

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

HIGHER EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

Higher education should be left to private enterprise and for meeting national requirements whether in the various industries, technical arts, belles-lettres or fine arts.

The State Universities should be purely examining bodies, self-supporting through the fees charged for examinations.

Universities will look after the whole of the field of education and will prepare and approve courses of studies in the various departments of education. No private school should be run without the previous sanction of the respective universities.

University charters should be given liberally to any body of persons of proved worth and integrity, it being always understood that the universities will not cost the State anything except that it will bear the cost of running a Central Education Department.

The foregoing scheme does not absolve the State from running such seminaries as may be required for supplying State needs.

It is claimed that if the whole scheme (i.e. the entire scheme of Basic Education — Ed.) is accepted, it will solve the question of the greatest concern to the State — training of its youth, its future makers.*

Harijan, 2-10-'37

II

Though we are politically free, we are hardly free from the subtle domination of the West. I have nothing to say to that school of politicians who believe that knowledge can only come from the West. Nor do I subscribe to the belief that nothing good can come out of the West. I do fear, however, that we are unable as yet to come to a correct decision in the matter (viz. of establishing new universities. — Ed.). It is to be hoped that no one contends that because we seem to be politically free from foreign domination the mere fact gives us freedom from the more subtle influence of the

* From *Basic Education* (p. 19), by M. K. Gandhi, Pub. Navajivan, price Re. 1-8, postage etc. As. 6.

foreign language and foreign thought. Is it not wisdom, does not duty to the country dictate, that before we embark on new universities we should stop and fill our own lungs first with the ozone of our newly got freedom? A university never needs a pile of majestic buildings and treasures of gold and silver. What it does need most of all is the intelligent backing of public opinion. It should have a large reservoir of teachers to draw upon. Its founders should be far-seeing.

In my opinion it is not for a democratic State to find money for founding universities. If the people want them they will supply the funds. Universities so founded will adorn the country which they represent. Where administration is in foreign hands, whatever comes to the people comes from top and thus they become more and more dependent. Where it is broad-based on popular will, everything goes from bottom upward and hence it lasts. It is good-looking and strengthens the people. In such a democratic scheme money invested in the promotion of learning gives a tenfold return to the people even as a seed sown in good soil returns a luxuriant crop. Universities founded under foreign domination have run in the reverse direction. Any other result was perhaps impossible. Therefore, there is every reason for being cautious about founding new universities till India has digested the newly acquired freedom.*

Harijan, 2-11-'47

* *Ibid.*, p. 108-9

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FOR MEMBERS OF LEGISLATURES

(By Vinoba)

[From speech to the Utkal Legislative Assembly at Bhubaneswar on 12-3-55]

All of you are not mere servants of the people, you are their dear, trusted and elected servants. To be loved and trusted by the people is a very big and heavy responsibility. You are men and women whom the people trust and are elected by them as their representatives to work their Government, to represent their opinion to the Government, where and when necessary even to oppose it and to plan and control the administration of the country.

Those who have been thus authorized by the people as trusted servants for five long years are considered gods in our society. A god means a servant with authority. So those persons who hold authority on behalf of the people are called *suras* i.e. gods.

You are reckoned as gods and the most essential quality of gods is to be ever vigilant. To this purpose also our ancient sociologists have made a suggestion. They have described the gods as always giving brilliant light. So you can throw light on social problems and solve them in a responsible manner. You are supposed to hold such rare capacity. That is how and why, you all should realize, the people of the present day elect you as representatives and place you in positions of power and authority.

But a constant danger dogs the footsteps of the gods. They are always likely to slip into sensual enjoyments. That is why control of themselves and their senses is reckoned as their most important virtue. Such control is also considered essential for the Kshatriyas. It is, of course, important for the Brahmins, as also for the householder and the Sannyasi. It is a virtue essential for all people, for all time and for all places. This virtue conduces to the eternal benefit of all. But it has a special significance for the gods.

A tendency to enjoy the senses naturally follows in the wake of power and wealth. But king Janaka though dwelling in palaces used to be absolutely untouched by the tendency. And Lord Vishnu though constantly served by Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is described as indifferent to it and possessing supreme detachment from the senses. But to live with perfect detachment from the influence of power like Janaka and from the influence of wealth like Vishnu is surely not an easy thing to achieve.

I have often placed these illustrations before our people. I consider them to be fine ideals to be followed by the authorized and elected servants of the people.

There are others who serve the common people, who explain their ideas and ideals to the masses, who have not been elected as representatives by the people's vote and who do not seek to be so elected, who have in fact elected themselves on their own to serve the people and constantly to devote their mind to their good. They have undertaken the responsibility of service of their own free will and therefore derive their authority from themselves. They are not authorized by the people as such like the others. To this type of the servants of the people I would recommend the ideal of Shukadeva. They should carry out their mission of service in the manner Shukadeva did in times gone by.

So you will perceive that one type of servants of the people should have Janaka as their model and the other Shukadeva. When we are meeting here at Bhubaneswar the ideal of Lord Shankara also comes naturally to our minds for those who are unauthorized servants of the people. In a like manner the authorized representatives of the people should cultivate in their lives the ideal of Lord Vishnu who is unaffected by the blandishment of wealth.

Let us constantly bear in mind that India is a poor country. The rich here are but a very small handful. And as the common man in the country is poor his representatives should go about their work as truly representing him in the lives they lead.

People go out to other parts of the world to work as representatives of India. They live there as such for long or short periods. They must be talking on behalf of our people as their intelligence dictates and some of them must be demonstrating their art of statesmanship also. Now, the common people here as well as elsewhere are not fools. They have keen insight so that they can well test the people whom they see. They would be keenly watching the lives of the men and women whom they see as the representatives of India. I have very often compared the mass of people to a thermometer. The thermometer is an inanimate instrument and has no living consciousness, but it measures the heat precisely. Even so the mass of common people, though supposed to be lacking the consciousness of intelligence, test us their servants in a very precise manner. They watch our lives closely and judge us by that measure. So we have to be constantly aware that the common people measure, judge, and test those of us who go out to other parts of the world, go to the Parliament, or to the State legislatures as their representatives from the way we lead our lives in our various capacities.

So the very first thing I wanted to bring to your notice was this that as you are authorized representatives and servants of the people your hearts must be in tune with those who have cast their votes to elect you to your positions of authority and power. The voice of both, the people and you their representatives, should be one and harmonious. Another point also I would permit myself to bring to your notice. You as representatives of the people are allowed certain special facilities so that you can have consultations in peace and could study in seclusion the problems of the people. You are allowed some remuneration also. It cannot of course be said that the remuneration you receive is high. But, of course, it is high as compared to the average earnings of the common man in India. You are allowed the allowances so that you would be free of the normal worries of caring for your families and that you can discharge your duties as servants of the people without having to worry on that account. So it is expected of you that while you carry on all your endeavour for the people you have them constantly before your mind. This is to say that you will choose to bear the hardships which the poor voter does helplessly in his poor dwelling out of your own free will. If you could achieve this much India will rise to great heights and you will deserve the trust that has been placed in you by our simple poor folk.

That there should be full liberty to everyone for the propagation of the various ideologies in the country is the other point I wanted to place before you. I believe that propagation of ideas should be an inevitable feature of our social as well as political life. There should not be any restriction on the propagation and cultivation of opinion. It is always good for the health of society to have free interchange and expression of ideas.

Ours is a fallen country where even the essential needs of an ordinary life are not available to every citizen. Nor can we hope that India will become the richest nation of the world. But it can surely be claimed for India that the heritage of thought we received in legacy from ancient times is extraordinarily unique. And I am not putting forth the claim out of any pride or vanity. What after all is mere literature? It is a very insignificant possession. Many countries in the world have shown immense progress therein. But our heritage of spiritual thought which we can call our food for our journey through life is as fundamental as it is unique.

We seek to raise our people from their fallen state. We aim at making the life of our people happy, rich, and based on equality. So I fail to understand what good it will be to any party if we go on creating differences and inequalities in our people by emphasizing this third ideology and also go on finding faults with each other. What is it that we ultimately want to do? All of us want to serve the common people; all of us seek to raise society to higher level and to establish equality in life. And if this

is our common aim and if we place before people different ideologies in a peaceful manner, let us consider also whether it is not possible to evolve a common programme of work out of them. Various different ideas strike various parties but let us make a programme of the item to which all of them agree and let all parties act together to execute it.

I often hear people saying that they would unite into executing a single programme when we have to face a big catastrophe. But may I ask if we are not facing a catastrophe in India today? Please allow me to make a request to you. There is no harm in members of the various parties sticking to their different views and opinions. Here in the assembly there should be a full discussion of the different opinions and points of view. That would lead to the evolving of good resolutions and to the formation of proper proposals. There is no advantage in everyone of you saying yes to everything proposed by Government. But my appeal to you is to consider seriously whether there is no item of social service where the Government gives its full co-operation and where all the parties ask the people to co-operate and where all the workers of all the parties themselves begin to do actual work. If we are not able to find out and evolve some common factor, some common programme for the good of our people, then I will say that all of us together are not good and are unfit to serve the people.

I humbly claim for the Bhoodan programme that the people are keen on its execution. I have observed the feeling wherever I have been. Differences there are sure to be in every solution proposed. And the solution of the problem of land will be considered the most complex in India. That there should be differences regarding it is nothing surprising. The landless must get land; and if it is made available to them by the way of love nothing could be better. Of course, we of the Bhoodan mission do not believe that thinking people do not hold different opinions regarding it. There can be another common programme. One such is the plan sponsored by Government. What we seek to do is to find some item in the planning to which all agree and in the fulfilment of which all can join.

The third point I would like to place before you is that a programme of Bhoodan alone would not be enough. You know that the Ganga comes out alone at its source in Gangotri. But later on the Yamuna has to mix her waters in the waters of the Ganga. Even so, we must carry on Sampattidan along with Bhoodan. When we began our mission we did not start with both of them at once. It was not possible. Now we have arrived at a stage in our work when Sampattidan movement should also be carried on with equal vigour and our demand is that everyone should part with the sixth of his possessions in wealth. We can give more also. Let some one who feels he lacks the capacity give less. But it should not happen that one may feel content by giving in gift one small part of his wealth once for all. All of us have to continue giving in gift a good part of our wealth always. And we have to make a constant practice of giving *dan*.

Yesterday or the day before a friend had come to see me. He recommended to me that instead of being constantly on the move it would be better for me to sit at one place and show a model of how Swaraj or Ramraj could be developed in a group of twenty or twenty-five villages. I replied to his suggestion half humorously but in all earnestness meaning it fully that Baba had nothing now left to do in this world. He has to go about and place before people like the friend the idea he was working out and that it was for the latter to do, put it in practice as it would lead to the good of everybody. I then explained to him my attitude by giving an example. I told him that the signpost on the road did not take hold of one by the hand and lead him to the place of his destination. It rests content by pointing out that one way leads to Puri, another to Katak and a third to Bhuvaneshwar. It was for the wayfarer to choose and go wherever he liked, or

he may choose not to proceed at all. The signpost merely points out the distinction. That is the tendency usually shown by those who made the Shastras शास्त्र, न कायम् । The Shastra only informs, does not act. My tendency is like that. That is because I have been a constant devoted servant of the Shastras from childhood till today. I believe the way of the Shastras is for our good. We should not impose our opinions on society. Therefore, if you feel that the views I have placed before you will do you good and you accept them in practice nothing could be better and if you feel that they have no meaning and you cast them away it would be equally well.

(From Hindi)

BACTERIAL WAR ON CHILDREN

All honour to Shri C. Rajagopalachari for his courageous demand for the giving up of the B.C.G. mass vaccination campaign! For it does take moral courage today, even for the highly respected former Governor-General of India, to challenge for the sake of India's children the entrenched might of medical orthodoxy backed by the challenger's friends in the present Government.

It is seven years since the Health Ministry committed itself, with however laudable motives, to this "bacterial war on children", as Shri Rajagopalachari described it at a public meeting in Madras on June 30th. Declaring that B.C.G. vaccine not only did not guarantee immunity from tuberculosis but also caused positive harm, he announced his determination to continue his agitation until the Government gave up its policy of injecting innocent children with it.

The sooner it does so the better! The prestige of the Health Ministry will be better served by admitting having been misled than by perpetuating a dangerous policy until such a disaster as that at Lubeck in 1930—a veritable "slaughter of the innocents"—repeats itself in India, which may Karma forbid! But those who claim that B.C.G. is harmless are either ill-informed or disingenuous.

(From *The Aryan Path*, August, 1955)

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HARIJAN

August 13

1955

EDUCATION AND STATE CONTROL

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Dr. Mahtab, Governor of Bombay, has well spoken out on the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee for the Universities Grants Commission Bill. The occasion was very apt for such a statement. He was addressing the Convocation of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Poona. This was founded in 1920-1 in the wake of the great N.C.O. movement started in that year. It has been an independent institution carrying on its work without Government grant, much less a charter of incorporation usually associated with a university.

The recommendation of the Joint Select Committee lays down that no body other than one having a charter from the Government should be allowed to function. As far as I know, the Bill also provides for fines etc. as punishment for those who might contravene that provision. Dr. Mahtab rightly warned that such a step, though aimed at checking misuse of freedom by some, would result in injustice to many good and well-meaning institutions.

One may also add that not even the British Government had needed such a law, and allowed freedom to us even to institute and conduct national universities like The Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, The Tilak Vidyapith, Poona, The Bihar Vidyapith, Patna, The Jamia Milia, Delhi, etc. These were avowedly against foreign rule; but they could function so long as they did not contravene the general law of the land.

There is still further objection, fundamental in nature, against such Government curb on education. It is of the essence of freedom and progress that conscience and religion, education and art, opinion and association should in no way be under political or Government administrative control. The idea of allowing no university to function except on having State sanction for it is too narrow and unprogressive for healthy democratic growth of a people. It is tragic that some of us cannot think of a university unless it is under State charter. Such control over education is bad under a free constitution.

In the name of equalization of standards etc. the Bill also seeks to control universities, creating a fear of regimentation and ruling out freedom to experiment. This is to be buttressed by the bait of financial help under the Grants Commission. We hope our people at the Centre who are at the helm of affairs in our country at its most formative period will take a long-range view of matters educational.

At the end, it may be remarked that if it is felt that university institutions should have a charter in the manner of a licence or a permit, as for instance, to ply a trade or commerce, then the advice of Gandhiji which he gave to us when presenting to the country his idea of Basic Education in 1937, may be felt helpful. This is reproduced in this issue elsewhere under the heading 'Higher Education in Free India'.

We know that Gandhiji did not pursue this part of his advice (regarding university reform) further, and restricted himself to the first few years of national education. However we may well remind ourselves of that part now when we are going further in our educational reconstruction. The universities, as they have come to be at present, are bad enough, requiring to be radically reformed. This can be done by themselves only. The State can only help them in a suitable manner. Universities must have self-rule; then only can we be assured of their sound and abiding reform. Then only can they be expected to grow to be and function as the mind and the soul of a free people, which a university should really be.

4-8-'55

RIGHT OF PROPERTY AND THE STATE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Readers must have noticed the discussion, in the *Harijan* of 28-5-'55, of the idea which a correspondent from Bombay had conveyed to me under the caption: "Lure of Glamour and Pomp". The friend had also written about another subject which is equally serious. I pass it on to the readers in his own words. Others too are exercised over it. It would, therefore, be proper to probe deeper into it. Let us, to begin with, see what the friend has to say:

"A large part of the common people of our country is poor. To remove their poverty and to raise their standard of life in order to bring everyone to a level of economic equality is objective of our Welfare State, which is good.

"One remedy to this end is to decentralize the means of production and the power of the State. Food, clothing and a place to live in are the chief needs of human existence. It may not perhaps be reckoned an injustice in the present condition of the country to take away from zamindars who own hundreds and thousands of acres all land above fifty acres by compensating them more or less in money, or by persuading them to part with it or by a legal measure. Would it, however, be fair to deprive old widows, old teachers who are pensioners and such other aged and disabled innocuous persons, of only four or five acres of land belonging to them and which is their sole means of livelihood on the strength of the slogan 'land to the tiller', without fixing a minimum which a person can possess as property?

"Land is a means of production, it is true, but it is not the only kind of property which comes under the category. Mills, factories, mines and even money itself are means of production. The constant demand from the people to subscribe money to the national

development loan proves that money is a means of production. Why is not the principle which applies to landed property also applied to these others? And should it not be applied?

"Like food a place to live in is very necessary for human existence. Its value can be appreciated only by those who have to confine themselves like pigs to a room measuring 10' x 10' or only by those who helplessly pass their nights on the footpaths in the stench from the sewers, when even such narrow space is not available to them. On the other hand, the rich brazenly enjoy progressively two hundred, five hundred or more square feet of space to the individual.

"This state of affairs does demand an improvement and it cannot be said that it is impossible. But when those who have plenty are deprived of things they possess in order to supply them to those who have none or very little, one has to leave with the former enough of things like cloth, space to live in etc. that would be needed by them. You cannot deprive a mill-owner of all cloth which belongs to him so that he will have to go naked. Nor can we think of depriving a house-owner of his building and throw him on the foot-path to shift for himself. On the same principle no one should be made to part with the minimum of land he possesses. The minimum should be determined by the Government, that is the nation. And once the minimum is fixed its ownership should not be interfered with in any manner whatsoever by any act of Government. Our new Constitution itself has recognized the right to earn and have property. If found necessary a maximum as well as a minimum limit for holding property may be fixed by an amendment of the Constitution so that those who own more than the maximum may not live in plenty without performing any sort of labour and those who own less than the minimum may not be forced to go under for no fault of their own."

The correspondent has in these words raised a fundamental issue about the scope of the right of ownership and the freedom to enjoy it. The Constitution of India recognizes the right and the freedom.

Now, the position is that in a well-ordered society duty and self-control go hand in hand with rights and freedom. Only with the recognition of duty and self-control by the individual could rights and freedom be understood or recognized as virtues, because without the former two the latter two would together result in absolute lack of control or licence. Society could not maintain itself under such conditions. So the basic problem before society is how to inspire a sense of self-control as also a sense of duty in the citizen and how to bring them into actual operation. And what part has the State to play in the solution of the problem?

The correspondent is right when he says that once the minimum for owning land as property was fixed, there should be no interference with it by acts of Government except under circumstances of a public catastrophe. For instance, let us suppose the minimum is fixed at ten acres. Suppose also I own eight and I have rented it to a tenant. Now if the tenancy law tells me that I cannot have my land back from the tenant even for tilling it personally myself,

does it not amount to improper interference? It would be quite another matter if there were laws regulating the amount of rent or transfer of the land to another tenant with the intention of earning more rent. But the plain meaning of a right to property can be nothing else but this that I must get back the property for personal cultivation and the meaning can in no way be avoided or ignored. I have heard it said of the Bombay tenancy law that it limits this right of the landholder to have the land back from the tenant to the extent that the owner should be a farmer himself and the latter is defined as one whose income from sources other than farming is less than rupees hundred or some such amount per month.

The question which arises here is this: What if I wanted to turn a farmer? If realizing the nature of the changing times I intended to take to farming how is the point of my income relevant? The question asked by the correspondent as to how and on what principle could Government interfere with my keeping for me, to produce my own food, the minimum of land fixed by law, is correct.

He goes on to draw a picture of what would actually happen if the principle was applied to other kinds of property. That is only to demonstrate the strangeness of the position which would result as a consequence of the operation of the prohibition under the law. But if justice was sought to be done the question cannot be allowed to confine itself to property in land alone, but would have to be considered regarding other kinds of property as well. There is a difference, however, between property in land and property in other things. Land is a gift of nature and man can have food only through its means. So if man wanted to produce his own food the minimum of land necessary for the purpose should be made available to him to labour on; or he should have an opportunity to lead a life of self-respect by labouring in some other occupation.

Our Constitution has also recognized the universal human right of earning one's bread by one's own labour along with the right to hold property. We seek to refashion our social order on the principles underlying these fundamental rights, with sympathy for and in co-operation with all. Ease, laziness and indolence should be taboo in the venture. And to the extent that we show consciousness regarding a sense of duty and self-control as citizens we will be able to avoid the coercion of the law, or the rigour of the law will be tempered with understanding or it will be accepted willingly. Otherwise, revolution will have to be invited by intense effort. The Bhoodan movement seeks to find a natural, peaceful and religious solution of the problem.

6-5-'55

(From Gujarati)

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS DAY BY DAY — IV

(By Damodar Das Mundada)

We have reached Hazaridang. The more we go in the interior the greater is the density of the forests and the nobler is the man and simpler is his life.

Their Glorious Past

Finding himself quite at home in their midst, Vinobaji reminds them of their bright and glorious past, invites them to welcome and adopt new ideas and new contacts with the outside world and advises them to accept all that was good in them. But he never forgets to warn them at the same time to be ever on their guard and not discard their own merits and virtues which they have inherited from their bright past.

Living Contacts with Nature

He did not want them to deprive themselves of the delight they derived from their direct contact with Dame Nature. They would be erring, he emphasized, if they were under any hallucination or false impression that they resembled either dumb animals or the wild beasts. He told them how much he appreciated their meagre loin cloth around the waist and also their steel frames exposed to the sun, showers and the cold draughts of the wind. But that did not mean in the least, he remarked, that he could also justify their locking up themselves at night inside their breezeless airtight rooms particularly in the winter. They should not hesitate to cover their bodies at night in order to protect themselves from severe cold. That could be done, he emphasized, only when they would take to spinning and weaving their own cloth.

Better Use of Nature's Gifts

Further they should learn to relish the delicacies of Nature's gifts provided to them in the form of mangoes, plantains, *Jamuns*, *papita*, *kathal*, etc. They should try to increase the yield of these fruits and other agricultural produce and also try to improve their quality as well, but not for the sake of money. They should try to increase their yield and improve their quality solely with the view to add to the amount and raise the quality of what they consume. As for instance, he pointed out, they should not waste or abuse the nectar-like qualities of the palm trees by preparing harmful and poisonous intoxicating drinks like toddy from their juice, but should better utilize it instead for making Gur etc. in the largest quantities possible.

Already Higher Standard of Life

In the lap of the mother earth under the blue canopy of the sky and with the covetable luxury of abundant free air and invigorating rays of the sun, their standard of life, according to Vinobaji, was undoubtedly much higher than that of the urban people who have to pay both for light and free air! He pointed out further that they had only to reinforce themselves by learning to read the Ramayana, the Bhagawat, the Upanishads—the epic works which were by themselves the boons of the forests. Lastly, like the city-dwellers who have been out and out victims of the money economy and its unavoidable evils, they should never harbour even the slightest idea of evaluating their land in terms of money. He was not only astonished but also much pained to find the sons of the soil adopting suicidal policy of sale and purchase of land. Did they ever do it in the past? No. Why should they then, adopt such really harmful, sinful and evil practices in the blind imitation of the city people? Is not land like air, water and sun meant for the free use of all of us? They have to give up this ruinous habit of imitating other people. The only effective and proper way or remedy for it was, in the ultimate analysis, the Gramdan! They would thus maintain their culture and tradition which were, and are, so distinctively noble.

Give Up "Costly" Tobacco

Earlier on his way to the next camp during one of the many roadside receptions, he saw about a dozen boys coming forward towards him from the fields. It took hardly a few minutes for them to reach him. They all

stood silently gazing at him. Removing country-made *bidis* from behind the ear of a boy, he threw it away. Vinobaji asked the boys if they knew what harm tobacco did to health. They did not. He explained it to them. And more than a dozen boys threw away their *bidis*.

On finding that so many from the audience constituting one of his prayer meetings had had their *bidis* stuck behind their ears and noticing a few even smoking, Vinobaji gravely pointed out how the ears which were, in fact, meant to listen the praise of God were being abused by hanging smoking pipes or *bidis*. Referring then to the latest reported findings of the scientists and medical experts, he disclosed to them that smoking caused serious diseases like cancer of the throat and the lungs and was thus highly injurious to health and that eighty per cent of the calamity would be averted if this evil was given up.

It may well be noted here that at times we come across villages which spend equal amount for tobacco as their cloth in a year! Vinobaji is never tired of making specific and pointed reference to these and other topics of vital importance such as the evils of drink, tobacco, etc., which are now widely consumed all throughout the land including the villages particularly in recent years. The picture of Sarvodaya Samaj of his conception is never complete without throwing light on these vital problems.

God Does Not Need Wine

On another occasion, Vinobaji referred to the drink evil to which these Adiwasis are addicted and about which they carry some absolutely baseless notions. The evil in this part is based on this religious misconception: "Our deities need it and that is why we offer it to them and accept it only as *prasad*." To this comes Vinobaji's reply: "Is there any basis to this belief of yours? I have read the Shastras and can tell you on authority that there is not a single word such as this in the scriptures. This is all due to your ignorance. God does not need wine. He wants your devotion. Did Shabari offer wine to Rama?" He thus questioned them and also her false notion regarding offerings to the deities and thus taught them the real basis of the Shastras as to what the Almighty needs and really expects of us. He made them repeat the Mantra: *पत्रं फलं त्र्यम्बकं* — meaning the leaf, the flower, the fruit and water—which are what should be offered to God as laid down in the Shastras. He taught them this Mantra, patiently made them repeat it several times and also explained the true significance of every word. In fact, it was the basic and social education class for the young and the old combined. It was equally well a pointer to the Bhoodan workers as to what should be their approach to the village people.

I must not close this without referring to our camps every day. Smt. Shantabai Narolkar of the Talimi Sangh (who was formerly in charge of the pre-basic school) at Sewagram came to see Vinobaji in connection with Bhoodan work. She has resigned her seat in the Madhya Pradesh State Assembly for the sake of doing Bhoodan work. During the morning walks one day, she recalled one of her talks with Gandhiji. According to her Gandhiji thought that he may have to undertake Padayatra in the course of his experiments in non-violence and Satyagraha. Gandhiji believed that Padayatra had a definite contribution to make in the process of non-violent revolution, whether socio-economic or any other.

"If everyone recorded what special ideas Gandhiji gave to him or to her, we cannot predict what a great treasure the world would stand to get," observed Vinobaji and continued: "I have not the slightest doubt that it is time that the Gandhites must needs undertake Foot Journeys throughout the length and breadth of the country and go on moving at least for the next ten years to come. This will have its effects on the people as well as on the Government. It is alleged today that the Government is not favourably inclined towards the Sarvodaya idea. I, however, do not feel so. In my opinion, the

Government is slowly moving towards it. As I have just said, if all the Gandhites carry on Padayatra for the coming ten years throughout the country, I am sure it will have greater influence on both the people and the Government and the latter in particular would, then, move much faster towards Sarvodaya than today. And then a common programme for the country is not impossible."

LOKAMANYA — MAKER OF MODERN INDIA

Bombay's Chief Minister, Shri Morarjibhai Desai, broadcasting from the Delhi Station of All-India Radio, on August 1, on the death anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak, said that no words could express better the country's tribute to his memory and services than those of Gandhiji who had said, "No man preached the gospel of Swaraj with the consistency and insistence of Lokamanya. His countrymen, therefore, implicitly believed in him. For us, he will go down the generations unborn as a maker of modern India. They will revere his memory as a man who lived for them and died for them. It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokamanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our lives his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love of his country."

Shri Desai said that Dadabhai Naorji, Lokamanya Tilak and Gandhiji constituted the trio to whom the country's greatest gratitude is due. Dadabhai, he said, was the first to give open expression to the ideal of Swaraj in 1906 as the panacea of country's ills; Tilak declared it as a birth-right in 1916; and Gandhiji, with his efforts, saw during his life time that Swaraj had materialized as a fact of life.

The name of Lokamanya, the Chief Minister said, would remain for ever in the history of India as a Father of Indian Unrest who gave to his countrymen the illustrious slogan "Swaraj is My Birth-right".

Referring to some of the misconceptions about Lokamanya which were still prevalent in certain circles, Shri Desai said that they were mainly due to ill-gathered information about him by British writers from questionable sources and assiduously perpetuated in cold print in certain books. Some of our own countrymen, he added, also collaborated in this process.

Referring to the efforts that were made to link up Lokamanya with the cult of the bomb in Maharashtra and Bengal by the Police during the nineties of the last century and the first decade of the current century, Shri Desai said that all that had now clearly emerged, after the many court cases and even otherwise, was that Lokamanya was an altogether law-abiding and militant, constitutional fighter for freedom, an organizer of the people's discontent in constructive channels and a believer in passive resistance when all other remedies were unavailing. That was his political philosophy. Uncontestable testimony to his faith in a passive resistance programme was to be found in the anti-drink campaign that he organized in Poona City and Maharashtra Districts in 1908 soon after the Surat Congress. It assumed all the forms of bringing pressure to stop the drink traffic and introduce prohibition including picketing of liquor shops. That movement had become a movement of civil disobedience.

He had properly assessed, as a young under-graduate, the worth of not only the effort of 1857 but the abortive uprising of Vasudeo Balwant and seemed to have very definitely come to the conclusion that popular awakening, building up the power of resistance of the people, and constant opposition to the bureaucratic rule would alone lead to India's political salvation at the opportune time. But even when such opportune time came, people must be ready to take full advantage. He was clearly of the view that political rights would come not only because of the fairness or justness of those rights only, but also because of the pressure that people would be in a position to exercise. Therefore, his constant endeavour was to start

a movement for developing popular self-respect, a spirit of self-reliance and self-assertion or participate in any such movement started by others and strengthen it.

THE KANPUR STRIKE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

That the strike of mill workers at Kanpur has now ended after about two months and more is certainly good news. It had given occasion for a fairly good amount of controversy, agitation and anxiety in newspapers, Government Secretariats and the Cabinet itself. And it was natural. It would have been a matter of surprise, on the contrary, if this would not happen when cloth worth millions of rupees ceased being produced, when private profits and government revenue flowing out of it ceased doing so, and labour leaders are active and influential in politics.

The pertinent question in this connection, however, is what number of persons was thrown out of employment on account of the strike? I believe they would be a few thousands at the most. A power which can raise such controversy and agitation about the unemployment of such a small number must be wonderful indeed!

Let us now look at another side of the problem which escapes attention. How many are out of employment in the country today and suffer on that account? Could they not produce real wealth worth crores of rupees? Persons, hundreds of times the number of the unemployed textile labourers at Kanpur, are unemployed in the country. And they were not out of employment for a mere short two months! They have had no employment for years now! How can we explain the fact that nothing seems to move on their account? Why should it be so in their case? And why should it be otherwise in the Kanpur instance?

Replies to these questions demand consideration as much from the people as the Government. The unhappy state of affairs prevailing today is that the problem of unemployment hardly strikes anyone in this manner. But if we are earnest about establishing democracy in the country, there is no escaping consideration of the problem and in good time.

One explanation of the question I have raised is plain. One set of unemployed is organized and works in factories. The Government, the rich as well as the educated class which holds power in the land, which is influential and considered indispensable — all have a sneaking attraction for mechanized large-scale industries. And the other set of unemployed who live in their vast numbers in the rural areas are not organized, nor is anyone in particular concerned about their small industries some of which are yet living and most of which are dying; and no one pays attention to them.

This state of affairs is terribly dangerous for the nation. The biggest and the foremost problem facing India is removal of unemployment. It is indeed a great misfortune that even the second Five Year Plan does not seem to appreciate it as such.

When shall we reach the stage when the number of unemployed in the whole country

comes to be recognized as the one earnestness and sincerity test of the administration and its planning? Not till then could we claim that the State in India is the poor man's State.

27-7-55

(From Gujarati)

KHADI BOARD'S SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

(By C. K. Narayanswami)

Development programmes for Khadi and village industries prepared by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board for the Second Five Year Plan period involve a total capital outlay of Rs. 317.05 crores resulting in an output valued at Rs. 2,922.21 crores at the end of the Plan period and employment to 75.45 lakhs of persons in terms of full employment.

These facts were revealed today (5-8-1955) as the Board commenced its three-day session at Wardha, this afternoon. The Board's Plan divides the industries into two categories:

- (i) those with a common production programme, and
- (ii) exploratory development programme.

The outlay on development programmes falling in the first category is estimated at 292.50 crores with a total output of commodities in common demand valued at Rs. 2,590.9 crores. The outlay on the second category of industries is 16.36 crores with an output valued at Rs. 23.30 crores. In other words, an outlay of Rs. 317 crores for the five years is expected to result in an output valued at Rs. 2,922.21 crores.

Capital Output Ratio

An analysis of the data provided in the Board's Plan shows a capital output ratio of 1:9.22 for the entire group of village industries and 1:9.91 for the industries with common production programmes and 1:1.42 for the other industries. The development programmes, as a whole, estimate that for an outlay of Rs. 420 per capita the value of output may be Rs. 3,873 and the net per capita income Rs. 933.

The economic and social significance of the programme adumbrated by the Board consists in the provision of employment and distribution of income, side by side with the improved operative conditions, credit, storage and marketing facilities all of which together lay the foundations for gradual change towards higher techniques of production in the successive Five Year Plans.

Of the capital outlay of Rs. 317.05 crores, Rs. 66.22 crores are development expenditure, Rs. 186.91 crores loans, Rs. 60.11 crores expenditure on establishment and field organization for the industries and the expenditure on durable assets and equipments required for the intensive areas, training and research institutions.

Policy requirements and operative conditions required for the successful implementation of the Board's programmes for the Second Five Year period are set out in an explanatory memorandum which says:

Organization

"To implement the development programme to schedule the Board proposes to assign the responsibility of production to the States in accordance with their respective size, the concentration of a given industry in their respective areas and organizational and administrative machinery available. In other words, while the Board's main responsibility would be the co-ordination of effort and the provision of technical and financial assistance and guidance wherever necessary, executive responsibility for the programme will largely vest in the State Boards. Besides, the Board also proposes, in consultation with the Community Project Administration, to allot definite quotas of production to each area so that the Board's objectives which these development programmes seek to serve may be easier of attainment. In the same manner and for the same purpose the Board may also allocate on the basis of area self-sufficiency definite quotas of production to the

intensive areas selected for integrated economic development. Thus the organizational arrangements for the implementation of the various development programmes are the allocation of definite quotas of production to the States, Community Development Projects undertaking directly the responsibility for co-ordination of effort, and organization of research and training and, where necessary, limited programmes of production.

Policy Requirements

The success of the development programmes for the industries in charge of the Board very largely depends upon appropriate changes in policies governing the economic development in general and village industries in particular. The Planning Commission in their report recommended for the development of the village industries side by side with large-scale industries one or more of the following measures:

- (i) reservation of the spheres of production;
- (ii) non-expansion of the capacity of the large-scale industries;
- (iii) imposition of a cess on a large-scale industry;
- (iv) arrangements for the supply of raw materials; and
- (v) co-ordination for research, training, etc.

While the policy requirements detailed industry-wise in each of the development programmes presented by the Board are in substance the same as the earlier recommendations of the Planning Commission, they specify in the case of each industry with common production programmes definite allocations of production to the village sector and emphasize the need for a common price policy which is no more than a logical corollary of a common production programme.

Common Price Policy

Although the Planning Commission recommended the formulation of common production programmes for the various large-scale and corresponding village industries, the measure indicated by it were neither wholly accepted nor vigorously implemented by the Government to create the right operative conditions for village industries. While the Government did not always prevent the expansion of the capacity of the corresponding large-scale industries and, except in the case of textiles, did not also reserve any spheres of production in favour of the village industries, cesses and subsidies sanctioned by the Government failed to eliminate competition between the various sections of industry. Common production programmes imply an integrated approach, assessment of the capacity of the different sectors in an industry and definite allocations of production to each of them. An integrated approach to planning of the productive effort and allocation of responsibility for definite quotas implies a common or related price structure and the total elimination of competition between different sections in the same industry. To the list of policy requirements during the Second Plan period, the Board has added two main recommendations, which are already implicit in the earlier recommendations of the Planning Commission:

- (i) definite allocation to the village industries, and
- (ii) a common or related price structure."

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