

HARIJAN

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

VOL. XVII. No. 42

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1953

TWO ANNAS

SEX EQUALITY

(By Gandhiji)

Q. Some people oppose a modification of laws relating to the right of a married woman to own property on the ground that economic independence of women would lead to the spread of immorality among women and disruption of domestic life. What is your attitude on the question?

A. I would answer the question by a counter question: Has not independence of man and his holding property led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes' then let it be so also with women. And when women have rights of ownership and the rest like men, it will be found that the enjoyment of such rights is not responsible for their vices or their virtues. Morality which depends upon the helplessness of a man or woman has not much to recommend it. Morality is rooted in the purity of our hearts.

Harijan, 8-6-'40

Q. We find that the Congress is reluctant to select women representatives on a large scale for elective bodies. It is surely just and necessary that more women are taken into the various bodies. How would you deal with the question?

A. I am not enamoured of equality or any other proportion in such matters. Merit should be the only test. Seeing however that it has been the custom to decri women, the contrary custom should be to prefer women, merit being equal, to men even if the preference should result in men being entirely displaced by women. It would be a dangerous thing to insist on membership on the ground merely of sex. Women, and for that matter any group, should disdain patronage. They should seek justice, never favours. Therefore, the proper thing is for women, as indeed for men, to advance the spread not of English or Western education among them, but such education on general lines through their provincial languages as will fit them for the numerous duties of citizenship. For men to take a lead in this much needed reform will not be a matter of favour but a simple act of belated justice due to women.

Harijan, 7-4-'46

ECONOMICS OF STUDENTS' TURMOIL

(By S. N. Agarwal)

All that happened in Lucknow during the last few weeks requires serious thought and consideration by those who are vitally interested in the promotion of peaceful and democratic traditions of public life in this country. The whole trouble is supposed to have arisen out of a comparatively minor matter. Whether the membership of the Students' Union should be compulsory or optional is a subject over which there can be honest difference of opinion. Both in India and abroad, different types of constitutions for students' organizations prevail in different Colleges and Universities. We must realize, after all, that Students' Unions are not like Trade Unions where the workers are organized to safeguard their economic interests against the mill-owners; they are, in fact, meant to be in the nature of extra-curricular or co-curricular activities to supplement academic studies. In India, relations of teachers with their pupils have been, from times immemorial, of the most sacred and sublime nature. It will be nothing short of a great tragedy if the teacher-pupil relationship is in any way reduced to the level of Trade Unionism in the economic or commercial sense.

It is, however, not enough to condemn those events and not try to study the basic causes of unrest and turmoil among the student community.

I can say with confidence that the Indian students are in no way inferior to the students of any other country in the world, from the point of view of intelligence, resourcefulness and hard work. Our young men also played an important role in the history of freedom struggle in this country. They have been acquitting themselves very creditably in various fields of technology and research relating to the programmes of economic and industrial development in India. We are surely proud of their achievements and have great faith in their potentialities. If they are in a sullen mood today, it is due to a variety of causes.

Their agitation is partly due to political reasons, because a few party-men try to exploit young students for furthering their political ends.

This is surely detrimental to the growth of healthy educational traditions and merits emphatic disapproval. We have been of the definite view that our young men, so long as they continue to be students, should not dabble in party politics, although they should take a deep interest in national and international political events. After the completion of their studies, they will, of course, be entirely free to join any political party in the country. But, as Gandhiji observed, students should be "searchers and not politicians".

Turmoil among students is also partly due to the ever-widening gulf between the teachers and the taught. In our Colleges and Universities, the teachers are now more interested in their examinerships and group rivalries than in the primary task of imparting sound knowledge to the young men entrusted to their care. The personal example of the teachers is not capable of inspiring the students for imbibing high ideals of conduct. There is marked fall in the standards of scholarship among teachers with the inevitable result that "scholars" have now become rare commodities in our educational institutions. Schools and Colleges have become veritable centres of commerce and business; they are more in the nature of factories manufacturing graduates rather than the Temples of Knowledge. That is why an undesirable type of Trade Union spirit manifests itself in these educational institutions and leads to most deplorable conditions and consequences. Our educational centres are now mainly concerned with the financial aspect and pay very little heed to the moral, emotional and intellectual development of the students. This is, surely, a very sorry state of affairs and requires our urgent and serious attention. The numerical strength in Schools and Colleges has become very unwieldy; there are regular "shifts" as in the factories. It is, therefore, futile to expect great results from such commercialized educational concerns.

Above all, uneasiness among students is mainly due to a deep sense of frustration. After spending their youthful energies and hard-earned money of their parents, they are faced with bleak prospects of hunger and unemployment in a society which is still full of glaring economic inequalities. The existing system of education is so unrealistic and "bookish" that its products cannot afford to entertain any high hopes of a bright future. In other words, our academic system requires radical changes in order to integrate education with the National Plan of economic development. Mahatma Gandhi gave us a new system of Basic Education for training young boys and girls through the medium of productive crafts and community work. Without such fundamental changes in the pattern of education, it is impossible to enforce artificial discipline among students through appeals and threats.

This does not, however, mean that we should tolerate acts of violence, arson and Goondaism from any quarter. Despite the economics and politics of students' turmoil, the fact remains that indiscipline and violent activities must be checked and suppressed effectively if democracy is to survive and develop in India.

We are fully conscious of the fact that there are a few political parties in this country which are out to create chaos and violent upheaval in society for attaining their objectives. They do not hesitate to exploit all kinds of situations for fostering crime and confusion. The State cannot afford to treat such acts lightly and leniently.

Threats of fasts and hunger-strikes have become the fashion of the day. 'Morchas' are another kind of political stunts. The technique of fasting was employed by Mahatma Gandhi on very rare occasions. He considered himself the master of that technique and did not allow others to use it without his specific consent. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who is the greatest and noblest disciple of Gandhiji, also tells us that fasts that are being undertaken for trivial causes are very wrong in conception. They are surely against the spirit of Gandhi. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to all students in the country not to reduce the noble instrument of fasting to a farce. The Nation expects great things from them. In more senses than one they are the builders of New and Free India. Let them realize their onerous duties to the Motherland and rise to the occasion. With radical reforms in the system of education and with substantial improvement in the economic condition of the country, we have no manner of doubt that the youth of India will come into their own and play a historic role in re-building this ancient land on the sound foundations of peace, democracy and economic justice. (Adapted from *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, 1-12-53)

NOTES

Peace Army

A communication has just recently come to my desk from Japan in regard to a "Second World Pacifist Meeting in Japan". This is to come, it is planned, with the erection of a "Peace Pagoda".

It is not easy to appreciate the terrible strain under which Peace Workers in Japan must be working today. Their Constitution includes a disarmament clause. Yet, they are pressed to re-arm. There are vested interests in Japan who would welcome rearmament. However, we must be grateful that thousands are striving for peace.

This striving for world peace is not yet as it ought to be. We have talked of "Shanti Senas" in India. Much has been written about them. Practically nothing has been done. It is to our shame that a "Shanti Sena" has not been functioning in Kashmir, yes, and in many other places. One of the greatest needs in the world

of today is the functioning of "Shanti Senas" in such places as India, Korea, Japan, South Africa etc. India should be giving the lead.

RALPH R. KEITHAHN

Why Force Certain Medicine?

To

The Editor, *Harijan*.

Agitation for compulsory vaccination and compulsory inoculation emanates (for their own profit) chiefly from those who administer or manufacture vaccine. If vaccination or inoculation were a good thing, it would not need to be enforced by law. It would recommend itself by its merits. 'Good wine needs no bush' as the English proverb says and good medicine needs no policeman to compel its acceptance.

Prof. A. R. Wallace, O.M., L.L.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., truly says that, "a condition of health is the one and only protection we require against all kinds of disease and to put any product of disease whatever into the blood of a healthy person is to create a danger far greater than the disease itself."

Forcing vaccines on the people must be disapproved by all who are politically opposed to State compulsion and unwarrantable interference with individual rights. Very many Indians like people in foreign countries reject allopathy and rightly adhere to other systems of medicine, such as Nature Cure, Homoeopathy, Ayurveda, Unani etc. Medical freedom cannot be separated from political and religious freedom.

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Smoking — A Tale from Bihar

According to a news item in the Patna Hindi daily *Aryavarta*, a young man of village Dhamaura in Lauriya Police Station of Motihari district conducted a survey regarding the consumption of *bidis* in his village. He estimated that the total sale of *bidis* in the village amounts in one year to Rs 6,000. This expenditure on *bidis* is to be viewed in the background of the total village population, which is only 1,650. Out of this population, 150 adults belong to such orthodox families where smoking is taboo.

Assuming annas two to be the cost of 25 *bidis*, it follows that the village consumed in a year nearly 12,00,000 *bidis*. As already stated, 150 adults belonged to families which did not smoke. We may also include the womenfolk and children among non-smokers. Thus calculated, the amount of *bidis*, consumed by an average smoker of village Dhamaura would work out at quite a high figure. *Bidis*, it needs no repetition, do intense harm to the lungs, and their consumption on such a scale by our villagers cannot be viewed with equanimity.

H. D. M.

(From A.I.C.C. Economic Review, 1-12-53)

COTTAGE MATCH INDUSTRY

(Scheme for 1953-54)

The match industry in India is in the hands of two big concerns viz. WIMCO and the National Match Factory. These factories produce about 79 per cent of the matches consumed in India. The rest of the matches viz. 21 per cent, are produced by nearly 200 factories which are run on a small scale basis.

The factories run on cottage industry lines have to buy raw materials at a higher price than the large scale factories. They do not get certain types of supplies which are controlled by the large scale factories. Besides, the small scale factories are not properly organized and have no agencies to push sales. Thus, though the cottage method can produce matches at competitive price with that of the large scale factories, owing to the several handicaps mentioned above, they have to undersell their products. The excise restrictions also prove too difficult of fulfilment by the small industries.

The programme for the coming year will be directed to deal with marketing which is the main problem of the cottage match industry on the following lines:

1. Establishment of a sales organization to push sales of cottage match. The organization can quality mark cottage matches.
2. The same organization will be expected to undertake to supply raw materials at favourable rates to cottage units.
3. The central co-ordinating office in charge of this scheme would work for modification of excise rules and restrictions so as to give relief to cottage units.

(The actual scheme of developing cottage match industry is now worked out after a systematic study of the industry has been made on behalf of the Board.)

The Common Production Programme Committee of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board discussed at length at its meeting held recently in Bombay, the present position of the match manufacturing industry in the country and suggested ways and means for the development of the small scale and cottage match industry.

The present position is that 80 per cent of the match supply is made by only five factories owned by WIMCO. All the other factories numbering about 72 situated in different parts of India had to be closed down during the last three years due to the competition and powerful marketing machinery of the WIMCO.

The Committee classified the match industry into four categories, A, B, C & D. Those match factories which produce more than 5 lakhs grosses of match boxes yearly were put in class A. Factories producing 5 lakhs and less were placed in class B. Class C and D factories were defined as those producing 100 and 25 grosses match boxes every day. The Committee recommended that a cess of annas 4½ per gross of match boxes be levied on A class match factories. For the other classes subsidy was recommended at annas 1½ to B class factories, 4½ annas to C class and 6 annas to D class factories per gross of match boxes. According to the Committee the cost of production for the village match industry would not be more than that for the large scale industry. India requires about 36 crores of match boxes every month. The village match manufacturing industry in the first year would provide employment to nearly five thousand workmen in the country and help to relieve to that extent the unemployment problem.

(Issued by the A. I. Khadi and Village Industries Board, Bombay).

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT?

By J. C. Kumarappa

Pages ix + 193 Price Rs. 3-8 Postage etc. As. 14
NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

HARIJAN

Dec. 19

1953

THE WORLD "AN AWFUL MUDDLE"

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

This is how Sir Winston Churchill described the world today. To discuss ways and means for extricating the world from this 'awful muddle', some of the big Powers are talking to meet in the near future. It is difficult to say how and when they or who of them will meet, and if at all, what or how much good will come out of it.

W. N. Ewer, the diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, London, discussing the proposed * Bermuda meeting clinches the world issue when he says—

"There are at the moment serious, even dangerous, tensions between the countries of the free world which are of great concern to the three Powers (U.S.A., Great Britain, and France). There is tension between Italy and Yugoslavia, tension between Israel and Jordan. These the Communists point to gleefully as evidence of the contradictions of Capitalism, which they confidently expect to bring about the conflicts and 'imperialist' wars Stalin prophesied as a prelude to the final victory of Communism.

"In fact, they have nothing to do with Capitalism or Socialism or Communism. In a world of free, independent nations there are bound to be clashes of interest or emotional desire between countries, especially between neighbours. That is as inevitable between free nations as between free individuals.

"The problem of our time, first seriously attacked when the League of Nations was founded, is to devise ways in which such conflicts can be settled without resort to armed force. And it is no easy one, since in a free world no dictatorial Power can decide and enforce a settlement.

"There are, it is as well to remember, many aspects of the 'awful muddle' which have nothing to do with the Soviet Union or Communism. There are economic stresses as well as political stresses. The world has to live in a constant state of readjustment, and the process is one in which, though all have to co-operate if it is to be peaceful, the great Powers must unavoidably have a special responsibility."

That is true. Not only the great powers, but all the powers, great or small, have a responsibility, because ultimately it is the world peace which is at stake; and the world today is one and is growing increasingly interdependent, unfortunately not due to human love of brotherhood, but because of greed and selfishness backed up by armed strength of only a few of them. Surely these few are the few great Powers that Mr Ewer names.

Mr Ewer is also right where he says that the world tensions today have nothing to do with any of the 'isms, viz., Capitalism, Socialism, or

* After this was written, the three Powers have met at Bermuda.

Communism; because they all swear by the name of war and armaments or, at best, *armed* peace, and not real peace of the human heart; and hence they are of the same nature as those tensions. If at all, they are all party to those tensions, because it is through creating balancing tensions in the political world that they know how to secure peace, which therefore is necessarily of the modern variety, viz. an armed one. That sort of peace requires not only a balance of armed power but also a certain balance of world trade and commerce synchronizing and in tune with the former balance, the latter following the trail in its wake by a ruthless search for foreign markets in countries of so-called backward economy. All this naturally becomes a veritable hot-bed of tensions.

And Mr Ewer is almost paraphrasing Lord Buddha where he says that these tensions are born of desire. The trouble is that this innate vice of the human heart has been nationalized and brutalized with the strength of 'infernal' arms of the peoples in the West, and though they speak in the name of this or that 'ism of their social philosophy, it is all greed and avarice—desire concretizing itself as colonialism and a philosophy of raising one's own standard of living, even at others' cost.

The reference to Buddha's doctrine of desire as the primary cause of human misery has been made by the *Manas* of September 23, 1953, which is worthy to be noted in this connection. In discussing the question of responsibility for the outbreak of the first great war of this century, *Manas* quotes an American writer as follows:

"Nearly everyone, for example, who was concerned with the outbreak of the Great War has been proclaiming his blamelessness and at the same time pointing an accusing finger at someone else. We shall discover perhaps even more unedifying aspects of human nature than this search for scapegoats if we probe this whole question of war and peace by a Buddhist method; if, in other words, we envisage it from the point of view of the inner life and then deal with the inner life positively and critically, in the opposition it offers between the principle of control and the expansive desires. - According to an ancient Sanskrit epigram the uncultivated man and the thoroughly cultivated man are alike in having few and simple desires; the man who has reached the stage of half-way knowledge, on the other hand, is insatiable. Precisely this type of insatiableness has appeared in the modern man who has become too critical to accept the traditional controls but not critical enough to achieve new ones."

And the Paper continues the argument of the writer in the following way:

"The need of the West, obviously, is for some critical and analytical position which is *outside* the circle of Western assumptions about good and evil, right and wrong, truth and error. Babbitt obviously found a position of this sort in Buddhism.

"To apply the analogy of the Sanskrit epigram further, there seems to be at least a possibility that the West is approaching the point where it may become inwardly troubled by its 'insatiableness' and its hope

of salvation through outward achievement. From the moralist's point of view, this would mean simply a transition toward a culture in which men would have "few and simple desires". From the viewpoint of theories about man, and social doctrines, however, such a transition holds the potentiality of several kinds of revolution. To raise the ideal of "few and simple desires" is practically subversive of the credo of *modern business* and its allied cult of *sales promotion*. As Babbitt puts it:

'Material comfort has come more and more to seem to the modern man a satisfying substitute for spiritual comfort. To be sure, one does not know what secret qualms may torture the modern man or at least an occasional modern man as he is whirled he knows not whither in an ever-increasing mass of interlocking machinery. To all outer appearances, however, most men no longer crave the security and serenity which are of the essence of religious comfort and have allowed these terms, like the term comfort itself, to be appropriated by the utilitarians. An American life insurance company recently advertised as follows: "Buddha, who was born a prince, gave up his name, succession and his heritage to attain security. But...we do not have to give up the world; we have only to see a life insurance agent who can sell us security for the future, the most direct step to serenity of mind."

"We live, in short, in a world where sagacious advertising men obtain permission to spend large sums of their clients' money to say things of this sort to the public, in the expectation that they will not be laughed at, but, on the contrary, will be accepted!

"A society informed by Buddhist philosophy would find a claim of this sort absolutely ridiculous. We do not mean to suggest that we can point to some country where Buddhism is the dominant religion, and show this elevated outlook on life to be a reality. As a matter of fact, the East has been so beguiled by Western military prowess and material prosperity that in many Oriental lands the people are rapidly embracing Western standards of living as the goal of their existence. But this means only that the East also needs to hearken to Buddhist wisdom."

The reader will excuse me quoting *Manas* at some length here. The last remark regarding the East being beguiled by the new cult in the West is significant. The world today needs a way to control desire which has assumed a national shape and which is therefore collectively a complex web of basic human desire. The world in the West is gloating over this their achievement, which dominates the world today, in the name of Capitalism or Socialism or Communism. A new way of life of 'few and simple desires' only can promise real peace. To adopt that way is the new revolution that we need today. Gandhiji stood for such a revolution in India, which he described as Rama Raj or Sarvodaya. Do we feel ourselves responsible to usher such a revolution in the troubled world, which is today really an "awful muddle"?

8-12-'53

SELF-RESTRAINT V. SELF-INDULGENCE

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages viii + 232 Price Rs. 2 Postage etc. As. 15

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD-9

HAVE FAITH IN PEOPLE*

(By Vinoba)

The next thing that we have to do after the attainment of political freedom is to secure economic equality and economic freedom as well as social equality and social freedom for all our people. We had to struggle for political freedom for well over fifty years when at last we came upon the weapon of Satyagraha which helped us on to our goal. But political freedom represents only the first step in the nation's march towards progress and yields its full fruit only when it is followed by economic and social freedom. Achievement of economic and social freedom is therefore highly important. People will not and cannot taste the joy of political freedom until the other two are also secured to them. As we know, they have actually started asking how it is that conditions have not improved even after six years of Swaraj. The reason is not far to seek. We had to fight for Swaraj and carry on a big movement for it which involved tremendous sacrifices for hundred of thousands over long years. Similar efforts will have to be made for economic and social freedom too: they would not just drop in on our lap for nothing. Not only that; the achievement of political freedom was in a way an easier thing to do while that of economic and social freedom will prove comparatively hard because it requires a process of inner purification on the part of the entire people.

Sacrifice and inner purification were called for in the fight for political freedom also, but there we could hope to get the advantage of a favourable international situation which made our task easier. In any case, it did not put our capacity for inner purification to test. However, the present struggle for economic and social freedom is going to put it to severe test. We will need to carry its message to every village and every home. Every home will be required to contribute its due share of sacrifice for effecting the transformation that we desire. It will not be achieved merely by two or three crores of the seven crore families — which we might suppose constitute our population — doing it and the rest not doing it, because in this case mere expression of the people's will, however strong it may be, is not enough. The will has got to be put in action by everyone on his own. Everyone must come forward and donate one-sixth of his land and wealth and thus actively help the campaign to go forward.

The Communists deride us saying that we are mad to hope for a change of heart among the moneyed and propertied classes. But they now see before their eyes how those who would not have parted with even an inch of their land are donating thousands of acres and we are receiving gift-deeds not by small dribblets but in a steady stream. The atmosphere has changed — why? Because God will it.

* From a speech at Bilpur in Bhagalpur District.

When at the beginning in Pochampalli, I asked for land and to my surprise received it, I was lost in thought over the significance of this sudden occurrence. I asked myself what it is that God wills us to do. God may not speak to us directly. But those who can retire into the depths of the heart and think and meditate are able to intuit His will. So I meditated over it that night, and was convinced that there was God's will behind it. We then decided to pursue it forward with all our energy and develop it into a big movement. It seemed to promise the solution of the economic problem of our country which we yearned for and though it was a mighty undertaking well beyond our capacity, we resolved to work for it with faith in God. It was He, we thought, who was going to do it while we were only required to become His instruments.

The time has come when land wants to sweep away the barriers of individual ownership and flow freely carrying its rich gifts to the entire society. The only difficulty which stood in the way of this consummation taking place was the paucity of workers. Happily it is now being steadily overcome. But the workers will have to act without the least trace of ego. They shall not worry for the fruit which they will leave entirely to God. They must have perfect faith in God—which does not mean that they can sit idly. I am not sitting idly but moving about ceaselessly. Those who want to be instruments in God's hands cannot afford to be idle. Let us all be such instruments in His hands so that His will be done.

The people are like the wish-fulfilling tree. One is sure to get from them whatever one asks for; only one should never waver in his faith in their capacity to do so. A man was once sitting under the wish-fulfilling tree. He felt thirsty and asked for water and lo! there was before him a jug of water. He then wished for food and the next moment there was before him a plate full of the most delicious varieties of food. He ate his fill and feeling heavy wished for a bed and there was a bed laid for him. But this too ready fulfilment of all his wishes unnerved the man. He felt frightened. There might be a ghost about here, he said. And immediately he was confronted by a ghost. So runs a parable. The point is that the workers must have full faith in their wish-fulfilling tree, the people, and never doubt their capacity to fulfil all that they may ask for. The Lord says in the Gita, "In whatever ways men resort to me, even so do I render to them." It is the same with the people.

For example, the Communists who have no such faith will not get any land. They do not believe in the change of heart; they believe in cutting off the heads of their supposed opponents. But did Marx cut off their heads to convert them to his point of view? Is it not that they just read his books, were struck by the correctness of his theory, thought over it and became converted to

it? In that case, they themselves exemplify the truth of the change of heart.

A man's heart, we must understand, is always good at the core. It may get rusted on the outside on account of various external factors but its internal goodness remains always the same, whatever the outward appearance. It is, as I often say, like a head of cabbage whose outer layers may go bad but the inside layers retain their freshness. The workers should have firm faith in this internal goodness and strive to reach for it undismayed by the outward appearances.

(Adapted from the original in Hindi)

TEMPLE ENTRY OF HARIJANS

(By Suresh Ramabhad)

The attack of the Pandas (priests) of the Vaidyanathdham temple at Deoghar in Bihar on Shri Vinoba and his party, who had entered the holy shrine at the Head Panda's request but were calmly leaving the precincts as the Lord's Darshan was disallowed to the Harijans in the troupe, was a blessing in disguise. It awakened the country to the issue of Harijan-entry into our temples and showed that the malady had crept far deeper than suspected. The happiest consequence of it has been to set people athinking about it and not to let this disease linger on in our country any more.

Perhaps all of us do not know that some of the most important temples in North India are yet closed to the Harijans. No Harijan can go to and touch the sacred idol in the famous temples of such hallowed places of worship as Benares (Kashi), Allahabad (Prayag), Gaya and Puri.

The general behaviour of the Panda community is too well known to be enumerated here. Not long ago a rich Brahman family from Maharashtra met its doom at Benares. Some pilgrims from farther South came to Allahabad and could never return. Events like these have resulted in the grim fact that pilgrims visiting our holy shrines return with their faith decreased if not gone altogether.

I had the occasion to point this truth out at a Gandhi-Jayanti function held at Daraganj (Allahabad) on October 2 last. Fortunately, the audience included Pandas. After I left the place one of them followed me for, according to him, I had said something unbecoming to his community. But he was soon disarmed by a friend of his. Another Panda, however, accompanied me to a place where both of us had to go. He is an old Congressman as well. He told me that his community was very much pained at the treatment meted to Vinoba and that what I had said in my speech a little earlier was not all correct. He went on to state that Pandas were quite alive to public opinion, but there were a few amongst them (about half a dozen at Allahabad) who did not keep pace with their colleagues. He added that these six were out to use all fair and foul means, cajole, coax or loot in order to betray the

innocent pilgrim and were responsible for most of the evil. I asked him whether they could not be weaned from their ill ways by him and his friends. He pleaded helplessness for, he maintained, those six were very rich and influential and had connections with high and higher authorities. To me it was a revelation.

At Benares, Baba Raghavadas is trying to get the Kashi Vishwanath temple open to the Harijans. There two arguments are held forth in opposition to the plea of Harijan-entry into the Kashi temple: (i) In a secular State those holding particular religious beliefs vis-a-vis the entry of Harijans into temples must be allowed a full and free hand and be not interfered with at all; (ii) it is not so much the anxiety of Harijans to enter the temples as of some of the so-called 'leaders' to earn cheap notoriety by forcing Harijans into the temples. Manifestly, both the arguments are fallacious and have no bottom to them. Baba Raghavadas is busy conducting parleys with temple authorities. Let us hope that they would succeed and Kashi Vishwanath temple be soon declared open to all. But one must also be prepared for a failure of the talks. As the Allahabad Panda's remarks bear out, the issue is not so easy of solution.

Boiled down, the following points are clear from the situation:

(a) A majority of Pandas are in favour of Harijan temple entry;

(b) A minority, and a powerful minority, is deadly opposed to it;

(c) This minority commands the resources of money and wealth as also influence among official circles. Perhaps it has also at its disposal a nefarious gang of Goondas whom it employs according to its pleasure.

Obviously, the few powerful priests can easily threaten their brethren and prevail upon them. Possibly they may also count upon some support in the RSS, Jan Sangh or Rama Raj Parishad circles. But it cannot be gainsaid that their most effective ally is the Police.

An idea of the insurmountable barriers facing a public worker in this domain can be had from the above. Of course, given the indomitable will of the workers and the resolve of the Harijans, nothing can stop them from reaching the goal. Yet the task would be rendered far easier if the Government deal strictly with their own officers, specially those in the Police, and see to it that the priestly class obtains no co-operation, tacit or otherwise, from the Police or civil authorities.

I have one more suggestion to offer. Our President, Governors and Ministers (in their official capacity) frequently visit temples or perform *puja*. In several ceremonies a priest is conspicuously present. Could these dignitaries observe the general rule of neither entering any temple closed to the Harijans nor of attending any ceremony exclusively presided over by a priest, it

would go a long way in purifying the air in and about our religious places.

In the last resort, it is the pressure of sound public opinion that would eliminate the untouchability curse from our country.

Allahabad, 26-11-'53

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF A VILLAGE (By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A correspondent from Upleta in Saurashtra sends me an estimate of expenditure that the town undergoes annually. Undoubtedly it is not as a result of a scientific economic inquiry; it seems to be a rough working estimate that he arrived at by a broad survey based on information he collected from various sources in the village. However it might well serve as a basis for observing, very generally though, the trends of the village economy.

The estimate of annual expenditure he has given is as follows:

Head of Expenditure	In Lakhs
Tea at Home	7
Hotel Tea	7
Cereals	14
Cloth	7
Ghee	2
Milk	.5
Oil and Vanaspati	3
Tobacco	2
Pan-Sopari	1
Education	1
Total	44.5

He says that the population of the town is 23,600. Hence per capita annual expenditure in the town last year was Rs 189/-, or Rs 15-12-0 per month. He has not calculated miscellaneous expenses like matches, salt, condiments, firewood etc. We may say in round figures that, adding these, the monthly bill for an individual will be, say Rs 20/-.

It is indicative of our habit of tea-drinking to note that the village spends for it an amount equal to that for cereals. Again the tea-bill is equally divided between the home and the hotel, which shows what a lucrative profession hotel-keeping is.

Total expenses for tea, Pan and tobacco is 17 lakhs, i.e. 38 per cent of the annual bill—a very prodigal charge indeed for an avoidable and unhealthy habit.

The per capita annual expense for cloth need is Rs 30/-.

Charge for education is very low. The correspondent says that it is not based on any reliable data, but is only included as an item that should not be missed.

He has not mentioned expenditure for medical aid. If people are careful to take preventive means they might well have no medical bill. However, they would be required to spend some money for sanitation and hygiene, which must be added to the above list of heads.

Let us, in the way in which the above figures are given, put it that in all Rs 25/- will be the monthly per capita bill, which comes to Rs 300/- annually, or 70 lakhs for the whole village. It is worth while to know what income Upleta has. The correspondent has not given that.

And it is also interesting to know what might be the per capita national income at present.

It will be very helpful and instructive if our villages get their estimate of their annual income and expenditure in this way. It will at least be very good social education for the whole village, from which it can profit in various ways. A few years ago, the Gujarat Vidyapith had held an economic inquiry of the village Shertha in North Gujarat. But that was during pre-war economy days. A similar venture might be repeated with profit now. I have before me the results of an inquiry of a village in South India, which is being studied at present. I hope to tell the reader about it if I find something worth in it.

12-11-'53

(From the original in Gujarati)

PALM GUR DEVELOPMENT

(Scheme for 1953-54)

The development of the palm gur industry has already been taken in hand in various States, with subsidies being granted and technical guidance given by the Central Government since 1948. The present production of palm gur is in the neighbourhood of nine lakh maunds during the year. The existing employment in the industry is for about two lakh persons and additional employment accruing from the increased production of palm gur would be for about 35,000 persons.

It should be noted that the industry was originally confined to the three States of Madras, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal traditionally, and as a result of the Central Government's efforts the industry has now been extended to about 14 States in the Union.

So far, training has remained the chief activity under the development schemes in the other States. Those trained have increasingly taken to production.

The results in respect of production would have been more encouraging but for certain handicaps caused occasionally by delay in the grant of permission to tap the trees in dry areas because of prohibition and in wet areas because of the fear of loss of excise revenue.

The full results of the efforts made and expenditure incurred in the States so far have yet to be fully realized. Hence it is essential to continue the existing schemes and on the basis of experience to extend the programme by making available subsidies and other forms of assistance.

It has been the experience hitherto that efforts devoted merely to increasing production are not enough to accelerate development. Improving the quality of the existing production is equally essential. Accordingly, a certain emphasis has been laid on this aspect in the development schemes in Madras, Travancore-Cochin and Bengal. The qualitative improvement would naturally increase demands from the consumers and indirectly result in encouraging increased production. For this purpose, provision is made in the budget for extension of training facilities and for the carrying on of propaganda for improvement of the standard of production.

(From a bulletin issued by the A. I. K. & V. I. Board, Bombay).

A QUESTION

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri M. P. T. Acharya asks, "Landlords, bankers, businessmen, manufacturers and States starve economically millions in the name of non-violence. Why should these not starve this minority economically a little to bring them to mend their ways?"

Yes, the starving millions have all right to say a courageous bold 'nay' and refuse to submit to the humiliating inflictions of the economically powerful few. It was such a great refusal which was called Non-violent Non-co-operation by Gandhiji. The millions surely cannot resist, in any successful manner, by violence; they must understand this even in their own interest, because violence will defeat the very purpose they wish to serve. Only a non-violent way stands the chance to succeed; and properly undertaken, it has the surest chance. The big condition for it is that the millions must be organized to undertake non-violent N.C.O. It requires the closest co-operation amongst themselves and the largest measure of self-help and mutual aid. They have, by training, to grow to achieve that. Given this, the might of the State even will be powerless to defeat them. Can we do that? Are we trying to work for it? Have the millions understood the immense strength they possess, only if they know it? Non-violent N.C.O. is the non-violent edition of the 'General Strike' in the Gandhian armoury. It is a terrible weapon requiring preparations equally terrible to its users—a very healthy and necessary check for the use of such a weapon.

7-12-'53

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