

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

Vol. XIX, No. 51

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1956

TWO ANNAS

REGARDING 'HARIJAN' PAPERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

About two years and a half ago the Managing Trustee of the Navajivan wrote in these columns (vide *Harijan* of 3-10-'53) describing the financial position of the *Harijan* papers. He had said therein that the English edition had the least number of subscribers to its credit; therefore its publication might have to be stopped so as to lessen the burden of loss the Trust had to incur in conducting the three editions — English, Gujarati and Hindi.

The number of subscribers since then shows no favourable trend as can be seen from the following figures:

Year	Average No. of Subscribers		
	<i>Harijan</i>	<i>Harijanbandhu</i>	<i>Harijansevak</i>
1953	3,445	5,429	4,553
1954	2,643	4,033	3,565
1955	2,455	3,561	3,538
1-1-'56	2,423	3,432	3,435

The reader will note that there is no improvement in the matter. The Navajivan Trust has, therefore, to undergo annual loss to the tune of thousands of rupees. For example, I have before me the audited account of 1955 from the Managing Trustee, which gives the figures of loss as follows:

<i>Harijan</i> (English)	Rs 14,364-12-6
<i>Harijanbandhu</i> (Gujarati)	Rs 6,671- 8-0
<i>Harijansevak</i> (Hindi)	Rs 6,978-14-9
Total	Rs 28,015- 3-3

Obviously the matter is a standing headache for the Trust. And one may reasonably hold that there can be expected no change for the better. Which means that it is time the Trust now comes to a decision on the question.

As the reader knows, the Trust had thought that the English edition be stopped and the other two might well continue. This would be good and desirable also. But thanks to the Act for the working journalists recently passed by the Parliament, there is an unexpected difficulty in continuing the two editions even, as the Managing Trustee tells me.

The new Act mentioned above was probably meant to govern the working of big dailies. However, legal opinion is clear that it includes weeklies like the *Harijan* also.

Now we all know that, commonly speaking, papers secure good income from advertisement. The Government has fixed sufficiently high rates

for the papers also. Along with this the Act provides for leave, pay, allowances, gratuity etc. for the working journalists. These rules are compulsory and are felt so high that rich papers which might have good advertisement income only can afford to fulfil them. Perhaps such rules might have been felt necessary for them. But for papers like the *Harijan* conducted by a national trust like the Navajivan they do not suit well and if implemented would disturb the pattern of its general organization adversely. That will increase the burden of expenditure of the papers, while on the other hand there is decreasing number of subscribers. The Trust Deed forbids having advertisements in the papers, closing that avenue also. Hence, the Trust has before it not only the question of closing the English edition only, but also of closing all the three journals. It is meeting at Delhi on 14-2-'56 when it will consider this matter. Its decision will be published along with this in the same issue if time permits. Otherwise it will be inserted in the next issue.

8-2-'56

P.S.: The Trust considered the report of the Managing Trustee about the financial position of the three papers in its meeting on the 14th. It decided that the papers be closed from March 1, 1956. That is, the issue of February 25, 1956 will be the last issue of these papers. The Managing Trustee will detail his instructions to subscribers in that issue.

Delhi,
14-2-'56

M. P.

By Pyarelal

MAHATMA GANDHI — THE LAST PHASE (Introduction by Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

Authentic Biography of Mahatma Gandhi dealing with the last phase of his life is in two volumes. The First Volume of nearly 800 pages with 44 pages of photographs is released on 12th February, 1956, Mahatma Gandhi's Shradddha day. The second volume will be published in due course. It will contain equal number of pages. The volumes are priced at Rs. 20/- each. The registered postage etc. of each volume is Rs 3/-. Advance orders accompanied with the amount of price and registered postage etc. will be accepted and given priority in execution. Amount should be sent by M.O.

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD-14

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS OF NAVAJIVAN TRUST

Balance Sheet of Navajivan Trust as at 31st December 1955

FUNDS & LIABILITIES	Rs. as.ps.	PROPERTY AND ASSETS	Rs. as.ps.
Income and Expenditure Account:		Land (at cost)	
Balance as per last Balance Sheet	8,56,577-15-9	As per last Balance Sheet	3,23,166-9-0
Less Bad Debt written off	375-5-6	Buildings (at cost)	
	8,56,202-10-3	As per last Balance Sheet	16,42,211-1-6
Machinery Depreciation Fund	1,87,095-0-0	Additions during the year	919-1-3
As per last Balance Sheet	39,000-0-0		16,43,130-2-9
Addition during the Year	2,26,095-0-0	Furniture and Fixtures :	
	1,40,907-14-0	As per last Balance Sheet	39,400-0-0
Employees' Provident Fund		Additions during the year	3,629-1-3
Building Fund :			43,029-1-3
As per last Balance Sheet	1,97,821-15-11	Less Depre. during the year	2,689-1-3
Addition during the Year	40,835-6-9		40,340-0-0
	2,38,657-6-8	Machinery :	
Deposits :		As per last Balance Sheet	3,47,005-4-6
Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi		Additions during the year	53,846-3-6
Amount to be given to it in terms of Gandhiji's Will according to annual accounts	4,070-7-3		4,00,851-8-0
Subscription of Journals and Copyright fees etc.	1,27,514-2-10	Less Sales of Machinery during the year	9,919-0-9
Salaries	409-13-9		3,90,932-7-3
Sales Tax	6,917-10-6	Types :	
	1,38,912-2-4	As per last Balance Sheet	91,498-2-3
Loans -(inclusive of interest) Secured - From Shri Mahadev Desai Memorial Trust on the equitable Mortgage of land plot No. 96.	9,51,921-4-0	Additions during the year	20,281-11-9
Unsecured - From individuals subject to confirmation	11,22,866-9-6		1,11,779-14-0
	20,74,787-13-5	Less Misc. Sale	55-3-0
Liabilities -		Depre. during the year	28,000-0-0
For expenses	58,870-4-9		28,055-8-0
For Goods, Books, Misc. debts etc.	2,28,783-9-0	Type foundry, goods etc.	
	2,87,653-13-9	Type foundry goods, and types manufactured in the process as valued and certified by the Managing Trustee	7,500-0-0
Rs.	39,63,216-12-6	Stock in Trade (at cost)	
		As per inventories valued and certified by the Managing Trustee :	
		Books	700,000-0-0
		Paper	2,72,000-0-0
		Press Materials	10,000-0-0
		Binding Materials	3,600-0-0
		Khadi	5,900-0-0
			9,91,500-0-0
		Advances to Translators, Deposits against purchases including unadjusted balances	1,03,748-13-0
		Sundry Debtors (unsecured) :	
		For sales of books etc.	1,94,626-10-3
		For loans, advances to staff against Provident fund	6,260-0-0
		Misc. advances to staff	811-15-9
		Outstanding rent from building	1,320-0-0
			2,03,018-10-0
		Deposit against rent, for telegrams etc. with the Governments	15,914-12-0
		Investments :	
		Fixed Deposit with the Ahmedabad People's Co-operative Bank Ltd. out of employees' provident fund	1,30,000-0-0
		One Fully paid share of the Ahmedabad People's Co-op. Bank Ltd.	15-0-0
			1,30,015-0-0
		Interest accrued on fixed deposits	1,613-5-6
		Cash and Bank Balances :	
		In current a/c with Banks :	25,793-0-3
		Postage Stamps on hand :	763-15-0
		Cash on hand as per cash book	2,055-11-9
			28,612-11-0
		Rs.	39,63,216-12-6

We have audited the above Balance Sheet of the Navajivan Trust as at 31st December 1955 and the foregoing Income and Expenditure Accounts for the year ended upon that date with the books of accounts. We have obtained all the informations and explanations we have required. In our opinion, the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the Trust's affairs according to the best of our information and explanation given to us and as shown by the books of the account of the Trust.

Dated: 6-2-1956

51, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay

NANUBHAI & CO,
Chartered Accountants
& Auditors

R. B. DAVE
Accountant

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

Income and Expenditure Account of Navajivan Trust for the Year Ended 31st December 1955

EXPENDITURE	Rs. as.ps.	INCOME	Rs. as.ps.
To Salaries and Wages (inclusive of Provident Fund contribution and interest)	3,17,749-13-6	By Excess in Printing, Binding, Paper & Type Foundry etc.	4,39,279-6-3
To Postage, Telegram Charges, Despatch, Library and Stationery	10,860-2-6	By Excess in Sale of books	1,04,267-10-3
To Telephone and Electric Charges	14,981-9-6	By Excess in Proof Reading, Translation etc.	19,159-0-0
To Travelling Expenses, Medical Charges, Auditor's Fees and Miscellaneous Expenses	9,097-12-0	By Excess in Copyright Fee	5,212-3-3
To Land Revenue	210-6-0	By Rent	
To Insurance Premium	4,319-1-0	Rent of Buildings	17,207-3-0
To Machinery, Spares, Repairs and Equipments etc. expenses	37,862-3-9	Less Municipal Tax and Rent paid By Branches	10,474-12-0
To Building Repairs	6,081-12-9		6,732-7-0
To Interest :		By Income of Land, Khadi and Miscellaneous receipts	1,326-11-9
Paid	64,228-9-6		
Less Recd.	4,821-5-6		
	59,407-4-0		
To Excess of Expenditure in Journals (Exclusive of Salaries, wages, postages, stationery etc.)	4,882-13-6		
To Depreciation			
On Machinery and Types	67,000-0-0		
Furniture & Fixtures	2,689-1-3		
	69,689-1-3		
To Balance taken to Building Fund as Depreciation	40,835-6-9		
	Rs. 5,75,977-6-6		

Dated : 6-2-1956
51, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay

NANUBHAI & CO.
Chartered Accountants
& Auditors

R. B. DAVE
Accountant

JIVANJI D. DESAI
Managing Trustee

WOOL INDUSTRY IN VILLAGES

Silken and woollen cloth comes next to cotton cloth in the consumption of cloth in our country. The woollen cloth is not much used in our country, on account of our temperate climate. However it is used to a certain extent especially in cold season, from ancient times. Hence the woollen industry is very old. It was flourishing in villages and blankets, carpets, floor-rugs, namadas and shawls etc. were produced, out of which some were exported to foreign countries such as U.S.A. and U.K. But this industry like other village industries is losing its ground since the latter half of the last century, on account of the competition from the indigenous mills and imported fabrics. If this severe competition is stopped and if the industry is revived, it will give employment to certain people in villages. With this aim in view the A.-I. K. V. I. Board has offered some suggestions for the Second Five Year Plan. The following is a summary of the same.

1. Our wool is of low quality, short-stapled and ungraded, and old techniques are used for different processes of hand-spinning, weaving and finishing. The yield of wool per sheep is also small. So provision for improvement of the quality of wool and technique, and further research in that direction should be undertaken and aided by Government.

2. 9 production centres, 2 central dyeing

plants and 5 training centres should be opened and more and better production should be encouraged.

3. The imports of blankets and rugs, and mixed blankets should be banned and such production should be prohibited by the indigenous mills also.

4. The Government should purchase all Government requirement of blankets, blanketing cloth, puttees, and hunting cloth, for the defence and other personnel from the cottage sector, and appropriate relaxation of the present specifications for their purchase should be allowed.

5. A price preference of 18½ per cent in Government purchase and a rebate of 3 annas in the rupee for all civilian consumption should be allowed.

The implementation of the above programme of encouragement, besides improving the technique of spinning and weaving, may provide full employment to 35,250 persons and training to 2,500 spinners and 50 weavers, at a total outlay of 452.84 lakhs, of which Rs 2.80 crores are expenditure and Rs 1.73 crores are recoverable loans. It will give better and fuller employment to 3 to 4 lakhs, who are wholly or partially engaged in that industry at present. It will also reduce the price of woollen cloth from Rs 8-13-0 per yard to Rs 6-11-0. This is no small gain at this much cost of development.

V. M. K.

HARIJAN

Feb. 18

1956

LINGUISTIC DEMANDS OF NON-HINDI AREAS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Madras Legislature discussed the language problem in India in its session of September, 1955. It was occasioned by a Government Resolution which said, "that the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission (Government of India) be taken into consideration."

The proceedings of that debate are interesting from various points of view, specially so because they specifically bring out in detail how non-Hindi areas, particularly Madras State, look at the problem and what they wish for themselves about it. This is clearly and categorically brought out in the form of an amendment which was formally moved in the Upper House and discussed in the most serious manner by it. There was no formal amendment of this nature in the Lower House. However, as the debate shows, it generally agreed with the views expressed in the amendment of the Upper House. I quote the amendment which said to add as follows at the end of the Resolution :

"and, on such consideration, this Council resolves to request the Government of Madras, in framing their replies to the Questionnaire, to incorporate the following principles and suggestions in their reply :

(1) That, for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages ultimately and that Hindi cannot be adopted for this purpose.

(2) That for the limited correspondence between the Central Government or any other State and the local State, the State should utilize the services of translators and interpreters to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union Public Service Examinations are concerned, the only just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would be to permit candidates to choose a language or languages mentioned in the Constitution and to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned, the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should be the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be afforded all facilities to speak in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required, after their selection to such services, to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity for using Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools, Universities, etc., is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother-tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progressive stages, should be borne in mind and if and when English is to be replaced, it should be replaced by the mother-tongue of the particular region.

(9) That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical, technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

(10) That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and higher education, even after the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction."

At the end, replying to the debate on behalf of the Government, Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister in Charge, said :

"In this connection, Sir, I would like to pay a tribute to the manner in which the Madras University had prepared their considered replies to the various points raised in the questionnaire. I could say at once that I generally agree with the opinions expressed by the Madras University and I see that the amendment moved by the Hon. Member Shri Raza Khan more or less embodies the reply given by the University. I can also say that I generally agree with the broad views expressed in the amendment. But I cannot accept the amendment before I could scrutinize it carefully. The Government cannot commit themselves, absolutely to the views expressed in the amendment. I have indicated the general views which I have already indicated some months ago as the stand of the Government. I have brought forward this motion in order that Government may know, before they finalize their replies, the views of the Hon. Members of this House. Therefore, I do hope that the Hon. Member, who moved the amendment, will not press it."

And the amendment was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

However, the reader will easily note that the amendment embodies, in a general way, the considered opinion of the University, the Legislature, and the Government as well. Shortly understood, we might say that it describes how a non-Hindi State would wish its regional language to be used in its affairs — educational, administrative, judicial, legislative, etc. The amendment says that Tamil Nad would like to use Tamil entirely in all these fields.

Now we know that the Constitution of India provides that a State can by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State for all or any of the official purposes of the State. The University is also free to decide for itself. Hindi, the Official Language of the Union, cannot be imposed by any authority on a State in place of its regional language. The Madras Legislature may therefore feel assured about it. The question which is noteworthy and important comes hereafter : What will a non-Hindi-speaking State do about the *Antar Bhasha* Hindi, the medium

for inter-State and Union affairs? That the Madras Legislature amendment does not say anything about this major point is a big omission. It is in the recognition of this position of Hindi, and not English, that the positive idea of national unity is to be seen and respected. The nation has decided to see that Hindi takes this place of honour and self-respect through the willing and enthusiastic efforts of the States and the Universities, particularly of non-Hindi-speaking areas. Given the full use of their regional languages in the entire manner expressed by the above amendment, the natural question that follows is, what about implementing the Constitutional provisions about giving to ourselves one common Indian language—Hindi for our common all-India purposes? The answer is equally natural or obvious—the States and the Universities must begin to use their regional languages for the affairs of their regions and simultaneously with that begin at once to equip themselves with the common all-India medium of Hindi by instituting its compulsory study in all schools and colleges. India's unity requires that this programme is immediately undertaken now on an all-India basis. This together with the Madras amendment would shortly define for us the linguistic rights and duties of non-Hindi areas.

8-2-'56

MAHATMA GANDHI — THE LAST PHASE

(Continued from the previous issue of *Harijan* of 11-2-'56)

III

The same regard for the opinion of his colleagues, although he differed from them most intensely, was illustrated by his attitude on the question of the partition of the country. He was uncompromisingly opposed to the partition of India which he had called her "vivisection". All Congressmen—whether Hindus or Muslims or of any other faith—were equally strong in their opposition to the two-nation theory and the demand for partition. But the picture changed after the experience of the Congress leaders in the Interim Government. Congress accepted office and Congress leaders became Ministers in the Central Government in September, 1946, as a result of successful negotiations with the British Government, with Mahatma Gandhi's approval. The Muslim League agitation for the partition of the country continued and resulted in serious rioting in different parts of the country. Later when the Muslim League joined the Central Government, its members refused to co-operate with the Congress Ministers even in matters about which there was no difference of opinion. The Central Government felt powerless to maintain peace and order or to restore it if it was disturbed in Provinces owing to lack of homogeneity in the Central Cabinet where the Muslim League members constantly put obstacles in the way of their Congress colleagues. The Congress leaders who were in the Government felt that it was im-

possible to carry on the administration in such conditions. They felt that it was better in the circumstances to let the Muslim League have Pakistan so that they might actively and effectively run the administration at least in the areas which would be left after partition. Gandhiji was pained and tortured beyond measure by the mob violence and hooliganism which broke out in many places on account of the propaganda of the Muslim League, and the counter-violence which it provoked, but he was not prepared to abjure the one-nation theory and accept in its place the two-nation theory propounded by the Muslim League, or even to take the help of the army for suppressing the riots which he said could and should be controlled by popular leaders by appealing to the better instincts of the people of all communities and immolating themselves if necessary in the attempt to quell the insanity. Partition based on a wrong theory and brought about by such questionable means, he was certain, would do irretrievable harm to both Hindus and Muslims—India and Pakistan. But he left it to those who were actually in the Government and in charge of running the administration to act according to their judgment instead of following his. Once they decided in favour of partition, he did not oppose them, although he never concealed from them or the country his own opinion. At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which considered this question he vigorously supported the stand taken up by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel against those who wanted to raise the standard of rebellion against the old Congress leadership. He did not remain inactive either. Instead of carrying on a propaganda against his own colleagues and setting up factions, he set about with an amazing energy to repair the vast damage to the country and particularly to communal harmony and peace which preceded and followed partition. His words became commands, his mere presence sometimes sufficed to check the blaze where the police and the army would have felt powerless or could have succeeded only after much bloodshed. It is this last phase of his life and activity which is particularly dealt with in this book with insight, understanding and restraint, and with meticulous regard for accuracy.

India achieved independence but at the cost of her unity. This was not the independence that Gandhiji or Congress had set out to achieve. But Gandhiji saw in it no reason for despair; it was not non-violence that had failed but his practice of non-violence or rather his technique in inculcating the non-violence of his conception on the people. He set about to remedy the flaw. Some of the most fascinating pages of the book are devoted to describing the working of his mind in search of new techniques and the plans that had begun to form in his mind for setting India on the road to the realization of the new social order of his dreams in the changed circumstances

— an order based upon unity and peace, equality and universal brotherhood and maximum freedom for all. The time had arrived when with all the experience gained and prestige acquired in the course of the Indian struggle for freedom which he had conducted for more than thirty years, Mahatma Gandhi could extend the ambit of his activities and take up causes in even more inauspicious circumstances and hostile conditions and thus prove that Ahimsa could work wonders even in the most adverse of circumstances. At this stage he was taken away. But the horoscope of his experiment is not yet exhausted and the ideas and forces that he has released may yet accomplish after his death things undreamt of and even more marvellous than were witnessed in his lifetime.

The work which he had taken in hand was not only the achievement of political freedom but establishment of a social order based on truth and non-violence. This unfinished part of his experiment was perhaps even more difficult than the achievement of freedom. In the political struggle the fight was against a foreign power and all could and did either join in it or at least wish it success and give to it their moral support. In establishing the social order of his pattern, there was a lively possibility of a conflict arising between groups and classes of our own people. Experience shows that man values his possessions even more than his life because in the former he sees the means for perpetuation and survival through his descendants even after his body is reduced to ashes. That new order cannot be established without radically changing men's mind and attitude towards property and at some stage or other the haves have to yield place to the have-nots. We have seen in our time attempts to achieve a kind of egalitarian society and the picture of it in action after it was achieved. But this was done by and large by the use of physical force. In the result it is difficult if not impossible to say that the instinct to possess has been rooted out or that it will not reappear in an even worse form under a different face. It may even be that like gas kept confined within metallic containers under great pressure, or water held behind a big dam, that breaks the barrier, reaction will one day sweep back with a violence equal in extent and intensity to what was used to establish and maintain the outward egalitarian form. This enforced egalitarianism contains in its bosom the seed of its own destruction. The root-cause of class-conflict is possessiveness or the acquisitive instinct. So long as the emphasis is on possession, and more possession, higher and still higher standard of living, the acquisitive or possessive instinct will remain. So long as the ideal that is held up to be achieved is one of securing the maximum of material satisfactions, possessiveness is neither suppressed nor eliminated — that were like trying to put out fire by pouring petrol instead of water — but grows by what it feeds

upon. Nor does it cease to be such — it is possessiveness still whether it is confined to a few only or is shared by many. If egalitarianism is to endure, it has to be based not on the possession of the maximum of material goods, whether by few or by all but on voluntary, enlightened renunciation — denying oneself what cannot be shared by others or can be enjoyed only at the expense of others. This calls for substitution of spiritual values for purely material ones. The paradise of material satisfactions that is sometimes equated with progress these days neither spells peace nor progress. "With the best will in the world," the great thinker and psychologist Jung has warned us, "we cannot bring about a paradise on earth and even if we could, in a very short time we should have degenerated in every way. We should take a delight in destroying our paradise, and then, just as foolishly, marvel at what we had done."

Mahatma Gandhi showed us how the acquisitive instinct inherent in man could be transmuted by the adoption of the ideal of trusteeship by those who have for the benefit of all those who have not so that instead of leading to exploitation and conflict it would become a means of incentive to the amelioration and progress of society. The difficulty in achieving this ideal is tremendous and a man of penance like Gandhiji alone could have achieved it on a mass scale. What Gandhiji wanted was something in the nature of what Vinoba Bhave is attempting today. He wanted people to produce and to possess not for themselves alone but for all, and to regard possession in excess of one's own requirements — upon which, too, a voluntary check was to be put — as theft. This is the only egalitarianism that can be lasting and it can be founded only on the rock of Truth and Ahimsa.

The central core of Gandhiji's teaching was meant not for his country or his people alone but for all mankind and is valid not only for today but for all time. He wanted all men to be free so that they could grow unhampered into full self-realization. He wanted to abolish the exploitation of man by man in any shape or form because both exploitation and submission to it are a sin not only against society but against the moral law, the law of our being. The means to be compatible with this end therefore, he said, have to be purely moral, namely, unadulterated truth and non-violence. He had been invited by many foreigners to visit their countries and deliver his message to them directly but he declined to accept such invitations as, he said, he must make good what he claimed for Truth and Ahimsa in his own country before he could launch on the gigantic task of winning or rather converting the world. With the attainment of freedom by India, by following his method, though in a limited way and in spite of all the imperfections in its practice, the condition precedent for taking his message to other

countries was to a certain extent fulfilled. And although the partition had caused wounds and raised problems which claimed all his time and energy, he might have been able to turn his attention to this larger question even in the midst of his distractions. But Providence had ordained otherwise. May some individual or nation arise and carry forward the effort launched by him till the experiment is completed, the work finished and the objective achieved!

Rajendra Prasad

Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi,
New Year's Day, 1956.

POST-BASIC EDUCATION

(By Dr. K. L. Shrimali)

[From the inaugural address at the first Post-Basic Education Conference held at Sevagram, Wardha, 19th January to 22nd January, 1956.]

I

Uniform System of National Education

The battle of Basic education against traditional education which started in 1937 has been won as far as theory is concerned. Basic education has been accepted as the pattern of national education and efforts are being made to convert existing schools into Basic schools. Practice however has lagged behind theory and conversion of existing institutions into Basic pattern has not taken place as rapidly as we would have desired. Forces of conservatism are strongly entrenched not only in the educational administration but they also find favour with parents and teachers. Basic education must therefore continue its fight till the whole educational system is transformed to suit national needs and requirements.

Basic v. Traditional Education

To my mind, the co-existence of Basic education and traditional education presents the most serious problem in Indian education today. In States where Basic education has been introduced, it is confined mainly to rural areas and the rest of the schools in urban areas continue to impart education in the traditional manner. Secondary Education Boards and institutions of higher education give no recognition to these institutions and the students going out of the Basic schools have to take a further entrance examination for being admitted to the High Schools. Some post-Basic institutions have also been started, but their students again have difficulty in finding admission to the Universities. Since the Boards and Universities are autonomous bodies, the Central or the State Governments have no direct control over them. In this way, with the introduction of Basic education two parallel systems of education have been created in Indian education. A nation cannot have two parallel systems of education for masses and classes without endangering its national solidarity.

Classes v. Masses

The main purpose of Basic education is to minimize the differences between the education of classes and masses, but instead of doing that it has widened the gulf. We have now three types of schools in our educational system—Basic schools, High Schools and Public Schools. These schools represent the three different strata in our society.

Basic schools are situated mostly in rural areas and serve the children of the rural communities. They are not

integrated with the rest of the system and if the children wish to continue their studies further, they can only go to post-Basic schools which again are not recognized by the Universities.

The High Schools continue to serve the people of middle classes, whose children may hope to reach the highest ladder through University education.

Then in every State, Public Schools are now being organized where except a few scholarships awarded by the Government of India, admission continues to be on the basis of wealth. These schools thus become the preserves of the rich.

How can this situation continue in a society which is trying to mould itself on a socialistic pattern? In a vast country like ours we cannot have a rigid uniformity in our system but to allow the educational system to perpetuate existing class structure of our society will undermine the very basis of a democratic society. If India is to emerge as a strong nation, we must have an educational system which will give full opportunity of growth to every child, whatever his social or economic status may be.

Rural v. Urban

A democratic society cannot have two separate systems of education for the rural and the urban people. The content of curriculum may differ from village to village, from village to town and from town to large cities, but the system cannot maintain any barriers to prevent any class of people to reach the highest ladder in the educational system. If we allow two parallel systems to continue side by side we shall only aggravate the differences which already exist in our society. They will strengthen social stratification which will stand in the way of social cohesion and which may ultimately arrest social progress.

The two systems must therefore be integrated so that villages and cities may both contribute their share in the building up of a co-operative social order in India. Having accepted Basic education as the pattern of national education we should convert all the schools into Basic schools and integrate the two systems into a single national system.

II

Difficulties in the Way

There are some difficulties in the way of integration. The first difficulty is with regard to the place of English in the Basic and post-Basic schools.

A. Removal of English

The Secondary Education Commission had recommended that English may be taught as an optional subject at the High School stage. This was a compromise which was arrived at between the two extreme positions—one which believed that English should be taught as a compulsory subject at the Basic stage and another which held that English should have no place in the curriculum upto the end of the Basic stage. Since Independence antipathy against English language has considerably weakened and the pendulum has again swung back in favour of English. There is now a growing feeling among the people that lack of adequate knowledge of English may lead to a general deterioration of academic standards particularly in Science and Technology and this may ultimately affect our national development. It is argued that while we must not slacken our efforts in the development of Hindi and other regional languages it would be a great mistake to remove English, which not only helps us in making our contacts with the rest of the world but which today opens the door for us to Science and Technology. It has even been suggested that English should be retained as a second official language.

B. Productivity

There is another aspect of Basic education which needs to be considered in converting the ordinary schools into Basic schools. Productivity has always been considered an essential aspect of Basic education. The income from productivity may differ from school to school as it depends on various factors and it may be utilized in different ways—in the improvement of schools or giving midday meals

to children, but we give up the whole position of Basic education if we allow the children to play with craft materials and lose sight of the productive aspect altogether. This has become all the more important as we enter into the second Five Year Plan.

C. Post-Basic or Multi-purpose School

One of the most important recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission was that greater emphasis should be laid on crafts and productive work at the secondary stage. It also recommended diversification of courses so that students in larger number may take up agricultural, technical, commercial or other practical courses. A careful study of the Commission's recommendation will show that sudden break from Basic to secondary stage has been avoided. The work during the early years of a secondary school will develop naturally from the work of a Basic school.

A Multi-purpose school is really a continuation of the principle of Basic education at the secondary stage. It is expected that at the end of these courses, majority of students will be able to find jobs in different vocations or self-employment in decentralized units of production as envisaged in the second Five Year Plan. Only a limited number of students who can derive benefit from college education will proceed to higher educational institutions. The majority of students will however complete their education at the secondary stage and the success of the new scheme of re-organization depends largely on the extent to which the students going out of the secondary education are equipped for different vocations.

Culture and Vocation

Liberal education without vocation has proved futile in the past. In future, vocations and culture must penetrate each other. The youth must train their hands — in working on farms, factories and machines so that they may enjoy the fruits of culture. Whitehead stated a great truth when he said: "What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from, and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art."

General v. Vocational Education

Our High Schools which have served so far the leisured classes must now be transformed to serve the masses who earn their livelihood through manual labour. If the academic or 'book learning' tradition continues its hold on the secondary education, it will fail to serve the needs of the masses and the youth will continue to face unemployment and frustration. A multi-purpose school is really a double-purpose school. It will give vocational training to majority of children so that immediately after leaving the High Schools they may take up some vocation. At the same time it will provide suitable courses for those children who wish to proceed to the Universities for higher education in Arts or Science or professional studies.

There is however one misapprehension which must be cleared up. Vocational education at the High School stage is not conceived of in narrow terms. It includes a programme of general education also which gives a sense of direction and values to the youth. There is no competition between general education and vocational education. General education which does not prepare a person for some specific vocation is meaningless. "In education wherever you exclude specialism, you destroy life." On the other hand if we exclude general education, vocational education becomes mechanical and reduces man to a beast.

By M. P. Desai

OUR LANGUAGE PROBLEM

At a time when the Official Language Commission is studying this question, the present collection is a timely publication

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INITIATION IN ARTHA-NIYAMAN

(By Vinoba)

[From the address at the prayer meeting at Yellandu]

There was a phase in history when society, even after having evolved the institution of marriage, had not been able to regulate the sex instinct. In those days, it was the established fashion among the Rajas and Zamindars to have a number of wives. Values have since changed and the society has now been able to achieve Kam-Niyaman — regulation of sex instinct. In the case of possession of wealth too, I often find these days, that the people instead of taking pride as before feel shy of confessing that they possess big lands. Is this not a clear indication that sense of ownership is fast losing its hold and prestige on the minds of those who are in possession of big fortunes?

I do not believe that Artha-Niyaman can be realized either through violent revolution or by legislation. It is hence that I have been trying all these days to reach this goal through love and persuasion.

The Bhoodan mission shall have achieved its purpose only when those who are in possession of vast lands and big properties will voluntarily surrender their right of ownership in favour of the society. I am waiting for the dawn of the day when the people will not only surrender their lands but will also come forward to take up this work of Bhoodan and declare that it was theirs and not Vinoba's responsibility to see that none remained landless in this country. If they come out with such a resolve and trek from village to village to collect land gifts, they will not only command confidence of their countrymen but leadership also will be thrust on them. Have I not often claimed that I am safeguarding the interests not only of the poor but of the rich as well? I do so, because I believe that there does not and cannot exist any clash in the interests of both. It is the basic principle of Sarvodaya that there is no conflict in the real interests of the different classes and communities and that the total good of all can be brought about by one and the same method, such as Bhoodan.

This means, that those who are blessed with some fortune, should feel that they can no longer enjoy life all alone. They should therefore come forward to part with the proper portion of their property for the needy and the poor.

It should also be borne in mind that this is applied to every individual, whether rich or poor. Just as all water coming either from the heights of the Himalayas or the plains, run in the same direction, i.e. towards the sea, so also, all those who are in possession of fortune, big or small, should come to help those who possess nothing. Let them feel the joy of giving. It is a common experience that the joy of one who gives water to the thirsty is more than the joy of the thirsty one who is the recipient of water. When those who possess land and property shall realize this, they will not only donate their lands but will also take up the responsibility of this work. They will thus not only save themselves and the country but will pave the way for a peaceful revolution (Shantimaya Kranti) in society.

(Abridged from Bhoodan, January 17, 1956)

CONTENTS	PAGE
REGARDING "HARIJAN"	
PAPERS	
ANNUAL ACCOUNTS OF NAVAJIVAN TRUST	401
WOOL INDUSTRY IN VILLAGES	402
LINGUISTIC DEMANDS OF	403
NON-HINDI AREAS	404
MAHATMA GANDHI —	
THE LAST PHASE — III	405
POST-BASIC EDUCATION	407
INITIATION IN	
ARTHA-NIYAMAN	408

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