

HARIJAN

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

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TWO ANNAS

WE SHALL NOT RESORT TO WAR

(By Jawaharlal Nehru)

[The following is adapted from the press report of the speech of the Prime Minister at Sitapur, Aug. 21, to the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.]

"I am not a pacifist nor is our Government. If India is attacked or any aggression takes place on India, we shall defend her with all our might and we shall use our defence forces also for that purpose. But apart from this, we shall not resort to war."

The Prime Minister said: "Ever since Independence we have tried our utmost according to our declared policy to come to a peaceful settlement with the Portuguese Government. They have spurned us and refused even to discuss this question. We established a Legation for this purpose, but had to withdraw it because it served no purpose. In spite of insults offered to us by the Portuguese Government and the callousness and cruelty of their rule in Goa, we adhered to our peaceful approach."

He said that the first question to be clear about was "whether we should continue to function peacefully in this matter or should have recourse to military measures or what is called police action."

"We are convinced that a peaceful approach is the right one, not only from the point of view of Goa and India, but also because of larger issues in the world and the foreign policy that we have pursued with so much success. It was this peaceful approach that yielded results in Pondichery and today we are friends with the Republic of France. It is easy enough for us to take possession of Goa by using military force, but that would not only be betrayal of all that we have stood for but would also not be fair to the people of Goa. We have set our face against the solution of problems by warlike methods and we intend to adhere to that decision," he said.

He added: "If that is so, then let us not talk loosely about police action and the like. This is not in consonance with the policy, the principles or the dignity of India. If some people think that we cannot solve this problem by peaceful methods, then they have to admit also the necessity of war on some occasions. And, if that is so, who is to define the occasion? Every country will decide for itself, and the flood-gates would

be opened. Let no man think that a little war is justifiable though a big war will not be so. If once the principle is given up, then we are anchorless and cannot work for peace in the world, which is so essential for the future of humanity."

GOA'S FREEDOM BATTLE AND GANDHIJI

[Two representatives of the Goan Youth League interviewed Mahatma Gandhi on 3rd June 1946, and received from him the following replies for their questions on Goa's fight for freedom. In the context of the present campaign for Goa's freedom, this would be found interesting. This is reproduced from the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* of Aug. 15, 1955.]

Q. Our fight against Portuguese Imperialism is for the present to obtain Civil Liberties. Hence what is the type of Satyagraha that we should offer?

A. You have to resist through civil disobedience every attack on Civil Liberties. But you should define beforehand what the Civil Liberties are for which you are fighting. You cannot ask for anything to which you have no moral right. Moreover, your movement should be strictly non-violent.

Q. The Colonial Administration of the Portuguese Government demands previous permission for meetings; but we want the right of calling meetings even without serving notice.

A. You should have every right to call meetings without notice. No self-respecting person can tolerate any hindrance on his doing what is morally just. We are free men and we want to hold meetings peacefully. For this we cannot give any previous notice. Hence you should hold meetings without giving any notice.

Q. In case we call a meeting and address the people and are arrested, and police allows us to go away saying we should come back on any fixed day, are we to agree to it? Or should we refuse to quit the police premises, or should we come out and defy their bans again?

A. The police who have the right to arrest you have the right to let you go. Hence you should go out if you are allowed to do so. You should not insist on being kept under arrest. But once you go out you can defy the ban again. In case any day is fixed for your reappearance before the police, you are bound as gentlemen to do so.

Q. How should people act when a Satyagrahi is arrested?

A. There should be no demonstration or disturbance of any kind if a Satyagrahi is arrested. The people should be peaceful and offer themselves either individually or collectively to be arrested. I am not for *hartals* and such other things if anyone is arrested. After all, you should know that the Satyagrahi courts arrest of his own accord and if the people wish to do anything at all, it should be to follow his example. As for demonstrations, etc. they will come at a later stage.

Q. How to defy the pre-censorship of press?

A. This is really difficult but there are two solutions which I can offer.

The first one is the one followed by me in South Africa. It is to issue hand-written bulletins which volunteers should sell openly. These bulletins should contain defiant news exposing the Government. It is better if the people who write out, sign their full names at the bottom of each bulletin. If many of you join together, it won't be difficult to take out several copies. Let the Government arrest the people concerned, others can continue the work.

The other way open to you is to get printed matter from outside and distribute it openly.

Q. How to defy the ban on organizations?

A. Start as many organizations as you like and begin working in their name.

Q. How should people react in case the Government takes recourse to shooting, etc.?

A. It is better to die bravely than exist under such repugnant conditions. Let the people say: "All right, shoot us."

Q. How should a Satyagrahi keep up his morale when subjected to torture?

A. A Satyagrahi must not wince. He should submit to every form of torture.

Q. What should be the attitude of the Satyagrahi towards the Catholic Church in Goa when it becomes an active agency of oppression in the hands of the Portuguese rulers?

A. It is better to leave religion alone. But if it really plays in the hands of oppressors, then it is your duty to oppose it in the same way as you would oppose any oppressive regime. But be against it only to the extent to which it hinders your cause.

After answering all the questions put to him, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Now I have answered all your questions, and I want that you should show your courage and should not allow the movement to fizzle out. Even if no one is prepared for sacrifice it is the duty of any one who feels the wrong to oppose it without waiting for others to follow. You rot in prison, the eyes of the others will be opened some time or other.

"As for myself, I would not have remained for a moment in Goa without breaking such inhuman laws."

Before we left him we asked for his blessings. He said: "You have all my blessings and I promise you I will exert all my influence to see that the Indian National Congress is interested in Goa and that Goa comes on the map of India. Only show courage, I admire it."

W.H.O. DOCTORS AND B.C.G.

To

The Editor, *Harijan*

Sir,

Bombay newspapers published last week views on B.C.G. of Shri A. B. Shetty, Minister for Public Health, Madras.

He says that although Shri Rajagopalachari describes B.C.G. vaccination for tuberculosis as useless and dangerous, still he (Shri Shetty) will continue the B.C.G. vaccination campaign in Madras, because doctors connected with the World Health Organization are in favour of it.

But Mr. Viant who is a member of the British Parliament in England says in a public speech in London about W.H.O. doctors:

".... It is a shocking thing that the World Health Organization which represents itself as out to work for the health of the people of the world are falsifying the truth and are devoting their time and activities to pushing the fraudulent practices of vaccination and inoculations.

"The World Health Organization's doctors exaggerate the trivial outbreaks of mild smallpox which have occurred during recent years in countries where vaccination is falling into disrepute as in England and the United States of America and minimize the outbreaks of severe smallpox in countries where vaccination and revaccination are compulsorily enforced or extensively practised (as in Mexico, Italy, Portugal, Japan which are like India filthy and poverty-stricken countries)."

Shri Shetty, Health Minister of Madras will see from the above quotation of a member of Parliament of England that statements of W.H.O. doctors are not trustworthy.

This being so, the Madras Health Minister, for public good, should abandon his intention to continue B.C.G. vaccination and combat tuberculosis which is a disease caused by filth and dirt, by measures of cleanliness and good sanitation. As a German professor, Dr. Kock says:

"It is the over-crowded dwellings of the poor that we have to regard as the real breeding places of tuberculosis; it is out of them that the disease always crops up; and it is to the abolition of these conditions that we must first and foremost direct our attention if we wish to attack the evil at its root and wage war against it with effective weapons."

"The disease (tuberculosis) is dying a natural death with improved conditions of the working classes and it is by further developments on such lines, and not otherwise, that its extermination will be attained." (Dr. Lister, Hospital of Tuberculosis, England)

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Yours faithfully,
Sorabji R. Mistri

THE MESSAGE OF THE FLOODS

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Floods, like the rich Indo-Gangetic valley, are a gift of the sublime Himalayas. The residents of this fertile plain, specially in parts of eastern Uttar Pradesh, northern Bihar and Bengal, and north-eastern Assam, bear ages-old affinity with these floods which are a regular feature. With their characteristic fortitude, insight and commonsense, our people — dubbed as illiterate, backward, rustic or what not by the so-called 'educated' and 'intellectuals' — have been bravely facing them with the even tenor of their life undisturbed. But for some time past the fury of these floods is reported to have increased. No doubt the floods that devastated north Bihar last year were rather unprecedented. Likewise are the floods that have ravaged eastern Uttar Pradesh this year. Some very old dams — as those near Gorakhpur and in Azamgarh — have given way to add horror to horror. Fortunately the number of human lives lost has not been much. And surmises about the loss of animal and food wealth are habitually made by political speculators after aerial flights.

That the floods are a positive curse cannot be unequivocally formulated. Had there been no floods, both geography and history of northern India, and, therefore, of entire India, too, would have been different. The inundated rivers more often than not return to their normal course after depositing an alluvial layer of soil. Last year I had a very pleasant experience of it when a zamindar who had donated his 'waste' land in Bhoodan reported to the local Bhoodan office that the distribution of his former gift-land (which the floods had converted into veritable gold) be postponed and that he would be offering another piece instead!

Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the disaster wrought by the floods continues to be aggravating year after year. This is a truth which merits serious thought and careful attention. The various State Governments have been spending crores every year to alleviate the misery of the suffering folk. Official organizations to control the floods have also been established, and big projects like that of the Kosi are also afoot. But who does not know that those relief measures are exploited by the more vocal or the richer section of the countryside? The real sufferer often goes unheard. But I must confess none can be exactly blamed for the same. It goes without saying that it is impossible for an ordinary mortal, much less for an official or a sophisticated legislator, to reach the most burning sores.

To return to the growing calamity of the floods. True that engineering skill can tame some of our rivers and undermine their wrath. But we must never forget that floods, mild or furious as the case may be, shall continue to be a partner of our life. How then are we going to meet

them? By squandering the tax-payer's money in the form of doles or gratuitous relief? I am afraid that the condition will then only turn from bad to worse. And here I come to the crux of the matter. It can be posed as a question: What strikes most in a flooded area? The inevitable answer is that people, particularly the male population, are sitting idle. With their land covered by water, they have absolutely nothing to do. They have no work to earn their living with. The planned vanquishment of their handicrafts and village industries — started by the British and continued right up to now — has deprived them of any means to support themselves. It can be safely stated that the flood fury has increased in proportion to the demolition of the village art. The more they are dispossessed of their craft the heavier the blow of the floods.

It is this basic reality that made Vinoba reach the following conclusion:

"Our real problem lies not in floods or famines, but in the ruin of village-industries. The terrible reality is that people in the flooded areas are sitting idle. Had Gandhiji's advice been put into practice, they could have plied the charkha and obtained cereals in exchange. In a vast country like India, the peasantry cannot survive by relying on agriculture alone. Village industries are indispensable for the peasant's survival."

The need of work to do is keenly felt by the people. At one place they presented Vinoba with a memorandum that they were completely idle; they did not want free aid or free rations; what they required was work and they were prepared to ply the charkha. Further, it may be recollected that two prominent constructive work Ashrams of Uttar Pradesh — the Harijan Gurukul at Dohrighat (in Azamgarh district) found by the late Swami Satyanand and the Paramhansa Ashram at Barhaj (in Deoria district) established by Baba Raghavadas — had their beginnings as charkha centres to help the flood-beaten people.

One need not be dogmatic about charkha. What matters is some home industry with which the masses in these areas may effectively carry on. Let the fraternity of the learned and experts go into the problem and discover the rightful solution. If they find the charkha to be the most handy, procurable and resourceful they must shed all fears or formalities and give it a worthy trial.

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1955

THE GOA ISSUE

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing members of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, Sitapur, August 21, said that peaceful methods appeared to take more time, but he was sure that they were the most practical in the end and they represented a higher standard of international relations.

Shri Nehru said: "It is open to us to take economic measures against Goa and we have taken many and we may have more of them. It is open to us also to take other steps which have to be carefully considered." All these, he said, were peaceful weapons. They were powerful weapons, although they did not produce sudden results.

He said that there had been much confused thinking even in India over the Goa issue and in some foreign countries confusion or perhaps deliberate misunderstanding was even greater. "I have been surprised to read some of these foreign comments, because they indicate a continuance of the old colonial mind which has done so much harm to Asia and Africa." And he added: "Let us try to get rid of this confusion and see facts clearly."

"What do we aim at in Goa? Goa is geographically part of India. Opposed as we are to colonialism everywhere, it is impossible for us to tolerate continuance of colonial rule in a small part of India. It is not that we covet Goa. That little bit of territory makes no difference to this great country. But even a small enclave under foreign colonial rule does make a difference and it is a constant irritant both to the self-respect and the national interest of India. It may be a source of danger more especially if a hostile and reactionary country like Portugal holds on to it."

The Prime Minister said: "Who are the people of Goa? They are the same as our people. Less than two per cent of them, according to Portuguese census, have Portuguese as their mother tongue. The rest are Indians by descent, by race, by language and in other ways. About two-thirds of them are Hindus. About one-third are Catholic Christians. There are many millions of Roman Catholics in the rest of India, who are as much Indians as any others. The economic life of Goa is inevitably connected with India's. Thus it is natural for us to have a sense of unity with the people of Goa and to feel for their oppression under foreign colonial rule."

"But," Shri Nehru said, "we have no desire to impose ourselves on the people of Goa against their wishes. It is for them ultimately to choose.

We are convinced that 80 to 90 per cent of them desire freedom from Portuguese rule and closer union with India, and so the main thing is freedom from Portuguese rule and removal of this last trace of colonialism from India. We have assured Goans that it is for them to determine their future and have given further assurances about their religion, languages and customs."

The misfortune was, he said, that the people of Goa were not even allowed to express their opinions. The Portuguese had built up a Police State there and even the slightest expression of opinion against them had been punished by long terms of imprisonment. Not even religious gatherings could be held without police permission. If there had been freedom of expression and a measure of civil liberty among Goans, there would be no difficulty, he added.

The Prime Minister said that it should be remembered that the question was not of India imposing herself on Goa, but of the freedom of the Goanese people and the removal of Portuguese colonial rule. He said the problem of Goa had been with us for many years and recently certain occurrences had filled our people with anger and resentment. That anger and resentment were understandable, but they were apt to confuse their minds and out of confusion no correct decision could be made. They must, therefore, consider this problem in all seriousness, and calmly keeping in view all its aspects, he said.

Shri Nehru said: "Our first thought must be to pay our homage to those who have given their lives or have suffered in the cause of freedom in Goa. These include both Goans and Indians. It must be remembered that the inhabitants of Goa have been suffering for many years past in their attempts to free themselves from the oppression of Portuguese colonial rule."

"It was natural for our people to be greatly moved by the recent examples of great courage, which did not weaken even before imminent death. It is natural for us to mourn the death of these brave Satyagrahis and yet I would say that this is an occasion also for joy and pride because many of our countrymen and countrywomen set this great example. Let us lay stress on this aspect rather than on sorrow alone. Death comes to all of us some time or other, but it makes all the difference how we face death. The courage that conquers death endures and sets an example which makes us better than we were," the Prime Minister added.

Shri Nehru said that in the long history of India, there had been many invasions and ups and downs, but always sovereignty rested within India. It was for the first time that with the establishment of British, French and Portuguese territories in India, direction of affairs in India was conducted from abroad. It was this colonialism that, for the first time, made India a country dependent on another country. The British became dominant and the French and Portuguese territories in India were reduced to

small pockets. These pockets continued because of the protection of the British power. They continued to be called French India and Portuguese India.

The primary object of the Nationalist movement, he said, was to remove external authority, that is, a distant colonial power running a dependent territory. This was achieved so far as British India was concerned, peacefully. It was subsequently and inevitably achieved so far as French India was concerned also peacefully and by negotiation. The only remaining part of India that was under external authority was the Portuguese pockets. It was patent that sovereignty and authority there were exercised by distant Portugal. This was against the whole conception of nationalism and the spirit of the times.

He added: "I cannot indicate here how the situation will develop in Goa or what successive steps we may take, but I wish to make it clear that so far as our Government is concerned it will adhere to the basic policy that we have laid down, and we shall aim at the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule. I have no doubt that we shall achieve our objective."

Shri Nehru referred to the Goa Satyagraha on August 15 and said the Government obviously could not have Satyagraha against another Government. But it was the right of individuals or groups to perform Satyagraha, provided it did not bring about results which led to military conflict. It was undoubtedly the right of Goans, whether living in Goa or outside Goa, to perform Satyagraha for the liberation of Goa. Non-Goans also were not precluded in principle from this Satyagraha. But if this Satyagraha was considered to be a prelude to military action, then it was not Satyagraha, whatever else it might be. Also, we had discouraged mass Satyagraha by Indians, because that might not only produce undesirable situations and new complications but might also give wrong impressions of our approach to this problem.

"While we must admire the courage of many of these Goans and Indians who have performed Satyagraha in this connection we have to remember that many of the advocates of this Satyagraha apparently have no conception of what Satyagraha means. They speak of Satyagraha and police action at the same time as if they were connected," he declared.

Shri Nehru continued: "The two differ completely, both in the mental and the physical approach. To mix them up is to produce confusion and ineffectiveness. I can understand the people of other countries, unused to this peaceful method of direct action, not being able to understand what Satyagraha is; but there should be no excuse for the people of India who have been trained for the last 35 years to allow themselves to mix up these contraries. If we considered it right or desirable to have military

or police action we would do so without the prelude of the so-called Satyagraha."

"After the tragic occurrences of August 15 in Goa, there was naturally an upheaval of public sentiment in India. All the world could see the depth and intensity of Indian feeling in this matter. And yet those great demonstrations often took different lines and instead of an exhibition of disciplined strength and feeling we saw unruly crowds sometimes misbehaving and coercing others. That was as far from Satyagraha as possible and, most unfortunately, this lessened the great effect produced by the courage of those who have given their lives in peaceful protest against Portuguese rule," he added.

"We must beware, therefore, of this wrong direction that some people wish to give to this movement. That would have been bad at any time; it is much worse in dealing with international issues. Satyagraha is peaceful and non-violent, disciplined and fearless. Indiscipline and offensive behaviour have nothing to do with Satyagraha. The misfortune is that some people, who only believe in violence, wish to exploit Satyagraha for wrong ends. It is the duty of the Congress to adhere to its principles and not be swept away by the excitement or passion of the moment. We have to give the right lead, even though it might be unpopular. We must hold to our moorings. It is this that has made the Congress great in the past, and it is this which will make it greater in the future."

(Adapted from *The Hindu*, August 23, 1955)

RESPECT FOR THE NATIONAL FLAG

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A correspondent from Bombay writes the following which deserves everyone's attention:

"Every year we celebrate two national holidays, January 26 and August 15. Our people use the national flag freely on these occasions. The flags mostly used on these days are paper flags. The paper bunting so used are mostly employed for decorating shops and residential and other buildings. These paper national flags are also used in many public places for decorating pandals erected for particular occasions. After the celebrations are over these paper flags are thrown away at random on the roads. As a consequence they are consciously or unconsciously treaded upon by wayfarers. As many of our people have no knowledge of where, when and how to use the national flag these occurrences are very common. It is, indeed, our shame that our national flag is thrown away anywhere on the roads at random and is being treaded under foot by our own people. For this reason, manufacture of paper flags should be totally prohibited so that the nation's flag does not suffer indignities by our people, consciously or unconsciously, and its honour is preserved."

What the correspondent describes becomes possible because some of us cannot control their temptation to make some money by taking advantage of the natural feeling of the people on occasions of national celebrations. Neither the merchants who trade in these paper flags nor those who believe they are showing their devotion to the country by using them in the manner described above have possibly any idea of the

consequences of what they are doing. It indicates lack of proper education of our national sentiment. We have now to make a conscious effort to cultivate it. This happens in the case of our national song also. People do not know how to sing it in tune, nor do they properly know its words, nor do they stand at attention when it is sung. We have the sad experience of witnessing all these breaches of the proper etiquette regarding the national song.

It would not be proper to expect Government to come out with orders in these matters and correcting our manners in these cases as a consequence. The people themselves should do it of their own free will and out of their love for the nation.

Schools can do much in this connection. If the sentiment and habit of respect for these occasions is cultivated among school children it would definitely make a difference for the better very soon indeed.

20-8-'55

(From Gujarati)

THE WORLD — A FAMILY

(By Vinoba)

[From the prayer speech at Aska camp on 2-5-'55]

Sarvodaya vs. Utilitarianism

During the past hundred years and more an ethical code has developed in Europe which lays down that we have to secure the good of the largest number of people. This social ideal is described as the greatest good of the greatest number in the English language. It means that an endeavour should be made to give the largest amount of happiness to the largest number of people. Now, the Sarvodaya theory does not subscribe to this ethical ideal. It seeks to give the fullest happiness to all people and not merely the greatest happiness to the biggest number. This is why the Sarvodaya ideal is very consistent with the civilization which has flowered here during the past thousands of years. It lays down the duty of being सर्वभूतहिते रताः — of devoting ourselves wholly to the interests of all beings.

The Sarvodaya philosophy believes that the interest of one being cannot be against that of another. The interests of all cannot be mutually compatible. For instance, if one were to increase one's knowledge that could be no cause of injury to another. On the contrary, it would benefit the other to an equal extent. If one's health improves it cannot be a cause of injury to another; rather, it would mean some gain to the other also. About the brutes of the forest it is true that the good of one injures the good of another. That is because one lives by feeding itself on the other. The tiger will feed himself on the hare. Therefore, the interests of the tiger and that of the hare are opposed to each other. Human society can be so ordered that the interest of one person or class could be favourably associated with that of another person or class. Therein the interest of one need not clash with that of another.

In the social order prevailing today the interests of one person or class clash with those of the others. Now, that is the peculiarity of the social order obtaining today; the fault lies with the order. In a social order based on Sarvodaya every single individual's interest will be complementary to that of the other. But because an ethical value that there is no harm in injuring the interests of a few in order to serve the greatest good of the greatest number has developed in and spread from the West, the world is suffering from a permanent state of strain and tension whether in peace or war.

Rule of Majority

Now wars there were in human society in times gone by also. There were clashes in society in order to oppose the wicked who were evil-doers. But these wars were limited. The tensions and wars of the present age, however, are not due to the evil-doings of some, but to a mis-conceived philosophy of life. It lays down that the idea approved of by fifty-one out of a hundred will be held authoritative, as well as final and that subscribed to by the forty-nine will not be so regarded; and it is also held that if for the interest of the fifty-one that of the forty-nine was to be thwarted, if the latter had to be discarded there was no harm about it!

The very basis of this idea which has emanated from the West and spread over the rest of the world is wrong because therein they take merely numbers into account. They do not seem to realize that there will always be more numbers in favour of one opinion and less against. But the essential thing to see is not where larger numbers are, but where justice lies. Justice is an independent matter. It has nothing to do with numbers one way or the other. It is self-existent. Therefore, we should have a social order where the good of everyone is looked after, where the interests of all favour the interests of all, where the opinion of all counts and where the good of all is safeguarded.

This can happen only when we shall give up taking recourse to violence. We cannot achieve the Sarvodaya aim unless we discarded violence altogether. And till we shed violence those who possess the largest capacity of perpetrating violence will have the world under their heels. Therefore, in the social order we seek to establish the final sanction, the ultimate deciding force will not be one of violence but that of justice, truth and love.

Family and Society

It is not, however, to be supposed that I am pleading for something quite original or new or that the world has had no experience of it till now. It is not to be supposed that the idea has never been experimented with. The world has experimented with it, the experiment continues even today but is confined only to the family unit. In the affairs of the family we take for granted that the interests and good of all the different members is one single whole. We do not believe that the interests of each one is opposed to that of the other. We also believe that the interests of all the various members of the family are compatible with one another. We do not believe that the earnings of a member of a family belong to him alone. We collect the earnings of all together and enjoy them together; every member uses from out of the pool according to his needs. It does not happen that if the food produced by the labour of the family this year is not as much as that produced the year before four members of the family will be fully fed and the fifth will have to shift on a half share. All members will be fed equally in a family and if the total to be shared is not enough it will be distributed among all.

In the social order prevailing today if the food produced was not enough for all, or there was a shortage of a particular article of general use their prices would immediately go up. This state of affairs means that those who possess more of money will be able to buy them and those who possess less will not be able to do so. That is to say that those who have the money will be able to secure for themselves as much of the food or the article as they could do before while those in want of money will have to go with less than before under the present socio-economic order. We ought, however, to have an order wherein we could plan to distribute fairly food or things of common use even in a state of shortage. The plan which obtains today is of such a nature that a few would secure for themselves as much as they could do before and the others will be forced to go with less. But we have to find a way of carrying on even under a state of shortage. The way devised today is wholly wrong. In society, too, we should have an arrangement of maintaining everyone under state of shortage as we have in the family.

I am often asked why government is necessary. My reply has been that it is necessary in order that it may apply the rule which prevails in the family to society also. But governments today being democratic are formed by majority opinion. As a consequence the cast of society persists as it is. Governments are unable to change it. That is why governments follow the standards and values which obtain in society and they are defended also. Private property is believed to be so valuable that the institution is held very sacred. As a consequence society is divided into two distinct parts. One rule obtains in the home and another outside, the rule of love is recognized and adhered to in the family while outside it the values of the market place hold sway. So we now seek to establish a social order which will be a larger and universal form of the human family unit of the present day.

The Village Community

In this endeavour we wish to begin with the village and to set its extension to the whole world in the end. To that end we propose that land in a village should be owned by it as a whole and that its total wealth also be its property in the same manner.

As an initial step to begin with we propose that every person in a village gives in gift a sixth of his land for the whole of it. If this sixth is to belong to the whole of the village community it will have to be parted with the understanding that it is to be given to the representative of the Daridranarayan, the Lord in the form of the poor. This procedure will help levelling of earnings. Later on the whole of the village community will convert itself into a family unit. This is why we are asking now for whole villages to be given as gifts. And I am glad to declare that we have obtained gifts of hundred and fifty whole villages till now. Now, this is not a small event. The fact of all people living in a village together giving in gift of their own free will all the land in it will be reckoned as a miraculous event in the history of the world.

Village Land Redistribution

As a result the total land in the village will belong to it as a whole and it will be distributed to the families living in it according to the number of their members. Some land saved after the distribution will be farmed in co-operation by its whole population. And later on even as it happens in the family—one having a large number of members and another small—land will be redistributed over and over again. Thus, in villages which have converted themselves into single family units land will be distributed again and again. But this is now limited to a village only and is a flaw in the procedure because there would be disparity as a consequence of some village having more land and some less. Therefore, this method of owning property together will have to be planned nationwide. Only as the initial step in the march to the end in view the village will convert itself into a family, it will form one social unit wherein young and old as well as the children, men as well as women will live in co-operation. I am not presenting to you a picture of the plan conceived. The plan will have to be drawn out and executed by the people in the villages themselves. For instance, it is they who will decide among others such items what goods and articles will be imported in the village family and what shall be prohibited. We wish that every village converts its raw materials into finished goods, justice in the village be dispensed by the residents themselves, defence of the village be organized by them and the education of the children be arranged by the people themselves. This is how we will have small beautiful village family units. Later on this process will progress from step to step and the whole world will convert itself into one human social family. At the present moment we propose to commence with the village community and to bring home to the people in the various villages their religious duty to convert every village into a family unit. Just as men and women were educated into an observance

of their duty to the race or the clan in times gone by we seek to educate our men and women living in the villages into the observance of their religious duty to the village. We want to bring home to the people the duty to convert all the races and all the clan into one single human family. The modern scientific age is not only favourable to this ideal but we will not be able to live and sustain ourselves in it unless we followed the ideal.

The Village—a Big Family

Brothers, do not suppose this is a mere imagination, figment of the imaginary heaven. It can be achieved in actuality on this very earth. In Bihar I have seen in many places families consisting of a hundred members. So, it is not difficult to convert a village into a family in a like manner. Truly speaking, the difficult thing is that which you are doing today. You live as separate families in your villages. The interests of these various families will be opposed to and will clash with one another. Just think how difficult such life is! You do not trust one another in the village. As a result you have to keep an all night vigil to prevent your neighbour's bullock eating away your crop. Think how difficult it is to be and live together with such fear and suspicion borne mutually! I am pointing out to you a very easy way of living whereby you as well as your neighbour can go to sleep every night in peace. If we are not able, in some way or another, to prevent the bullock from doing harm to our crops we are sure to outdo the bullocks. Therefore, friends, I am placing before you an idea which becomes your duty in the present age. If you do not recognize and accept the duty technology and science are invading us so fast that we will not be able to stand against them living in separate families as we are doing now.

(From Hindi)

MILITARY TRAINING EQUIVALENT FOR EDUCATION ?

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Government of India have set up a new organization under the name of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Dal (R. S. D.). A thirty days' camp has been proposed where adult males between the ages of eighteen and forty would be given preliminary martial training. The object proposed is described as follows that it is to be an experiment as part of the social and economic revolution going on in the country; that it is intended to induce a spirit of national service through the experiment; and that it is intended to cultivate a sense of discipline and self-reliance in the people through military training. It is further explained that the experiment has no military aim in view, nor universal compulsory military service, though the training camp will be in charge of officers of the army.

Now, truly viewed the object professed falls under social education. And if the experiment is to be made on adult males between the ages of eighteen and forty would it not be like trying to form something new out of earth which has been already baked into a definite form? The current system of education, as is the universal experience, does not induce a spirit of discipline and service. If this experiment of the R.S.D. is intended to be a better substitute for it had better be left alone, for it is futile. The reason is simple. Even as in the case of religion, education has no other equivalent. Education itself should be basically reformed to give the desired social effect.

What actually demands consideration here is the question: Can the virtues of discipline and

self-reliant control be cultivated only through military training? What is that training actually for? For cultivating the virtues or for training men for war? All nations have been known to have set up their own systems of religion and education to cultivate the social qualities in man. One does not know of the institution of war having been set up for that purpose anywhere at any time.

Moreover, in the present age of a new human ideal of putting a stop to war altogether and creating conditions for perpetual peace, giving prestige to the institution of war in this manner indicates, to say the least, a lack of intelligence and prudence. It is true, the two virtues are essential for success in war. Even as in the case of achieving definite aims in social life, lack of the two virtues would mean failure in war as well. Why? Because we feel that it is impossible to do without them even in achieving aims of ordered civil life; we are therefore making such efforts to cultivate discipline and control in our people. In fact, the virtues are the foundations on which an efficient army system can be built up. Because however, they are not willingly cultivated from within but imposed from outside on the men, the training for the army results in a training for a profession; they lack the spontaneity which has an essential education value for the average citizen. And surely, we cannot take our whole people as our professional army, though there are some amongst us who would like to do so. For instance, such sentiment was expressed by a responsible person on the occasion of opening a class of the new organization at Ahmedabad! A clear statement to this effect that it is not the object of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Dal is fortunate.

What then should be done to induce these virtues in the people? For one thing the system of education should cultivate the virtues in the students. This happens to be the chief aim of Basic Education. For another thing an active training in the qualities should be made available to the people through the ordinary functions essential to an ordered social life. That is to say that all functions in society should be informed by willing obedience to discipline and natural self-control. The most effective way of cultivating the two virtues in the people, therefore, is for Government and popular institutions to show these virtues in their various undertakings. This is the very thing they lack today and a remedy should be found for it.

Persons recruiting themselves into the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Dal will be receiving certain certificates. It will not be a matter of surprise if some of them serve the purpose of securing some white collar jobs to these persons, because that has been the normal fate of all such activities in our country till now.

17-5-'55

(From Gujarati)

THE ARMY IN WAR AND PEACE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A few days ago Lieut.-Gen. K. S. Thimayya of the Korean truce negotiations fame referred to the work of the army in peace-time, in course of a speech before the Progressive Group, Bombay. One point he made in it was to say that the army obviously fights when there is war; but when there is peace it keeps itself fit to fight. Therefore, he thought, it would impair the efficiency of our fighting forces, minimum as they are today from the point of view of our defence needs, if they were required to do activities which might interfere with their normal training and drilling etc. Surely this was not to deny that the army might be asked to rally to help meet any national emergency like flood or famine etc. What then were the activities the gallant General had in mind which, he said, should not normally engage the army in peace-time, is not clear. For example, the Government has undertaken huge irrigation and bunding works. People in great numbers are expected to put in *shram-dan*. Can the army, disciplined and trained as it is to do works of this nature in an ordered and expeditious manner, — can it be asked to take up positions of direction and control and to undertake the job of conducting the operations of *shram-dan*? There is much talk of employing idle or unemployed labour to important national use; but it lacks organizational and disciplined approach, resulting in much waste and inefficiency. Surely we have here a job worth the men in our army, provided they can work with our common men and women in a simple and gentle manner. If ever we hope to ban war, we will have surely to understand that even if we may not turn all our guns and swords into ploughshares, we will have to see that the army has also to do with the implements of peace and production like the spade and the plough and be our standing land army also when it is peace-time, consistently with their normal routine of training etc.

29-8-'55

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