non-economic relationships assures maximum independence to the family without damaging the consciousness of its social obligations. Such a society can progress towards higher levels of material comfort without damaging basic, social or cultural values in the process." (*Ibid*, para 20)

"Self-employment makes for the gradual establishment of self-regulating communities and devolution of political power to them is possible and advantageous. Thus, self-employment lays the true foundations of a co-operative commonwealth because it necessitates continuous informal training in the exercise of social and political duties of the individual." (*Ibid*, para 21)

Thus we are shown that to put the self-employment sector as the focal centre of the new Plan is ideally true; and practically it is necessary if we look at our economy as it is today without Western technological bias. The B.F.B. goes into the latter or practical aspect of the question where it examines the employment pattern as it obtains in India at present.

29-6-'55

(To be continued)

THE HARVEST THAT WAS PLENTEOUS

(By Damodardas Mundada)

It was in a remote village in Orissa. Vinoba was addressing a prayer meeting. He asked them to build their houses upon the rock and not on the sands, lest when the rains descended and the floods came they would fall and great would be the fall. "Remember, ye all," he said, "in future that village alone will survive which has learnt to live as one family."

Majority of the audience consisted of the sturdy Bauras—the so-called backwards clad in loin cloth or *langots*. Reminding them of their glorious heritage and of their colourful past he told them how Shabari, the great devotee, who was of their kith and kin, waited for years and years to present her humble offerings at the feet of her Master Lord Rama and surrender all the wealth she possessed in that lonely forest, the plums, the guavas, etc.

He reminded them how Shabar Swami, the great thinker-saint who wrote the commentary on Jainini Sutras, was one from amongst them.

And he pointed out how the Mantras recited in the praise of Lord Shiva were called Shabar Mantras after the name of their race.

And then he told them: "Think not to say within yourselves: 'We have Shabari and Shabar Swami only as our forefathers' for I say unto you that the soul that is within you can raise you to the heights of your forefathers and can manifest miracles through you."

And then he showed them the path that would lead them to such heights and guide them to the Kingdom of God and to His righteousness.

"Was not land like air, water and sun a divine gift?", he asked. "Was it not, then unworthy of man to claim ownership to things that were divine and did not belong to individuals however great they may be?"

And so he advised them to redistribute their entire lands according to the needs of the families. "Ye shall live as one family and shall plan and produce for the whole village and not for the individual family as at present," he explained.

And villages after villages responded to his call. One day he received one village; the next day two; and the following day four and then six. And on the 28th May 1955 at Nugaada, the last camp in the Ganjam District of Orissa, landowners of as many as eight villages came forward and surrendered to him their entire land.

And in this way, by the time he left the borders of this district, twenty-five villages had donated all their land in Bhoodan.

The process of redistribution had already begun a week ago at Akili where he had distributed, amongst all the 31 families of that village, all the 143 acres of land which had previously belonged to only 15 landowners amongst them.

And since then the process goes on and the news have spread throughout the area. And so much so that at times he had redistributed land of two or three villages on a single day. And in this way out of the twenty-five villages, he has completed the redistribution in twelve.

In his post-prayer speech at Nugaada he pointed out how the idea of Bhoodan, which has Truth as its basis, would, like fast-spreading fire, envelop village after village and house after house. He characterized it as the fire of thought and reason which no water or any other like agency can ever extinguish and which does not burn and yet cools and purifies!

And a co-tourist from Saurashtra expressed his misgivings on the point. Posing a counter question, Vinobaji asked the friend, "Tell me, is it possible and advisable in this age of nuclear agency for smaller nations to survive as separate units? Can province like Saurashtra or Maharashtra think in terms of separate, independent countries? And if that was not feasible and advisable how can we think in terms of smaller families? If smaller nations or

countries were not advisable so was the case of smaller families too. And as bigger units of nations were preferable to smaller ones, so also were bigger units of families preferable to smaller ones of the present. The age of science demands it."

Next day Vinoba was leaving Ganjam District and entering the District of Koraput. The workers of the district had come to take his leave and receive his blessings and seek his guidance before he crossed the border next morning. Before making any suggestion, he inquired of them whether they had thought out anything regarding their future programme. Encouraged by the short but sweet experience of the last few weeks, the workers had decided before they came to see him, to fix a solid target of 500 villages for Sarvaswa Dan by 2nd October this year.

By all means this was a great resolve and definitely an altogether new and inspiring lead coming from the workers themselves.

Then he said to his colleagues and co-workers, "You are launching upon a great enterprise. The atmosphere is ripe for it. The harvest is truly plentiful."

And the next morning exactly at 5 o'clock he marched on to the next halt.

HARIJANS AT BADRINATH

In June last year Shri Chaudhri Paragilal, M.P. had gone with faith and devotion on a pilgrimage to Badrinath Temple which is one of the four holiest places of the Hindus. Unlike other pilgrims, he was not allowed to enter the temple and to have *darshan* of the Lord, because he was a Harijan.

About seven years ago another painful incident took place in Badrinath when Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwal and Shri Surendrabhai who had taken Gandhiji's ashes to be immersed in the Narad Kunda, were not allowed to do so as it was closed to Harijans. They had to immerse Gandhiji's ashes elsewhere in the Alakhnanda instead of the Narad Kunda.

The question of Badrinath Temple being thrown open to Harijans and the incident, naturally came up for discussion at the 21st Annual Meeting of Harijan Sevak Sangh in September 1954 which adopted a resolution favouring temple entry for Harijans. In the meantime the Harijans of Tehri Garhwal in their several conferences and meetings demanded that the Temple should be thrown open to Harijans failing which they resolved to offer Satyagraha.

All this, of course, was not without effect. The Badrinath Temple Committee last year adopted a resolution declaring that everybody believing in Sanatan Dharma could enter the temple and worship the Lord without any discrimination. Doubt, however, lingered in the minds of Harijans and those sympathizing with them whether they would be allowed to enter the Badrinath Temple freely.

To give effect to the resolution of the Central Board the Harijan Sevak Sangh sent 60 members of the staff and students of Harijan Udyogshala, in two batches, to Badrinath Temple in the last week of May this year. Both the parties reached Badrinath, singing *bhajans* on removal of untouchability, distributing literature and posters

published by the Sangh and holding Ashram prayers twice daily on the way. The first batch entered the Temple on June 1st and again on the 2nd and the second batch on June 3rd and 4th without any hindrance and all the members felt elated and overjoyed by having the *darshan* of the Lord. They also bathed in the holy Tapta Kunda. Both the batches had *kirtans* in the temple in which other pilgrims freely and heartily joined.

It was heartening to find that most of the people at Badrinathpuri were supporters of temple entry for Harijans. The Badrinath Temple Committee deserve our thanks and the gratitude of the Harijans for the hearty co-operation and hospitality rendered to the parties.

It is of utmost significance that temples of four holiest places of India have now been thrown open to Harijans who could go and worship without any discrimination.

VIYOGI HARI
General Secretary,
A-I. Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi

MAN AND TECHNOLOGY

[The Prime Minister is very keen on having industrialization through setting up large-scale key industries as a public sector in India's economy. One of the obvious hurdles is that there is lack of necessary technical skill and know-how amongst us. This lack is being made up for by importing it from outside. But what is fundamentally wrong or questionable about the whole process of imposing technology in India this way is that, apart from the basic difference in our position that we are predominantly a rural people unlike the urbanized West, the education of our people is totally unorganized and utterly unsuited to such line of progress. This is bound to create a dissonance in our harmonious growth as a people. While the Westerner grew in his present state through centuries of growing capitalism, imperialism and expanding technological way of life and education, the common man in India is woefully poor and illiterate, though he is intelligent and not without culture and wisdom.]

Moreover, there is still greater and more basic consideration here that is being ignored by us. The ways of technology are generally mechanistic and of mass application. They put plans and projects, targets and production first and above man for whom they are meant. There is as if a lurking want of belief in man. Therefore, these ways of plans etc. can lend their helping hand to and be convenient instruments in the hands of powerful faddists, fanatics and dictators. Democrats differ from them in that the former live by faith in man and his free institutions, unlike the latter who make him a pawn in their games.

Western civilization even has come to feel this human aspect of the question gradually cropping up among its peoples—both in Europe and America. The point is discussed in the issue of *Manas* of 5-1-55. The following is adapted therefrom. It is a warning to us, when we are planning our economic future almost as their blotting paper copyists or imitators.

3-6-55

M. P. J.

A new mood or spirit is entering the serious writing of our time. To characterize this spirit briefly, we should say that it represents a new respect for man—for the potentialities of human beings. Men have always said that respect for man is "important", so that this may be thought

nothing new. Its novelty, however, lies in its power to persuade, to convince. There is substance and particularity in this new respect for man.

Nor is the age without ethical genius. The contribution of both Gandhi and Schweitzer—to note the same civilizing trend in both East and West—has been to help people to see the crimes involved in modern war. Schweitzer teaches the gospel of reverence for life, and Gandhi turned the principle of non-violence into a dynamic of social action. We have the habit of searching the past for "hero symbols", but here, in these men, are Anollos enough for our time, for have not Gandhi and Schweitzer attempted to raise above the horizon the sun of a new era of peace?

In the East, the new nationalism that is creating nations out of peoples long under the heel of Western colonialism strikes a new note, articulating the idea of world solidarity with the spirit of national birth.

In India, President Rajendra Prasad has called upon Indians to return to a more realizing practice of Gandhian ideals. Gandhi, he said, studied every aspect of Indian life, and this enabled him to understand fully the feelings and sentiments of all sections of India. He (Gandhi) "understood the shortcomings and difficulties of the people and suggested practical steps to do away with them." The interesting thing, here, is that the President of India addresses himself to the problem of human attitudes, and not to the immediate objectives of political reforms or goals. He also comments on the influence of the West in Asia:

"The light that has emanated from the West seems to have swayed us and gripped our imagination. The result is that whenever we have to take a decision on any issue which confronts us, we have one important consideration in our minds, and that is what other nations will think of us—whether they will like the step that we take or not and what will be our ultimate position in their eyes.

The main result of this attitude on our part is that we begin to attach more importance to things belonging to the West and less to our own."

These quotations illustrate the calibre of the new leadership in the East. It is a leadership which places primary emphasis on the fulfilment of basic human responsibility at home.

(Commenting editorially on the article, the *Manas* writes:)

It should not be difficult to see that the excessive specialization of modern life—the subdivision and delegation of responsibilities which once belonged to the individual—is not due only to the progress of technology. It results also from the decline of belief in man. There is no reason why technology had to reduce human beings to the condition which Mumford describes so well:

"My basic assumption is that our life has increasingly split up into unrelated compartments, whose only form of order and interrelationship comes through fitting into the automatic organizations and mechanisms that in fact govern our daily existence. We have lost the essential capacity of self-governing persons—the

freedom to make decisions, to say Yes or No in terms of our own purpose—so that, though we have vastly augmented our powers, through the high development of technics, we have not developed the capacity to control those powers in any proportionate degree. As a result, our remedies are only further symptoms of the disease itself."

As Mumford elsewhere shows, this condition is the outward measure of our inward dejection and fear of making discovery. Lacking art in life, we capitulate to the powers that be.

(Adapted from *Manas*, 5-1-55)

HARIJAN

July 9

1955

REAL PLANNING FOR THE PEOPLE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Free Press of India reports from Kurnool, June 28 :

"The Prohibition Enquiry Committee of the Planning Commission has recommended to the Government of India the introduction of total prohibition in all the States by October 1957, it is reliably learnt here.

"The Committee's recommendations were submitted to the Planning Commission on June 15, when a summary of their report was signed in the capital.

"The full report of the Committee is expected to be submitted to the Planning Commission in the first week of August. The advance summary of the report was submitted to the Planning Commission to enable the Central and State Governments to prepare their schemes for the Second Five Year Plan in the light of the Committee's recommendations."

I congratulate the Shriman Narayan Committee on this their piece of real planning, which will be hailed as a solid achievement for the good of our people. It will be a landmark in our modern history too. Like our peace efforts in the world, this too will prove to be a very significant thing even for the world. That apart, for India, it is undoubtedly real planning work which immediately and forthwith strengthens the moral, the material and social life of our common people. It will directly distribute health, wealth, and happiness to them. It will fulfil one of the chief Directives of the Constitution. (Art. 47)

There is another Directive equally important which our Planners should note both from its vital importance to the people as also its immense potentialities to do real and solid economic good to them. That Directive is :

"The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries

on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas." (Art. 43)

I draw particular attention of the reader to the last part of the Directive, where it speaks about cottage industries. It is a good thing that the Planning Commission has cared to appoint a Committee to go into the matter. That piece of news is, really as noteworthy as the previous one above quoted. This Committee is asked to prepare

"the draft plan of village and small-scale industries for inclusion in the Second Five Year Plan."

"The Terms of reference of the Committee are to prepare, in the light of the provision made in the draft Plan-frame for village and small-scale industries and in the light of recommendations on the same subject made in the memorandum submitted by the Panel of Economists, a scheme of industry-wise and wherever possible, State-wise utilization of resources to be earmarked for the purpose of development of these industries as an integral part of the Second Five Year Plan.

"The scheme should be prepared with particular reference to the following objectives :

(i) The bulk of the increased production during the Plan period of consumer goods in common demand has to be provided by the village and small-scale industries.

(ii) Employment provided by these industries should progressively increase, and

(iii) Production and marketing in these industries is organized, in the main, on co-operative lines.

"The Committee will receive full co-operation from the Central Ministries, State Governments, All India Boards concerned with the village and small industries and other organizations which are in a position to help and is expected to submit an outline of all its main recommendations before the end of September, 1955."

I fear, the Planning Commission has had a wrong perspective or a small point in view when they referred the question of home- and village-industries to the Committee. They probably expected it to go into the question so far as the Plan-frame allotment of Rs 200 crores to, and its view and appreciation of, village industries went. This is apparent even from the position they take and the approach they make in regard to this important Directive Principle of State Policy. As we know, the Plan-frame takes cognizance of this not as a Directive of the Constitution, but just as an adjunct to, or as a passing phase of, their scheme of economic planning for industrialism in India. If this is right, it will be a wholly wrong view to take of village- and home-industries. These industries are not merely economic in their content and behaviour vis-a-vis our village people ; they have social, educational and deeply cultural values also in them. Unlike the capital-intensive industries which are narrow and poor in their content of cultural and human values and effects on man, they directly bear upon the chronic idleness and unemployment of our people that debar any real progress. Moreover, these small-scale industries give us an instrument with which to vitalize our educational system also by introducing the sound method of learning through socially productive and peace-tending activities.

The fulfilment of the Directive of home- and village-industries by us will begin to operate not only to add to the meagre earnings of our agricultural workers and thus ensure to them a decent standard of life and full employment, but also it will prepare needed ground and atmosphere for introducing real Basic Education successfully well. Only then can the State be in a position to implement a third Directive of State Policy, I mean, the one about free and compulsory fundamental education to every child up to the age of 14. (Art. 45)

Our planners should carefully note this peculiar capabilities of the Gandhian constructive programme, which, we are sorry to see, are not recognized to the extent and the depth they deserve. This programme is intended to vitalize and recreate the human resources of our country. Unless we do that, nothing else can avail if we mind to plan for New India. If we do this, then only can all else be added unto it — even the aid of the machine which should not master man, as it has done in the West.

2-7-55

'TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGES'

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Hindu (June 19, '55) reports as follows under this headline:

"Madras, June 18: A Conference of Vice-Chancellors, other educationists, officials and non-officials, was held at the University buildings today to consider the question of adopting Tamil as the medium of instruction in educational institutions including colleges and preparation of a list of suitable technical terms for such higher studies. Mr C. Subramaniam, Education Minister, presided.

"The Minister invited the views of the educationists and others present in particular on the question (1) of making a beginning in the introduction of Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges and (2) as to whether a Committee or other suitable organization might be set up for preparing scientific and technical terms in that language."

Speaking about the choice of the medium of instruction in colleges Mr Subramaniam said:

"The present position in so far as primary and secondary education is concerned, is that the medium of instruction is the regional language or the mother tongue. The students who have studied non-language subjects in the regional language in high schools, naturally find some difficulty in adjusting themselves to the English medium when they join colleges where the medium continues to be English. We have to take note of this difficulty if we should avoid further deterioration of University education. The change of the medium of instruction in colleges seems, therefore, not only logical but also necessary. Unfortunately on this question, opinion however, seems to be divided.

"We should naturally look to authoritative guidance in this matter and we cannot but think of so eminent a body as the University Commission of which our Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, was a distinguished member. The Commission no doubt recognized the claims of Hindi to be adopted as the State language of the Indian Federation. But on the question of its suitability as the medium of instruction for university studies the Commission felt that Hindi did not enjoy such natural ascendancy over other provincial languages as to include the inhabitants of

these provinces to accept a secondary position for their language; it was difficult to assign to Hindi the role played by English. It, therefore, suggested that while the Federal language should be used for all Federal activities — cultural, educational and administrative — regional language should occupy a similar position in the States and units of the Federation. It proceeded further to recognize that if every region and unit of India has to take its proper share in the Federal activities and also with a view to promote inter-State understanding and solidarity educated India has to make up its mind to be multi-lingual and pupils of the higher secondary and university stages will have to know three languages — the regional language, the Federal language and English."

The special correspondent of the *The Hindustan Times*, Delhi (June 28, '55) in his "South India Review" writing under the headline the "Battle of Languages in the South" describes the issues in the following manner:

"The controversial issue of the introduction of the regional language as the medium of instruction in the two State universities and affiliated colleges was taken a step further with the Conference of educationists and officials summoned by the Education Minister.

"In the circumstances in which the State Government has to function, the decision to substitute Tamil for English as the medium of instruction in the universities and their constituent colleges is the only possible one. Tamil is already the medium in the primary and secondary stages and unless there is the possibility of this decision being reversed — which is unthinkable — the only course open to the State is to change the medium at the university stage as well into Tamil. The State Government has got to do this, if only to establish its *bona fides* with those opposed to the teaching of Hindi in the educational institutions in the State on the score that such a step would result in the neglect of the regional language. In view of the existence of this opposition to Hindi, based on nothing but prejudice, the alternative of using the Federal language as the medium at the university stage has to be completely ruled out.

"In going ahead with its decision, the hands of the Madras Government have been considerably strengthened by the action of the Gujarat University which has introduced Gujarati as the medium of instruction and examination in the first year course of commerce, science and art faculties of the university. The Act incorporating the university contemplates the complete elimination of English as the medium of instruction in collegiate education by the end of 1960. What is good enough for Gujarat and Saurashtra is, surely good enough for Tamil Nad, especially as Tamil is not a less progressive language than Gujarati."

All this is really good news for those who desire to see Indian education progress on right lines. In these columns, the issues involved in this question were clearly thrashed out before. The story is repeating itself in the South, as it would naturally be; for the decision on this vital subject in rebuilding free and democratic India has to be taken by our people in good time; and that is fast dawning now.

The H.T. special correspondent raises the hackneyed question of national unity here and says that "the development of regional languages is a perfectly legitimate object, but in making these languages the media of higher education in different States, the obligation is on the States to

see that nothing is done to weaken the bonds of national unity."

The remark is legitimate and timely also. However, it must not be forgotten that national unity is not the exclusive function of the language; there are many other terms of that function. And the language question in India has already met this remark by postulating that there shall be, along with the regional languages and as their very necessary complement, an all-India common medium, Hindi. This must be a subject of study in our schools and colleges, so that future citizens might have with them the instrument of a common language for forging national unity.

The Madras Conference does not seem to have gone into this aspect of the question, though it clearly saw that Hindi cannot take the place of English as the medium of university instruction and that there will be three languages at the university stage. We hope the South will give due place to the teaching of Hindi along with the change to Tamil medium in colleges.

1-7-'55

WESTERN CIVILIZATION — A PROBLEM *

(By Wilfred Wellock)

I

Last Phase of Industrial Revolution

Western civilization is like a blind man who has been put on the wrong road. He thinks he is making for Arcadia, but is heading for a precipice. No matter in which direction we look in world affairs, we are confronted with a many-sided impasse — economic, ideological, and military. But at root it is the impasse of a materialism that has been spreading for a long time as the result of the gradual abandonment of many vital spiritual values. One effect of this spiritual decline has been a marked fall in the quality of life in the West, especially during the last half-century.

The sad truth is that for nearly two centuries the West has been functioning from impulses which it has never seriously challenged or even questioned. Those impulses have been gathering momentum ever since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, although they had an earlier origin. A new factor, phenomenal prosperity, captured the imaginations of politicians and businessmen and swept the nation into a way of life, an economy and system of values, which have never been subjected to careful analysis, let alone condemned, by any institution or school of thought. Individual condemnations there have been, but it is only in these latter days that a few people have begun to realize that prosperity may be a dangerous acquisition, a means of lowering the quality of life fostering class divisions, and causing international tensions.

* From the introduction to his book *New Horizons* which was reviewed in these columns. See *Harijan*, 1-1-'55, p. 356.

This situation belies the prophecy of earlier economists that world unity and peace would follow the expansion of world trade. Instead of peace we have a world divided into two power blocs — a Western, headed by the United States, and a Communist, headed by Russia, while a new Eastern group, headed by India, stands aloof from both with respect to power politics. At present the tendency of both the power blocs is to develop an anti-the-other politics.

Here also, therefore, faith has succumbed to fear. At least, the West should remember the extent of its gains from the exploitation of the coloured races during the last 150 years, and translate them into present obligations. We need not be surprised at the zest with which these races are driving out of their territories the last remnants of Western imperialism. It is not without significance that the clash between Western and Communist powers is most marked in these areas.

The modern world is in the throes of a many-sided revolution, yet it is not the revolution that is needed, at any rate in the West. It may best be described as the turbulent last phase of the Industrial Revolution. Whether Western civilization can survive it is not yet clear.

Unfortunately, the Western Powers are already back in the old insensate fight for markets, despite two world wars which were the outcome of that conflict, and the threat of the third. They are feverishly trying to buoy up an economy which collapsed in 1914, and then survived for some years after the defeat of Germany in 1918. The recuperation of the defeated Powers revived the old competitions and led to the second world war, with its added ideological antagonisms and brutalities. The defeat of Germany and Japan and the shattering of Holland, Belgium and France in that war presented Britain and the United States with a monopoly of world markets which enabled them to develop their economies and fortify their way of life for a few more years. Latterly, however, the defeated and battered Powers have re-entered the battle for world markets and thereby brought Britain's fictitious prosperity to a halt, with the result that no Western economist or politician dare prophesy on the world's economic future.

II

Disturbing Factors

Today, looming up on the horizon, are new and disturbing factors. The world economy which was established by half a dozen Western Powers during the course of the Industrial Revolution, pinned down the greater part of the world to primary production from which poverty prevented any escape. The second world war played into their hands. By rendering various services to the Western Powers, chiefly Britain, most of

these countries wiped out their financial indebtedness to Britain and even became her creditors.

Since the war they have demanded machinery in settlement of that debt and in return for vital primary products, whence they are going all out to achieve a large percentage of self-sufficiency under a well-balanced agro-industrial economy, and thus their political and economic independence. They are restricting their imports of consumer goods in favour of maximum imports of machinery, and even of plants for the production of machinery.

Despite these developments, which constitute a second Industrial Revolution, the Industrial Powers of the West are still trying to believe they will be able to get all the markets they require. For some years they will export machinery instead of consumer goods, but in due course, as above indicated, even these exports will slow down. The basic fact cannot be escaped that if the greater part of the world decides to develop a largely self-sufficient economy, the rest of the world will be compelled to follow suit sooner or later.

Another market-limiting fact to be faced is the uncertainty of trade with the vast Communist bloc. When trade becomes a factor in the diplomacy of power, its incidence is uncertain and its value doubtful.

Need we wonder, therefore, that Prime Ministers and Chancellors are baffled, and that year in and year out they plead for economy, for cheaper production, bigger outputs, and more aggressive competition? If markets fail, supplies will fail, which would quickly bring the conditions in which Communism thrives. Britain's economy is particularly vulnerable since it is more unbalanced than that of any other country.

III

The Challenge of the Situation

The latest means of overcoming this dilemma is the discovery of an "*expanding*" economy. Whenever production outpaces consumption and exports, various financial techniques are to be employed by which to increase the consumption of goods and services. This means that as industrial production rises as the result of new industrial techniques, consumption will keep pace with production by means of new financial techniques.

Unfortunately, this discovery overlooks certain economic and spiritual consequences which are fatal to its purpose.

The chief economic consequence concerns the supply of raw materials. If we are to accept the view that civilization can only be kept going by perpetually increasing the consumption of

goods and services and running the world's machinery at full speed, where are the raw materials to come from to keep going what can only be described as a "*devouring*" economy?

But what will be the situation when the rising demands of the awakening East and the rest of the coloured world for the earth's resources come into conflict with those of the West? No one will deny that the impoverished East has the stronger title to increased supplies, but will it get them? The fear of Communism will play a part in deciding that issue, but may not failure to satisfy the growing appetites of the West also stimulate Communist agitation? There is no answer to that question, and it would be folly to look for one, since the "way of life" in question is not the good life for man and must therefore be rejected.

We thus come to the moral consequences of this devouring economy. That economy is now accepted by most Western, and possibly a few Eastern, nations, Capitalist, Communist and Socialist alike. It is the latest stone in the edifice of what is perhaps the most colossal expression of materialism the world has yet known. It is intrinsically evil in that it stimulates by artificial means, including pressurized advertising (as in the U.S.A.) the cultivation of habits of extravagance without any reference to the good life, the social good, or the needs and welfare of mankind as a whole. It therefore stands condemned.

By means of this devouring economy the Western Powers are driving the world towards an impasse that will render the third world war well nigh inevitable. Instead of staving off Communism it will invite and insure Communist agitation.

Is it not time, then, to pause and take stock?
(Continued)

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NOTES

Panch-Sheel

[This is from the joint Declaration by Prime Minister Nehru (India) and Prime Minister Bulganin (U.S.S.R.) that they issued from Moscow on June 22, 1955]

The relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding.

The Prime Ministers are resolved that these relations shall continue to be informed and guided by the following principles :

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) Non-aggression, (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character, (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and (5) Peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these principles, which have lately received an increasing measure of recognition, are capable of wider application and that in the observance of these principles by nations in the conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from their minds and thus of lowering world tensions.

The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations, and pave the way for greater international co-operation. In the climate of peace thus created, it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation.

Both Prime Ministers recognize that in various parts of the world there is on the part of the smaller and weaker States a vague, and possibly unreasoning, fear of bigger Powers. They feel that it is essential to dispel this fear in all possible ways. Here again the best remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of co-existence enunciated above.

Sevagram Ashram

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, President, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, has issued the following statement in connection with Bapu Kutī at Sevagram :

"In the Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Puri in March last the Sarva Seva Sangh gave a call to the people to devote all their energies and time to Bhoodan work till 1957. In response to the call, the workers of Sevagram Ashram, which is being conducted under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the guidance of Shri Vinobaji expressed their desire to join the Bhoodan movement. The activities of the Ashram were therefore suspended and when the inmates left the Ashram on the 18th April 1955 the Bapu Kutī (Gandhiji's cottage) which forms part of the Ashram had also to be closed pending the making of further arrangements for its future upkeep. That it was not intended to close the Bapu Kutī indefinitely was clear from the letter written then by Shri Vinobaji to the Ashramites. Hence such apprehension expressed in cer-

tain quarters at that time was entirely unfounded, and arose out of a misunderstanding of the situation.

"The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, which met this week after the Puri Sammelan has now made the necessary arrangements for keeping open the Kutī to visitors. The Ashram however remains closed for the present till 1957, the Ashramites being engaged in Bhoodan work. The Sangh has also appointed a Committee to prepare a scheme for the permanent preservation of Bapu Kutī and certain other specified cottages of historical importance."

N. R. SOWANY

Earmarked Bhoodan

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has received suggestions from some prominent social and political workers that if earmarked donations of land are accepted the Bhoodan movement would get a great fillip.

Shri Vinobaji and the Sarva Seva Sangh have already considered this matter on the occasion of the Puri Sammelan.

They hold that if the donors attach any conditions to the gifts they make, such a Dān or donation is not 'Krishnarpan', i.e., full surrender of their individual rights to God or society. It is 'Vishishtarpan' or surrender to the particular individual. In spite of this, such gifts would do no harm to our movement.

Therefore, if the following conditions are fulfilled, there is no harm in accepting earmarked donations of land :

1. The recipient of the land should belong to the place, where the donated land is situated.
2. He must be landless.
3. The land to be given should be sufficient for the needs of his family.

An effort should also be made in cases of such earmarked donations that the donor should also give the necessary implements etc. for cultivating the land.

The workers devoted to the cause of Bhoodan *Andolan* may accept earmarked donations if they fulfil the above requirements. However, our aim should be to secure unconditional gifts as far as possible.

VALLABH SWAMI

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