

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

THE WAY TO PEACE IN THE WORLD

(By Vinoba)

[From the prayer speech at Odgaun in Orissa on 24-4-55.]

You all know that a conference is in session at Bandung. Representatives of more than half the nations of the world have met there and they desire to exert their moral force so that peace is maintained in the world and the peoples of the world are not driven into a war.

Pandit Nehru has declared that even if there was a war, India will not take part in it. She will surely defend herself but will not enter into it. While making the declaration he pointed out that he was doing so not on the strength of any bombs he possessed. He went on to explain to the conference that he made his declaration on the strength of the confidence he had in the people of India. He said that even if the world was involved in war we in India would remain away from it, would take care of the liberty of our country and constantly endeavour for peace.

The pledge could be fulfilled only if we depended on our moral strength and generated it here. We have to realize that if we sought to depend on military strength we have none of it and that if we depended on moral strength we could cultivate it in India. India has a history reaching back into ten thousand years and during the entire course of it the people of India as also her great men have always carried on experiments in peace.

Not only the people all over Asia but all over the world desire peace. And the message of Lord Buddha as also of Mahatma Gandhi can serve the purpose of maintaining peace all over the world. The Buddha and the Mahatma both were born and had worked in India. From where did the words of both of them derive their power? Their words had the power because India had her being and had grown in non-violence. Besides, during the whole course of her history India has never harassed any other nation by aggression.

But we cannot have the strength that is non-violence merely by making a declaration that we will not participate in a violent war. That would be a negative approach. For non-violence we

would have to do something positive. Only then could our non-violent strength increase. We will have to declare that we will not rest till we have removed the disparities obtaining in our social as well as economic life by the strength of our non-violence. If we cultivated this positive and constructive approach our non-violence would gather enough strength to be effective in the affairs of the world. Just think how our Prime Minister is moving about all over the world with the message of peace and non-violence. And also think what immense weight and power his words would carry if along with the message he could also tell the world that we had solved our problems of social and economic inequalities by non-violence! Along with the Bhoodan Yajna the other movements like Sampattidan and Shramadan associated with it and the Sarvodaya ideal have in them the capacity to generate a positive moral and non-violent strength. That is also the reason why young men and women of India have been so much attracted to the Bhoodan movement and the Sarvodaya ideal.

Of all the people afraid of the terror of war the most are the representatives of the governments of the various nations of the world. We declare our faith that the people who are the government or masters of these governments possess the power of love, non-violence, peace and co-operation. Awaken that power and the world would have its freedom from fear.

We must all realize that land is for everyone. It is not something which could be bought and sold. Nor could anyone have any ownership in it. That is why everyone has a right to land and all should have the opportunity to serve it. Just as air, and water, and the light of the sun are for everyone so too is land for everyone. We have to bring home this truth to everyone by love. Therefore, our words while we persuade the people to see the truth should not be bitter but should be gentle.

Some of our friends are afraid of the form the law would take. They do not know, they say, what would happen to them and the land they own. That is why all over India tenants are being driven away by the landowners from the land they work on. But we do not believe that such landowners are hard of heart. We only believe

that fear has taken possession of them and they have lost confidence. They are committing errors out of fear. But we love them too as of course we love those who have been deprived of the land on which they till now worked. So we persuade these friends, if the tenants who are driven away become entirely landless, to give the land so obtained in *dan* and we would return it to those who have been deprived of it. We ask these friends to make out gift-deeds in the names of those very tenants. Thus, not only would the errors of fear be rectified but the owners would be deriving merit by giving *dan* and the power of love would be cultivated in society as a consequence. All of them are as brothers to us. If there are some who own not much but little land and who were to commit such errors out of fear, we cannot find fault with them, nor can we hate or be angry with them. We are sure that they would see the truth if we approached them and persuaded them with love. The work for Bhoodan includes checking the trend of the owners to drive away tenants and mediating between the parties concerned.

(From Hindi)

THE "MAYA" OF PAPER CURRENCY AND BANK

(By Swami Atmananda)

Shri Shankara defines "MAYA" as the expert who makes compatible the incompatibles. Paper currency in company with the Bank has worked such a miracle. They have made almost everlasting what had but two years' life or so at the most. They have whetted man's accumulative instinct and thus bred the monster of capitalism with its vast production but most inequitable distribution.

Till about two centuries ago the big landlords had their wealth in paddy, other food grains, cotton or other agricultural produce, cattle etc. Grains could last about two years, cattle 10 to 15 years. Before their life expired these had to be used up by the landlord. Supposing that his annual income was 100 cart-loads of paddy, his family could consume as food about 10 cart-loads. Government taxes would take away another 10. What was he to do with the rest? This excess would go in payments to the gardener, household servants, farm labourers, weavers, washermen, barbers, potters, carpenters, masons and others. A portion will be used to patronize artists. The rest would be given for local charity, i.e. for the construction and repair of village temples, tanks and such other works of public utility. Else, the corn would get useless.

The landlord was in fact thus a trustee of his property, for about 80% of his income was in effect distributed for various kinds of services in the village itself. He could not easily accumulate. The only forms of currency then were silver and gold coins which, by their very nature, were of very limited supply.

But a great transformation in the economic life came about with the advent of paper currency and the Bank to aid the trader. The landlord could now sell all his surplus paddy of 80 cart-loads and invest as much money as he could in the Bank. He had only a fixed extent of land yielding a fixed annual income. Now he could have not only the land but any amount of money as his cleverness could accumulate from year to year. What was till now surplus paddy which had to be used up within a year or two, could now be turned into an increasing Bank balance which could also be inherited by his successors along with his limited extent of land, — an event which could not be dreamt of till the Bank came into existence.

The accumulative instinct or the greed in man came by a powerful ally in the Bank Balance. As the greed could have its way now, the landlord sold to the trader, who had the great resources of the Bank at his back, as much surplus paddy as possible. Also a good part of paddy left the village for good and became unavailable to the poor villagers. The incentive to build public utilities like tanks and temples became much less. It is very difficult to see in the villages, tanks, temples or wells of recent origin.

Landlords who saw the new products of the Western world and such as were enamoured of them, went in to buy motor cars from America instead of the wrist-watches from Switzerland and fashionable fabric of England or France or the fancy-goods from Japan. The village workers were neglected and left to find their way for themselves. The poor became poorer, and their number also increased.

In an ultimate analysis capitalism could not have come into existence and thrived but for the powerful aid given to it by paper currency and the Bank. So socialism cannot be established unless the powerful aid, nay, the basis of capitalism is struck at the very root. The paper currency, which has an eternal life or for that matter the Bank balance of a similar nature must go. Paper currency in landlords' or industrialists' hands represents paddy or cloth etc. of but very short life. It is but proper that paper currency has also a short life of two or three years. By the end of this period after a full life for one year or so it should depreciate and die. Lands, mines, etc. which yield produce from year to year have naturally a long life. But, as is well known, buildings, factories, machinery, etc. have in comparison a shorter life as they depreciate from year to year. This fact is recognized and allowed for by the industrialists and financiers. How is that in the case of paper currency alone, which is but the representative of the very short-lived grains, cloths, etc. no provision has been made for depreciation?

Currency notes should have their full value, say only for one year or eighteen months, after

which period it should be made to depreciate by one-tenth every month till they die. Is this not the history of paddy etc.? The same should be the case with Bank deposits. After a period these should be paid off in depreciating currency.

Currency and Banks are useful institutions but they must be purged of the evils they have wrought. If currency also is as short-lived as the grain, the hoarding or accumulation would not take place. The evils of mal-distribution will be considerably lessened automatically.

Sense of insecurity in old age for oneself and for one's children when one is gone, is also a powerful incentive to accumulate, but that has to be dealt with separately.

[Money, in modern finance and business, is not merely a means of exchange; it becomes capital also, creating for itself and for society quite a different pattern of behaviour. The point made above is regarding the latter use of money, which deserves serious thought if we desire to build up decentralized industrialization in Rural India.

16-3-55

M. P.]

A GANDHI ANTHOLOGY

BOOK IV

Kartik, bright 1

The art of dying bravely and with honour does not need any special training, save a living faith in God. Then there will be no abductions and no forcible conversions (*Delhi Diary*, September 23, 1947, p. 33).

Kartik, bright 2

Public confession made in sincerity purifies the confessor and protects him or her against repetition of the wrong (*Ibid*, p. 32).

Kartik, bright 3

Those who are anxious to serve must have endless patience and tolerance. One must never seek to impose one's views on others (*Ibid*, September 21, 1947, p. 27).

Kartik, bright 4

Good alone can beget good. Love breeds love. As for revenge, it behoves man to leave the evil-doer in God's hands (*Ibid*, September 20, 1947, p. 26).

Kartik, bright 5

No one can protect you other than God. No man can protect another (*Ibid*, September 20, 1947, p. 24).

Kartik, bright 6

Death is a blessing bestowed by the Creator on all life, human and sub-human . . . Right conduct is the only right way of life which makes it bearable and even lovely (*Ibid*, September 11, 1947, p. 6).

Kartik, bright 7

That tractors and chemical fertilizers will spell our ruin, I have not a shadow of a doubt (*Harijan*, XII-1, February 1, 1948, p. 5, col. 2, para 5).

Kartik, bright 8

It is the devotee's devotion that makes a temple a living shrine. The deity in the temple is only a reflection of the devotee's spirit (*Ibid*, p. 1, col. 2, para 1).

Kartik, bright 9

How can one justify the import of foreign cloth because foreign rule has ended? . . . Pure khadi alone has place in Swaraj (and not even Indian mill-made cloth, much less foreign cloth on which a hundred crores of rupees have been spent since independence). (*Harijan*, XI-50, January 11, 1948, p. 504, col. 2, paras 3 and 4).

Kartik, bright 10

The teaching of the laws of health should be obligatory in all schools and colleges (*Harijan*, XI-48, December 28, 1947, p. 484, col. 1, para 4).

Kartik, bright 11

The conservation of grain in the villages is needed as an insurance against scarcity. The condition always must be that the growers and dealers must not be greedy or unscrupulous (*Ibid*, p. 481, col. 1, para 2).

Kartik, bright 12

Through khadi we were struggling to establish the supremacy of man in the place of the supremacy of power-driven machinery over him. Through khadi we were striving for equality of all men and women in the place of the gross inequality to be witnessed today. We were striving to attain subservience of capital under labour in the place of the insolent triumph of capital over labour (*Harijan*, XI-47, December 21, 1947, p. 476, col. 2, 'Spinning Still').

Kartik, bright 13

Searching of self ennobles, searching of others debases (*Harijan*, XI-46, December 14, 1947, p. 465, col. 1, last para).

Kartik, bright 14

Man does not live but to escape death. He is advised to learn to love death as well as life, if not more so . . . Life becomes livable only to the extent that death is treated as a friend, never as an enemy (*Harijan* XI-44, November 30, 1947 p. 437, col. 1, para 2).

Kartik, full moon

A worthy enterprise carries its own blessing. On the other hand, if an unworthy project receives any blessing from outside, it becomes, as it should become, a curse (*Harijan*, XI-43, November 23, 1947, p. 420, 'When Blessing Becomes a Curse').

By D. G. Tendulkar

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HARIJAN

June 25

1955

"BUILDING FROM BELOW"

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

This is the title of a booklet issued by the Planning Wing of the A. I. K. & V. I. Board, Bombay. It is a small book of about 100 pages printed very well on hand-made paper. I commend it to all who seriously think about rebuilding India, free, democratic and peaceful, non-violent, happy and prosperous.

At the present time when we are discussing a plan-frame for the Second Five Year Plan, the booklet deserves more attention than it has got till now. It is a pity that our planning machinery is too much drawn away by mere monetary and statistical considerations* to the neglect of some of the basic facts of our people's peculiar situation. We need to industrialize surely. But the pattern for it should suit our peculiar conditions and it should also meet squarely the problems created by the Western orthodox pattern of industrialism. It will be wrong to copy the latter blindly. The booklet makes a very bold attempt indeed to draw our attention to this great error. The error is perhaps due to the hold that the glamour of Western technology has on certain minds, who try to build from above and not from below as it should naturally be.

The error is obvious if we look to the history of the development of technology in its homeland, the West. As we know, the development of what are called heavy or capital-goods industries in Western countries followed in the wake of rapid advance of consumer goods industries. This way of development secured to these countries a balanced and harmonious economic growth, keeping pace with the employment needs of those peoples and without creating an unnatural or unduly heavy financial burden on them. Rather, as we know, they were imperialist countries exploiting and looting away the cheap resources of backward peoples who had the misfortune to be under the heels of the aggressive and militant West. The educational system of those countries — this also grew along with it and the common man there even culturally got attuned to the new technological order. Industrial cities grew in its wake and there was silently built up an order based on values that came to be inculcated among

* It will be interesting here to read the following from an article of Dr. Alfred Métraux of the Social Sciences Department of the UNESCO (See *Harijan*, Jan. 9, 1954, p. 358): "Economists and technicians, because they deal in statistics and handle practical problems, become imbued with an alarming self-confidence. They seldom have any inkling of the relationship that exists between the various institutions of a group and fail to realize that its culture cannot be altered piecemeal."

the people as a result of this new economy and industrial endeavour, — the values that at present go under the name of modernism.

Shortly, there was socially and culturally no gap nor lag between the people's education and culture and the new imperial economy that they came to have under industrialism.

In India, at present we aim, through the Second Five Year Plan, as if to reverse the historical process noted above and try to impose on our people a thing which is bound to be an exotic and therefore to create an economic and cultural gap over and above a too heavy financial burden. This will again, in a new form, create a difference between the classes and the masses, and thus perpetuate the evil that was born under foreign rule on account of similar socio-economic reasons. The book under review keenly notes this in its own way and in its introduction remarks that

"The scheme of endeavour presented by (it) does away with all artificial distinctions between urban and rural areas, towns and villages and makes possible an approach to the poor wherever they are..... Technology as such is confined to its due role as a tool and is thus made to serve rather than be served by, the people. Thus it makes 'building from below' possible and certain and phases introduction of technology with the capacity of the people to absorb it. The programme is essentially based on self-help and therefore does not require for its success foreign technical or financial assistance. It relies on the plenteousness of man-power resources in the country and by directing them into productive activity, increases the size of the national income and ensures its equitable distribution."

And it further notes that,

"It ('Building From Below') is not an austerity plan despite its intensive drive for a considerably larger rate of capital formation, because it reconciles effectively the increasing need to save and invest with increasing incomes and the increasing capacity to save and invest."

And a further merit of the scheme is also noted in the introduction that,

"Above all, it works the system to change the system and relies as much on voluntary acceptance of the need to change as on legal enforcement. The elasticity and informality of approach provide for change that may occur and it incorporates adequate inherent strength to maintain the direction of change. Its division into various stages is thus designed to effect the transition smoothly."

We may note this vital difference between planning from below as against that from above (which is the way adopted today by Government under the adopted slogan of 'Socialistic pattern') in other or more common terms.

Our main problem is immediate removal of unemployment and raising of the level of living of our poor people through giving them gainful occupation and thus putting increasing purchasing power in their hands. This must be done in a democratic way. Which in a nutshell means that they must come to have increasing economic power also along with the political.

A plan that does not directly aim to fulfil these major aims and help to realize them will not be worth while nor democratic. The most natural and easiest way to secure these aims is to make a plan essentially

labour-intensive and not capital-intensive. The Second Five Year Plan seems to err here, as can be seen from its pathetic reliance on foreign aid both technical and financial, and the dangerous venture of deficit finance. Such a plan will be having not only cultural disharmony and imbalance of the sort noted at the beginning above, but will also create an authoritarian tendency commonly associated with centralist government or bureaucratic power. As such, the new venture in planning assumes political and cultural values also.†

My plea therefore is that the Five Year Plan-form should be examined from this cultural and political angle also, because it is not a mere economic thing, as is being unwittingly held by many. And in contrast to that plan, let the country and its Government heed to the small little voice of those who stand for truly democratic planning which can and should be from below. This voice today is weak and feeble; but it is, I hold, the voice of the dumb crores of our people as expressed by the Father of the Nation through his idea of decentralized economy of Khadi and village industries, which cumulatively form the largest and the heaviest group of industries of the nation and economically and culturally the soundest and the most attuned to our genius as a people.

We shall see the nature of the scheme suggested in this booklet hereafter.

16-6-'55

† In this connection, the following observation of the noted historian Toynbee, is worth notice:

"Technology operates on the surface of life, and therefore it seems practicable to adopt a foreign technology without putting oneself in danger of ceasing to be able to call one's soul one's own. This notion that, in adopting a foreign technology, one is incurring only a limited liability may, of course, be a miscalculation. The truth seems to be that all the different elements in a culture pattern have an inner connection with each other, so that, if one abandons one's own traditional technology and adopts a foreign technology instead, the effect of this change on the technological surface of life will not remain confined to the surface, but will gradually work its way down to the depths till the whole of one's traditional culture has been undermined and the whole of the foreign culture has been given entry, bit by bit, through the gap made in the outer ring of one's cultural defences by the foreign technology's entering wedge....."

"The truth is that every historic culture-pattern is an organic whole in which all the parts are interdependent, so that, if any part is prised out of its setting, both the isolated part and the mutilated whole behave differently from their behaviour when the pattern is intact. This is why 'one man's meat' can be 'another man's poison'; and another consequence is that 'one thing leads to another'. If a splinter is flaked off from one culture and is introduced into foreign body social, this isolated splinter will tend to draw in after it, into the foreign body in which it has lodged, the other component elements of the social system in which this splinter is at home and from which it has been forcibly and unnaturally detached. The broken pattern tends to reconstitute itself in a foreign environment into which one of its components has once found its way."

For fuller discussion of this point see Toynbee's article in *Harijan*, 12-12-'53 and 26-12-'53.

PLANNING FOR THE THIRD SECTOR

(By C. K. Narayanswami)

[As readers will note, the Third Sector (vide *Harijan*, 1-1-'55, p. 352) is the national sector of Khadi and other small-scale village industries that contribute the largest bulk of our national income. They constitute a separate and immensely human and democratic sector of our national economy as against the two well recognized sectors, viz. the Public and the Private. It is wrong to include agriculture, Khadi, and village industries in the latter—the Private Sector, as is being unwittingly done by some. These industries being labour-intensive touch the life of our people the most, unlike the two usual sectors which mainly concern themselves with capital and such other material ways and means. Therefore a truly national and human plan will chiefly concentrate upon the Third Sector. What is called a plan at present is only a scheme for establishing certain Government large-scale industries allowing private ones also to co-exist. However, it is good that Government has anyhow come to pay even a nodding recognition to the Third Sector. It should give more attention to it. The Second Five Year Plan must chiefly centre round this Sector, rather than the heavy industries which, however big apparently, are only appendages to the nation's basic economy of self-help and self-reliance. This is the least that should be done if our Plan is to be really democratic. Otherwise it will be a capitalist plan either of the State or of the private capitalist.]

The following is an account of the brave efforts of the A.I. K. & V. I. Board to bring this great fact of our planning into prominence. It will at least show that we need not go into hazarding nation's wealth into highly glamorous ventures in imitation of the West.

10-6-'55

[M.P.]

Development programmes for Khadi and village industries for the Second Five Year Plan prepared by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board reveal that with a total capital outlay of Rs 142.70 crores full-time employment can be provided to 88.58 lakhs of people and part-time employment to about 80,000 more. The industries covered by the programme are cotton textiles, wool hand-pounding of rice, village oil, leather, gur, khandsari, match, soap and hand-made paper. In respect of each of these industries the programmes of the Board involve common production programmes. This information was given to the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board by its Chairman today, June 2, 1955.

The Chairman of the Board referred to his discussions with Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, about co-ordination of activities between the Community Projects Administration and the Board, with particular reference to the development of Khadi and other village industries in the Project and Extension areas. He referred to the Bill introduced by the Government of India for the creation of a Khadi and Village Industries Development Commission and pointed out that the text of the Bill was in terms presented by the Board. The Commission would be a Statutory Body, while the present Board would continue to function as an Advisory Body to the Commission.

The proposals for the Second Five Year Plan, it was mentioned, envisaged common production programme in respect of cotton textiles, wool, hand-pounding of rice, village oil, leather, gur and khandsari, match, soap and hand-made paper. The proposals for development of these industries involved a total capital outlay of Rs 142.70 crores over the five year period providing full-time employment to 88.58 lakhs and part-time employment to about 80,000 persons more. The textile part of the programme, it was pointed out, would largely depend on the degree of co-ordination between the Board and that of the Handloom Board. The Board, therefore, felt that the best way to achieve it was to have a representative of either Board on the other.

Regarding co-ordination of activities between the Board and the Community Projects Administration, the

Chairman recalled the decisions of the Project Development Commissioners' Conference recently held in Simla. He said that the Board could train personnel at Block level for Khadi and village industries. The Project Administration would need 500 trained persons every year and it was for the Board to consider how it could help in this.

Discussion followed and all aspects of the question were considered. It was decided that 100 trainees should be taken up this year at the Board's Central Vidyalaya at Nasik and to survey the possibilities of extending such training in other centres.

SHRI VINOBA IN ORISSA—VII

"To see that no one remains landless in the village is the initial aim and that no one remains owner of land is the ultimate aim. God alone is the owner of land; all of us are but its children." At Valpada, situated in the lap of hills under the shade of trees, the jungle folk who had met together heard these words of Shri Vinoba with rapt attention.

He said, "Out of the hundred and fifty million who live in Orissa nine million are like you who are believed to be of the suppressed backward class. You do not possess anything like wealth, learning, social status etc. But if you gave all the land in the village as gift in Bhoodan and lived as one family in it, you will go ahead of all the others. Men and women from all over the country as well as foreign lands will come here to have a look at people who give away all their lands in gift without any sort of coercion out of the fullness of love in their hearts with the fullest understanding of what they are doing and live in complete harmony. Someone will be inclined to ask whether people will do so unless they are coerced into it. But I will ask the questioning friend whether a patient needs to be forced into taking medicine. He of his own accord, asks for bitter drugs and takes them. Even so, when people in every village will realize that their good lies this way they will come forward one after another to give the entire land in their village as gift in Bhoodan."

In the meeting at Gokarnapur Shri Vinoba explaining to the people of the village the characteristics of Swaraj said: "I asked the people of a village in Vindhya Pradesh whether they knew that Swaraj had come to India. The reply I got was that they did not. This indicates that people living in our villages do not till now experience Swaraj. Is it really necessary to point out to anyone that the sun had risen? Swaraj will actually come to the villages when people living in each one of them will decide to convert the ownership of the entire land in the village to the village itself, to manufacture by themselves the cloth they need, to make arrangements similarly for the education of their children, to make their village beautiful and keep it clean, to settle the differences between them by themselves, to rub out all distinctions between caste and caste and between the touchable and the untouchable, to give up evil habits of drink etc., to read the Gita every evening, to speak only sweet words and to be absolutely fearless. Just as no one else can eat for us so no one else can give us our Swaraj. We have to regenerate ourselves by our own efforts, no one else can do it for us."

The next morning while on the march a worker asked, "How and when will all this come about?"

Vinobaji replied, "While from one side our work proceeds, from the other the process of the atom and the hydrogen bomb is going ahead. The two together are going to give us one single result. Science is declaring that violence will have to be given up and if we want to save ourselves, whole villages will have to convert themselves into so many families. This is why I say that the atom process should go ahead in all its strength. It is going to help us achieve what we seek to do."

Shri Vinoba is constantly devoting his mind to ways and means of expediting and intensifying Bhoodan work. He often thinks about it aloud. Doing so on one occasion

he said, "While thinking of this question I feel the need of a class of persons who would be constantly on the move, propagating the idea. To get things done through the power of the State is the talk of the day. But did not the Buddha who had the power of the State give it up? Why did he do so? Many believe that Ashoka was instrumental in the propagation of the religion of the Buddha. That it was spreading thus, however, was only an illusion. What actually happened was that the religion of the Buddha was uprooted in the end from India. When State power enters the field, you have quarrels between kings who hold the power. When kings following the religion of the Buddha encouraged it, the Shaiva Hindu kings sought to encourage their own Hindu cult as against it. Thus when work is sought to be carried on by the power of the State, you undermine religion instead of spreading it. You can surely serve the people through the power of the State, but it can never raise the moral level of the people. We know that children are brought up and taken care of by the parents, but only the guru is capable of converting them to a better way of life and raising their moral level. If we had workers who are constantly on the move for the propagation of knowledge we could create such an atmosphere in the whole country that the entire work of Bhoodan would be completed in a single day. When the sun rises it does so in every village, so too we can have distribution of land everywhere on a single day to be fixed for the purpose. But to achieve the end we should have missionaries who will be constantly going about to propagate true knowledge of the idea among the people."

A worker asked Vinobaji the question in Digapahandi, "What should be the form of government?"

That very day expounding at length his ideas on the subject Vinobaji said in the prayer speech:

"The form of government depends on the state of the people. A family with young parents and small children will be of one kind. There the children will obey the parents. A family with parents of advanced age and sons of mature understanding would be of another sort. There the affairs of the family will be conducted by mutual co-operation. And a family with old parents and grown up sons will be of quite another kind. There the sons would be managing all the affairs of the family and the parents will be content to offer them advice. But the basic element informing all these various outward forms will, of course, be love. Even so the outward forms of government will vary from time to time, but the principle underlying society and social progress will be that of Sarvodaya. As people progressively grow into a consciousness of social responsibility there will be less and less government."

"A socialist pattern, democracy and such other ideas pertain only to good government. These ideas therefore, are ultimately within the final goal of a social order which is free from all government. Just as the mother carries within her body the child in embryo and the latter receives its sustenance from the former, so too these various conceptions regarding good government will be sustained by the Sarvodaya ideal. Our final aim is to have an order which is free of government. Absence of government is quite a different thing. It means anarchy. What we seek to do is to replace anarchy by good government and through the latter to progress towards an order free of government. In the social order which has shed the need of government all administration will be decentralized and will be distributed to the villages and society as a whole will carry itself on by certain willingly accepted standards of morality. Besides, such an order will be founded on the principle of *aparigraha* or non-possession. Therefore, we have to carry on good government with an eye to getting rid of government altogether and from the other side constantly striving to organize the strength of the people, so that they can ultimately do without government altogether."

15-5-55

K. D.

(From Hindi)

NOTES

Unemployed Men and Idle Machines

During the last few days a news or two have come to us which, we believe, will set the people thinking. The first news is that the estimates of the gigantic plans of river dams are again found to be erroneous and, it is said that crores will have to be added to the original figures. How strange it is that the amounts to be spent after such plans are always under-estimated and additions have to be made afterwards! And these additions are not less than 30 to 40 per cent. Thus these plans and estimates are mis-called 'plans' and 'estimates'. There is no sense in calling these so.

The other news is that when a Government Committee went to examine some such plans they found 48 per cent of machines lying idle, because some parts of them were not available. God knows what should be the state of affairs at other places which the Committee has not yet visited. The advent of machines has made man-power unemployed. Now if machines themselves become unemployed, where is the sense in investing money in them? The undue and almost indecent haste seems to be the reason of all this bugle.

Further, the same Committee says that our engineers do not yet know how to work these machines. Why then have they brought such machines and made such plans? Responsible people in the Government should investigate and examine all this and lessen the speed so as to make it tolerable and they should not allow wrong estimates to go on.

We wish the Government should have utilized all the money in small-scale industries in the country instead of spending it on machines that are now lying idle. In that case much less money would have sufficed and we could have been saved from entangling our economy with American aid. Moreover, the money which we should have been enabled to save thereby would have proved more fruitful because it would have then been spent on more definite schemes of work. We wish things would improve even at this state.

(From Gujarati)

M. P.

Amend the Vaccination Act

Dr. T. R. Savan, Ahmedabad, sends me the following two news items which have important bearing on the question of compulsory inoculation. The items are:

'Nagapattinam, Dec. 2.

A municipality has no powers to force a person to get himself inoculated against cholera.

This decision was given by a Sub-Divisional Magistrate here in a prosecution launched by the Nagapattinam Municipality against a homoeopathic doctor.

The doctor pleaded that he was prepared to take medicines orally, but would not allow his body to be injected.

The doctor's right was upheld. P.T.I.

The second item is:

'Madras, Feb. 7.

The Madras Assembly today began its budget session with legislative business.

Today the Assembly passed a Bill granting exemption from vaccination to conscientious objectors in Madras city by an amendment of the Madras City Municipality Act. P.T.I.

Both the items are quoted from *The Indian Express* (Bombay).

I congratulate the Madras Legislature on its amending an old Victorian piece of legislation, I mean the Vaccination Act, in light of new knowledge and conditions of freedom in our country. All the States must adopt similar legislation as early as possible. Will Bombay begin?

16-6-'55

M. P.

Spinning in Jails

The Government of Madras has decided to introduce spinning in the six Central Prisons of the State. This is in pursuance of the scheme prepared by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. A sum of Rs 30,300 has been sanctioned for the purpose.

According to the Government's decision each of these jails will have 25 Charkhas. The yarn spun will be woven into cloth to the extent necessary for use in the jail where there are facilities for weaving and the surplus yarn will be bought by the Government Intensive Khadi Centres. Wherever there are no facilities for weaving, the entire yarn spun on the Charkhas will be purchased by the Government Khadi Centres either in exchange for Khadi or for cash. The Inspector General of Prisons in the State has been informed that the Khadi Centres insist on a standard tensile strength of 60 per cent for the yarn.

Instructions have also been issued to work the cotton required inside the jails, and engage convict labour for making slivers. As far as possible the scheme is to be worked on a no-profit-no-loss basis.

A.I. K. & V. I. Board,

Bombay 1.

10-6-'55

C. K. NARAYANSWAMI

[It would be good if the Amber Charkha is introduced instead of the one-spindle one in vogue.]

17-6-'55

M. P.]

Training in Village Tanning

Development of Village Leather Industry has many aspects. Important among these is tanning of leather. This is an industry which has existed in India for thousands of years. Even today, in spite of the emergence of organized tanneries in the cities, 80 per cent of the hides and skins recovered in the country are still tanned in the villages.

But the village tanners require guidance and their processes need improvement. With a view to train people in village tanning, therefore the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has started Tanning Training Centres in the country. Instruction in village tanning is given at the Kora Gramodyog Kendra, near Bombay for candidates from Bombay State, Kutch and Rajasthan.

The course of training is one year and candidates seeking admission for training should have passed the Matriculation Examination or must possess an equivalent qualification. They should also have a working knowledge of Hindi. Admission is reserved to candidates sponsored by recognized institutions or co-operative societies which have tanning arrangements or intend to set up village tanneries.

Selected candidates are given a monthly stipend of Rs 40 during the period of training and travelling expenses up to a maximum of Rs 65. Young people in the age-group of 18 to 35 years can obtain necessary application forms and other information from the Technical Officer (Leather) of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, Army and Navy Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. Training classes will start from August 1.

A.I. K. & V. I. Board,

Bombay 1

15-6-'55

C. K. NARAYANSWAMI

Economics of Peace

What threatens and disturbs the peace of the world is not merely the H-Bomb. The poison lies in the economic system emphasizing an over-developed life of created wants. Capitalism and Imperialism aim at exploiting the millions for the benefit of the few. State Capitalism suppresses the few for the sake of increasing the wants of the many. What is needed is a square deal for all—Sarvodaya. Until this economic aspect receives its due, we do not expect anything substantial from much-trumpeted conferences and their pious resolutions, which do not go far enough to touch the masses and hardly reach the fringe of the problem before us. The threat of nuclear weapons is only a symptom of the raging fever of violence in our "supply and demand" economics. We need to focus our attention to ways and means of substituting this system by another of sharing our lives and banish exploitation. Mere listing of commonplace maxims will not help matters much.

J. C. K.

(From *Gram Udyog Patrika*, June 1955)

STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLE ONLY CAN ACHIEVE IT

(By *Maganbhai P. Desai*)

A worker from Rajasthan writes :

"We had gone to the villages of the Kotadi *tahsil* from the twentieth to the twenty-fourth of May in order to distribute land obtained in Bhoodan. These were *jagiri* villages. While going through them we learnt from the residents that in spite of the abolition of *jagirs* in Rajasthan, the tyranny of the *jagirdars* over the village folk still persisted as before. When tenants are driven away from the land the villagers do not go to file complaints against the *jagirdars* and if some one is daring enough to do so the villagers do not come forward to give evidence against the landlords.

"The Government servants (*patwaris*), when they visit their circles on duty, stay at the local *jagirdar's*. They receive their food from his kitchen. And when they call the peasants for business they ask them to come to the *jagirdar's* place. In other words, in spite of the fact that the power of the *jagirdars* has been abolished by law, these servants of the Government try to give life to their authority in this manner. As a consequence *jagirdars* find it easy to acquire necessary influence to keep the village folk suppressed as before. Thus the people do not dare to complain against them.

"What should really happen is that wherever there was a complaint from the tenant, of dispossession by the landlord or complaint of some other sort it should be brought to the notice of the superior official by the *patwari* himself and he should not wait for a complaint to be filed before proceeding in the matter. Those who have cause to complain feel that to file a complaint against a person enjoying more power and influence than themselves is to invite trouble."

The correspondent then goes on to express the hope that the officials concerned would look into the matter and asks me to show a way out of the unhappy state of things.

This is a very old matter. It has come down to us from the times when the British ruled India. Even before their time during the regime of

Hindu or Muslim rulers the state of things existed in one form or the other. Today we not only do not like it but want it to cease altogether. The reason is we want democracy or the rule of the people now.

During the old order the servant of the Government used to believe that he held the power of the State to the extent his office permitted or that he himself was the Government. Our languages also called many of them *sarkar* i.e. Government. The language reflects the picture of the times.

On the strength of this supposed power, Government servants used not only to enjoy a certain respect, honour, reputation and status but also to take free gifts of things and services from the people. And hardly anything wrong was noticed about these practices.

During the British regime this state of things continued at least in the villages in full force. In higher circles of society it is possible it may have taken a new form. Today we are eager to change this state of things. The remedy is, or say should be, in the hands of the people themselves. Of course, government of the people can, as the correspondent desires, be of some help. People have a right to expect such help from their Government. But the real aim underlying the desired change will be achieved only by the strength of the people who have awakened themselves to their sense of rights and duties. To do this is the most essential task when rebuilding India.

13-6-'55

(From Hindi)

By Mahatma Gandhi TRUTH IS GOD

(Foreword by *Shri C. Rajagopalachari*)

[Gleanings compiled by *Shri R. K. Prabhu* from the Writings of Mahatma Gandhi bearing on God, God-realization and the Godly Way.]

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