

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

WRONG AND UNFAIR

(By Vaikunthbhai L. Mehta)

It is with considerable reluctance that I pen these lines. I have no desire to enter into a controversy with public men either inside or outside Government, when, to my mind, we are all supposed to work for the same common cause. But certain statements made, on and off, by the Commerce and Industry Minister of the Government of India do such grave injustice to a class of social workers who are engaged, despite great odds, to promote and extend the economic aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's programme that I feel compelled to draw attention to the matter. In an article published in connection with the opening of the Indian Industries Fair, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari has a fling at persons who "in a country where *Ashrams* are known to flourish" play Providence, for all time, with a small number of people.

This deriding of persons who have an attachment to the *ashram* way of life, both for education and for pursuit of social service, apparently comes easily to Shri Krishnamachari. For, over a year ago he ridiculed the pretensions of workers in charge of the Khadi and allied movements as *Mathadhipatis* who sought to lay down the law for humbler men to follow. As I have not lived in Ashram, the appellation does not apply to me; and hence I can assert most unhesitatingly and emphatically that constructive workers in the field of Khadi and Village Industries are among the most receptive-minded of public workers amongst whom it has been my privilege to work. They hold fast, no doubt, to their ideals, they are keen about principles, and they have faith in a social order that harmonized with Gandhiji's teachings. But they all believe in discussion and mutual exchange of views, prior to joint conclusions being reached. It is far from their intention, ever, to play at dictatorship which is what Shri Krishnamachari accuses them of doing.

In the same article, Shri Krishnamachari pours scorn upon the complaints that have been voiced about the effect of the vigorous campaign of the All India Handloom Board on the produc-

tion of Khadi. It is not only from one part of the country that those engaged in the development of Khadi production have represented that hand-spinning has received some set-back because of the various aids to handloom weaving assured under the programme of the Handloom Board. Reports to this effect have come from Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnatak, Andhra and Uttar Pradesh. In the two first-named States, the State Ministries took steps to ensure that Khadi production was not adversely affected. Very respectfully, the attention of the Minister for Commerce and Industry was invited to the situation with the request that the Handloom Board set up by his Ministry might take action to avoid conflict between its activities and those of the All India Khadi and Village Industries which, on behalf of the Government of India, has the responsibility of promoting the planned development of the Khadi industry.

The public response to this modest request is a paragraph in Shri Krishnamachari's article which not only ridicules the suggestion, but depicts those putting forward such views as ignorant of the working of democratic processes in calling upon the Minister to play Providence. Unversed though my colleagues and I are in public affairs we are not quite so devoid of common-sense as to confuse a Minister in democratic India with a miniature Providence. But that apart, the fact is that the comprehensive all-pervasive plans of the Handloom Board provide attractions in the way of an assured supply of yarn and a market of a type that the industry did not enjoy so far. Those who are engaged in the weaving of cloth with the use of handspun yarn do get a regular supply of yarn and have the cloth taken off their hands. But the various other aids that are granted under the programme of the Handloom Board are for them, too tempting an inducement, occasionally, to resist. The consequence is, sometimes, a switch-over to the use of mill-yarn, making it difficult for the increased production of handspun yarn to be woven into cloth locally. The two Boards both work under the aegis of the Government of India and with the aid of funds provided by it. It is a simple proposition put forward that either the two

Boards should provide the same or similar forms of State aid or that, for the time being, areas where Khadi production is being developed on an intensive scale, should be left out of the purview of the active programme of the Handloom Board. It is this simple proposition that is interpreted as a call to resort to dictatorial action.

FEARLESSNESS, SWARAJ AND SELF-RELIANCE

(By Vinoba)

[From prayer speech at Navarangpur Camp, District Koraput, Orissa, on 5-7-55.]

I

Now that we have attained Swaraj the power of the foreigner which ruled here has removed itself. Thereafter the Kings and Kinglets as well as the Zamindars also have removed themselves. I would, therefore, recommend to everyone to see how the current of time is flowing. I would also recommend that we prepared ourselves to swim along with it because otherwise we would be doomed to sink.

After Swaraj everyone in the country has received the right to vote. The literate and illiterate, Brahmin and Harijan, poor labourer and rich aristocrat, man and woman all have now one vote and no one has more than one. Now please tell me how under the new order in this land which has conferred the right to vote on everyone the distinctions between high and low, land-lord and labourer, poor and rich will last. Under a democratic form of Government every citizen has equal rights. Thus, in politics, at least, we reached equality.

Now our scriptures also tell us that in the hearts of all beings the soul resides. In our Bhagavata it is written that all beings, whether a Brahmin or a Harijan, or a dog have in them a portion of the Supreme Soul in equal proportion. Thus when Vedanta, that is the science of the Soul and the science of politics both together, talk of and insist on equality it is sure to be established so that we will have an egalitarian order. We should, however, think over this ideal of equality more clearly. Now, we can conceive of an order of equality under which everyone will get his or her food gratis without performing any labour whatsoever. In such an order no one will work, neither the land-owner nor the labourer, neither the Brahmin nor the Harijan. Why, women will, of course give up cooking and men will not do it either. Now, do you believe such equality will work or last? The order of equality which we seek to establish will teach the art of cooking both to women as well as men. In that order the Brahmin will work even as the Harijan and the land-owner will labour in the fields along with the labourer. In the egalitarian order we conceive everyone of us will have to labour together.

Our boys will then have to be trained and educated with the ideal of equality in view. Under the present order the teacher who is supposed to give training sits on a chair and the student who is supposed to receive it sits on a bench. And lessons are given from books. Those who receive their education in this fashion become absolutely unfit to perform any job whatsoever. Today none of our boys know how to cook food. They feel and believe that cooking is low work, it is women's work and not our, men's, work. Their work, they feel, is to eat what is cooked by women. And, therefore, they feel they are superior beings. But we want to set up a system of training under which boys also will be trained to cook food. Under the present dispensation schools are closed and boys have vacation during the hot season because they are not able to bear the heat. Now, how will boys and girls who are not able to bear heat or rain be able to work in the fields? We tried once to work out the figures of expenses required

for educating a boy at college and we found that twenty-five acres of land is needed per boy. But our country has only one acre of land per head. Under the conditions from where do we expect to find the twenty-five acres needed for the education of each single boy of ours? And how is such education going to contribute to the progress of the country?

The boys or students of our country should be able to cultivate the science of Brahma on the one hand and to sweep the floor of the school on the other. They should be able to learn all sciences on the one hand and to be able to smear the floor of their rooms with cow-dung as also to labour in the fields. The education imparted today does not know the science of Brahma nor of any labour or industry. Because we have lacked the knowledge of the science of Brahma all of us have fallen victims to the enjoyment of the senses and have turned into their slaves. He who has learnt his letters falls in love with ease and comfort and a hankering for enjoyment of the senses and of power constantly burns in his heart. Because the system of education lacks industry, our hands are unemployed. In the same manner because we lack knowledge of the science of the spirit our intellect becomes worthless. Then these educated people are compelled to drive quills and employ only three of their fingers instead of employing all the ten. And suppose the whole country was trained into this sort of skill on what will the country feed itself?

The whole system of education will, therefore, have to be entirely changed. The science of Brahma and the science of actual work will both have to be taught to our boys and girls. The knowledge of the science of Brahma will lead us to an acquaintance with the spirit. It will teach us to control our minds, bodies and senses. It will also teach us to love the whole world, to forget the distinction between mine and yours, and to unlearn that this small house is ours or this small field belongs to us alone. He who has learnt the science of Brahma will give up the habit of saying, this is mine, this is mine. He will begin to say, his house and his land, and his wealth belong to all. But he who is educated in the science of illusion says that every such thing belongs to him exclusively.

Under our system of education every boy will work with both his hands and will therefore learn to be self-reliant. Every boy will be taught to cook food well. The soldier should not be fed on readily cooked food. The soldier and the traveller should both have a perfect knowledge of the art of cooking. Under our system every boy will labour in the fields. Today such indolence pervades the whole country that all our arts, crafts and industries are on their way to utter destruction. The cloth on the persons of all those who are sitting before me in the audience has been bought and imported from outside. But we must now have the best artisans and craftsmen in our country. We must now have the best of carpenters, best of weavers, best of engineers, best of black-smiths, best of cobblers, best of soldiers and also best commanders. We should now have traders who will not cheat people through their profession but will protect them. No profession or work will be deemed high or low. No one will say he will not perform a particular service because it is low or menial.

You will find that all over the world today they are piling up armaments. Every nation has started manufacturing rifles, air-craft, atom-bombs and hydrogen-bombs. If this way of doing things continued the entire world will surely be destroyed. Human society is not going to survive the war that threatens to come. If we sought to deal with such total violence we will have to cultivate utter fearlessness. Parents should not scold or threaten their children but should persuade them through love. If parents tried to teach their children better ways by beating them the latter will become cowards. Later on when they grow up into men and women anyone will

be able to take work from them by merely showing force. When boys are beaten with the intention of reforming them they do not really improve but become cowardly and slavish.

Tyrants always get their aims served by threats. When Pakistan was established, the Mussalmans in Sind drove away all the Hindus but did not allow sweepers to leave. This was because if the sweepers left the Muslims would have been forced to work as Bhangis. The special knack cultivated by tyrants is to threaten people by a show of force and if we feel afraid their purpose is served. Therefore, we should firmly make up our minds not to be afraid of anyone or to threaten anyone. One who seeks to bully others is sure to be bullied by someone else. The cat terrorizes the mouse but is in its turn afraid of the dog. And the tiger though it bullies the whole animal world is afraid of the rifle. Only when we will cease to be afraid of the strong and to bully the weak, and when we will refuse to be suppressed by the strong and to suppress the weak, we shall be truly fearless.

Today people in the villages are afraid even of the police. But we wish to bring it home to the villagers that they are now living under Swaraj or their own rule. All these big men who call themselves ministers are but your servants. You, village-folk have employed them in your service for five years. When the period of five years is over they will come to you soliciting your vote again. You are the masters. Therefore, you should not be afraid of them. You have of course to see that the dignity of your servants is maintained and you have also to love them.

In the days of the British a mere policeman used to come to you with pomp and to consider himself the representative of the emperor. Even the Viceroy used to defend his misdeeds. But now under Swaraj this will not be.

The nation which carries on its affairs with love between the officers and the people is a free nation. The nation whose teachers do not bully the pupils and the pupils are not afraid of the teachers, whose pupils and teachers love one another is a free nation.

In a country where an atmosphere of force and violence prevails as between the rulers and the ruled the people become cowards. If the Russians or the Americans tried to bully us we would ask them why they were doing so. We will tell them that we earn our bread by our own labour in our fields, we have not committed any offence against you or any one else, and that we are but servants of God. And servants of God never bow their heads to anyone but Him. I do not also like the custom of greeting others by bowing the head which is common amongst us today. If today you bow your heads before me whom you call Baba you are sure to do so before someone with the big stick tomorrow. Therefore, I believe, one should bow one's head only before God and greet all the rest by bringing the palms together.

We want to create a new society and a new nation of this type. In that society all people will work with both their hands, no one shall be high and no one low, no one shall be landowner and no one a labourer and all will work and live as brothers. In the heart of each one of the members of the society there will be love, in his head, intellect or reason and in his soul faith and devotion. No one will be afraid of another and no one will bully another. All will know the spirit and will not be anxious about their bodies. They will keep their senses under control and will not be slaves to their objects. This is the ideal nation we want to forge out of our people. We have now before us the opportunity. Such is the ideal of the Sarvodaya society we want to ring in and its basis will be the Bhoodan Yajna.

In the Bhoodan Yajna movement land cannot be asked in gift by threats of dire consequences but the idea has to be explained by love. There is such force in idea and love that he who will persuade others to his own idea

by love will conquer the whole world. The idea is our God and love is the devotee. Where God and His devotee, idea and love come together a power like that of the volcano emerges. The power and strength that is Bhoodan Yajna is the power of the idea and love.

Please, therefore, go around in the villages—all the villages—and persuade every one by the power of your love that no one should remain landless and no one should hold land as property in the village. Only God will be the owner of land and all of us will be His servants. We shall help each other. We shall give up the evil habits of drinking and smoking. I have been witnessing here the curious sight of men having wine in their mouths where Rama's name should reside and having cigarettes in their hands where instruments of work should be. The cause of such an unhappy state is ignorance. But those in the cities who profess to be free from ignorance and to have knowledge drink wine and smoke cigarettes. Foolish people in the villages feel that if they imitated those knowing ones of the cities in these pursuits they would come into knowledge. But the villagers should understand that they are not men of knowledge but are blind. We shall not be able to achieve anything by imitating them. We will secure our good and welfare only by following the true men of knowledge, the good men and the saints. God in His mercy sends rain to us in India but He sends a more kindly rain in the form of good men and saints. We have here in India everything good and true in the form of the Ramayana, the Bhagawata, the Mahabharata, the Gita and the Upanishads. Hardly any other country in the world has received in heritage the wealth of thought we have done here in India. We should, therefore profit by the heritage and work according to it.

We wish that all people in the country should be fearless. Let our hands be occupied in productive work, let our lips repeat Ramanama and let Hari be the permanent occupant of our hearts and minds. This is the message we carry from village to village and it is indeed a matter of deep pleasure that thousands lend their ears to it. Many there are who carry the message of enjoyment and possession. But that message does not sound well in the ears. True, man is drawn away to enjoyment of the senses on account of infatuation but in his heart such enjoyment finds no place. India is truly the land of religion and duty. Therefore when the message of renunciation is carried to the people their hearts are glad and feel content.

(From Hindi)

Standard of Living and Killing

The *Peace News*, Sep. 16, 1955 insets the following news:

"The German newspaper, *Das Andere Deutschland* gives the following estimated figures, presented to an American Medical Conference, for the cost of killing an enemy soldier in war:

Julius Caesar paid	3s. 4d.
Napoleon paid	£1,000
In the American War of Independence the price was	£1,668
The Allies in World War I paid	£7,500
In World War II the U.S.A. alone paid, for each dead German or Japanese	£75,000"

So along with the standard of living, the cost of killing as well is rising in the West! Have the two blended together to make up a pattern of new economy that rules the warring western world today?

3-11-55

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi
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HARIJAN

Nov. 26

1955

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The reader must have, by now, seen and gone through the highly thought-provoking address* of Shri B. G. Kher, the Chairman of the Official Language Commission (O. L. C.). I feel I have been rather late in introducing to the reader, the Official Language Commission, which I do now.

The Commission was appointed by the President under Article 344 of the Constitution of India, which requires him to do so at the expiration of five years from the commencement of the Constitution. It is laid down therein that it shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages of India specified in its 8th Schedule as the President may appoint. Accordingly, the Commission consists of the representatives of each of the 14 languages of India mentioned in the Constitution.

The terms of reference to the Commission are as follows:

"1. It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

(b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;

(c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution;†

(d) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;

(e) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the Official Language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

"2. In making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services."

The Commission immediately applied itself to the task allotted to it and issued a comprehensive questionnaire and is now going round the country examining witnesses on the points it has been asked to report on. These are generally put down in the terms of reference quoted above.

As the reader will see, the chief task allotted to the O. L. C. under the Constitution is to

determine how Hindi should be progressively used for the official purposes of the Union, and to prepare a time schedule for it, as 1 (e) in the terms of reference quoted above clearly says. It is not the direct task of the O. L. C. to determine, as some people appear to think, the use and the teaching of Hindi in Schools and Colleges, — a question into which two previous Commissions, I mean the Radhakrishnan Commission for Higher Education and the Mudaliar Commission for Secondary, have already investigated and reported to the Government. However, para 2 above indirectly says that the Commission, in making their recommendations about the points mentioned in para 1 of the terms of reference, shall have due regard to, firstly, the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and secondly, the just claims and the interests of non-Hindi-speaking persons in regard to public services. This might entail a side-inquiry into some points educational and administrative, which the questionnaire issued by the O. L. C. has amply touched.

The Chairman in his Poona speech has well said that "it will be improper for me, also premature, to express any views on any of the numerous points arising in the detailed consideration of this complex issue, and both the Commission and I as its Chairman must maintain a wholly open mind on this subject at this stage." The rule applies to me also as one of the members of that body. This was one of the reasons which held me up till now to write about it.

As I said at the outset, this is just to note the important Poona pronouncement of the O. L. C. Chairman and incidentally to introduce the Commission to the reader. I need not say that this is a very important body from the point of view of India's democratic and cultural progress and advancement. The S. R. C. has just reported to the nation regarding an equally important issue — the re-organization of States of the Union. And this is broadly to be on the basis of the languages of India scheduled in the Constitution. The O. L. C. is now required to decide further how Hindi, the official language of the Union, should function in new India that is being built up, as an all-India language of "communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another". Thus functioning, it is obvious, Hindi will be a living medium for bringing out and forging our unity as one people.

Shri Kher in his Poona address has well noted some basic principles that should govern such a process and development. The first is, as he said, "the eventual displacement of the English language from its present position in our society." As he mentioned, surely it does not mean that we do not study that great language. We should rather have, as he said, a "sufficient command of English and/or other suitable foreign language or languages to serve as a 'key'

* See *Harijan* issues of Oct. 29, and Nov. 5, 1955.

† The purposes mentioned in Article 348 are (1) proceedings of the Supreme Court and every High Court, (2) Bills and Acts of Parliament and all State Legislatures, (3) all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under the Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State.

to the store-house of knowledge not yet available in the Indian languages and as a 'window' to the rapid progress of technology and scientific knowledge." The whole point is, as he so succinctly put it in his address, "The massive resurgence of our national life which we are committed to bring about within a reasonable period following the adoption of adult franchise, free and compulsory education, promotion of social justice and equal opportunity, etc. is inconceivable to my mind in terms of any but the indigenous languages. Indeed, the provisions of the Constitution have already settled the issue and it should be unnecessary to restate it." Or as he categorically put it, "considerations of national self-respect are undoubtedly important in respect of language, as it touches the entire national life of a people so intimately."

Therefore, Shri Kher also warned that "in a complex and detailed linguistic revolution, such as we have to bring about", it must be remembered that "a living language resides in the currency of daily speech, in the workaday world and in the market place and not in the dictionaries of the lexicographer. . . . The common man, by and large, has no interest in any doctrines of language purism, and perhaps he is right."

Another important point that he brought to our notice was that "the Constitution has further provided ample protection and guarantees to all languages and scripts of India." The language problem, therefore, vis-a-vis the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union is "a problem of practical policy which must be approached from secular, as distinct from a religious or revivalist standpoint; from a national, as distinct from a provincial or communal standpoint; and from a pragmatic, as distinct from an axiomatic or ideological standpoint."

These are some of the main points that Shri Kher took care to place before the country. We might say, they are the main co-ordinates for drawing the graph of the linguistic pattern for future India, which the Constitution itself has generally defined for us.

12-11-55

By Mahatma Gandhi

KHADI

[Hand-Spun Cloth]

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CASTE, COMMUNITY AND NATION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

[This article is in continuation of the one, "Communalism and Casteism", which appeared in the *Harjan* of 29-10-55.]

No sooner than the Christian people from Britain set their foot in India did their influence begin to work on India's society — politics, economics etc. of the country. The reason was the new ideas and forms of belief of the newcomers.

It is not to be supposed that there was no pride of community based on religion at one time in the Christian nations of Europe. After the rise of Islam when it began to advance and prosper, these Christian nations of Europe had allied together to fight it. They had also been carrying on a struggle against the Jewish people before. But with the emergence of the modern forces of European Protestantism, science and rationalism, a religion of nationalism and a new science of economics were born in Europe. When the British people came to India they brought along with them these their modern ideas.

At this point of time the sentiments of community based on religious belief and of caste based on occupation for livelihood were living and active principles in our country. During the period of British rule two new influences began to work on these sentiments. The British Government developed its policy of consolidating its power by dividing and ruling over us as the third party. It dealt with castes by dividing them into advanced and backward. With the communities they dealt by separating them into Muslim, Hindu etc. Both these ways of dealing with castes and communities which persist even to this day had their origin in such British policy. For instance, we see the 'Backward Classes Commission' being appointed today. The psychology which we often come across at present, that being backward is an advantage, took shape in this manner.

The other influence was seen working on the people as a whole. Contact with the new community brought forth social reformers amongst us and they began striving to reform the institution of caste. From the angle of communities, communal politics came into vogue. Some leaders of the Mussalman community separated themselves from the Indian National Congress to start the Alighadh Movement and were responsible for injecting the virus of separate religious community-wise electorates in our body politic. And politics thenceforward took such a curious turn that phrases like 'Nationalist Muslim' and 'Hindu Nationalist' which sound strange to our ears now became current. This is to mean that though the sentiment of nationalism began to be cultivated, it was vitiated by a feeling of communalism based on religion.

Out of this trend of thought and feeling taking shelter under the wing of the third party, the British, a clever politician like Shri M. A. Jinnah unfurled the flag of two separate nations

based on two different religious beliefs and was successful in creating Pakistan. Even a powerful leader of the people like Gandhiji was not able to cope with this trend because the Hindu masses had not been able to grow out of their communalism. Otherwise, just as the British along with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar were not successful in separating the Harijans from the Hindu fold, they would not have succeeded in the matter of Pakistan also. But in a situation where the basic sentiment of love or unity was lacking, Gandhiji, as is inevitable, could not succeed.

Gandhiji unrelentingly strove for a generation to create a sentiment of one nation or one people which would be above the sentiment of caste and community. But two nations emerged on the sub-continent instead of one. The communal history of our people proved stronger and had its way. But that is not the end of it. India now aspires to go ahead and wants to create out of herself a nation with the sentiment of being one people which has eschewed disruptive ideas of caste and community. This means that the problem now facing us is one of how to get rid of or reorganize or reform these two historically-old institutions.

Those who talk the language of destroying these two sentiments of community and caste truly speaking seek only their purification and re-orientation, because the institutions through which a nation has had its being enter into its very bones. It cannot throw them away altogether; what is needed is, in fact, their refashioning.

India's progress through the ages has now reached this stage. The points now arising demand separate treatment.

3-6-'55

(From Gujarati)

DEMOCRACY AND RULE BY SPECIALISTS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

While the Vallabh Vidyanagar University bill was being discussed in the lower house of the Bombay legislature, in the heat of exchange of argument, it appears, the Chief Minister is reported to have said that specialists were not Gods and that, therefore, their word was not final. He is further reported to have asked whether experts were ever seen to agree. Newspapersmen in their enthusiasm for spicy words picked up this piece of the report as something interesting for their readers and featured it prominently on their pages. The humour behind the words, though, was easy to perceive and the words need not have been given such undue prominence.

Unless we become omniscient we have but to lend our ear to what others have to say. And, consciously or unconsciously, all of us depend on the advice of specialists almost at every step we take. This does not, of course, mean that we should surrender our commonsense or discretion to others. Like any other one-sided insistence the rule of specialists is an evil indeed.

But we cannot at the same time obstinately insist that our discretion is the last word; it is, though, true that dependence in all humility on

one's own commonsense or discretion is the normal law of the functioning of man's intelligence.

But what would the Government advocates of B.C.G. say regarding the dictum of the Chief Minister? On what belief do they work? It appears they consider the word of the specialist as the final word on the subject. That experts hardly agree is certainly true to a very great extent in this case. Some doctors of medicine are of the opinion that B.C.G. is good; other experts of equal eminence opine quite the other way! And Government takes the word of one of these, the former, as final! Government truly seems to take them as gods, because it goes ahead in its advocacy of B.C.G. as if it were handing out a boon from the gods to the people, in the form of freedom from the fell disease of T. B. For instance, Shri Amrit Kaurbahe, the Health Minister of the Central Government says that specialists like Dr. B. C. Roy and Dr. Jivraj Mehta certify that B.C.G. is a good vaccine and therefore, now, the innocent babes of India dare not escape being inoculated by it!

But Shri Rajaji differs from the Health Minister here. He quotes other experts to prove the contrary! He argues, therefore, that we need not be stampeded by experts into something injurious. He insists that we should allow our discretion to function in the case of this particular vaccine. The minds of the specialists in medicine would naturally be occupied in their own science and their opinion, therefore, is very likely highly coloured by their prejudice. And what about the difference of opinion amongst the specialists in medicine, asks Rajaji.

It seems these specialists have their own special logic. When it was inevitable during the war years that people had to be fed on milo, the specialists were known to advertise their opinion in the most perfect technical language in its favour; when wheat was difficult to be had and *bajri* was easily available they came out with solid arguments in favour of the latter's value as food! But why go to the past? Have we not a recent instance of what the specialists can do in the case of *vanaspati*?

He who pays calls the tune is a common saying in the English language. In the field of science also we are now made familiar with 'Government-subsidized science'. The laboratory expenses of scientific experiments for new inventions are so heavy that scientists have to depend on Governments for them. And everyone knows how Governments function in the entire world. They do not readily suffer difference of opinion or opposition; they do not relish difference or opposition. Servants in the employ of Governments have to keep mum in such matters and abide by discipline. And it is obvious that those of them who support Governments' view are, for the purposes of Governments' functioning, experts or specialists!

Still, however, a way has to be found out of the controversies by experts if public affairs were

to be kept going. And one has to be careful to see that the way found is correct. How this is done is the test regarding the type of persons who rule the administrative set-up of a country. One can find from it whether the administration is a rule of the specialists, or a democracy or a dictatorship. Now, democracy is not certainly ruled by the specialists. It also, at the same time, does not ignore or despise experts. Democracy does take their aid but is not led away by them. This is the reason why in many of the States it is possible to have a minister in charge of, for example, the public works department, someone who is not an engineer and of the medical department, someone who is not a physician or a surgeon. In the matter of B.C.G. however, Governments deserve the criticism by Rajaji that they go ahead with their favourable specialists whom they believe to be gods infallible and thwart or suppress the other opinion or ignore it altogether.

The Specialist and the Administrator

I am inclined to believe that under democracy there is a general danger of a tug of war between the administrator and the specialist. A specialist is frankly a specialist. He knows something particular so well that he can hardly have space in his brain for the other view or estimate. In the case of the administrator the position is reverse. There is no end to his knowledge of things from all sides which is generally miscellaneous, coloured and full of variety. In the midst of this picturesque knowledge his one concern, however, is to see that the administration is sustained and runs smoothly. We had better say it is generally expected by him that it should. This tendency may sometimes lead to the corrupt insistence that the administrator's word or opinion should be final and that he holds all the power. Did we not see that the bureaucracy became the Government in India in the past on account of the tendency noted above? And was not the rule of the bureaucracy in essence the rule of the administrator?

Administration is also a specialist's job. Administrators are specialists or experts in one way. Democracy or the rule of the people is something above the rule of the administrator.

I am here reminded of an illustration given by Shri Jaykar in a speech some years ago to clarify the idea. Suppose, he said, we want to get an engineering job done. The engineers would say, do this or do that. They would be inclined to suit the job to their knowledge of engineering and to arrange the work in its bounds. What should really be is that the engineer should apply his knowledge to the need as indicated by the administrator. Now, suppose, the engineer sought to suit the job to his knowledge and the administrator followed his advice. That would amount to rule by the specialist. The administrator's view goes beyond that of the experts. The special knowledge of the engineer consists in how to do a job, not in what job to do. But very

often experts transgress this thin line and administrators fall a victim to them. This is why it is said that a ruler should not be a mere administrator but should be a statesman with a broad outlook and vision and should have the capacity to control his own vanity or arrogance or pride.

26-9-55

(From Gujarat)

COTTAGE MATCH INDUSTRY

(By V. M. Kothari)

Match is a household thing of everyday use, and it can be produced on a cottage industry basis. If it is encouraged like other such industries it can stand the competition in the market. But today match is produced mainly by big factories. To bring about a change in this situation the All-India Village Industries Board has put forward some proposals for the Second Five Year Plan. Like the proposals regarding other such industries put forward by the Board these proposals are also noteworthy.

The Match industry of India consists of large-scale mechanized, medium-scale semi-mechanized and small-scale non-mechanized units. On the basis of their capacity they are classified into A class with an output exceeding 5,00,000 gross boxes a year, into B class with an output below 5,00,000 but above 30,000 gross boxes a year and into C class with an output not exceeding 30,000 a year.

The production of matches has been steadily rising. But the Wimco group dominates the domestic market. Owing to their financial and organizational resources and marketing skill, the Wimco group has been able to oust all other competitors from the market, with the result that the number of factories in the B and C groups of factories has steadily fallen from 116 and 108 respectively in 1950 to 88 and 94 respectively in 1953. The principal problem facing the smaller units in general and cottage units in particular is the marketing of their products against the monopolistic hold of the Wimco factories.

Proposals for the Second Five Year Plan

As the main objective of the Second Five Year Plan is to create maximum employment opportunities, the programme presented here envisages the establishment of a new class of factories, known as 'D' class, licensed to produce a maximum of 25 gross boxes per day and capable of employing about 40 persons each. For purposes of allocation of production to 'D' class factories, the daily production of a 'D' class factory is estimated at 15 gross a day, as actual production may not reach the licence limit of 25 gross a day.

Demand by 1960-61

The First Five Year Plan estimated consumption of matches to rise from 29.33 million gross boxes in 1950-51 to 35.30 million gross boxes by 1955-56. But the anticipated increase in

demand did not materialize. During the period of Second Five Year Plan it is assumed that consumption would reach at least the First Five Year Plan's target of 35.30 million gross boxes.

Allocation

Of the total output of 29.33 million gross boxes in 1954, 'A' and 'B' class factories between them accounted for 98.5%, while the 'C' class factories produced only 0.43 million gross boxes or 1.4%. As the number of 'C' class factories has been steadily falling and as the relative size of the incentives (rebate on excise duties) to 'D' class is larger, it is assumed that the operative 'C' class factories may reorganize themselves into 'D' class factories. The programme thus allocates the total estimated demand as follows:

A Class	21.18
B "	
C "	
D "	14.12
	<u>35.30</u>

The policy implications of this allocation of production are:

(1) Reduction in the production of 'A' and 'B' class factories to 60% of the total demand.

(2) The manufacture of 14.12 million gross boxes by the new 'D' class factories to meet the balance of 40% of demand.

Programme

During the year 1955-56 the Board proposes to set up 300 'D' class factories. During the Second Five Year Plan period the programme outlined below visualizes the establishment of another 5,000 'D' class factories at the rate of 600 factories each year. Thus by 1960-61 there will be 3,300 'D' class factories capable of producing 14.80 million gross boxes per year.

Investment

The cost of the basic and other equipment of a 'D' class factory with a daily output of 15 gross boxes is estimated at Rs 6,000. The capital requirements of 3,000 factories over the five year period works out at Rs 180 lakhs. As the existing rebates of excise duties in favour of these factories are sizable and as the costs of production relative to those of the larger factories are estimated to be lower with consequent increase in competitive marketability, it is expected that private enterprise and/or co-operative institutions may come forward with their own capital.

Of the total capital requirements, the Board proposes to advance Rs 75 lakhs to the 3,000 factories at the rate of Rs 1,000 grant and Rs 1,500 loans per factory towards the acquisition of capital equipment. Of the total expenditure of Rs 75 lakhs, Rs 45 lakhs will be thus recoverable.

Employment

It is computed that in the manufacture of 1 gross box of matches 1.5 persons can find full-time employment. On this basis a 15 gross factory can provide employment to 23 persons. The nature of match manufacture is such that a large number of processes such as frame filling, box making, labelling, packing etc. can be carried on in the houses of the workers themselves as subsidiary occupation. In other words, of the total employment of 23 persons in a 15 gross factory not more than 5 are required at the factory premises and the rest can work outside the factory side by side with their normal domestic duties. On the basis that a third of a day they devote to this work, the number of workers who can find part-time employment is $(18 \times 3) 54$. Thus employment per 15 gross factory works out to 5 full-time workers and 54 part-time workers. The implementation of the programme outlined above can provide additional full-time employment to 15,000 persons and part-time employment to 1,62,000 persons.

For the implementation of the programme the Board envisages to set up an organizational machinery the total expenditure on which is estimated at Rs 32 lakhs over the five year period. Moreover it is envisaged to provide training for this industry. The expenditure on this item will be about Rs 3 lakhs.

To meet the research requirements of the industry it is proposed to establish two research laboratories costing nearly Rs 2.5 lakhs.

To ensure prompt sales of the output of the 'D' class units 36 marketing depots will be set up. In addition it is proposed to assist co-operatives by way of loans to set up similar depots.

It is also proposed to provide for publicity and propaganda for popularizing matches made in cottages.

Thus the total expenditure on the whole plan is estimated at 165.25 lakhs (63.30 lakhs non-recurring and 101.95 recurring) over the period of five years. To provide part or whole time employment to about 1.75 lakh persons at their own residence in the production of such a household thing with this much expenditure is quite desirable and proper.

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