

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

INDIA OF MY DREAM

(By Gandhiji)

Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a republic or *panchayat* having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of derending itself against the whole world. It will be trained and prepared to perish in the attempt to defend itself against any onslaught from without. Thus, ultimately, it is the individual who is the unit. This does not exclude dependence on and willing help from neighbours or from the world. It will be free and voluntary play of mutual forces. Such a society is necessarily highly cultured in which every man and woman knows what he or she wants and, what is more, knows that no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour.

This society must naturally be based on truth and non-violence, which, in my opinion, are not possible without a living belief in God meaning a self-existent, all-knowing living Force which inheres every other force known to the world, and which depends on none and which will live when all other forces may conceivably perish or cease to act. I am unable to account for my life without belief in this all-embracing living Light.

In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening never-as-cending circle. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units.

Therefore, the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it. I may be taunted with the retort that this is all Utopian and, therefore, not worth a single thought. If Euclid's point, though incapable of being drawn by human agency, has

an imperishable value, my picture has its own for mankind to live. Let India live for this true picture, though never realizable in its completeness. We must have a proper picture of what we want, before we can have something approaching it. If there ever is to be a republic of every village in India, then I claim verity for my picture in which the last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.

In this picture every religion has its full and equal place. We are all leaves of a majestic tree whose trunk cannot be shaken off its roots which are deep down in the bowels of the earth. The mightiest wind cannot move it.

In this there is no room for machines that would displace human labour and that would concentrate power in a few hands. Labour has its unique place in a cultured human family. Every machine that helps every individual has a place. But I must confess that I have never sat down to think out what that machine can be. I have thought of Singer's sewing machine. But even that is perfunctory. I do not need it to fill in my picture.

(Panchgani, 21-7-'46)

Harijan, 23-7-'46

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B.C.G. CAMPAIGN SHOULD STOP

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Legislatures are at present in session and several Health Ministers are giving vent to their wrath against the anti-B.C.G. campaign pursued by Shri Rajaji. For example, Dr. B. C. Roy remarked that although Rajaji was a 'doctor' he was not a doctor of medicine, suggesting thereby that Rajaji could not understand anything about B.C.G., while he as a doctor would, which may be true. But it is also wrong, because as doctors have got involved in their allopathic profession, they have fallen victim to one-sided view of the matter. There are eminent doctors who are against B.C.G. What have doctors to say to this? They must first resolve this point of difference among themselves before they think of experimenting B.C.G. on the people. Otherwise it would not be wrong to say that they are practising quackery.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur argued that doctors like Shri B. C. Roy and Shri Jivraj Mehta were in favour of B.C.G.; that, in the world nearly ten crores of people were already vaccinated with the B.C.G., etc. Now Shri Rajkumari is not herself a doctor; but she is a Minister of the Government. Therefore she must consider the fact that doctors who are against B.C.G. are also very eminent doctors. Moreover, how can it be proved that the vaccine has prevented T.B. in those ten crores of people? Nor can it be said that all of them would have developed tuberculosis were they not so vaccinated. On the contrary, one would like to ask, have they not created a new source of trouble for the humanity by inoculating ten crores of people with live T.B. bacilli? The bacilli, however weakened they may be, are live T.B. bacilli. Is it then wrong to say that in the name of science they have started a 'germ-warfare' on our children?

The Health Minister of Madras has put forth a novel plea. He says Rajaji has created a scare about the vaccine in the minds of the people and have thus disheartened them. This is, to say the least, a travesty of truth. Who has created a scare in the public mind by saying that tuberculosis was on the increase? And suppose for a moment that it was increasing; B.C.G. is not a remedy for it. Doctors themselves are not agreed about its efficacy. Again, B.C.G. is no cure of the disease; at the most it is hoped that it may prevent it and that hope too is said to become ineffective after about two years. And all doctors agree on the point that repeated vaccination is injurious; vaccination itself may cause the disease! In the vaccine there are bacilli. Although they are weakened, it is found that sometimes they get active and cause tuberculosis!

There is in the body a natural resisting power against disease. Instead of taking such

measures as to preserve and develop this power the Government is experimenting on the people under the doubtful notions of science. It has no right to do this.

The truth of the matter is that this department of the Government wants to do something on a mass scale; and the so-called preventive medicines are now-a-days flooding the country. With their help, it can be shown that some departmental work has been done. But really speaking it is no health work. The right and effective way for preventing disease is to plan for cleanliness, nutritious and balanced diet, well ventilated houses etc. Instead of doing this work and directing our monetary resources to that purpose Government departments import different kinds of vaccines from foreign lands and inject them in the bodies of our people. And they flatter themselves with the belief that by so doing they are keeping pace with the civilized world! Ignorant people in our villages do not know anything about all this. Government officials go there in a campaigning fashion and start vaccinating people. People dare not disobey lest, they fear, they would be punished by the Government.

Now, who takes advantage of fear and ignorance? We do not know why this tubercle bacilli is deliberately injected in the bodies of our people. This is not a matter for the doctors to decide, for the simple reason that they differ about the effects of B.C.G. B.C.G. must be stopped. Whoever wishes, may go to a doctor and get himself vaccinated. Governments should not carry on this as a mass campaign.

1-9-55

(From Gujarati)

BUY KHADI HUNDIS

[Shri V. L. Mehta, Chairman of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, has issued the following appeal to the people:]

For the first time in the history of the Khadi movement, the Government of the country has directly taken the responsibility of the sale of Khadi Hundis. Unlike last year and the years before that, Khadi Hundis will be made available to the public through the 40,000 post offices dispersed in all parts of the country from the 15th September.

I need not, at this stage, go into the history of Khadi Hundis and how their sale became an integral part of the Khadi movement in India. Before independence institutions engaged in Khadi work had to face numerous difficulties in finding finance for the promotion of Khadi production. Khadi Hundis were devised as a method by which advance funds can be collected from the public and thus ensure continued employment to lakhs of poor handspunners in the remote villages of India. These spinners in main are women. The paltry wages they earn out of handspinning are often their mainstay and means of their daily bread. These Hundis used

to be issued by institutions engaged in the production and sale of Khadi on a local basis and sold through their workers and agents.

After independence the Government of the country has taken over the financing of Khadi production and sales and, therefore, there should not be any paucity of funds for continued production. But the need still exists for popularizing Khadi in different sections of the community as also to generate active interest among them in the lot of the teeming millions.

Last year, the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board took over the organization of the sale of Khadi Hundis from the various institutions engaged in the production and sale of Khadi and issued them on a national scale. For the first time the sale of these Hundis through post offices was also introduced. The response from the public and from officials of the Government both at the Centre and in the States, was indeed very heartening. Hundis worth over Rs. 70,00,000 were sold. That gave us the measure of the willingness of the people to help a deserving cause and in these days when the spectre of rural unemployment and massive underemployment haunts the country, there is no greater cause than that of bringing assurance to these millions of work and wages. Handspinning and handweaving of Khadi offer opportunities of work to millions. Khadi Hundis are tokens which the people buy to demonstrate not only their sympathy with those teeming millions, but also their active support to the cause that Khadi seeks to subserve.

The experience of the Board last year was that organizing the sale of Khadi Hundis on a national scale called for the services of hundreds of workers. To set up such a large organization and to enlist that number of workers involve considerable expenditure. Last year's experience also showed that the 40,000 post offices in the country could be usefully utilized for this work.

Through the courtesy of the Ministry of Communications of the Government of India and with the active co-operation of the authorities of the Posts and Telegraph Department of the country, the Board has been able to arrange this year the sale of Khadi Hundis through the 40,000 post offices in the country. Khadi Hundis, therefore, will be available to the public at all the post offices from the 15th September. The Board has been impelled to adopt this course because it simplifies organization and accounting procedures on the one hand, and, on the other, gives the opportunity to every individual to serve as a self-employed agent of Khadi and thus identify himself with the cause of promoting the welfare of the teeming millions. The Board expects that institutions allied to it and individuals will procure Khadi Hundis from the post offices nearest to them against payment and sell those Hundis

to others as was being done all these years. The sale of Hundis through post offices is a challenge to the spirit of service and an invitation to the people to volunteer their services in the noble cause which Khadi represents. It is the earnest hope of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board that the people, no matter where they are, will resort to their nearest post offices in large number and buy Khadi Hundis both for their own use and for sale to their friends.

[I add a few words for the Schools and the Student community. They can play a very great and effective part in this national venture of selling Khadi Hundis in aid of Daridranarayana. For example, a single student or a batch of them can co-operatively collect say Rs. 10 or more and buy Hundis for that sum. These they may sell away to re-buy for further sale. The process may be repeated to sell hundreds of rupees worth of Hundis with the small amount which one can easily secure. Students' organizations and schools also can organize such sales and thus earn for themselves the merit of having done some national service in the cause of India's teeming millions.

22-9-'55

M. P. J

BHOODAN FIGURES

(Up to 16-9-1955)

State	Collected	Distributed
	Land (acres)	Land (acres)
Assam	1,950	—
Andhra	22,372	—
Uttar Pradesh	5,53,640	65,658
Utkal	2,09,681	13,210
Karnatak	3,122	269
Kerala	25,113	315
Gujarat	39,240	6,400
Tamilnad	42,073	585
Delhi	9,245	90
Punjab & Pepsu	14,242	616
Bengal	10,596	1,363
Bombay	123	—
Bihar	23,59,879	34,809
Madhya Pradesh	1,16,617	37,082
Madhya Bharat	51,987	311
Maharashtra	28,146	—
Mysore	7,796	—
Rajasthan	3,39,226	14,541
Vindhya Pradesh	6,883	771
Saurashtra	41,000	1,500
Himachal Pradesh	2,025	—
Hyderabad	1,09,529	33,674
	40,14,485	2,11,194

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,

Office Secretary,

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Gaya

By Vinoba Bhave

BHOODAN YAJNA

[Land-Gifts Mission]

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HARIJAN

Oct. 1

1955

SATYAGRAHA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Goa issue has drawn our attention, as perhaps nothing else before, to the need of re-considering and revising our ideas of Satyagraha. Till Gandhiji was with us, it was his business to guide and direct us in the matter of this unique instrument of direct action for solving group problems in a peaceful and non-violent way. Now that he is no more with us, it is up to us to recollect and decide truly what really is Satyagraha which, its discoverer said, was an infallible weapon and could give us a sure remedy for any situation, only if we knock at its doors in a truly humble and correct way.

We know that Gandhiji came to this unique weapon in South Africa, in a situation which challenged the self-respect of our countrymen and women there. Gandhiji has given us a very vivid and graphic description of the meeting where he first thought of the way of meeting that challenge in a brave and yet non-violent way.* The way was what has been now well known as "Civil Disobedience" of a law that may be felt unjust or immoral, and it was to be undertaken by those that suffered under it and after all remedies called constitutional or legal failed to secure due and satisfactory relief.

A similar moment in the life of our people as a whole arose in India in 1920-'21 when our self-respect as a people was challenged by the Jallianwala Bag tragedy, the breach of promise about the Khilafat, and the Rowlatt Bills. The whole of our people were stirred from the deepest of our national being. As a reply to it, Gandhiji enunciated his idea of Non-violent Non-co-operation (N.C.O.). It was a discovery of the second most important weapon in the armoury of Satyagraha †. It canalized the anger and resentment that were brewing in the heart of our people, smarting as they were under a grave humiliation by an alien people. The N.C.O. idea directed the energies of frustration and helplessness of an unarmed people to constructive activities of national rebuilding. In short, N.C.O. with the British rule in India allied with its positive wing of what came to be known later on as the Constructive Programme (C.P.) formed the basis of our national assertion for freedom; and, as the

* See Chapter XII, *The Advent of Satyagraha in Satyagraha in South Africa*, by M. K. Gandhi, Pub. Navajivan, Ahmedabad, 14. Price Rs. 4-0-0, Postage etc. Re. 1-2-0.

† Gandhiji has vividly described the circumstances and the atmosphere in which he made the discovery. See his *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Part-V, Chapter 36) Pub. Navajivan, Ahmedabad, 14. Price Rs. 7-0-0, Postage etc. Re. 1-9-0.

late Lala Lajpatrai styled it, since then till we achieved freedom N.C.O. became the ABC of Indian politics. And Civil Disobedience was resorted to oft and on for specific relief from wrongs done by Government, e.g. the Borsad Satyagraha, the Nagpur National Flag Satyagraha, the Bardoli Satyagraha etc. These trained our people in the method and technique of Satyagraha or C.D. and by 1930 we could declare that we shall achieve Poorna Swaraj or complete independence through Satyagraha. The non-violent weapon came to be recognized as a means to secure independence. The point to be noted here, from the point of view of the study of the technique of this new weapon, is that even such a wide and broad aim as Swaraj or independence from foreign rule was concretized as a specific demand in the form of what is known as the Eleven Points. These points defined in clear terms the sort of relief that can stop the people from resorting to the extreme weapon of C.D., as it will demonstrate a 'change of heart' on the part of the opponent.

At the end the nation decided to break the Salt Law, which was decidedly a bad law. And we know what came out of it.

It is clear from the above that we have had two weapons of Satyagraha — one, Civil Disobedience, the other N.C.O. with its positive wing of the Constructive Programme. And its use was for the purpose of vindicating national self-respect against attack from alien rule. And later on it developed into a non-violent rebellion against foreign rule and for securing complete independence. Both in South Africa and in India the opponent was the British Imperial Power. The fight was not of one free country against another. It was a fight of the oppressed people against their rulers. It may be said to be a domestic issue. The status of the fight was intra-national, not inter-national between two sovereign States. The Goa issue presents us with the latter type, viz. of an inter-national character. The new type naturally arises out of the new circumstance of our being a free and independent sovereign State.

Two sorts of questions arise from this situation: The first is whether we as a people can use this non-violent weapon against our own Swaraj Government for removing our grievances? This is a domestic issue. The second is whether we, as a people and as a sovereign State, can use the weapon in our international affairs to solve questions that may arise, as for instance, the Kashmir or the Goa issue.

The first question may not be quite a new thing as it is similar to the Satyagraha we had had against the British Government, albeit with a very big and significant difference that the Government now is our own and is a democracy. We may not discuss this question here any further.

The second question is a new thing. In Kashmir our territory was invaded by our neighbour country, Pakistan. Satyagraha, i.e. a non-

violent or 'moral' equivalent of war could not be resorted to; as a matter of fact, it never occurred to anybody, much less was it suggested by anybody. The State in India forthwith sent its army in self-defence; and, as we know, Gandhiji blessed it and thus well demonstrated his doctrine of Satyagraha, that it is not the same thing as European pacifism. Non-violence in Satyagraha is not a negative creed, but is a positive principle of brave, active and direct action. If one is not up to it, one must act even through violence, and cannot meekly or through pseudo-non-violence submit to injustice or foreign invasion.

In Goa we have a little different position. We wish to win it back from Portuguese rule, which is there as a colonial power for about four centuries last. The question is, should we invade it with our armies? For that is what 'police action', as it is called, ultimately means. This step can obviously be taken by the State. It will mean declaration of war with Portugal, involving the question with international affairs in war and peace. This is an idea that is obviously not of Satyagraha and we may well leave it there. Satyagraha requires that at least we must resort to peaceful and legitimate means.

International negotiations and diplomacy can help us here. This we may liken with what was used to be described during the days of our fight for freedom, as "constitutional means" as compared with the direct action of Satyagraha. Such means are open to us in the international field now, as we are a free and sovereign people. Satyagraha admits their need and importance and recognizes them as an essential first step of its technique. We are resorting to them in resolving the issue in Goa. The Government had to advance in this direction as far as breaking off diplomatic relation with Portugal and sealing away the Goa borders. It is a sort of N.C.O. beginning to take shape in our international relations with Portugal. We should note and appreciate it accordingly. It can be progressively translated into a potent action against Portuguese India by the people's efforts orienting and aligning themselves with their Government; a kind of an economic blockade can as well form part of Satyagraha in international affairs.

There is another side to the issue in Goa born of some Indian political parties having taken up the matter in their own hands. As we see an attempt is being made to mobilize the Indian people to resort to Satyagraha or C.D. by crossing into Indian Portuguese territory, with an aim to liberate it from Portugal. This is not the place to analyse this action. I only cite it to say that through that a non-violent action in some manner has appeared on the scene in this field. In terms of Satyagraha it takes the form of entering foreign territory and thus involves breaking of international law in some manner. The law to be broken must be bad in ethics and mora-

lity. Observing the matter from the other side, it may as well be dubbed as a form of non-violent invasion on Goa by the people as apart from its Government which technically is not at war with Portugal.

It is irrelevant here to discuss this point further. The main thing to be noted here is the utter need our people feel to free Goa from Portuguese rule and have it back as India's territory which it is naturally or geographically. Is there a Satyagrahic or non-violent way for it? That it should be there is what the doctrine of Satyagraha lays down. We must have a non-violent and peaceful way of vindicating justice and reasonableness even in international affairs. To arrive at it is the business not only of the peoples of the world, but also their Governments. The U.N.O., if it means anything for the human world, must stand for such a proposition. If the human world wishes, as it ardently does now, to ban war from its affairs, it must find out and forge a 'moral' (or non-violent) equivalent of war'. Satyagraha is that. It begins with exhausting all well-known constitutional means at one's disposal. Reasonable and peaceful persuasion backed up by truthful diplomacy and strength of justice of one's cause and world opinion is such a means in the international field. N.C.O. or breaking of diplomatic and economic relations with the opponent is also a helpful and accepted means. This can be buttressed by the aggrieved people's willing co-operation with the Government measures of N.C.O. Even a Government can sympathize with and help Satyagraha, as Lord Hardinge, if I remember aright, did in case of South African Satyagraha against racial laws.

Further on there remains with the people the weapon of C.D. What is called the Goa Satyagraha at present is a form of this, though it is, I fear, more a sort of passive resistance than true Satyagraha. Any true C.D. action can come only if there is a specific issue worth it, or when we have exhausted and dispaired of the success of constitutional means. This we have not done. Our Government hopes to deliver the goods through them. In a free democracy like ours, the people and their Government must be at one in their international policy. This is true for Satyagraha action also. It must be realized that for Indians as apart from the Goans, Goa is not a mere domestic affair; it is a foreign affair and both the people as well as the Government have, in the very natural course of things, come to resort to the strategy of Satyagraha, as described above. In other words, India has come to function in a non-violent way in international affairs, due to the sheer force of its history and her peculiar circumstances. We must try this experiment with all the care and vigilance both on the part of the people as well as their Government, both of whom must move in unison and act with one mind, one aim, and peacefully.

"BUILDING FROM BELOW" — VI

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

[Continued from the issue of August 27, 1955]

In any plan of national rebuilding or development the role of Government is important. And more,—it is necessary to some extent at least. This is true for the plan of 'Building From Below' also, even though it is aimed to base such a plan on self-employment and through multi-purpose co-operative societies of self-employing families "on the basis of their present residence". Co-operation presupposes willing effort and initiative on the part of the people. It requires a measure of ability and intelligence to work the co-operative organization, which must come forth from the people. Government or any external agency cannot give it. All this is true. However, as the B.F.P. Plan says,

"In the creation as well as the organization of the institutional framework to guide and direct effective operations of the self-employed sector, the role of the Government is important."

It is needed in the following way: Firstly, there must be a declaration of policy to the effect that "the ultimate goal of the programme of development and of policy is to entrust the production of all articles of first necessity to the self-employed sector in progressive stages in accordance with the growth of its capacity to undertake it." (B.F.P., para 75).

This is necessary to give the nation a sort of an economic or industrial directive regarding the pattern of industrial economy, the people will adopt for themselves :

"Such a declaration may provide the right incentives, on the one hand to the self-employed sector to reorganize and equip itself for its enlarged responsibilities; and, on the other, it may persuade the private sector, faced with ultimate legal elimination from the markets for articles of first necessity, to plan its gradual withdrawal and thus avoid losses. As the self-employed sector does not, however possess the necessary productive capacity, Government must, on the one hand, build up its productive capacity through energetic implementation of the programme, and, on the other prescribe targets of production to the private sector, so that consumer welfare is not at any time endangered." (*Ibid*, para 76).

It is well to bear in mind here that such allocation of industrial effort is reserved in favour of articles of first necessity only, viz. food, cloth, etc. It will assure the nation not only expanding employment to the whole of the population, but will also secure maximum production and easy distribution well spread out among the whole population. As the B.F.P. Plan says,

"Reservation of the production of articles of first necessity and development aids in accordance with the programme may together provide the self-employed sector the right type of conditions to sustain itself and progress upwards. Markets for articles of first necessity are large, assured, and in the context of India's population trends, expanding. So long as technological changes are made possible by provision of appropriate tools, wherever necessary, qualitative aspects of the supply of goods may be satisfactorily met." (*Ibid*, para 77).

There will be the further need of Government "measures such as grants, loans and subsidies on the one hand and cesses and reservation of spheres of pro-

duction on the other." (*Ibid*, para 78). They "emphasize the need for overall economic controls to ensure the attainment of social objectives. While it is, obviously, impossible to indicate the range and content of separate control measures, an illustration may be provided. During the period of transition, to ensure adequate production of socially essential goods as well as their equitable distribution, on the one hand; and also facilitate the industrial transition in the stages visualized in the programme, on the other; Government may have to devise a number of specific economic controls. The basic policy also necessitates an integrated approach to the economy and consequently requires the Government to adopt policies and controls appropriate to their objectives.

"Overall economic controls are also necessary to provide aids to the multi-purpose co-operatives to discharge their functions effectively. Supply and region-wise allocation of raw materials and credit, the provision of marketing facilities to the self-employed sector through either the multi-purpose co-operative or the grid system according to the programme; implies controls at various stages to facilitate transition and guide development on the desired lines.

"The sum up: the implementation of the programme of development outlined (in the B.F.P., Chap. 5) depends on appropriate policies based on well-defined social and economic objectives. Effective administration of these policies, temporary or permanent, involves an integrated approach to the problems and the introduction of overall economic controls." (*Ibid*, paras 82, 83, 84).

Such a policy of the nation's self-employment economy, specially in the industrial sector, is obviously not free from difficulties and even opposition from vested interests of organized capitalism in the country. The B.F.P. Plan has noted this as follows :

"The transition in the industrial sector of the economy is, however, likely to present many complex problems and probably also much organized opposition. Two reasons for this exist: (i) Apart from demands for specific reservations of markets or spheres of production and/or cesses and subsidies in specific cases, the new economic order demands wholesale transfer of production of articles of first necessity to the family workshops and thus threatens the existence of many of India's best developed industries. Fight for survival is natural and may be expected to be organized and determined. (ii) Even if the need for such a transfer is conceded the transition to family workshops, it may be held, cannot be easy and in the process may affect the volume and also the quality of the present output. Criticism may raise the bogey that family workshops may not be technically capable of handling specific processes of production. Both these reasons are sound in themselves, but arise from a misunderstanding of the significance of the phased programme of economic development of the family workshops. (*Ibid*, para 87).

"According to the programme, centralized production of articles of first necessity cannot continue in the private sector and will need to be transferred to the self-employed sector. But this transfer is meant to be effected over a period of time, during which the productive capacity of the self-employed sector is to be built up and enabled to undertake that responsibility. Thus, the organized industries are given adequate notice of this intended transfer by Government's declaration of industrial policy, so that they can plan either to split up into decentralized genuine producers' co-operatives or to adjust themselves to undertake alternate lines of production. The gradual withdrawal of organized industries from the fields of production and sale may be made to synchronize with the gradual advance of the self-employed family sector. If the

organized industries accept the inevitable they may be capable of effecting their own readjustment efficiently and without heavy losses. Moreover they may find it possible to play an important and useful role in the development of the family workshops. They may help them with organization, productive techniques or undertake to manufacture production tools or extend to the self-employed sector the advantages of their existing distributive machinery. In any case all that organized industries are required to do is to plan their own withdrawal from the markets for articles of first necessity; and the programme provides adequate time required for the purpose. From every point of view this transfer is necessary and will come. How smoothly structural adjustments are effected depends largely upon the realistic outlook of the industries themselves." (*Ibid*, para 88).

The Plan also envisages that there is scope in the new economy for the large-scale private sector also, in the following way, for example:

"Though the programme transfers the manufacture of articles of first necessity, it assigns the private sector an important role in the economy. The nature of the programme involves large scale production of progressively advanced tools of production to supply the enormous market of the self-employed sector. Hitherto, owing partly to the relatively limited market and partly to the longer period of writing involved, the private sector played a relatively minor role in the manufacture of producers' goods. This programme creates not only demand for these goods but operates in a manner that is bound to enlarge it from stage to stage. As the manufacture of these goods involves not only large-scale capital investment and production but also initiative, enterprise and efficiency it is best suited for the activities of the private sector." (*Ibid*, para 91).

"Once the irritation of the transition ceases, the private sector may also learn to play a more positive role in the organized economy and expand its capacity to absorb newer techniques. As part of its actively altered mode of operations it may associate itself with the self-employed sector, and make available to it the advantages of the strength of its distributive and marketing machinery and help build the grids required by the economy." (*Ibid*, para 92).

A kind of co-existence of the vast self-employed sector with the large-scale private sector is thus possible. It is necessary and inevitable as well, if we wish to see that the whole of our people are to be organized for an economy which is to be co-operative and not competitive, satisfying and not acquisitive or insatiable, and for the good of all and not for even the majority of us, however large it may be.

Conclusion

"The transition of the economy from the present to the proposed order may be rendered difficult by organized opposition on the one hand, and the number of intricate problems, necessitating proper adjustment between various sectors of the economy on the other. Though complex, most of the problems are not beyond the competence of Government or the existing economic system to solve, provided each approaches them objectively. The guarantee of solution lies, however, in the popular and enthusiastic support that it is likely to evoke in the country." (*Ibid*, para 96).

16-9-55

(Concluded)

MAN SHALL NOT KILL MAN

(By Vinoba)

[From a speech at Ravalkana, Koraput, Orissa on 18-8-55]

On the fifteenth of August, the auspicious occasion of our Freedom Day, our brothers and sisters made all preparation for entering Goa as Satyagrahis and they did so without bearing any arms whatsoever. But as they set their feet on the territory of Goa, they were mercilessly beaten and assaulted and some twenty-five to thirty of them were massacred. The British had a very large and powerful empire in India, but that too could not last here. It is now nearly eight years since they left. But the Portuguese in Goa do not yet seem to take the lesson. During this short period of eight years some time ago, the French too gave up their obstinacy and gave freedom to Pondicherry. If the British have quitted India they have lost nothing by doing so; indeed, they have gained in reputation and they have been able to continue their relations of goodwill with India. Even today, they are carrying on their trade here as it should be. The Portuguese will have to quit Goa likewise. But, it seems, man is not able to shed his greed, infatuation and sense of possession soon.

But the aim of those who thus mercilessly massacre unarmed men and women will never be achieved in the present-day world. The whole world is, these days, hankering for peace. Big leaders of big nations are often meeting one another to talk over their differences and are joining hands to create conditions for preserving peace. Under these circumstances, it would be impossible for Portugal to maintain her power over a portion of India by perpetrating atrocities. But when nations are ruled by men whose minds are not open to learning new lessons, their people are helpless and cannot do much. I, surely, believe that the common people of Portugal have no sympathy at all for these atrocious killings. It is true they are not properly informed of what happened here, and it is quite likely, news of the events are given in their newspapers in quite a different manner. But truth will be out, it can never be concealed from them for long.

These unhappy events in Goa have deeply shocked our hearts. The people of India as well as the people of Goa believe that India has a right to Goa. In fact, India and Goa are one. But I do not now propose to discuss the matter here. It is, however, absolutely clear that Goa is part of India from every conceivable point of view. It is, therefore, quite natural that the hearts of Indians have received a shock by these cruel happenings. But I am looking at them solely from the point of view of the human heart. Wherever such things occur all feeling of humanity is shattered.

Another piece of news is from Patna, Bihar. A day or two ago there was firing there in which some students were killed. There was agitation against the firing over the whole of Bihar and we have further news that there was firing at Navada in which also some students were killed.

This right of firing on his own fellowmen which man has believed is his is something quite inhuman and the other rights which man believes he has, seem but to come after it. Man's foremost right, however, is to preserve and maintain his humanity. We believe, or should believe, that when incidents of firing take place in India, it is a matter of shame for Swaraj as also for the whole of humanity. The shootings which occurred in Goa are an assault on Swaraj or freedom. Every man has a sentiment for Swaraj or freedom in his heart. Not only that sentiment but along with it humanity also has been assaulted. This idea of exercising power over others which resides in man's heart, and which he believes is also his duty, misleads him into believing that he has a right to kill also. But now man will have to decide once for all that he has no right to kill and that the only right he has is to love and serve his fellows. Indeed, when we men give up this supreme right which is ours and proceed to kill fellowmen for one reason or another we are, in fact, killing ourselves.

I do not want to speak at length on this subject, I must confess, however, that these things have deeply pained my heart. But the lesson all of us have to learn from these events is that we have to give up all talk of power or authority and that the only right which God has bestowed upon us is to serve all creation and lead our lives with its permission. I believe man is surely going to realize this truth of his life. I also believe that this realization will come to man not in a distant but very near future. People are today anxiously groping about to find out how to escape destruction by such weapons as the atom and the hydrogen bombs. But I have often declared that the real enemies of man are the smaller weapons like the lathi, the revolver and the sword. In fact these small weapons are the parents and the atom and hydrogen bombs etc. are their progeny. It is true the offspring have outdone the parents in destructive capacity and have manifested that power a thousandfold. But the fact remains that it is the smaller lethal weapons which have given birth to these monsters. People are now anxious to avoid a world conflict but my mind has never felt the anxiety on that score. I believe the world wars which come upon the world are not made by man, in fact man is driven into them. But small skirmishes and battles, the lesser atrocities are man's own doing. If, therefore, we show and develop the capacity to prevent them, all the atom and hydrogen bombs will lose their power. That is why I am not pained by anxiety of a world war coming on us.

The people of India must decide for themselves once for all that for the solution of the problems that face them or for the removal of hardships they suffer they have absolutely no right to kill men. As soon as the man in India takes the decision the social order in India as well as the world will undergo a change. But India will come to the decision only when she makes up her mind to change the unequal order of her society. So long as the mind of man is not prepared to give up the petty rights of property and possession, he will not be able to give up the right to kill his fellowman. The petty rights are also recognized in the laws of the land and all sorts of unnatural devices have to be improvised for the maintenance of those laws. Man desires to preserve his individual rights, communal rights as also his racial and hereditary rights. He feels that these are his fundamental rights. We believe that we have a right to use the sword and to kill in order to maintain these rights which we believe are ours. This is how ultimately people come to believe that violence is a duty. It is one thing to commit violence and quite another to do so as a matter of duty. We have wholly to change all these trends and give full scope to man's humanity to function.

There cannot be any doubt whatsoever that if the opinion of the people of Goa were consulted today they would, with one voice favour the removal of the Portuguese power from their land. But the Portuguese believe they have a right to possess the territory of Goa. It was in the same manner that the British believed they had a right to possess India. It was also in the same manner that our rajas and maharajas believed they had a right to their status. And it is in a like manner that the owners of factories and vast lands in the country believe in their rights of ownership. This idea of rights and authority to enforce them has spread so much that people are not able to give up the idea of exercising them even within the family. Whenever I have wished to give an illustration of the operation of the law of love I have said that the family functions by it. But today the law of the State has begun to encroach on the affairs within the family also. There too, the idea of rights and the authority to enforce them is being recognized. Sons have a right to their fathers' property. But it is now being seriously discussed whether daughters also have it. Now, it is easy to perceive that

daughters in the same way as sons inherit the qualities and physical features of the parents. Still we witness the curious sight of a controversy going on as to whether daughters have the same rights to the wealth and property of the parents as the sons. Curious, indeed, is the state of things wherein the idea of rights and authority to enforce them according to law has entered a field of human relations where no law but the law of love should prevail. Time was when the husband was supposed to have a right of property in the wife and we know that in the Mahabharata, Yudhishtira the husband offered his wife Draupadi as a stake in gambling! The idea of rights and authority has had such vogue in society that it has itself become a source of human mischief.

Let us leave aside for the present the discussion as to who has what rights; but we must recognize that no one can ever have the right to kill a human being. I earnestly hope that the people of India will not waste time over realizing this truth. Today we witness serious controversy going on as to what rights should be included in the list of human rights. But the people of India fully and easily understand that man is born to serve. It is man's supreme right and privilege to serve God's creation. The tiger of the jungle, of course lives by the right of its might. On occasions when it sets forth to devour man it must be feeling sure that it has a right to do so and that it has found his food. We are accustomed to hear of such things happening here in the Koraput district times without number. Because the tiger feels the pangs of hunger it does not wait to prove its right or to quote the authority of some law in its favour! In a like manner we also believe it to be our right to kill animals. While butchering thousands of cows everyday in Calcutta man is sure he has a right to kill them. If the tiger were to talk this language we can pardon it, for it is an ignorant being who is not blessed with the power of understanding. But God has bestowed on man the intelligence to know and understand. When, these days, science is spreading so much and with such speed and when the knowledge of the soul has spread in India by the kindness of our ancient seers, man should realize that to love and to serve God's creation is man's first and last privilege.

(From Hindi)

By Mahatma Gandhi

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