

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

Vol. XIX. No. 33

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1955

TWO ANNAS

EQUAL DISTRIBUTION AND NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

(By Gandhiji)

In the Constructive Programme I mentioned equal distribution of wealth as one of the thirteen items.

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants.

To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

It is perfectly possible for an individual to adopt this way of life without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can observe a certain rule of conduct, it follows that a group of individuals can do likewise. It is necessary for me to emphasize the fact that no one need wait for any one else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with the new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of

the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them. For, according to the doctrine, they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity enters into his earnings and there is Ahimsa in his venture. Moreover, if men's minds turn towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society, and that without any bitterness.

It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society. But this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale on non-violence. Somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that Ahimsa is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should, therefore, be limited to that sphere. In fact this is not the case. Ahimsa is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is at once my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult, is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence. The history of religion is full of such examples.

To try to root out religion itself from society is a wild-goose chase. And were such an attempt

to succeed, it would mean the destruction of society. Superstition, evil customs and other imperfections creep in from age to age and mar religion for the time being. They come and go. But religion itself remains, because the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion. The ultimate definition of religion may be said to be obedience to the law of God. God and His law are synonymous terms. Therefore God signifies an unchanging and living law. No one has ever really found Him. But *avatars* and prophets have, by means of their *tapasya*, given to mankind a faint glimpse of the eternal law.

If, however, in spite of the utmost efforts, the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. Man has been conversant with violence from the beginning, for he has inherited this strength from the animal in his nature. It was only when he rose from the state of a quadruped (animal) to that of a biped (man) that the knowledge of the strength of Ahimsa entered into his soul. This knowledge has grown within him slowly but surely. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

Harijan, 25-3-40

WELFARE STATE *v.* SARVODAYA STATE

(By P. Srinivasachari)

(Continued from the previous issue of 8-10-55)

II

Welfare State — Origin of the Idea

The idea that the State should come to the rescue of the weaker section of the public and help them is not a new one. We find that there had always been some kind of organization (either the Church, the Guilds or the bequests of private persons) to render relief to the poor. When these forms of help were found to be inadequate to cope up with the problem and to meet the needs of an expanding society, the State had to step in and take up the responsibility for helping the poor. The Poor Law Reform in England under Queen Elizabeth I, is an instance of this kind.

Failure of Capitalism

But the origin of the conception of the Welfare State in the sense that the needy and the poor should get State assistance as a matter of right without any stigma attached to it, and not as charity, is quite a recent one. It developed when the great expectations arising from the growth of capitalism as an agency of all-round development did not materialize and proved to be only wishful thinking. The hopes of the early economists that under capitalism there would be a self-perpetuating process of development were belied by the actual working of the system. Even in her days of prosperity under free enterprise one in ten of the population in England was a

destitute.⁶ The great increase in the production of wealth did not bring any corresponding increase in welfare to a large number of people. On the other hand, the vast expanse made in the creation of wealth mostly benefited only the negligible section of the population who had control over the means of production. Since the profit motive was the guiding force for investment in an undertaking, and not the social necessity or economic justification, production of wealth could not be carried on in an orderly and planned way. Periodical booms and slumps, otherwise called by economists as 'trade cycles', causing scarcity, curtailment of economic activities and unemployment became accepted as regular and inevitable phenomena under capitalism. It is not our purpose here to give an account of the growth and progress of capitalism. Suffice it to say that when the promise held out by capitalism did not materialize, it was soon realized that mere increase in wealth should not be the aim sought after; but wealth should be created for the use of men. It can be said that when people began to think about the proper machinery for the control and use of wealth in the larger interests of the masses, the idea of the 'Welfare State' was born.

Rise of Socialism

Since it was found from experience that it was not possible to have a well-thought out and co-ordinated plan of production under capitalism and the development of resources which were in the hands of autonomous entrepreneurs required artificial stimulus in the shape of quick profits or higher rewards, a school of thinkers, the Socialists, wanted the State to own and control the means of production for the proper use of wealth for the benefit of the people at large. The Socialists maintain that under private enterprise the interests of the workers and people will not be properly safeguarded as economic activities are not carried on with the idea of serving the people. They want the State to take up the responsibility for maintaining full employment, extending other kinds of social services, reducing the present inequalities and paving the way for the equality of opportunity to all. The right to work and earn a living (security of income) is an inalienable right of everybody and should be guaranteed by the State and should not be dependent on the arithmetical calculation of profit/loss of a few capitalists. It is the duty of the State to provide these various welfare measures to the people, and, in the opinion of the Socialists, unless the order of production is planned and controlled by the State, this objective cannot be attained. In short, they want the State to guide and canalize economic activities into desired channels for promoting human welfare.

A Middle Way of Mixed Economy

There is another body of opinion, which, while subscribing to the view that the State should undertake many welfare measures, does not agree or find it necessary for this purpose that the means of production should be owned and controlled by the State and their use also planned by it. The economists belonging to this school (known in recent times as the Welfare School of Economics) state that the production of wealth alone should not be the aim of economic activities and that the wealth produced should contribute to the maximum welfare of the society. As the happiness of society is equivalent to 'the sum total of the happiness of all the individuals in society', maximum welfare can be attained if the economic activities promote the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number'. But the welfare economists differ from the Socialists as regards the direct role which the State should play in organizing the production of wealth. The former hold the view that economic welfare can be promoted by the State without seriously disturbing the working of the system of private enterprise. They don't want the State to come down and occupy the domain of private enterprise.

⁶ Survey of General Booth in 1890. *In Darkest England and the Way Out.*

They are one with the classical economists as far as their admiration for the efficiency of production and the freedom of atmosphere obtainable under the system of free enterprise goes. Like the classical economists they also hold the theory of value or price and the importance of market operations as sacred for the smooth working of economic laws. They will not like the State to take any measure that will violently disturb any of these and render the normal working of the system difficult.

The Welfare School

The Welfare School thinks that measures for social welfare can be undertaken by the State without destroying private enterprise. Through the system of taxation and from other sources of public revenue, the State can command enough resources to carry out its beneficial activities. The State can also direct development activities into particular fields by providing enough incentives and indirectly encouraging private enterprise (e.g. grants, tax-free concessions, etc.) or prohibiting or controlling production. The employment level also can be maintained or raised through a proper policy of public undertakings and by giving sufficient help to the private sector. They maintain that a Welfare State can function without any need of taking recourse to State planning and other measures of control, by allowing the capitalist system to work under minimum restrictions.

(To be continued)

"MACAULAY TRADITION" IN EDUCATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

I refer the reader to my article "Hindi v. Regional languages", in the issue of Sept. 17, p. 230. It was a copy that I had sent for publication in the Bombay daily papers. By now the Bombay University Senate is reported to have accepted the majority report of its Medium Committee, which was that Hindi only should be the medium in Bombay city. As that will be 10 or 15 years hence, the question that I raised in my above article remains for the Bombay University; students and their teachers must thrash out the issue about what they should do immediately, as English is unworkable and impracticable as the medium.

A correspondent wrote in a Bombay paper criticizing my above article. I sent a public reply to it which is reproduced below:

"Shri Bal Deshpande has criticized my letter that you had kindly published in the issue of your paper, of September 6, 1955, regarding the medium of instruction in the Bombay University. On reading the reply I feel that I should restate my position so that a misunderstanding the like of which appears in Shri Deshpande's letter may be cleared.

My reference to the 'Macaulay tradition' was only casual and was meant to indicate the policy which Lord Macaulay began for Higher Education and which many in Bombay unwittingly seem to follow and adopt even in Free India, namely, that of using as the medium of instruction a language that was adopted by the British Government as the medium of its administration. This alliance of the medium of education with that of administration, both being the same alien language, from the point of view of the student, is the chief attribute of what I described as the Macaulay tradition. Shri Deshpande admits that such a thing 'ensures a regular supply of 'Babu' Sahebs for bureaucratic administration. Surely we are not out to have such a result, however different in degree or extent, through Hindi.

As we well know, the British rulers decided that English will be the medium of their administration in India. Macaulay devised the instrument of the English medium of instruction to push on the ideals of British culture and civilization taking roots among the educated in India. The lure of services whipped up the unnatural use of the foreign medium. In this way we have had the tragedy of seeing that we were taught through a foreign language, to the great detriment of real studies as also the progress and advancement of our own languages, let alone the division of our people into classes.

The Bombay University Medium Committee, has, I am afraid, resorted to the same device of imposing a language other than one's own as the medium of instruction, namely, Hindi, for even non-Hindi-speaking students. It is worth while to note here a recommendation of the Committee that Hindi should be made the *only* medium of examinations for recruitment in public services. Now, we know that this is not an educational or academic matter. Surely the Committee went out of its way when it made such a recommendation, which shows how its mind was working when suggesting Hindi as the only medium. It is this which I said was in line with the 'Macaulay tradition'.

Shri Deshpande seems to suggest that the introduction of Hindi medium is a directive principle of the Constitution! This is, as we well know, far from truth. The Constitution does not concern itself with the medium of instruction. It only deals with the Union's official needs of a common language. And when doing so, it is particularly careful to lay down clearly that all our national languages scheduled in it as Appendix 8 should be duly respected and wishes them god-speed in their future progress and development. Hindi is meant to be the inter-regional and all-India administration's medium. It is never intended that it should usurp the legitimate and rightful place of what are called 'regional' languages in their respective regions. Their rightful place is undoubtedly the spheres of education and administration in the region. Surely to be a medium of instruction is the right and the duty of every one of our languages in their respective areas.

Shri Deshpande suggests that Hindi can be easily taken by our students in the same way as French or German which they learn to study Chemistry etc. The analogy, to say the least, is fallacious. He is not suggesting Hindi as a language for the study of books in that language like French or German. But he is arguing for Hindi as the medium of instruction which French and German are apparently not.

I must at the end say that Shri Deshpande has not touched the main point of my letter of September 6. As you know, I had raised the question about the immediate necessity of changing the medium as English was not sufficiently known by our boys for its being used as the medium. The Committee decided that Hindi might come in after 10 or 15 years. I had asked what should be done immediately to tide over the difficulty and I had suggested, and hereby repeat it, that the obvious solution is to begin with the readily available regional languages as the medium of instruction. It will be against all principles of sound educational policy to teach children through a language other than their own. Hindi is a language that all our students should learn as a compulsory subject. I hope Shri Deshpande will realize the difference in beginning to learn Hindi and in trying in vain to use it as medium for non-Hindi students, as it is both unnecessary and unprofitable and even unscientific.

The principle of medium of instruction all the world over is that the medium should be the language of the child. I hope India under freedom will not follow the wrong traditions laid down by our foreign rulers but will restore to herself what is naturally going on all over the world."

HARIJAN

Oct. 15

1955

INDIA'S PATTERN OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Prime Minister took an opportunity of speaking about India's policy of industrialization while opening the Government railway coach factory at Perambur, Madras. As it was the Gandhi Jayanti day, he naturally referred to Gandhiji and his ideas of small-scale and village industries vis-a-vis the big ventures that the State in India has been undertaking these years under its Five Year Plans. Emphasizing upon self-reliance as the key-note of our industrial progress, he said that "there could be no real progress in India's industrialization till they were able to manufacture all the machines required for the purpose. 'So long as we have to rely upon other countries for the wherewithal, we are dependent.'"

Surely, self-reliance is the veritable law of growth of real freedom and independence both in individual and corporate life. As we know, this had been the very basis of Gandhiji's way adopted by our people under his leadership. Gandhiji said this not for the State only. His emphasis was that the people also will not be really free and progressive if they depended for their bare necessities of life, even on their own Government or the State. The nature of India's progress in industrialization must be, therefore, governed by this prime law of real freedom.

Applying this law to the affairs of the State, for which the Prime Minister is obviously responsible, he particularly referred to our defence industries and their needs and said that India might have an army, a navy and an air force; but if they had to import the machines required for her development, then they were dependent; and he added that it was therefore far better to have second-rate machines manufactured in the country than first-rate ones coming from abroad.

Such a spirit of Swadeshi Dharma based on a robust sense of self-reliance and freedom was surely the message that Gandhiji gave to us. With the advent of Swaraj or political independence, our Prime Minister is busy translating it into the domain of State industries, or what is called the public sector. This is really speaking the State or the Government sector. It is intended to mind such ventures like the Air India Corporation, the Railway, Iron and Steel, etc. Verily, it is in the nature of things that the State cannot touch or take up the massive ventures of the people, like agriculture and the vast field of village and home industries that cater to our needs of consumer or household goods. These are what constitute the so-called private

sector, in the sense that they are all non-Governmental or non-official ventures. However, it would be a huge mistake and economic or industrial blindness to ignore them or dub them as private. These are rather the real national industries with which the nation lives and thrives. When Gandhiji emphasized them, he had this aspect of the case in mind. The aspect cannot be set aside and it is good that our planners and the Government are coming to realize it.

The Prime Minister is apparently enamoured of great factories and big industrial ventures and atomic energy etc. But it would be a mistake if we naively believe that he does not know the role of Khadi and village industries in the nation's industrialization programme. We rather know that he would have a place for them in the next F. Y. Plan. As he said, "For the functioning of a great movement in India and as the leader of the great struggle against a mighty empire, Gandhiji laid stress on village industries. Curiously enough, those who were sceptical of him then, now stood for development of village industries."

Therefore in his address he pleaded for a co-ordinated development of our industries which he classified into three categories—the heavy, the medium and the small-scale. It is worthwhile to note that this classification is based on the size of money and material handled or needed by the industries as against the number of men they may employ. It also connotes a kind of their relationship and inter-dependence, wherein the heavy ones almost dominate and set the rule of economy and finance. The idea is born of a capitalist economy of the imperial West, and may be, therefore, misleading in India's peculiar conditions. As the Prime Minister very vividly said, "Everything has ultimately to be judged in terms of the human welfare—in terms of the welfare of the millions of our country."

The pattern of industrialization that we may devise for our country must, therefore, primarily move these millions of men—their minds and hands. We want a programme which may set their minds on the move, as against the mere move of machines to the neglect of millions of men. It would, therefore be better to classify our industries according to this idea and give them importance in a like manner. Then we shall see that we have three kinds of industries—those owned by the State and managed as public utilities, those owned by private capitalists and industrialists and managed for their profit, and those owned by the people at large as innumerable decentralized units and conducted for the upkeep of the common life of our people. The last class of industries requires to be energized and encouraged by technical skill, educational and financial facilities and research, and various such other things which are today almost exclusively going in favour of the former two.

Gandhiji, the leader of the simple common man that he was, stood for his dignity, self-respect and freedom, and therefore emphasized the need of his simple industries and giving all aid to them to develop, which science and the modern technique of economic and financial organization can give. We in India stand to evolve such a pattern of co-ordinated industrialization in which not money and machine, but man is pre-eminent.

4-10-'55

A PROPHETIC SPEECH

[Gandhiji returned home from South Africa in 1915. An open-air public meeting was held at Victoria Public Hall, Madras, on April 21, 1915—forty years ago—to welcome Gandhiji and Kasturba. Dr. (Sir) S. Subramania Iyer presided on the occasion. The following prophetic words were uttered by him in his presidential speech. They are sent to me by a friend from the book *Speeches and Writings of Dr. S. Subramania Iyer* by D. V. Gundappa (pp. 290-91). We know now how true the estimate of the great man given by Dr. Iyer has been. It is interesting to read it when we are celebrating the Gandhi Jayanti.

8-10-'55

M. P. J

"During my life of 73 years I have not enjoyed a greater honour than the one done to me in being asked to preside over this meeting. We have assembled on a memorable occasion to welcome and honour one of the greatest sons of India, one who has done more than anybody else to raise the Motherland in the estimation of the whole world, who more than any other living man has saved her from continuity(?) and obtained for her children some amount of consideration and respect. Mr. Gandhi's name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of the country and we also welcome Mrs. Gandhi who has shared with her husband all his troubles and distresses, his sufferings and defeats, and now also his triumph. This she has done so nobly as to bring a great lustre upon Indian womanhood (cheers).

"We are all familiar with the life of Mr. Gandhi and it deserves to be recorded in every vernacular in chaste and impressive language and distributed broadcast, so that the knowledge thereof may extend to every man, woman and child in this country (cheers). But the past is simply a preparation for what this great patriot is destined to do in the future (cheers). He is the incarnation of Soul-force and combines political sagacity with the keenness of a lawyer and the character of a saint. Even the physical forces of the Empire had to yield before this loftier power. It is in that way, I believe, that Mr. Gandhi would begin, and carry on, his work here.

"His present conscientious examination of Indian conditions will then begin his work in right earnest. He will gather around him a few like himself 'Sannyasins' in the true sense of the term for the salvation of our countrymen. The work that Mr. Gandhi will do cannot be done by Gandhi's work which will be only that of a politician delivering lectures, nor of a

social reformer talking of widow marriages and infant marriages. This will do more than our soldiers in Europe are doing to overcome the strong opposition of the bureaucracy which stands in the way of anything being obtained for the benefit of the country; it will never give way until the "Soul Force" referred to has been so developed as to make it uncomfortable for that bureaucracy to continue its opposition."

IN THE GRIP OF NIHILISM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

I was invited to speak to a group of college students on the occasion of the recent Gandhi Jayanti. Among various things that I touched in my talk, I said that truth and goodness was a very terrific force in the affairs of the world. This is not so in individual life only; it is true for group life also. Just as we have atomic power inhering in the smallest of a material particle, so also we have in man's innate being which is good, a terrific source of power which can move the whole living world of man. Like the fission of an atom starting a chain-action, the utter goodness of man, if it is marshalled into action, will set in a chain of activity moving in the hearts and minds of men to a massive action and releasing abundant spiritual energy. Gandhiji could start such a chain of mental and spiritual action through Satyagraha, which is, in other words, the force of utter goodness and truth in action. It was such a realization about him on the part of Einstein, which, I think, led the great savant to utter those great words about him, which we all remember so well: "The generations to come will scarce believe that such a one as this ever walked upon this earth."

After my address at the college, a student who accompanied me to my place told me on the way, "Notwithstanding what you said about truth and goodness, is it not that they do not deliver the goods from the success point of view? These virtues do not pay dividends in practical life." The student was as if speaking on behalf of the age we are in at present.

I tried to explain to him that our affairs, really speaking, go on the basis of truth. I admit that in face of an obvious gain thought likely to accrue to us, we are tempted away and try to pass on as truth what really it is not. In larger and broader group affairs of society, this is called exploitation, which is accepted as bad and unworthy. Therefore what is apparently a success is not really due to untruth or lying, but it is deceit and cheating, the nature of which is to masquerade under the guise of and pass as truth. It is really a false apology to truth and not blatant untruth, which really does not exist.

I do not know how far I could explain my point to the student. However the question he posed to me on hearing my talk in the college is characteristic of the belief prevailing in our college world at present. The belief has been prevalent in trade and commerce world. But it was

not so for the educational field. Is it increasingly prevailing there also at present?

A few days back Shri Jawaharlalji referred to the psychological and spiritual climate of our student world and said that behind indiscipline and unruliness to be seen among students, is there a lack of certain faith or absence of any abiding life values? Today we are in changing times; old values are passing away; in their place new ones are emerging, — they will take some time to take roots. We are passing through such a spiritual transition. Is it this that affects the student mind at present?

Going further, if we look at the teachers, we find that this transitional change has its influence on them also. Can we say whether they manifest to have any abiding life values governing their work? I have doubts. This also affects the student mind.

Still further, if we look at the economic and the political spheres of our national life, we see that they are governed by values of success only. How can the student mind and society in general escape to be influenced by this?

Gandhiji taught us that spheres of corporate or group activities like politics, economics, social affairs etc. should be infused and inspired by the religious spirit; only then can these spheres go well. Immediately after his passing away, we have the misfortune to see what is described above, which makes some of us despondent and pessimistic creating a feeling of insignificance and unworthiness about oneself. However, this is only a wave of nihilism that comes over a people in times of such spiritual crisis in the values in the life of a people. Surely will it pass away only if we go forward with faith and courage, patience and forbearance.

When I pen these lines, I am reminded of a deep thought that I came to read in the *Encounter* (December 1954, pp. 21-22) on such Nihilism or want of faith that some times cover the mood of a people in the course of their history. It is as follows:

"The decadence of our age.....Nietzsche was the first to define this.....calling it nihilism.....Nihilism, as Nietzsche conceived it, is the identification of goodness, justice and truth with self-interest. Nihilism is the conviction that beliefs and ideas are, ultimately a mere facade with nothing real behind them, and that consequently only one thing really matters, really counts: success.

"Nihilism is not an ideology. It cannot be legislated about, it is not a subject for school curricula; it is a disease of the spirit which can be diagnosed only by those who are immune from it or have been cured of it, but to which most people are oblivious, since they think it corresponds to a perfectly natural mode of beings: 'That's how it has always been, that's how it will always be.'"

Do not modern economic and social sciences work with the belief that self-interest is natural to an individual? On this basis goes on much of the activities of the world. It is therefore that wise men of the world today endeavour to instil in its affairs the spirit of religion and thus evoke

in them humanity, charity, justice, mutual respect and co-operation. Panch sheel in the international field, equality and the removal of exploitation on the basis of social justice in national spheres of the peoples, end of imperialism; end of racial prejudice; etc. have become world movements today. They all ultimately demonstrate the deep urge in the human family to reconstruct the world by infusing the spirit of religion or faith in high values and remove the deadening influence of nihilism.

Nihilism cannot satisfy the soul of India's people. It is certain that we cannot reconstruct our Swaraj without provoking it to rise and assert itself. Therefore, it is a part of the job or the duty of our political, social, economic and educational leadership to instil such faith and spirit. This can be achieved by them only if they themselves work in their respective fields of activity with that spirit and faith. Rank self-interest, lust for power, cant and hypocrisy, deceit and insincerity are the enemies of such faith and spirit, and the friends of nihilism. At present politics has become the chief and the most respectable endeavour of our society. Therefore it should be the chief responsibility of those who are in that field to preserve and propagate the above values. If they forget to establish the values of right conduct, integrity and character, they will thereby cause the society also to miss them. May they take this warning from the age we are unhappily in today.

4-10-55

(From Gujarat)

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS DAY BY DAY — VIII

(By Damodar Das Mundaya)

Three Days in Andhra

Apreros the declaration, that he would not mind prolonging his stay, the workers of Utkal, and especially of Koraput district decided to fully avail of Vinobaji's presence and requested him to prolong his tour for a few days more in Koraput. The new programme touched three adjacent villages of Srikakulam District in Andhra Desh. This workers of Andhra decided to fully utilize the opportunity. Moreover, the future programme of Vinobaji was also yet to be decided. There were pressing invitations from Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Tamilnad. The three days in Andhra therefore would go a long way in fixing up the next route. The Andhras had decided to prevail upon Vinobaji to visit their area first.

At Ravicona, the first camp in Andhra, were present all the important leading workers from Andhra. Ravicona is a small village of but hundred and fifty souls, situated in the heart of a dense forest, otherwise, fraught with fears of oft visiting tigers. It was, now humming with all the melody of ceremonial songs, so enthusiastically organized to welcome Vinobaji.

In his post prayer speech, addressing a gathering of not less than five thousand people, Vinobaji reminded the Andhras about their historic past, about their brave sons dating from Shalivahan to Prakasam Garu, and about the devotees like Potana and Ramulu. He was sure that Andhras who firmly stood by Gandhiji in the freedom's struggle, would not hesitate to make equal or even greater sacrifices for the socio-economic emancipation that was ahead. He pointed out to them why and how proud they should feel that the Bhoodan movement was inaugurated in Telangana which was but a part of their own Vishal Andhra. The world naturally looked to them and wanted

to know about the response they accorded to the call of the age—viz. Bhoodan.

Srikakulam, the Rich

In this connection he referred to the Gramdan movement in Koraput and paid very high tribute to the workers there, who had to work hard in the area notorious for malignant malaria. He pointed out how members of all sects, the Doctors, Vakkis, merchants, landlords, Government officers, and others, were willingly co-operating there. He was grateful to all of them and especially mentioned this, because our countrymen, he said, yet needed such encouragement as the majority today was under the stronghold of inertia and did not discriminate between Vedanta and Indolence and remained inactive under the pretext of Vedantic attitude. He pointed out how Bhoodan brought a new outlook to all of them who were now so active. He was sure, that like Koraput, the district of Srikakulam, also will prove worthy of its name and manifest its Shri i.e. richness of heart. Was it not enriched by his two sisters, Goda and Krishna the daughters of Maharashtra? he asked.

Universal Co-operation Needed

He therefore besought the co-operation of all people and parties including Congressmen, Socialists, Communists, Sarvodayites and men in office as also, public in general. He reminded to the Congressmen about their declaration that they had made Bhoodan their own cause. He knew he commanded no influence in the Congress. He was not even a four anna member. Even then, they responded to his call, only through their affection for him. So was the case with the Socialists. They took pride in declaring that it was but their programme which I was now advocating. While fully admitting their contention, he added that there could not be a reason to keep themselves aloof from the movement. Regarding the Communists, he was confident of their support sooner or later. The idea of world peace through Gramdan had not only attracted them but was carrying conviction to them about the potentialities of Bhoodan. It is true that they had a philosophical background. They might not therefore be easily satisfied and convinced. But the moment they realized that Bhoodan did serve the interests of the oppressed, they would surely and immediately join. Regarding the Sarvodaya workers he was confident that they will lay everything on the altar of this great cause. If they failed, they would be doomed for ever, he gravely pointed out. Those who were in the Government, could not afford to keep themselves aloof from such a wide programme affecting millions of their countrymen. Last but not least he was glad that the public in general disclosed increasing interest in the cause, and everyday, brought a new contribution to the list of the workers. "There will be many indeed who shall come forward to co-operate in this cause. They have however to observe one regimen if they desire to follow my prescription," said Vinoba and gave it as follows: "Let your heart be full of affection for all, and let your words be always sweet. There is no room in this mission for any kind of force, fear or pressure whatsoever. Be you a Congressman or a Government officer; if you are participating in this work, you have to forget that you wield any influence or authority anywhere. The medicine is so risky that a little pressure of force, anywhere, may, instead of curing the disease, prove fatal."

Karuna, the Basis of Bhoodan

The next halt was at Parvatipuram, Vinobaji exhorted the villagers assembled to receive him, to contribute liberally to Bhoodan. "Affection when manifested through action is transformed into compassion, i.e. Karuna, derived from Sanskrit Kri which implies action!" "Karuna," said Vinobaji, "is the very basis of our faith and I hope to see in Andhra hearts full of Karuna!"

Sevaks of Sevaks

Parvatipuram is a big town. Vinobaji therefore explained to the residents what he expected from the town

people. "From the towns and cities, I expect Gram-sevaks, i.e. workers; to serve the villages; and from the villages, I expect workers to serve the Lord and His nature for it is through nature that the Lord manifests Himself—and the villagers shall serve nature, because they have direct contact with nature. The residents of towns and cities therefore are the Sevaks of the Sevaks, and those only can serve who have a thorough grasp of the ideology."

Magnetism of Literature

"It is only a question of a few days. I am otherwise sure to get all the lands," he added. The problem therefore, according to Vinobaji, was not the problem of land, but that of the workers, workers who shall carry the message of Bhoodan from house to house, and who shall be inspired with sense of service cum affection for all. He therefore expected that in the towns, teachers, students, pleaders, doctors, merchants and all would study Bhoodan literature which was indeed so magnetic that it would itself attract them and inspire also to live and work for the cause.

INDIA AND THE ATOMIC AGE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The *Manas* (May 11, 1955) writing under the caption 'Hero and Victim' says about Einstein that "here was a man who was both hero and victim of his time." While he is a hero of the theory of relativity, he is a victim of his knowledge which let loose on our insane earth atomic power. As the *Manas* says,

"Einstein's personal tragedy lay in his connection with the development of the most terrible instrument of physical destruction known to man. As a guest of the U.S.A.—a refugee from Nazi Germany—Einstein responded to the appeal of his fellow scientists that he lay before the President the possibilities of the atom bomb. Simply to write that letter to President Roosevelt must have cost him much. One can imagine his feelings after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

Yes, this must have been the cause of immense mental torture to the great savant. He atoned for it by stopping to use his mental capacities any more for such deadly purpose. And now we know that he wrote a letter to the scientific world asking them to reconsider the whole matter in terms of requirements of world peace. The British mathematician-philosopher B. Russell made its posthumous release a few months back and went further and convened the first international conference of atomic scientists to turn their energies to the other side of the atom,—not the destructive to which they had succumbed, but to the peaceful to which they should feel being called upon to devote. It is very good news that this conference unanimously resolved as follows:

"Since, in any future war, nuclear weapons will, probably, be employed, and since such weapons threaten to bring immeasurable suffering for humanity, and material destruction, and possibly even the end of mankind, we urge, therefore, the Governments of the world to realize and to acknowledge publicly that their purposes cannot be furthered by world war.

"Consequently, we urge the full and open examination of the implications of the recent scientific developments for humanity as a whole and the promotions of peaceful means for the settlement of all matters of international dispute."

As we know, there was another international conference of atomic scientists under the chairmanship of Dr. Bhabha, for the specific purpose of turning atomic discoveries to the ends of industry and peace. Let us hope this attempt to harness atomic energy for industrial purposes, allied with the earlier attempt of having deadly atomic weapons, does not create a deadly economic and imperial age like the one we have had on the advent of steam and electricity. To assure the world of this dire result not coming upon it, it is essential that the atomic powers must decide to renounce the use of atomic weapons and ban them as inhuman and barbarous or uncivilized.

We may not also be carried away by the glib talks about the glories of the atomic age that is said to be coming, and thus forget the very simple earth that we have beneath our feet. India is a country of numerous villages inhabited by illiterate and simple people. It is to ameliorate them that we have pledged Swaraj will be working. That is the greatest and the most urgent peaceful purpose India is called upon to fulfil. This can be fulfilled by equally simple means, only if we do not allow ourselves to be carried away by big and tall talks of the atomic age. These means are the full utilization and employment of our huge man-power with the tools and implements that we can immediately marshal to our service. If we do it, it will also give us strength to wean the Western world even from its atomic madness. The atomic age will mean nothing, — may even harm us, if we cannot do this first and foremost job for free India.

NOTES

Vulgar and Unbecoming

U.P.I. reports (F.P.J., Bombay, October 4, 1955) from Goa Border, October 3, as follows:

"The Portuguese Government has ordered that all pictures of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian tri-colour and other national emblems and figures in school text-books are to be torn out and burnt.

"Officers have been making a round of all schools exhorting students to refrain from studying Marathi and devote their time to Portuguese, it was further reported."

The news if true is not surprising, if we look at the nature of the colonial or foreign ruler's mind in general and its Portuguese type in particular. It is really vulgar and foolish to tear out and burn the picture of Mahatma Gandhi, let alone other things. It is sheer disrespect to the whole world, which respects him now as a messenger of truth and non-violence. It is irritating to the Indian people in particular, who revere him as the Father of the Nation. Such medieval methods of old predatory and colonial countries have a touch of vulgar insolence about it, which finds queer expression even today. It is a relic of a barbaric past which the world now does not cherish even to remember. I hope, the news turns out to be wrong.

From another point of view, it is an occasion for the Goans to assert their freedom and civil liberties by refusing to submit to such insulting orders of alien and unthinking might. The Goans of Bombay should condemn this order of their unwanted Government.

We hope the Government of India also will officially take note of this blatant insult to our people and warn Portugal against the foolish order.

5-10-'55

M. P.

Shri Vinoba's Walking Tour

On completion of his walking tour in Orissa on 1-10-'55 Shri Vinoba has entered Andhra. His Orissa tour commenced on 26th January last. He thus stayed there for 248 days, that is, eight months and a week. During the period of his stay in Orissa, 712 villages were donated, 605 villages being in one district of Koraput. Until 30th September, 1955, 94,757 donors donated 2,57,277 acres of land, out of which Koraput district alone contributed 1,35,000 acres by 22,000 donors. Total land distributed in Orissa amounts to 37,822 acres.

Shri Vinoba's walking tour in Andhra will last for three and a half months. Thereafter he will move on to Telangana in Hyderabad.

2-10-'55

SIDDHARAJ

(From Hindi)

'B.C.G. Vaccination — Why I Oppose it'

The reader has been introduced to this booklet of Shri C. Rajagopalachari, in the issue of *Harijan*, August 20, which reproduced its introductory note to this collection of important statements of eminent medical men about B.C.G.

The booklet has been enlarged and revised by the author and new edition which is in print will be issued this week. Copies can be had of —

Shri K. S. Ramanujan,
Purushottam Buildings,
Mount Road,
Madras-2

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