

# HARIJAN

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

Voi. XVIII. No. 14

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## GRAMA-DHARMA \*

(By Vinoba)

Just as there is a code of conduct called *kuladharm* for a family, and for a clan called *jatidharma* which helps to maintain these social units, so there has to be a code of conduct to be observed by the village community for the proper maintenance of village life which we may call *grama-dharma* or *vilagism*. Village life cannot exist efficiently, much less prosper, unless the villagers agree to some such code of conduct and implement it in practice. I will tell you what I suppose should be considered the leading characteristics of this code.

First, the disputes in the village should be settled locally in the village. It would of course be best if there were no disputes at all. But that is an ideal hard to attain. Where a number of people live together, occasional disputes cannot be avoided. But you should have them resolved locally by referring them to the village elders of known integrity and character. The disputants should not go to the courts in the cities and waste time and money there. Besides, it leads to perpetual friction and bad blood among the parties. They then become enemies to each other and the enmity is handed down from the father to the son. This is evidently a very potent factor of the disunity in the village. The disputes should not therefore be taken to the courts in the cities which put the disputants to a lot of harassment by prolonging the case from one hearing to another indefinitely. The first rule of the *grama-dharma* therefore is this that we should accept the decision of the village elders and not carry our disputes to the cities. It is at times said that there are no honest men in the villages, that the villagers have become generally cantankerous and therefore incapable of living peacefully. But this is an obvious exaggeration. Even Ravana's Lanka was not all black, having been marked by the redeeming presence of Vibhishan. Our villagers are not like *rakshasas*, and must therefore have their good men.

Next, you must arrange for providing medical help and treatment to all those who may be

out of health. Today, people just do not look beyond their immediate family. Those who have money manage to get treatment from Government hospitals or private practitioners. But the poor who have no money to pay for such treatment have just to suffer silently. The *grama-dharma* would require that the disease be banished from the village and medical aid be provided to all the sick whether rich or poor. Medicines are not to be purchased from outside. Herbs with medicinal properties should be grown in the village and the patients be given their fresh juice and treated with other nature cure methods to restore them to health.

Thirdly, we must provide for the education of the village children. All the children in the village should be enabled to receive education and not only those, as at present, who can afford. Today those who have the means get their boys educated by sending them to the cities—to Patna, to Gaya etc. But the children of the poor go without education. Everyone has a right to education. Both rich and poor should be enabled to receive good education. How are we to accomplish this? The best solution would be for some well-educated individual in the village to come forward and offer his services for this purpose. This education would be entirely free of charge. None will be required to pay anything for it. The boys will do reading and writing for about two hours and for the rest of the time they will work. So will the teacher who will get his remuneration in kind and do agriculture work in his spare hours.

The fourth constituent of *grama-dharma* is agriculture or service of land. Land will not be owned privately inasmuch as it belongs to God. We are all servants of land and not its owners. We distribute land to individuals, but the ownership is vested in the village community. We undertake distribution for the sake of practical convenience, but the ownership both of land and its produce belongs to the community. Today every *kisan* looks to his interest only. At the time when the crops come on, all of them keep awake in their fields watching over them lest the cattle of the neighbour should slip in and damage

\* From a speech at Kalandara on 27-4-54.

them. It need not be so. The village should collectively look after its crops. Then they should consider how they can increase the production from the land. I am not preaching you any new religion. I am just telling you of the one changeless religion — the Religion of Man. Kindness, love, affection, fearlessness — all these are changeless parts of man's religion. All must live and work in co-operation with one another for good of all. They should lift up the declining village industries and make them prosperous. Every need of the village must be produced or manufactured in the village. Make your own cloth, use *ghani*-oil, hand-pounded rice, shoes made by the village *mochi* — shoe-maker. Nothing should be brought from outside the village. The village should practise a complete boycott of the mill-made articles. Not because we hate the cities; no, we love all; but because we will do nothing which will do harm to the village and upset its economic harmony by throwing the village artisans out of employment.

Fifthly, there should not be any privately owned shop in the village. All village shops will be held jointly by all the villagers who will have each a share in its capital. The poor who have no money will contribute their labour. For example, if he puts in eight hours' labour he will be entitled to a share worth a rupee. Thus the village shop should be a co-operative undertaking owned by all the villagers. Naturally it will be managed and run in the interest of all.

These are some of the principles of *grama-dharma*. Observance of these principles will lead to the enrichment and prosperity of our villages. I am trying to explain to you in brief how you can be happy. If you love one another the village will change into *vaijunth*, the abode of Vishnu — a place of perpetual bliss. What is needed for this to happen is love and co-operation. People say this is *Kaliyuga* — the age of darkness when evil gains ascendancy. But God has endowed us with this human body which can do wonderful things. We must use it for doing good. This is not *Kaliyuga* but *Kritiyuga*, that is, an age of action. Therefore arise and act. (Adapted from Hindi)

By Mahatma Gandhi

#### REBUILDING OUR VILLAGES

Pages vi+126 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 6

#### DRINK, DRUGS & GAMBLING

Pages xi+175 Price Rs. 2-8-0 Postage etc. As. 14

By Bharatan Kumarappa

#### WHY PROHIBITION

Pages vii + 43 Price As. 12 Postage etc. As. 3

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD - 9

### JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TO THE U. S. A.

(By Bharatan Kumarappa)

The Japanese do not speak their minds freely to a foreigner. But once the ice of reserve is broken, and one gets over, at least to some extent, the almost insurmountable language barrier, one discovers that the present attitude of Japan to the West in general, and America in particular, is one of dislike and distrust.

There are reasons for this. Japan had lived in isolation and preferred to be left alone. Her geographical position as an island off the remotest coast of Asia made the people keep to themselves, with hardly any contact with the outside world. Cultural influences, it is true, did come into Japan, as e.g., Buddhism from Korea, China and India, and craftsmanship and merchandise from China. But these were not thrust on Japan against her wishes. She welcomed them and profited greatly by them. She had the option of taking from them just what she wanted. Under such a scheme of things foreigners were hardly in evidence. They stayed out. Japan imported only their ideas or their skill. Not being used to foreigners, she looked upon them with fear and suspicion, and did not allow them entry into her domain.

Japan, however, was rudely shocked out of her isolation when Commander Perry of the U. S. A. forced his way into the country with a strong naval fleet in 1853. Japan resisted, but had to succumb when faced with superior military weapons. Perry opened Japan also to other Westerners. Japan resented this violent intrusion, and felt deeply humiliated that she was helpless to prevent it. From that day she determined that she would do all in her power to make herself the equal of the West in every way possible. She industrialized herself rapidly, learnt military technique from the West and built up a strong army, navy and air-force. She copied the West to the letter, and walked into other lands like Korea and took possession of them. Her ambition was fulfilled when at last the West looked upon her with her record of violence and loot, as an equal, and regarded her as a Big Power along with themselves. But the West grew alarmed when they saw that Japan had learnt her lesson from them a little too well and was on the verge of beating them in their own game. Again it was America that took the initiative, struck her with the atom bomb, laid her low, and occupied her territory. Twice, in recent history, then, America had acted against Japan. This could not be easily forgotten.

In spite of this, however, America won the affection of the Japanese for the good job she did in Japan soon after the War. She released the Japanese people from thralldom to their war-lords, gave the war-weary people a Peace Constitution which they welcomed, and which assured them that they would not have to have an army



any more or go to war, broke up the overpowering dominance of military leaders and of industrial magnets who led Japan into War for colonial expansion, and, lastly, gave Japan full Parliamentary Government. In consequence, the Japanese had genuine affection and friendship for their conquerors, who appeared to them as liberators and harbingers of a new era of hope, peace and prosperity.

But unfortunately today America seems to be going back on everything that filled the Japanese with hope for the future, for America is wanting Japan to re-arm. This means bringing back to power the old war-lords, the industrial magnets and powerful combines, and Japan begins to feel that the democratic Government given to her by the U. S. A. will only be a smoke-screen for policies determined by a ruling few, and that the people will again become gun-fodder, and worse still, victims of hydrogen bomb warfare. Formerly at least if they fought it was for their own colonial expansion. Now they will be fighting for America. And why should Japan be ravaged and her people killed for the sake of America? It does not make sense. If they were unarmed, they might be left alone in a war between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. But if they were armed on the side of the U. S. A., their country would be used as an American base, and would most certainly be devastated by the enemy. They would rather, therefore, follow a policy of non-alignment with either power bloc. But if they did, America may refuse them economic aid, and this will mean for Japan economic collapse. They find also that when unarmed, their neighbours, even from little Korea, take advantage. They poach into Japanese waters for fish, and arrest Japanese fishermen who may be fishing far away from Korean waters. Such incidents would not happen if they had an army to protect them. So Japan is today of a double mind on the question of re-arming. The general drift of public opinion however seems to be against re-arming, especially among the intelligentsia, students and labour, but with the powerful influence wielded by America in Japan, it is feared that the country might have to re-arm, with no prospect of peace or genuine freedom for the people. Consequently, America is fast losing hold on the hearts of the Japanese.

The presence of American troops all over Japan has also greatly contributed to the growing dislike of Americans. Everywhere in Japan there are American army camps, and naval and air bases. The land is overrun with American troops. Naturally this hurts the pride of a sensitive people like the Japanese. The American troops are a constant reminder to them of their complete defeat. It is said that the troops will be withdrawn when Japan is able to build up her own defence in the course of the next few years.

But today American troops are too much in evidence, and poverty-stricken Japan has to pay heavily — one-third of her national expenditure — for the luxury of having them guarding her shores against America's enemies! Moreover, in these days of hydrogen bombs, troops seem outmoded and futile for protection against attack. If anything military bases are apt to invite enemy attack. So all this show of American military strength, allegedly in the interests of Japanese defence, does not seem to evoke any enthusiasm in the Japanese.

Besides, the American soldier is a menace to Japanese morality. He exploits the poverty of the Japanese girl, gives her a good time, and some money for her family, and spoils her. Drink and vice under an army of occupation are corrupting the youth of the nation, and self-respecting Japanese are naturally indignant. One feels that Japan cannot put up with this for long. It is certainly not calculated to bring about any goodwill for America.

Further, the Japanese resented bitterly America's hydrogen bomb tests off Bikini last March. It had disastrous effects for them, and left them feeling that America did not care the slightest for their welfare or safety.

All this has led the Japanese in recent months not only to lose their friendship for Americans, but also to suspect that America has no real interest in them, that she concerns herself with them only in her own self-interest, and that America would see Japan destroyed if she could save her own skin thereby. The old suspicion and fear of the foreigner, that is of the Westerner and more particularly of America, seems to be returning, and may drive Japan to desperate straits against the white man. But just now Japan is too weak for action. The situation can perhaps be retrieved if Japan were given freedom from dependence on the U. S. A., and allowed to go her own way aided, if necessary, by an impartial international body, not controlled by either power bloc. Friendship between America and Japan, one felt, cannot come except by such means and on a basis of perfect equality and freedom.

*By Mahatma Gandhi*

#### BASIC EDUCATION

Pages viii+114 Price Re. 1-8-0 Postage etc. As. 6

#### TOWARDS NEW EDUCATION

Pages vi+90 Price Re. 1-4-0 Postage etc. As. 5

*By M. S. Patel*

#### THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Pages xv+288 Price Rs 5-8-0 Postage etc. As. 15

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

# HARIJAN

June 5

1954

## FATAL FORGETFULNESS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A writer in the *Manas* of February 10, 1954, has raised a question, particularly for the Western world, which is worthy of our attention as well. He poses the question in the following manner:

"The key to any age is its definition of man. It seems quite plain from history that if you pick a time when men have become timorous of their future, convinced of their inability to meet their problems, you find a time when human society is sliding into a cycle of poverty, ignorance and static despotism. The most destructive force in life is not found in the modern arsenals of war, but in man's contempt for himself.

"The present is like certain periods of the past in which men began to hate themselves and fear for their future, save for the fact that there is today a great deal of self-examination going on. If a high estimate of man is not possible today, we at least have a strong tendency to ask ourselves what we think about ourselves—to be, that is, *self-conscious* in the estimate we have made. And self-consciousness is a prerequisite to deliberate change."

Having defined his thesis in the above terms, he says about the Western world that,

"In a little less than five hundred years from the days of Pico, we have fallen back to a low estimate of man. We are beginning once again to think of him as impotent and forever afraid. Or rather, we have thought of him in these terms for a generation or more. The only real encouragement in evidence, at this time, is that the critical intellects now at work are becoming very much aware of this definition. Furthermore, they do not admire it. While they have little to put in its place, they know that a low estimate of human beings is fatal to the future of civilization—at least, of our civilization."

And therefore the West has lodged itself into a helplessness of the soul which benumbs its free flight into the realms of the spirit. A sort of inner hollowness overpowers self-consciousness and the outer world becomes too much for the inner man to grapple with. Man is as if quarrelling with himself today. As the writer says,

"If we are to 'believe' in man,.... we have to say that we are equal to living in the world of our time, but we don't seem to have the heart for it. Somehow we have let the world get out of scale. It is beyond us, outside of us.... feeling our weakness, we adopt a low opinion of ourselves."

What is the way out of this slough of spiritual dependency? The writer in the *Manas* answers this in a way which creates a question for us in India. First let us hear his answer:

"Is there anyone about who is able to set the modern world against some grid of rational understanding? Someone who can do for the world what Gandhi did for India? Gandhi may have understood the demons of the West, but only in Indian terms. To enlarge our view of modern man, a wider sort of rationalizing power is needed. It is a question of regaining the free-ranging imagination and daring which we once possessed, or of ignominious surrender. It is a question of being able to convince ourselves that the

problem really is one of imagination, and not of eternally dodging mindless intrusions which come unbidden into our sphere to reduce us to shivering submission. As always, it is a question of who and what are we, and whether we are any longer the proud dreamers we once thought ourselves to be."

The reader will easily guess the question that the writer indirectly raises for us also. Where are we for whose world Gandhi did a tremendous awakening of our slumbering soul? "Are we any longer the proud dreamers we once thought ourselves to be" only a decade back? Are we losing the revolutionary spirit that Gandhi aroused in us? Are not many of the difficulties that beset our onward march today born of this fatal forgetting of our true self?

Let each one of us re-examine oneself and begin to dream and recover the vision as we learnt to have at Gandhi's call to the soul of our people.

4-5-'54

## AN OBVIOUS TRUTH

(By Gandhiji)

I

[From Gandhiji's foreword to Shri S. N. Agarwal's book entitled *Medium of Instruction*, published by Kitabistan, Allahabad.]

Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal's treatise is timely and should go a long way in dispelling the fear and distrust about the possibility and desirability of giving the highest instruction through the mother-tongue. For me it is tragic that such an obvious truth requires arguing. Although Principal Agarwal imbibed all that his ambition could desire of the English language, he never allowed his love of the mother-tongue to be displaced by his regard for English. He is, therefore, well equipped for the mission which he has made his own. I hope that he will not rest till the mother-tongues in the various provinces have come into their own.

I have no doubt whatsoever that if those who have the education of the youth in their hands will but make up their minds they will discover that the mother-tongue is as natural for the development of the man's mind as mother's milk is for the development of the infant's body. How can it be otherwise? The babe takes its first lesson from its mother. I, therefore, regard it as a sin against the motherland to inflict upon her children a tongue other than their mother's for their mental development.

18-3-'42

II

[From a speech delivered by Gandhiji while inaugurating "The Mother-Tongue as Medium of Instruction" Conference in the Saksaria College of Commerce, Wardha on 9-8-1946, as reproduced in the book *Medium of Instruction—A Symposium* by Prof. D. S. Nag.]

"Determined effort is required on the part of all teachers, students and parents for making the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction a real success. Acharya Agarwal has taken a new step in the world of education as his college is the first in the country which has actually begun teaching through the mother-tongue. He



has taken a big responsibility on his head. It is the duty of all to help him in this big task.

"Some still think that if their boys are taught through English, they will earn money, raise their social status and will be able to talk fluently with an Englishman. But they forget India is a land of villages and the villagers do not know English. They know their mother-tongue. If we make English the language of the nation the growth of 400 million will be checked. They shall ever remain in the deep ditch of illiteracy. Dr. Raghubir who spoke to you just now rightly claims that we can build up a terminology in our own languages which will suffice all purposes of modern education. Even today the villagers have their own words for modern things. When I was in Champaran I had to work among the villagers. In their talks they did not use English words. Yet they could do well. As for instance, they did not use 'motor' for motor but taking speed as the characteristic of motor they called it 'hawa-gari'. I like such words. They are simple yet carry the meaning of the speaker. I am not a linguist but a villager and therefore I have a love for such words. The villager's dictionary contains such fine words which may not be found in Sanskrit or Arabic. I insist on the simplicity of words and the treasure of simple words lies in the villages, where our authors should go. Principal Agarwal knows that I am a villager. Therefore I will place a villager's viewpoint before him. Today our educational institutions are absolutely cut off from our seven lakh villages. Mother-tongue alone can link them. It is a gigantic task. There might be difficulties about text-books. The preparation of text-books may require hard labour but we have to do it. These things look difficult to us as we have spent many years in the chains of slavery. In Russia when the people's government was established they decided that education shall be through the mother-tongue. Consequently a large number of professors undertook the task of simplifying the difficult languages and preparing scientific dictionaries for the ordinary man. We have adapted ourselves to the English language and therefore the task seems difficult. We hesitate and feel a hitch in speaking in our mother-tongue. But do not forget whatever knowledge we have gained through English language is useless for the masses.

"It has entailed a colossal waste of the nation's energy. Our students spend their valuable years in learning a foreign language. If we teach through the mother-tongue we shall be saving seven years of a student and yet he will gain the same amount of knowledge. As I have not shown it in practice people may think that I am talking in the air. But that is not the case. I ask them to study the principles of basic education and the experiment going on these lines.

"The initiative of introducing the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction should come

from the people and their leaders. This is the least that they can do. The British Government will not care for it as they are concerned only with controlling power. They have imposed the English language on us. Now it is our duty to overthrow it. In the end I may remove another wrong notion prevailing about the mother-tongue medium. No doubt we have to evolve a national language for inter-provincial purposes but this shall not and should not be at the cost of the mother-tongue. We should first develop the mother-tongue and then the national language."

#### THE QUESTION OF MEDIUM FOR NON-REGIONALS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Two points are raised about the resolution (vide *Harijan* 15-5-54) on the medium of instruction passed recently by the Gujarat University.

1. It is true that the regional language is a natural medium of instruction for the region concerned. But is it not necessary to provide an additional medium of Hindi for non-Gujaratis?

2. Should not special colleges such as a College of Pharmacy etc. where students seeking admission might be coming from different parts of the country, have Hindi alone as the medium of instruction?

Neither of the two posers are new. They were raised in the debate of the Senate of the Gujarat University and, it was after their full discussion that the Gujarat University passed the resolution noted above. That these questions are again raked reveals inadequate understanding of the place of Hindi in New India's language policy. Hindi is an Indian or a national language as Gujarati, Bengali or Marathi, which are national languages for their respective regions. They all have to work together in unison to displace English from its unrightful place it occupies today. This is the natural task they have to perform under Swaraj. Therefore, having admitted the principle that the regional language is the natural medium of instruction for the region concerned, it would not be proper to suggest another or additional medium of Hindi.

It is necessary and desirable to appreciate the role of Hindi as the medium of all-India and inter-State communication and intercourse. We desire to accord it the place of honour as the common all-India and inter-State medium. Such acceptance does not connote in any way its linguistic and literary superiority or richness over other Indian languages. A simple reason which qualifies it to be so is that, in comparison with others, it is spoken by the largest number of our people, though in various different dialects; and another reason is that in the pre-British period it served the purpose of our lingua franca, or the inter-regional medium. It therefore has in it such potentiality, which must now be actualized by us.

Therefore non-Gujaratis who are staying in Gujarat or who would casually come and study in Gujarat may use Hindi as inter-State medium.

But it is only an administrative and practical expedient or convenience. It cannot be conceived as on par with Gujarati. And the Gujarat University, as we know, has already made provision of such nature in its said resolution on the medium of instruction. There should therefore be no difficulty in the general working of Gujarati as the medium. Still let us see the question in some details about the non-regionals.

The non-regionals who may be normally residing in Gujarat will be naturally knowing Gujarati. The Education Department of the Government of Bombay has prescribed the study of Gujarati obligatory for non-regional students from Standard III. They will then align with the Gujarati boys in Gujarati medium High Schools and thus may easily continue to do so further on in Colleges.

The non-regionals casually coming to Gujarat will have the knowledge of their mother-tongue. We may presume they will have also learnt Hindi, because Hindi is not at present commonly taught in all non-Hindi regions. However, we may take it that they will start doing so in the near future. Non-regional students intending to prosecute their studies in Gujarat will come here naturally with the mental preparation to pick up a working knowledge of Gujarati. Since Gujarati is a language very similar to Hindi they will find it easy to learn it. Again their stay in Gujarat will help them to learn it easily and naturally. It will not be an overstatement to say that they will have its working knowledge in about four to six months. However, special coaching classes may be conducted in the beginning to help such students, if necessary. This is what usually happens everywhere. And it will be wrong to work against this natural law. In a multi-lingual country like ours patriotism and national unity require that we make respectful studies of languages of one another and be one with our people with whom we reside. It is natural and easy for one to pick up the language of the region one goes to reside in. It indicates fraternal feeling which is an invaluable asset for national unity and solidarity. I am reminded of a non-Gujarati professor who with a sort of pride said that though he stayed for years in Gujarat he did not know Gujarati. This is surely not a matter of pride. It will be improper to keep a linguistic curtain in this manner.

But this question of the common all-India medium should be considered from another point of view also, that is found in the Constitution of India itself. For non-Hindi regions Hindi has a status of a common all-India and inter-regional language. Therefore, in a region it cannot take the place of nor be on par with the regional language. But those who need to use it as the common inter-provincial medium, i.e. — the non-regionals, can do so in accordance with the Con-

stitution. For instance, those who can better express themselves in Hindi, may certainly do so. Thus such non-Gujarati students will use it in answering the question papers and professors for teaching. They would however easily change over to Gujarati within a year or two. But it is for them to decide. For they have a right to use Hindi, as is suggested in the Congress Working Committee resolution also. The Gujarat University has rightly accepted this point by incorporating it in its Medium Resolution.

The University has further provided for the use of English also as the medium for a specified period of transition so that the non-regionals may have reasonable time to prepare for the change-over to Gujarati.

Then remains the last question of specialized institutions like the Pharmacy College. I learn that for pharmaceutical studies there are five to seven institutions in the country for diploma if not for degree course; and now it is possible that more such institutions may be opened. But, even otherwise, the above arguments hold good for this question also.

Moreover one should not forget the practical consideration of the percentage of non-regional students in the regional university. Can it be possible to make Hindi medium arrangement for what will obviously be comparatively a small number? And how will or can the region take such a responsibility?

But there is another serious question to be considered in this connection. To assign the natural place of the regional language to the inter-State medium is fraught with great danger to the cause of inter-State language itself. It should not be ignored that such a step will provoke resentment and dislike of Hindi among non-Hindi people and they might be led away not to accept Hindi if it meant more than inter-State medium.

It is feared that such a danger is not as clear as it should be. It is wise to take up the hint from the atmosphere that we see all around. Let us not take any step which may excite hostile feelings in others against the inter-State medium. We need it for our common all-India purposes. The greatest task that lies ahead in respect of Hindi is to start teaching it in all schools and colleges of non-Hindi regions. We are all called upon to make a clear and helpful atmosphere for it. This work will unnecessarily be obstructed and invite opposition if attempts are made to make Hindi the medium of instruction. The first and foremost task facing us is to provide regular and systematic compulsory teaching of Hindi in all non-Hindi regions. To provide for it in time is the truest State policy and right educational principle.

24-5-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)



**SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND RIGHT TO WORK***(By Maurice Frydman)*

There are three kinds of industries to consider in the present economic set-up of the country :

(1) Industries which supply products and services not at all in existence before, like airlines, radio, cinema, telephone and telegraph, microscopes, photographic cameras etc.

(2) Industries which made available to the many goods and services formerly reserved for the few, like post, speedy transport, glass and stainless metalware, educational and medical supplies etc.

(3) Industries which centralize in a few hands the production of articles of first necessity which were formerly produced by craftsmen all over the country, in sufficient quantity and of adequate quality. Here come textile mills, sugar factories, flour mills, shoe and ready-made cloth factories and all industries where the craftsman is deprived of his work without much benefit to the consumer.

It is high time that our attitude to industries which manifestly create unemployment by handing over to centralized and organized machinery the production of articles which were previously made by hand should undergo a radical change. If people want to get rich, they are welcome, but not by depriving other people of their livelihood. It is criminal in the strict sense of the word to make shoes in factories and starve innumerable families of cobblers, to stitch ready-made cloths in mills and deprive the individual tailors of their livelihood, to weave cloth on automatic powerlooms and keep the weavers idle. The right to work, the right to an earned wage is as sacred as the right to live. Man's livelihood is as inviolate as his person and it should be against the laws of the country to deprive a worker of his work.

Maximum employment should be the first consideration in India's economic policy, and maximum production will follow naturally because full employment will create full demand which will encourage production. So far our business morality was only between businessmen ; it was considered perfectly legitimate to destroy another economically through competition. This law of the economic jungle cannot be tolerated for ever ; economic manslaughter is as inadmissible as physical murder.

The laws of the country should be written anew to make attack on man's livelihood as severely punishable as an attack on his life. No industry should be permitted to exist or come into being unless the promoters can prove that none is put out of employment without immediate compensation in the shape of a new and better job. Not only humanity demands that maximum employment should come before maximum production, but it is also sound economics, because economic progress depends on

political stability which again depends on total and remunerative employment.

In a violent economy a vast proportion of the working population is engaged in occupations inimical to life and wellbeing of the citizen. Armaments and military service, private trade and speculation, police and prison staff absorb a part of the workers displaced by centralization of production of articles of first necessity. But if our country wants to be non-violent, it must aim at maximum productive employment, productive not of guns or middle-man's profits, but of all that serves man and society.

Once maximum employment is seen as more important than maximum production, the road is clear. Labour-intensive occupations will be given first priority until every man and woman in India is assured of full-time remunerative employment throughout the year in the production of articles of first necessity for the individual and the country. There will be no idle labour market and the employers will have to offer better wages than what the worker already gets. This shift of emphasis from maximum production to maximum employment will happen smoothly once the farmer and the craftsman are restored to their pristine function of supplying articles and services essential for personal and social survival. But maximum employment alone will not make society non-violent — it must be also maximum self-employment. The ideal artisan is not he who is just a cog in the complex machine of a State or private enterprise, but he who, on his own initiative and with his own resources, engages himself and his family and neighbours in the production of articles and services for the common good. The bringing up of a family is the simplest form of co-operation and what is needed for this task in goods and services is the natural field for self-employment for men and women of India.

Nobody, neither the State nor the private promoter, should be allowed to do anything which would reduce the self-employment potential of the country. An opportunity to learn an art or craft and to employ oneself joyfully and profitably in one's own farm, workshop or studio is the birthright of every man and woman and all other employments must offer still greater opportunities for self-expression and a higher standard of life to be acceptable.

To protect the human right to self-employment a whole industrial sector should be set aside for it. Most naturally it will be the production of goods and services essential for survival, biological and social.

This is what the small and village industries movement stands for : maximum self-employment, maximum equality, maximum stability, maximum dignity, freedom and happiness for everybody, not dispensed from above, but as a natural birthright, for the protection and enforcement of which the society and the State are responsible.

## SMALL-SCALE vs. LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES\*

(By Khandubhai K. Desai)

The latest report of the National Income Committee, which has been published recently, gives us certain glaring facts, which everyone should take into consideration. Up till now, we have been discussing the relative importance of the various industries, and whether the small-scale or large-scale industries have got any substantial importance in the economy of our country. Various views have been expressed by persons looking at the question from various angles. Some people are actuated by out-dated colonial notions of the nineteenth century, regarding large-scale production as a means to raise the economic level of the country.

### Income Point of View

In spite of the fact that the Government of India in their Ministry of Commerce and Industry have given exclusive attention to the development of large-scale industries and big business, let us see what the National Income Committee says. It says that the net output or national income which we derive from these large-scale industries is only Rs 550 crores. As against this, in spite of the various handicaps placed by our theorists, the large-scale industries, and also the import and export policies, the small-scale industries give to the nation national income to the tune of Rs 900 crores. If I had said this a fortnight ago, people would have said that it is all presumption, assumption or something in the air. But fortunately I am supported now by the latest report of the National Income Committee.

### Employment Point of View

Now let us see what employment is given by these two types of industries. The large-scale industries are employing about 29,69,000 workers, whereas the industries which are classed as small-scale or cottage industries are giving employment to about 1,15,00,000 workers, who are, either partially or fully employed.

### Government's Duty vis-a-vis Small-scale Industries

I do not mean to say that the Government of India have entirely neglected the cottage industries, during the last five or six years. Those of us who have had occasion to see the Exhibition which is now being held in Delhi, were able to find that the small-scale and cottage industries are in a position not only to raise the economic level of the country substantially but are also capable of raising the social and cultural level of our countrymen. Therefore, I would very humbly suggest that instead of giving their exclusive attention to these large-scale industries, let the thousands of persons working in the Commerce and Industry Ministry, who are very intelligent, very able, and have learnt their economics also very thoroughly, devote their attention to the small-scale and cottage industries. Let them allow the private enterprise or the larger industries to take care of themselves. They will do much better, even if the whole of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry is not able to look after them, because they have grown up now. Let these small-scale industries, which are contributing a national income of Rs 900 crores, be now exclusively attended to by the Hon. Minister, and his hundreds of officers working in the Ministry.

### Regarding Large-scale Industries

My Hon. friend Shri G. D. Somani has made certain statement harping as usual on the difficulties of the large-scale industries. That is a perennial question on the floor of this House. He has made a reference to the rehabilitation etc. of the various industries—the textile industry. May I ask: Who comes in their way of rehabilitating the textile industry? May I just place before him and this House certain facts, concerning the war and post-war periods?

\* From a speech of Shri Khandubhai K. Desai, M. P., in the House of the People, on 14th April, 1954.

## Increased Textile Capital

The textile industry which was running in a capital debt in the year 1939 of roughly Rs 20 to Rs 25 crores has got at its disposal today nearly Rs 75 crores liquid. Now, why should they come every now and then to the Government and say 'Give us money'? They have already got at their disposal 75 crores of rupees, if they want to rehabilitate their industry. Still they say: 'No, you must give us more money.' After all, where is that money going to come from? That money has to come either from the producers of industrial raw materials or the consumers or the wage-earners. Is it wise, is it equitable, when they have got already Rs 75 crores at their disposal to rehabilitate that industry, that they should come before the people of this country for more money? May I remind him that during the last seven or eight years, this Government has raised the depreciation allowance from 5 per cent to nearly 25 per cent in the case of three shifts and to 20 per cent in the case of two shifts? In addition to that, there is 20 per cent initial allowance, as it is called. So if somebody during the last five or seven years has put in new capital goods, that is, new plant straightaway, within three or four years he gets all this money back, and that capital is available today for rehabilitation, if they want to. So that money is made available to them, for putting in a plant which is three times the original value of the plant now, the plant is worth about three times.

### True Rationalization

Then he also raised the question, the pertinent question of rationalization. What is rationalization? It means the rational utilization of the resources of the country, both human and material, for the welfare of the community as a whole. It is with a view to see that the product becomes cheaper and also better. May I suggest that comprehensive rationalization of the industry is required to be taken up.—I mean the rationalization of the administration and management? Can Mr Somani tell us that everything which they are managing is all right?

### False Economic Ideals

Mr Somani, and most of his colleagues of his way of thinking, in season and out of season, straightway refer us to the U. S. A. From our present economy and from our present industrial development, he would like straightway to take us to the stage of development of the United States of America's economy. May I say that even wiser people than us, a fairly industrially developed country like U. K., sent a Mission about six or seven years back to America to see if some of their techniques could be utilized in the United Kingdom? The report that they have submitted is that there is no use going in for the U. S. A. type of production. That is the conclusion they have reached. The result is that U. K. decided that its industries should develop according to its own environments. In the same way, we should not look at what others have done. Of course, if there is some advantage we may adopt it. But what is necessary for our progress—human, economic and material—is that we have to cut our coat according to cloth and make progress in our own way, and not to get miserable by placing before us certain aspirations which cannot be fulfilled, unless along with it you desire to bring in exploitation and human misery.

CONTENTS	PAGE
GRAMA-DHARMA .. Vinoba	109
JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TO THE U.S.A. .. Bharatan Kumarappa	110
FATAL FORGETFULNESS .. Maganbhai P. Desai	112
AN OBVIOUS TRUTH .. Gandhiji	112
THE QUESTION OF MEDIUM FOR NON-REGIONALS .. Maganbhai P. Desai	113
SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND RIGHT TO WORK .. Maurice Frydman	115
SMALL-SCALE vs. LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES .. Khandubhai K. Desai	116