

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

BUY KHADI HUNDIS President's Message

[Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, has issued the following appeal on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanti celebrations:]

We have been celebrating with enthusiasm for many years the birthday of Gandhiji as 'Charkha Jayanti'. Mahatma Gandhi himself desired that this day of his birth should not be celebrated as his birthday, but should be considered as 'Charkha Jayanti' and be observed as such. For this reason, all over the country mass spinning and popularization of Khadi are resorted to on that day. This year too we have to observe this day with enthusiasm, faith and a spirit of dedication.

Khadi is dearer because of the reasonable wages being paid to the women spinners. The Government of India is, therefore, extending financial assistance for the production and marketing of Khadi so that the consumer price may be brought down and side by side production can also increase.

During his life time Gandhiji has time and again been placing before us the utility of the promotion of Khadi production. Among the many aspects of this activity the most important is that through it large numbers of people can earn their daily bread, especially those who are unable to do any other work but who can, by the work of their own hands, employ themselves gainfully. From this point of view propagation of Khadi has been considered essential.

In the initial stages Congress leaders and other Congress workers used to hawk Khadi from door to door in order to propagate and popularize it. But now for the convenience of both the sellers and the buyers a novel method has been devised. People can now purchase Khadi of their choice according to their convenience. To facilitate this, sale of Khadi Hundis acts as a barometer to measure the extent of sales effected during the Jayanti celebrations.

I believe that the people will buy Khadi Hundis on their own volition in a spirit of dedication and love. These Hundis can be bought for any amount and exchanged for Khadi of one's own liking.

I hope that people in India will buy these Hundis in large numbers and I appeal to their patriotism to celebrate this Jayanti by buying Hundis and Khadi and thus help the cause.

EDUCATION — WHY AND HOW

(By Vinoba)

Almost everyone says these days that self-reliance has great importance in education. But I attach a far deeper meaning to this idea in education than is usually done. Now, my meaning is not limited to the simple view that there should be some training in craft and some physical labour in the educative process so that students and consequently all people become self-reliant. Physical labour should, undoubtedly, form part of training and everyone should also be educated to work with his hands. If every person in the country began to labour at something or the other by his own hands we would be able to avoid class distinctions in society and the nation would be prosperous and happy; this would also result in increasing production and in improving the standard of health. Thus, working by the hands would confer a variety of benefits on the people. It is easy, therefore, for everyone to understand that so far as this simple meaning goes the aim of education should be self-reliance or independence. But as I have said above, I attach a larger and deeper meaning to the conception.

What Schools Should Do

I believe we should adopt a method in education so that the intellect of the student develops of itself and he cultivates the habit of thinking independently. If we accepted this view of imparting knowledge the entire conception of knowledge will undergo a change. As it is, our schools and colleges teach many languages and diverse subjects. Students feel the need of a teacher in everything for long years during schools and colleges and later also. But the student should receive his education in a manner so that he develops the capacity to learn the necessary subjects by himself as he progresses in school and college from year to year. There is no end in the world to knowledge and subjects worth learning. One does not need all that knowledge in order to pass one's life on earth though it is true one should acquire enough knowledge to be able to live well and happily. But it is a misleading conception that knowledge necessary for living well and happily is received or imparted only in some school or college. Knowledge essential for life can be had only from life itself. It is the function of schools and colleges to develop the capacity of the student to acquire such knowledge by himself.

Freedom from All Outside Props

Parents insist on their sons completing their school and college courses because they believe the latter can secure good service jobs and live decently after passing through schools and colleges. But this is an entirely mistaken view of education and knowledge. Knowledge is

fundamental to life. It has been said of old that freedom is for freedom. We have translated this term freedom by the word self-reliance in modern educational thinking. Now, self-reliance would, in other words, be freedom from dependence on all outside supports or props. One who is truly educated or one who has truly acquired knowledge should be, or is, truly free and independent. It is, therefore, part of the idea of making the student self-reliant to give him some training to keep fit in body and to train him in some craft. And to develop the capacity in the student to acquire new knowledge by himself is an important part of the process of education.

Now, there is a third item over and above these two which is part of the educative process itself and which is essential to freedom. Just as in order to be true one has to be self-reliant and refuse to depend on any outside support whatsoever, one has also to free himself from various passions; one should be free from being controlled by them. The person who is a slave to his senses and who is not capable of controlling his passions is not self-reliant or free. Control of the mind and senses, taking of vows and adhering to them, rendering service to others and such other items form the third essential part of the process of training the student.

Self-Reliance Has Three Aspects

Thus self-reliance in a student has three aspects: fit has three meanings. The first is that the student who is properly trained should not have to depend on others for earning his living. The second is that he develops during his training the capacity to acquire knowledge by himself. And the third is that man should, while being educated, acquire the capacity to control himself. For a happy and successful life one must have the capacity to keep the senses and the mind under control. It is wrong to allow the body to be dependent on outside support; it is wrong to allow the mind to be dependent on outside support. Also it is wrong to allow the intellect to be dependent on outside support. The body of man becomes dependent because it has to live on food. Therefore, man should be trained in some useful craft in order to be able to earn his living. If man's intellect is not independent in thinking he becomes a slave. He should therefore be trained to think freely and independently for himself. And he should also be educated to free himself from the slavery of an uncontrolled mind and senses.

If parents were to keep these three aspects of self-reliance in mind when they think of the education of their children they would surely make themselves very happy. Parents are happy only when they see their sons and daughters happy and strong and esteemed by the world. But it would be entirely improper for parents to believe that they have done everything for their children once they are settled in some good job of service and are well married.

Teruwalli, 20-8-55

(From Hindi)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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UNTOUCHABILITY IN TAMILNAD

(By Swami Anand Tirthi)

Untouchability is rampant in the villages of Tamilnad as would be the case in other States also. Untouchability is practised in tea shops, coffee clubs, barber saloons, etc. It is prominent with reference to wells, tanks, chavadies, temples etc. It has, however, vanished almost completely in schools, public conveyances, cinemas, shandies, common festivals, etc.

In many of the villages, the Harijans are not admitted inside the teashops and even if admitted, they are served tea in cocoanut shells, plantain leaves, tin-pots or separate tumblers. Sometimes they are made to sit in a separate room and supplied tiffin and tea through a window. In one instance, when I took some Harijans to a Brahmin hotel, the Harijans and myself were mercilessly beaten. There were about five instances, when Harijan youths were kicked with shoes for entering hotels and demanding coffee in the common tumblers. The Police took action only in three of the cases and that also after we had moved in the matter.

It is really difficult to tackle the barber saloons in the villages. Harijans do not make bold to go to the saloons in the villages because the caste Hindus would harass them in various ways.

Harijans do not usually make bold to give their clothes for wash to the caste Hindu washermen and laundries. There are several instances when clothes of Harijans were refused to be taken for wash in laundries.

Even in the Municipal areas, some of the tea shops, barber shops and laundries are not open to the Harijans.

The wells and tanks used by the caste Hindus are not usually open to Harijans. Indeed, we only land the Harijans into trouble, when we encourage them to take water from wells and tanks.

The chavadies in the villages are not open to Harijans and our best efforts in this direction have not proved successful; so also, the small temples and shrines in the villages are still closed to Harijans. Some of the *Choultries* in big towns are not open to Harijans.

Though discrimination against Harijan pupils in schools is not so common now as before, still there are instances of discrimination in the matter of supplying drinking water and midday meals. In some District Board Elementary Schools while other pupils are allowed to use the tumblers, the Harijan pupils have to drink water poured into their hands by the non-Harijan pupils. Two such instances were reported to the President, District Board, Madurai.

Such are the various disabilities and insults, the poor Harijans have to suffer in their daily life in the villages.

[This is culled from a long report on social disabilities, our Harijan brethren have to undergo in Tamilnad even under Swaraj. The conditions all over the countryside in our land might be feared to be almost the same. Though law has done away with untouchability, custom still persists in it. And as the latter reigns more ruthlessly in villages, it takes a heavier toll of inflicting suffering on Harijans there. We must remember that the Savarnas so-called have to atone for it by actively helping and bravely standing by the Harijans when they are persecuted by blind and irreligious custom of untouchability.]

21-9-55

M. P.]

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS DAY BY DAY—VII

(By Damodaradas Mundada)

Samanvaya Ashram, Bodhi Gaya

The 2,500th Birthday anniversary of Lord Buddha is going to be celebrated at Bodhi Gaya in the near future and is to be attended by eminent Buddhists all over the world. Although Vinoba is not a Buddhist, he claims himself an humble follower of Lord Buddha. Did he not repeat more than once that his Bhoodan Yajna is but in the direction of furthering Buddha's mission of *Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan*? According to Vinoba, the teachings of Lord Buddha, which had Brahmanism as its basis, were not only recognized by the Indians but were also followed in their day-to-day life. He was glad, therefore, to note that Panditji, in one of his messages, had paid tribute to Lord Buddha as the greatest Indian. Vinoba knew that the opinion of his countrymen was divided on this point, but it mattered least to him. On the contrary, he felt that it was in the fitness of things that we demonstrated to the world how truly and sincerely we revere Lord Buddha as the greatest Indian. Our responsibility is all the more since we have adopted the Ashoka Chakra as our symbol. This was indeed a clear acceptance of the Lord's teachings and the manifestation of the high esteem we hold him in.

Vinoba here pointed out (in June last) to the deputation of the Sarva Seva Sangh how the idea of the Samanvaya Ashram had developed in his mind at the time of the Bodhi Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan. The quota of the *dampatras* fixed for Bodhi Gaya was completed before the said session and all the *dampatras* were ceremoniously presented to Lord Buddha in his shrine. Vinoba, therefore, felt that some cultural activities be started at Bodhi Gaya which could demonstrate to the world the place of eminence Lord Buddha occupied in our civilization. Thus came the Samanvaya Ashram into being. It is slowly attracting world tourists coming to Bodhi Gaya. It is expected that the place will be able to present a picture of life based on the principles of Sarvodaya. It may also soon become a centre for exchange of ideologies. Thus it is hoped that the Ashram may be able to attract, in near future, men of quality from amongst the Grihasthas desirous to lead a life of Parivrajakas (roving ascetics): "Care should be taken to avoid the drawbacks of the orthodox Parivrajakas. Therefore, although Bhiksha will be our ideal, we should try to lead as far as possible a life based on bread-labour alone." Such Bhiksha implied donations in Sutanjali as also produce of one's labour, he added.

Amber Charkha

Shri Dhirenbal Mazumdar, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh, wanted to know Vinobaji's opinion about popularizing the Amber Charkha. According to the present plans, about four thousand charkhas would be tried in the various centres by the end of January, 1956. Exact results about the potentialities of the charkha would be available by the next Sarvodaya Sammelan. In the meantime, it would not be possible nor advisable to put the charkha for sale in the open market. It would certainly be available for the sake of experimentation. It had the capacity to yield yarn equal to one spindle of the textile

mill and would fetch at least double the wage earned today by a spinner on the present charkha. The durability of the cloth was expected to be fifty per cent more than that of the current Khadi. But the impatience in responsible official and non-official quarters regarding the hastening of putting the instrument on the market for universal use was growing and even caused misunderstanding to the length of attributing motives to the Sarva Seva Sangh. Moreover, there was a divided opinion regarding recognizing and certifying the product of this charkha as "Khadi".

Clarifying all these misgivings, Vinobaji pointed out that he was whole-heartedly in favour of the new charkha, for, it would not only help at great length in resolving the problem of unemployment but would also lead the country towards self-sufficiency in cloth through the medium of cottage industry, thus eliminating the need of new mill spindleage. He also pointed out how much stress he had laid on the acceptance of the charkha at the Berhampur session of the A.I.C.C., both in the Working Committee meeting as also during the individual talks. He was for the mass production of this charkha. And once the pattern was approved of by the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Government had numerous workshops where they could get the charkha manufactured on a large scale. No one, therefore, should blame the Sangh for the lack of the necessary supply. He had also suggested that the Community Projects should take up this work in right earnest. He was glad that Pandit Nehru had welcomed his suggestions.

Ceiling for Land

The Chief of Hyderabad Congress, Shri Narsingrao told Vinobaji from his experience that the land problem could not be solved through ceilings which had frightened the landowners to retain the possession of their lands by means, fair or foul. According to him, Bhoodan alone could deliver the goods. Many supported his statement. Even some of the top leaders realized for the first time that although the State Governments had to move in the direction of the ceilings that was not going to solve the problem. What was the alternative? The just and equitable distribution of land, based on family units, going on today in the hundreds of the Gramdani villages of Utkal presents a practical demonstration of the soundness of the idea of flooring upheld by Vinobaji who has discounted ceiling altogether. Vinobaji, therefore, suggested to see if something could be done in encouraging the idea of villagization of land, which was the ultimate aim of Bhoodan and which, even to them, appeared worth while considering on the national planning level.

Sampattidan

The concluding talks with the President and members of the Sangh, next day, centred round Bhoodan and Sampattidan. Vinobaji insisted that the donor should feel satisfied regarding the disbursement of his amount donated in Sampattidan. He may be allowed to earmark his sum for a particular place, say a particular district or taluk. This will encourage the workers of that district or taluk to become self-sufficient so far as financial implications are involved. Did not Wardha people resolve to meet finances through Sampattidan? They are utilizing the amount only for the work connected with Bhoodan, such as supplying seeds, bullocks etc. and supporting workers. They did not use the money even for meeting their office expenses. Every district could follow suit. This would fulfil one of the pre-conditions necessary for the realization of the dream of *shasan-mukta samaj*. Vinobaji here drew the attention of the members to the natural corollary of organizing Bhoodan work, wherever possible on district basis, instead of the province basis as is being done today. Such an attempt would inspire the workers for intensive and concentrated action, and would lessen the centre's financial burden as well. Sampattidan could also be accepted in the form of the produce at the time of the harvest.

Moreover, at the time of land distribution, people should be exhorted to offer donations of bullocks for the recipients of land as was done in the Purnea district of east Bihar.

Speaking to the Sarva Seva Sangh friends, Vinobaji pointed out how he was not at all in a hurry to leave Koraput district unless a follow-up in the Gramdan villages was well organized. He consequently made that announcement at one of his prayer meetings and has given a call to his countrymen, to all who wanted to continue and concentrate on constructive work, to go to Orissa and take up the huge task of reconstruction in the hundreds of the Gramdan villages which are now prepared to embrace the Sarvodaya plan. Indeed here is the atmosphere ready for the realization of the dream of Ramarajya.

It is heartening to note in this connection that Sarva Seva Sangh has given serious consideration to Vinobaji's suggestion and have, by a unanimous resolution, decided to depute Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhde, their able Secretary, to organize the work of reconstruction in the five hundred Gramdan Villages of Orissa. Vinobaji's claim that constructive work rises or falls with Dhoodan has come true. Never before, during the last thirty-five years of constructive life was released such a vast energy of willing co-operators in the cause of shaping Gandhian ideology. Shall we at least now realize the force of making all our activities Bhoodan-based? And shall we make a concentrated effort here and now to accomplish the goal of Bhoodan by 1957?

9-9-55

HARIJAN

Oct. 8

1955

THE FALLACY OF "PUTTING THE CLOCK BACK"

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A reader of the *Harijan* draws my attention to an article of this paper as follows:

"I read Mr Prasad's article in *Harijan* (July 30, 1955) on 'Gandhian concept of Decentralization'. I wish to point out that Bertrand Russell's quotation ('In those parts'....etc.) which occurs in Mr Prasad's article is incomplete, and, therefore, conveys a meaning which is not intended by Russell. The quotation, if continued and completed, reads,.....'Gandhi, realizing these dangers attempted to put the clock back by reviving handloom weaving throughout the continent. He was half-right, but it is folly to reject the advantages that science gives us; instead they should be seized with eagerness and applied to increase the material wealth and, at the same time, to preserve those simple privileges of pure air, of status in a small community, of pride in responsibility and work well done, which are rarely possible for the worker in a large industrial town.' (Authority and the Individual, p. 86).

The writer is right in saying that the partial quotation gives only one aspect of the idea of Russell. However, we can easily see that in the context of his argument, the writer of the article could avoid to quote Russell further without doing any injustice to him. It would not be wholly correct to say that it 'conveys a meaning which is not intended by Russell'. Russell does recognize that there are 'greater evils of industrialism' than those of the traditional way of life

of the people of low standard of living. And he adds a further idea to this remark, to which the correspondent quoted above draws attention. The quotation if given full would have, I think, unnecessarily added a side-view of the matter under discussion, which was not directly relevant to the topic under presentation.

It is obvious that Dr. Russell admits that evils of industrialism are greater than those of the 'traditional way of life' in our villages. His additional plea in this behalf is that 'it is folly to reject the advantages that science gives us.' And he dubs this as "putting the clock back".

This phrase is often used by some people in India also, to describe Gandhiji's economic ideas on village industries. However the phrase is too catchy or sloganish to bear a logical examination. It is worthwhile to note that Russell does not argue that these advantages which science gives us can be had only through centralized industry as so many in India today, I fear, take for granted as a scientific truth. Russell is sure that advantages that science gives us should be secured, that they should be fully availed of. But the point to be noted is that he suggests that this can be done through a decentralized way of life of a small community also. In India most of our people live in such small village communities. And it must now be clear to all that those who stand for decentralization through small-scale village industries do desire to avail of the benefits science can give to help them. Only they do not agree that the way of centralized industrialism is the only scientific way; it is not the one they stand for.

A reference to 'putting the clock back' is therefore unreasonable and is, I think, born of a very common prejudice found among people infatuated with Western achievements through capitalism and industrial centralism. It is not therefore truly scientific. It will be interesting to quote in this connection here from the well-known American sociologist, Lewis Mumford's recent book, *In the Name of Sanity*. He lays bare the patent fallacy that is lurking in the naive argument of 'putting the clock back'. He says (pp. 112....):

"The fact is that it is not ignorance and poverty and weakness, those old enemies of man, that threaten Western Civilization; just the reverse: it is knowledge of godlike dimensions, wealth on a scale that mankind has never enjoyed before, and power of the most titanic order, all the goals Western man has pursued so single-mindedly the last three centuries, that have brought this civilization to the brink of disintegration.

"Patently that road has not merely proved a blind alley; it may well be a death trap. If we move further along that road, we shall be fatally caught; hence the task of our generation is to retrace our steps, to reorient ourselves, and to discover alternative courses. We must re-examine man's needs and re-establish more human goals than those we have mistakenly pursued; we must choose the road to life, which of old was called the road to salvation, and which now is also

the road to survival. We need more knowledge still, but of a different kind from the fragmentary, unco-ordinated triumphs of modern specialists; we need more wealth, but a wealth measured in terms of life rather than profit and prestige; we need more power, too, the human power to control, to inhibit, to direct, to restrain, to withhold, in direct proportion to our augmented physical power to explode and destroy.

"These words may well fall with an ominous sound on the ears of a generation schooled to look upon all changes as progressive, upon all mechanical inventions as desirable, upon all inhibitions and controls as frustrating; people who, even when they were not Marxists, regarded history and culture as a sort of assembly-line process, in which man himself could play no decisive part, except possibly to accelerate further the inevitable movement of impersonal forces. Such people used to sum up that strange conviction by saying: You cannot turn the hands of the clock backward. But as a matter of demonstrable fact, that is neither practically nor metaphorically true. Our generation has repeatedly seen the hands of the clock turned backward for evil and villainous purposes, purposes that have made slavery and the butchery of innocent people commonplaces of totalitarian government; and this horrible negative example should convince us that the hands of the clock may be turned backward, perhaps, for good purposes too, provided that sane good men, who believe in the democratic and rational processes, know their minds as well as the brutal and demented ones do.

"So, instead of furthering the present processes of automatism, instead of submitting to a love-denying and life-strangling routine, our hope lies in restoring to the very center of the mechanical world the human personality, now lost and bewildered and hungry in the jungle of mechanisms it has created. Where our ancestors sought power alone, we must seek control; where our predecessors were interested only in causes and means, we must become equally interested in purposes and goals. That is why art and religion and ethics have a significance for the present generation that they did not enjoy even a decade ago; and that is why the arts themselves, precisely because they are among the central expressions of the personality, have a peculiar importance in helping us to understand our present predicament and to find a way out of it."

Further on, Mumford discusses the point from another standpoint and says (pp. 116....):

"For the last three centuries Western man has been remoulding his outer and his inner world with the aid of the machine, and increasingly in the image of the machine; in his preoccupation with the conquest of nature he has unhappily lost sight of the human, the cosmic, and the divine. The ultimate source of this change was, without doubt, the scientific revolution that took place in the seventeenth century, a reaction against the tendency of the Christian Church to identify its own limited human province with the omniscience and the omnipotence it postulated for its God. Science, turning its back upon the claims of Christian theology to have direct revelation of all knowledge significant to man, occupied itself with the piecemeal examination of external nature. In the effort to achieve verifiable knowledge, science isolated quantities from qualities, objective data from subjective data, the measurable from the incommensurable, the simple part from the complex whole. By that act science thrust aside as unreal the world of the artist; the world arising out of emotion and desire; the world of the qualitative and the subjective; the world whose complex patterns become meaningless as soon as they are reduced to mere fragments.

"This deliberate depersonalization and dehumanization of knowledge gave the physical scientist a great tool for reinvestigating the force of nature; but at the same time it reduced half of human life, the subjective half, the inner half, to a state of insignificance, if not actual non-existence. Naturally enough, those who brought about this change did not fully understand what they were doing; like Descartes they even hid this heresy from their own eyes by consigning the soul to the Church, while everything they regarded as of rational importance they reserved for science. But in the course of three centuries marked by the increasing intellectual and practical achievements of the physical sciences, the ultimate results of Galileo's original formulation of the procedures of science became, at long last, fully visible: science has not merely eliminated a thousand irrelevant fantasies and wishful projections that had kept man from understanding the nature of the physical world; but it also has undermined man himself, and all but eliminated from every department of life the essential concepts of purpose, value, and quality.

"Man's autonomous inner world, the impulses and urges he projects and realizes in the forms of art, were foreign to science and completely irrelevant to its aims. In the ideal world that the scientist was creating, machines increasingly took the place of men, and men themselves were tolerated only to the extent that they took on the attributes of machines, free from passion and emotion, indifferent to values, unconcerned with any ends except those derived from the immediate job or process. Since man is himself part of the order of nature, he learned much about his own nature and his circumstances from this new method of thought, but at the same time he forgot many truths about his constitution and aptitudes that religion and art had always abundantly recognized."

169-55

COMMUNITY AND CASTE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Quoting the opinion of the Congress President as declared by him that communalism and casteism should be destroyed, a correspondent writes: "During the period of transition through which India is passing these vital matters (like caste and community) need as much clarification as possible. In order to feel sure that we are on the right path on our journey to our aim and are not merely indulging in slogan-mongering one feels the need of precise ideas which require intense thought as nourishing food on the way." He then asks that these subjects be discussed.

Community and Caste are elements which have gone deep in our social make-up for a very long time past. We may not here start on a research regarding the institutions; but no one can deny that they embody active living sentiments operating in the social life of the country even today.

The talk of the destruction of these elements which have been playing their part in the formation of the pattern of our social structure can hardly mean their utter annihilation, for the simple reason that the institutions form its integral parts so much that they seem to be basic to it. Their destruction, therefore, can only mean removal of the evils which may have entered

them during the course of time, i.e., their purification. It is, therefore, necessary for us to grasp clearly why we raise the two ideas of community and caste to the status of an 'ism' and what it implies. Besides, we have to point out precisely what evils in them are detrimental to the health of society so that our people may consciously set about removing them.

Quom (community) is a Persian word and its root meaning is one people constituting a country or nation. The word is current in the original meaning in Hindi; but in Gujarati the meaning has narrowed down to indicate a group of people who follow the same religion, — a religious community. Thus, according to its Gujarati connotation, Hindu, Mussalman, Parsi, Shikh and others are *quoms* or communities. As all these different communities constitute but one people belonging to one country or nation there should be unity, or at least harmony among them and hence we have named this sentiment as "communal unity". It is likely that the idea of a religious community may not be consistent with, or the same as, that of a national community. It is obvious that if this were to happen in the case of communities living together in the same country and if, therefore, the national sentiment were to weaken or be hindered in its development and as a consequence the sentiments of separateness of communities were to gain in strength, the nation would be harmed and would not be able to maintain its essential unity. If the sentiment of the oneness of a community were to take the form of a sentiment of clear separateness as nationality it would usurp the rightful place of the national sentiment and become communalism. As a result the nation and a religious community would become one, so that in the country communities other than the one which is powerful would feel oppressed and lose all affection for the nation or may choose to separate themselves from it. The emergence of Pakistan illustrates the point. And the communal State of such a powerful community will turn into a sort of a religious State. For instance, again, Pakistan seems to intend doing so. Our aim in India is not to have a religious but a secular State, that is, a State in sympathy with all religions. In such a State all communities would live in harmony as one united people and would consider their particular religions as their own spiritual concern. In such a State exaggerated feelings of separateness of religious communities would prove an evil.

The institution of caste is peculiar to the Hindus. It seems to have had its influence on the Mussalmans, the Christians, the Parsis, the Shikhs and other communities so that they, too, show characteristics of caste. But essentially caste is peculiar to the Hindu social organization. This is to say that the institution has not shaped itself out of the relations between the commu-

nities but indicates separate units constituting a single community. Students of the growth of the institution tell us that its origin does not lie in the differences of religions but in those of social functions or occupations. It is said that there were only four *varnas* in the beginning which have now spread out into eighty-four castes.

If we try to find its characteristics we see, in the first place, that caste is determined by birth. For instance, a carpenter's son remains carpenter by caste even though he takes to another occupation or becomes a Government servant. The other is that partaking of food and marriage are confined only to the same caste. That is to say that the secret of caste lies in the regulation and restriction of inter-dining and marriage within the caste units determined by birth alone. As a consequence, every caste, though a part of the larger Hindu society, becomes as if another smaller social unit within it. This social sub-unit of caste has been traditionally looking after social customs regarding marriage, divorce, birth, death etc. independently on its own. The caste institution has forged its own sanctions of boycott, etc. for their regulation and control. For instance, today the Hindu Code Bill is being considered by Parliament. It deals with matters like marriage, inheritance, divorce etc. But many Hindu castes have from ages past organized the regulation of these matters and do it effectively. In fact, there was no need of any legal measure for them on this account.

Over and above the characteristics noted above the institution of caste manifests a sentiment of high and low among the various caste units. It is expressed even in the matter of partaking of food, as well as of marriage. For instance, it is a matter of common experience that members of a particular caste will not take water from the hands of those of other castes, nor will they take food with them; marriage between members of different castes is, of course, out of question! And the Harijan castes were set aside as untouchable! We have now abolished untouchability considering it an evil overgrowth of the caste system and it is now reckoned a crime to practise untouchability in any form whatsoever. But the sentiment of caste still persists in the Hindu social order in other forms and manifests a living force on the strength of customs regarding taking of food and marriage. It is obvious that if, like the force of community feeling, this one of caste feeling does not operate within the broader limits of and foster the one-nation sentiment (as also the community sentiment) it would disintegrate the nation as also the community. That would give rise to the evil of casteism like the one of communalism. This is how the idea of destroying casteism and communalism has been born. It will be considered hereafter separately.

4-4-'55

(From Gujarati)

THE THIRD WAY MOVEMENT

[The following is reproduced from a press release on a movement for international peace and liberation that is working mainly in the Western world. Those who think in terms of Satyagraha to solve the problems of the world should be interested to know about allied ideas and programmes going on in different climates of culture and politics. The following is given here from that point of view.]

23-9-55

M. P. J.

Millions of people everywhere now realize that peace and security for mankind cannot be achieved through the policy of military blocs. These people are looking for some expression of their viewpoint. The Third Way Movement provides it.

In Europe, America, Asia and Africa, there are organizations which have, for some time, advocated no support for the war preparations of either the eastern or the western blocs; they have also sought to develop political and economic programmes that reject both capitalism and communist totalitarianism. Some of these organizations have met and discovered a good deal of common ground and mutual encouragement. It is now suggested that there should be an international conference to establish closer contact and exchange views....(on the basis of a tentative policy statement given hereafter *.)

It is proposed that the scope of the conference shall cover the basic conception of the Third Way and the relationship of non-commitment in the power struggle to a positive outlook in world affairs; what is involved in a constructive plan of aid for underdeveloped countries; colonial liberation; outline of a Third Way political and economic policy; future organization of the movement, and a programme of action.

Policy Statement

"The second half of the 20th century finds the world in a profound crisis. In the midst of tremendous opportunities, we are living under the shadow of war and economic insecurity, and in danger of social and moral disintegration. Armaments increase, cleavages deepen, wars which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands are fought and the H. bomb finally brings us face to face with the possibility of the destruction of civilization.

"For these reasons, and because political parties in general are incapable of any confident and imaginative response, the people of the world have a sense of helplessness which facilitates the present trend towards the regimentation of society and the divorcing of the common man from any control over social policies.

"This helplessness can be overcome only by some fresh alternative which will lift us out of the Cold War framework and provide a solid basis for peace.

* The conference was to be held in Kings College Hostel, London S.W. 5 from Saturday morning, September 3, 1955 to Tuesday evening, September 6.

"We therefore declare ourselves for the Third Way.

"The primary purpose of the Third Way (Third Camp) movement is to bring together all those who reject the present-day policies of both the Russian and American blocs, and who are seeking for a new political and philosophical outlook to deal with the causes which issue in such policies; who refuse to give support to the war preparations of either side in the Cold War, or to any alternative military alliance; who believe unequivocally in Human Rights, including the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control; who are dedicated to waging war on want; and who stand for a programme of political and economic democracy at home and abroad."

WELFARE STATE v. SARVODAYA STATE

(By P. Srinivasachari)

I

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance....." So runs an article of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

This noble ideal has been taken as the basis of a Welfare State regarding which one hears much being talked about in recent times. Politicians as a class are never tired of praising the virtues of a Welfare State. Leaving them apart, many intellectuals belonging to this school of thought speak with great enthusiasm about the prospect which a Welfare State holds out to solve the present day economic ills. They have no doubts in their minds that the economic conditions of the people can be improved and the inequality in society reduced, only with the establishment of such a State. In fine, according to them, the Welfare State promises a new social order, (a truly revolutionary one), guaranteeing a minimum standard of living to all. It sets a pattern for a humane and progressive society.

That the concept of the Welfare State providing the necessities of life to everybody carries with it a tremendous appeal cannot be denied. People are led to believe that the Welfare State will look after their problems and that the mark of highest progress is the conversion or transformation of the present State into one with the ideals of the Welfare State. Political parties vie with one another to win over public support by repeatedly declaring their goal as the achievement of a Welfare State. The Congress Party also at its Avadi Session affirmed in clear terms its goal as the establishment of "A Welfare State with a Socialistic Pattern of Society". As this is the party in power, plans are framed for the development of the resources of the country keeping this objective in view. The First Five Year Plan is nearing completion and a second plan with a more ambitious programme is being drawn up with much emphasis on the establishment of heavy and capital goods industries and also the development of small-scale and village industries.

While the ideal of a Welfare State is good as far as it goes, we who believe in the Gandhian conception of a Sarvodaya Order cannot remain indifferent to the policies and programmes of the Government. The country's resources are being developed for the first time in a systematic and planned manner, and in an under-developed

country like India, where large-scale industrialization has not yet assumed serious dimensions, it will be easier to experiment with and make a beginning towards Sarvodaya Order. Otherwise, if those who believe in Sarvodaya prefer to wait with a doubtful mind instead of giving out their views in unmistakable terms, they may soon find themselves not in agreement with the programmes of the Government, when its ambitious plan with a strong bias towards heavy industries gets completed. Also, once the economic structure of the country is built on the basis of heavy and big industries, it may not be possible nor will it be easy at all to overcome the obstacles and difficulties in the endeavour to establish a decentralized economy which Gandhiji wanted Independent India to adopt as the surest way to solve her problems and in her progress towards a richer and nobler life. We would have lost a great opportunity if we do not make our position clear now. For, in course of time, when the economic structure of the country is firmly laid on the foundation of the heavy industries, those who stand for a Sarvodaya Order, disillusioned and critical of the policy pursued by the Government will be a handful few and considered as mere academicians. Our position will become akin to the thinkers in the West who are sceptical about the achievement of the modern machine age.

There is also another reason why those who aim at a Sarvodaya Order should think and act without any delay. A confusion is being created in the minds of the people that the Welfare State as conceived by the Congress is the same as the Sarvodaya State as visualized by Gandhiji. The common man in his humdrum daily life has got no time or inclination to ponder over these questions and come to his own conclusions. Hence it is all the more necessary that we should make it clear how far the postulates of the Welfare State are in agreement with those of the Sarvodaya State. This article is an attempt to discuss the points of contact and disagreement between these two conceptions.

(To be continued)

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RURAL INDIA

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A correspondent from Bombay writes to say :

"During the last eight years our Nation has made a commendable progress in various sections of our daily life. But I feel strongly that the anatomy of the country as a whole has not yet been studied thoroughly, due to the foreign domination in the past. I feel that the time has come to study all the aspects and the angles of our countrylife as a whole and for that the appointment of the Country Life Commission for India has become the urgent necessity."

And then he suggests the following points worthy of our study :

1. Structural pattern of rural life in India
2. Structural points of the rural population
3. The fertility of the rural population
4. Natural factors in farm experience
5. Associational cultural patterns in villages
6. Traditional cultural patterns in villages
7. Rural functions and the social equality
8. Personality traits and farm experience
9. Advantages of the rural life
10. Morality as a factor in a rural life and process
11. Motives for the urban-ward migration
12. Problems of the associations from farm to farm
13. City to Farm movement, motives and adjustment
14. Social differentiation and the process of stratification
15. Cultural changes in the country life
16. Social changes in the country life
17. Social institutions in a changing culture in villages

18. Rural Government in a changing environs
19. Rural economic values in a standard village
20. Problem of youth (Farm youth)
21. Social aspects of Farm tenure
22. Social aspects of Farm labour
23. Rural Pathology and the welfare institutions
24. Implications of the rural trend
25. Development of rural sociology

Of course there are many other problems and the points on Country Life in India which also have to be studied thoroughly."

And he concludes with saying :

"I am sure the recommendations of the Country Life Commission for India will move the Rural Sociology of India ahead a generation. Such a commission will directly help the Second Five Year Plan and the succeeding project of developments in India. The appointment of the Country Life Commission for India in future, is the real beginning for the widespread interest in the Rural Life in India and the real base for the Welfare State in India."

The suggestion is a good and helpful one. Not only that, it is utterly necessary that we begin to study rural India in a scientific way, so that our planning might take its right direction of rehabilitating our countryside, which is real India. As a matter of fact, perhaps unknowingly, we are, by the sheer strength of our circumstances, going towards it. The Khadi and Village Industries Board, the Hand-loom Board, the Small Scale Industries Board, the Social Welfare Board etc. are pointers in this matter. The difficulty is that these Boards are set up without a well set plan and hence they are not co-ordinated for working out a common idea, viz. rehabilitating Rural India, which is implicit in this. Not only that, these Boards work under diverse Ministries who do not have a common goal or approach and ideology for rebuilding the country. What is needed is really to create an independent Rural Life Rehabilitation Ministry with all these Boards under it. Such a step might naturally follow an inquiry of the sort suggested by the correspondent above.

In this matter, our universities also can lend a helping hand. They should begin to turn their efforts to such studies by freeing themselves from the imitative traditions they have fallen a prey to during the British rule. They can do it immediately if they begin to function through the language of the people to serve whom should be their proper function now.

20-9-55

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