

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

## BHOOMI-YAJNA JAYANTI

Vinoba commenced from Pauran his North Indian tour for *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* and the 57th year of his life on 11th September, 1951.\* A PTI message from Jabalpur says that elaborate arrangements are being made at Kareli (about 60 miles from Jabalpur in M.P.) to celebrate Bhoomi-Yajna Jayanti on 11th September next. The Jayanti is being organized to give an impetus to his *Prajasuya-Yajna*.

I believe that this is a good idea and workers all over the country may make use of this day to spread the message of *bhoo-dan* far and wide, and exhort owners of lands to share their lands with those who have none.

I implore every owner of land to ponder deeply over the undeniable truth that like air and water, earth must belong to all. It should be shared by all and worked upon for the benefit of all. Since this fundamental principle has not been respected, and a free gift of nature has been in the possession of a few though coveted by many, the earth has been incessantly torn by wars and murders.

Sons have killed fathers, and brothers have murdered brothers for getting exclusive ownership of a small plot of land. Kingdoms have arisen and fallen for the sake of land. We cannot have peace and amity and the welfare of all, as long as we persistently stick to the idea of private ownership of land.

A time will come, and I hope it will not take long to come, when the land of the whole world will be possessed in common by all the peoples of the world; and every man who is willing to work upon it, will be allowed to do so, irrespective even of his race or nationality. This will lead to an equal spread-over of humanity on the Earth.

Let us begin this process by methods peculiar to our philosophy and culture; i.e. by *tapas*, *yajna* and *dana*; or by voluntary action.

The landless have patiently carried on their *tapas* for centuries and centuries. If they have become exhausted and impatient now, they cannot be found fault with. Let the *tapas* be continued on their behalf by workers now. The *yajna*

has been already started by Vinoba and his committees. May the owners of land bring their *dana* in abundance for the completion of the process.

Vinoba is exhausting himself in his 'do or die' mission. He does not move on, on the physical strength of his frail limbs. It is the Spirit that sustains him. Let us all pray for him, work for him, and respond generously to his appeal.

Wardha, 28-8-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH TOUR—XI

From Fatehpur to Raibareilly—7th to 16th June, 1952

### The Eternal Mahatma

The Bundelkhand tour over, Vinoba entered the Fatehpur District on June 7. Lying between the Ganga and the Yamuna, this district is very fertile. We gave it five days. The first halt was at Kishanpur. In the afternoon prayer meeting, instead of speaking over the loud speaker, Vinoba took up his position standing in midst of the assembly. This day thirty-six years ago, he had first seen Bapu. Naturally he remembered him. In two short sentences, he brought out the entire depth of his relationship with him.

"I was a young boy then. I have been obediently following him ever since."

Not only is he obediently following him, he is also carrying his work further on from the point where Bapu had left it. This reminded me of a conversation between two Bundelkhand *kisans* whom I had overheard.

"Do you know who is going?"—"Vinobaji."

"Oh no, he is Mahatmaj!" "But Mahatmaj is no more. He is Vinobaji."

"But you forget that Mahatmas never die."

And I said to myself: Look at the profundity of spiritual understanding of this poor Indian peasant. He knows that Mahatmas never die.

And Vinobaji has demonstrated that the Mahatma is not dead. He is, eternally he is.

And those words continue to ring in my ears: "I have been obediently following him ever since."

### Equality and Equanimity

In our Bundelkhand tour we had in our company one, whose earlier life was spent in highway robbery, loot and murder. The Government had once declared a five thousand rupees price for his arrest. But then there came a change in his life and for the last ten years, he has been spending his days in quiet contemplation and meditation as also in service to those about him. He is a devotee of Shri Arvind. He asked Vinobaji whether along with the equality of wealth, he would also attempt to bring about the equanimity of the mind, the *samyak* of the Gita. Vinobaji said, "Essentially our efforts are directed to the attainment of the equanimity of the mind. We have all within us the same *atma* and it is equally extended everywhere. This is the fundamental of spiritual wisdom, and it can and should be realized by appropriate *sadhana*, that is,

\* As usually happens every 19 years, this date closely approximates the date of his birth according to the Hindu calendar, which is Bhadrpad (in North India Ashvin) Vadi 7th, while this year it will be 8th.

spiritual striving. The real question is how to attain the equanimity of the mind."

Relating an anecdote from Buddha's life, he said, "Once the disciples of Bhagwan Buddha brought someone to him and requested him to speak to that person about the *atma*. The Buddha asked the disciples to feed the man. The man was very much emaciated and looked hungry. After he had had food and rest, he was again ushered in Buddha's presence. And all that Buddha did was to ask the man to go his way. The disciples were surprised. Buddha explained that the best thing they could do to a hungry man was to feed him. If we preach that the *atma* resides in us all, we must also practise the preaching. Action is the most effective medium of preaching the truth we have. Words cannot reach the level of action. The real teacher preaches by action. The equity of mind can come only if we, who strive for it, establish equality with those who are poor and unhappy and down-trodden. The mother has to bend herself down to lift up her child. We should put ourselves in the position of those who are below us in any way. Let us first be humble and realize unity with the lowliest and the lost. Let us sacrifice our life in the service of Vedanta." He then asked, "Will you advise me to stop wandering and repair to a lonely cave as an ascetic would do, and feed myself by begging for alms and spend my time in meditation? I do not deny that sort of thing. It is good. But this is not the time for it. It is not merely by counting beads that one can get the concentration of mind. Concentration of the mind can be realized even on the *charkha* or the water-wheel. The *sadhana* and the *mantra*, the great liberating word of our times, is service: Service with our hands, with Rama in the heart and his name on the lips."

### Feeling of Helplessness

In the course of the meeting a peasant stood up in his place to say something. The workers beckoned to him to sit down. Vinobaji asked them to let him speak. He said piteously, "Maharaj, the poor are being robbed of their lands. And there is none to listen to their sorrows." Vinobaji consoled him and said, "We have come here for rendering you service. But why should you, why should the poor feel so helpless or look so piteous? Undoubtedly the rich and the better-placed are cheating you and defrauding you of your due. But you can resist them. Only you should preserve your goodness and not be lured into following their evil ways out of a spirit of retaliation or unthinking imitation. We should be honest and never resort to lying, and keep away from the drink evil. I want the poor to understand that the future belongs to them, and they should awaken and prepare themselves for shouldering the duties of that glorious day. But awakening does not mean parading the streets and crowding in front of the residences of the rich and shouting slogans. No, you have other and more important tasks awaiting your attention. We have got to give up evil habits, and cleanse our hearts and go forward steadily with the Lord in our hearts as our unerring light and guide. It is your *tapasya*, the suffering you have quietly borne for ages, which inspires me and compels me to go about thus. No other power could have drawn me out, from my sequestered life at my retreat. I therefore urge you not to entertain the feeling of helplessness and a passive submission to injustice."

### Other Economic Problems

At Kishanpur, the workers asked: "There are other sectors of economic life besides land which are as greatly ridden with inequalities. What do you propose to do about them?"

Vinobaji said: "Let us first grow strong. Then we may go and undertake to set things right in whichever sector we find injustice. There is no dearth of problems in our country. Problems of peasants, of labourers, of refugees, of the resettlement of criminal tribes, a regular medley of problems. India is a museum of problems."

### Ceiling of Holdings

A Socialist asked: "Even after *bhoodan*, the Zamindars will still be left with more land than what they should. In fact, none should have more than thirty acres." Vinobaji said, "Let us first try to secure land for the landless. Let us begin at this end and proceed forward and you will find that none will have even thirty acres."

### Satyagraha for Land

Vinobaji has often explained his idea of Satyagraha and its place in his present programme. He holds that his present efforts are but a form of Satyagraha, though he had not excluded the possibility of outer Satyagraha if a need arose for it. But the question was again raised here. Vinobaji answered, "There are three ways of solving the land problem: legislation, land-gifts and violence. I have often said that if we work for the land-gifts programme with faith and in a spirit of complete humility free from any taint of egotism, there will be no need for external Satyagraha. However assuming that the contingency does arise, the atmosphere we will have created by our efforts for land-gifts, will be extremely helpful for conducting a successful Satyagraha. If ever I embark on Satyagraha I will do it at such time and in such manner that none will have the heart to oppose it. Everyone will have sympathy for it. Such Satyagraha shall not fail in its purpose. Rama does not speak twice, nor does he shoot twice to pierce the same target. This is my conception of the spirit and form of Satyagraha."

### A Poor Man's Gift

It was past 8-30 in the evening. We were making ready for rest when a *kisan* came to see Vinoba. He was gasping for breath, evidently he had come running to be in time. He was feeling nervous as he bowed. Vinoba put him at ease by some friendly questions. Then he revealed that though he had not been able to attend the meeting, he still wanted to contribute his share to the land-gifts. He had seven *bighas*, and he wanted to give two of them.

From my seat nearby I was looking with amazement at the devotion of the poor man. It is now fourteen months since the movement started and I have witnessed scores of these miracles of faith and devotion. And the wonder grows with every holy incident. Who, after all, inspires these Sudamas\* and Shabaris† to bring their presents to the *yajna*?

A forty member committee was appointed in Fatehpur for collecting land-gifts from the district. The members individually declared the quotas which each of them would raise. They also resolved to collect twenty thousand acres by the end of June. During the tour of the district we secured 9,652 acres from 620 donors. The maximum contribution per village in this district was from the village Khaga. 41 donors offered 1,740 acres.

Our last halt in the district was Mauzmadabad. We were lodged in a good well-ventilated house on a hillock commanding a nice view of the glittering expanse of the Ganga. The leave-taking in the early hours of our last day in those beautiful and serene surroundings and following the morning prayer was almost an ecstatic experience.

### Raibareli District

There was deep silence for some time, almost a spell of trance. The Fatehpur people bade adieu and we left in the company of the friends from Raibareli, who had come to receive us. Some one broke forth the tunes of the well-known *bhajan*, "*Sant param hitkari*" (Saints are the best friends of life). The party joined, while from the other side arose the swaying notes of *Rama-dhun*. We arrived at Rajhat, in front of a Shiva temple. A meeting followed and Rana Swayambar Singh announced his donation of four thousand *bighas*, by way of giving

\*A poor school-mate of Krishna who, when he visited Krishna, presented to him a handful of rice, a mighty royal personage as Krishna was.

†A forest woman who entertained Rama with forest berries.



welcome to the spokesman of the Daridranarayan. It was a good beginning. Accepting the donation, Vinobaji said, "I expect one lakh acres from Raibarelli. We have received about two and a half lakh acres in the course of fourteen months. Rama had to wander in forests for fourteen years. I should therefore have patience. But I must get help from the workers. I cannot go to every village. It is for the workers to reach every village. And if you do so, you will know that people are not averse to giving. We must fulfil our resolve, then only shall we get to know the all-conquering power of the *atma*." He added, "A great leader of men, Pandit Nehru, has worked in this district. Therefore the demand for one lakh acres, which we have made of you, is not to be considered too big."

The example of generosity and zeal in this noble task set by Bundelkhand was kept up by the following districts. There was evidence of an increasing enthusiasm among the people. From morn till eve, there was an unending stream of donors coming to us: Talukdars, Zamindars, and ordinary peasants. The R.S.S. contributed a good portion of our total collections in this district, that is, two thousand acres.

### Donor Comes Searching

This happened in Lalganj, our first halt in the district. It was past nine and Vinoba had gone to sleep. A young man, with some papers in his hand, came in searching for me. Some one had told him, that in case Vinobaji was asleep, he should meet me. He had been much impressed by the speech that evening. He had no land. But he had 300 square feet of land, a good plot, in the middle of the town—Lalganj is a trade-centre—and he had brought us a gift-deed donating it to *bhoodan*.

It has been our experience in every district that in the beginning the workers have some doubts about the movement. It is so, because they do not read the *bhoodan* literature attentively. But once they have them cleared by Vinoba, they take to the work with redoubled vigour. The workers at Raibarelli had doubts regarding the distribution of land.

### Procedure of Distribution

Vinobaji has formulated a certain preliminary procedure to be followed before distributing land to the landless. For example, the village people are to be informed seven days in advance of a date on which the function of land-distribution is to be held in their village. They are reminded of it by an announcement a day previous to the appointed date. All the village people assemble in a meeting and in their presence recipients of gifted land are selected. If the number of the landless was greater than the gifted land can accommodate, the donees are to be selected by the candidates themselves, etc. So when a doubt was expressed about the distribution of land, Vinoba said, "The members of the Land Distributing Committee are only a witness. I can entrust the work of distributing land to any person, even to him who is regarded as an adversary. For what risk can there be when land is to be distributed in the presence of all the people of the village and according to our rules? If it was to be distributed in private, there can be room for corruption etc. So far I have received no complaint from the Hyderabad State or any other place against the distribution of land that has taken place there."

### Will the Movement Succeed?

In reply to a question whether he hoped that his mission would succeed, Vinoba said that he had every hope about it. He added, "If you go to the Gangotri and ask whether it hoped to meet the sea, what would be its reply? So far as I myself am concerned, I shall say that so long as my work is not finished, and so long as God gives strength to my feet to move, I will continue to walk. If, in the meanwhile, my own problem is solved before the land problem is solved, I do not worry. Rama, Krishna, Buddha have come and gone before us, and the problems of the world still remain unsolved. This is all a long-drawn drama of God. I do not worry about solutions of problems. Mine is to see whether the course I have

adopted is right and capable of being effective. If you do not want to go that way, who can compel you?"

A friend said that the land that he received in donation included much bad land. Vinoba instantly replied, "Lord Krishna had sanctified Kubja along with Rukmini and purged her of her ugliness and deformities and endowed her with beauty. All land we have received is ultimately to turn into good cultivable land."

### Theory of Degeneration

In reply to another friend who suggested that our country had much degenerated in the last four or five years, Shri Vinoba expressed his disagreement with him and said that the process of degeneration of a nation was a long-period one taking centuries. Five years was too small a period. The present evils were the outcome of economic causes. They were symptomatic of the diseased economic structure of society. He explained the method of judging whether a society had made progress or degenerated during a particular period and quoted an experience of his tour: "A devotee wanted Lord Buddha to pass four months of the rainy season in his place, Shravasti. He could get land for the residence of even such a great man, only when he paid its heavy price by covering the entire area wanted by him with gold coins. But that very Shravasti gave a hundred acres of land in donation to an insignificant man like me. This incident is a pointer whether our society has progressed or degenerated."

Analysing the causes of the present economic evils, Shri Vinoba said:

"The truth is that our society has not degenerated. But the root of the present evils is the present currency, which is unrelated either to production or labour. When such a baseless currency is inflated, the people succumb to its temptations."

### What Is Mass Contact?

Workers had met at Jayasi, our last halt in the Raibarelli District. They pledged themselves to collect 25 thousand acres by 30th June, 1952 and a lakh acres in the next year. Vinoba had frank and free talks with them. He impressed upon them that the need of the hour for all organizations whether it was Congress or any other body was purity and sacrifice. Without these virtues their work would not have life and be effective. He exhorted them to go to the villages and plunge themselves in the service of the villagers. They should feel that they were there ready to mitigate their miseries. This was real mass contact. It was no mass contact to enrol oneself as a member and pay four annas as its membership fee. This did not strengthen a party. It was wrong to believe if one political party became strong, other parties would necessarily become weaker. There was no such fear in constructive work. He was not speaking about elections. In the constructive field work alone strengthened every party and institution.

He appealed to them to volunteer their services and apply themselves in *Bhoodan-Yajna*, as all political parties had pledged to lend their co-operation to his mission. This meeting in the birth-place of the celebrated poet Jayasi represented every political party and community and government officers. It was clear that the *Bhoodan-Yajna* had attracted every party and given them a vivid realization of the revolutionary potentiality of non-violence. He had always believed that there was enough potential power in non-violence to find its way through the toughest situation.

Regarding the pledge of U.P. to collect 5 lakh acres, he said, "If I can leave U.P. for Bihar after it had fulfilled its pledge, it will have a good influence on the country and the world. It will also inspire self-confidence in its workers. Constructive workers who were experiencing a feeling of frustration for a short while will be revitalized with new life in them. All parties are co-operating with us in this mission. I trust this united effort will go a long way to remove mutual differences, and will show us the way to work in unison."

(Abridged and translated from Hindi)

D. M.

# HARIJAN

Sept. 6

1952

## VILLAGE INDUSTRIES — THE ONLY WAY \*

(By Vinoba)

### Famine Conditions of Gorakhpur and Deoria

You are aware of the difficult famine conditions which have overtaken Gorakhpur and Deoria. The newspapers are full of harrowing reports of the sufferings of the people there. Yesterday a worker who had himself toured the area gave me his personal impressions of the gravity of the situation. I need not relate to you all that he told me. For every one has realized by now that the situation needs immediate relief. But I want you to ponder over a disturbing aspect of this situation. It is this: **Though there is enough food there to go round, the people cannot purchase it; because they lack purchasing power.**

What does this mean? It is not a new thing to us. Constructive workers have been urging from the beginning that there is no solution to India's difficulties apart from village industries. It is a simple truth which should be evident to anyone who would care to see it. But, unfortunately, it is not perceived, and a wall of economic controversy is raised to shut the light out. These discussions do not interest me. I say simply: *Give work to the villagers, if not by village industries, by other means, by machines if you like. But machines are not making their appearance, and the people continue to suffer from want of work. And I claim that work cannot be provided to the rural people except through village industries.* But if they want to let things drift on and troubles increase, I can have nothing to say. But if they have an appreciation of the gravity of the situation, they should, like wise men, make use of what means are available to the villagers, and set them to work.

*Mechanized industries should not be allowed to compete with village industries; otherwise the latter cannot subsist.* Famines and the like will continue to raise their head in one or the other part of India every year. We must therefore have a permanent solution for this. Agriculture by itself cannot support the rural population. **We must therefore insist upon village industries.**

### Rajaji's Demand

Rajaji has recently raised his voice on behalf of the weavers. In spite of difficulties, weavers have managed to subsist to this day. The mills stand pitted against them. They have been weaving (*dhotis* and) *sarees* all along, and people like these hand-woven garments; but the mills have now usurped their work. Rajaji has demanded that the weaving of (*dhotis* and) *sarees*

should be reserved for the weavers, whose number is one for every twelve of the population. They have been engaged in this trade from times immemorial. And they have faced enormous odds in their way but they have endured them and managed to get on with a tenacity which is characteristic of our people. Rajaji has therefore raised his voice in a just cause, and the suggestion he has put forth should be readily complied with. Academic quibbling about economic efficiency (i.e. cheapness etc.) should not be allowed to stand in the way.

### The Criterion of Cheapness

It is contended that the mill-cloth is cheaper. But that is an illusion born of the spell of machine-based economy which has shut our eyes to truth. The mills displace thousands from their economic moorings and force them into unemployment. Let us charge the cost of the maintenance of these thousands and lakhs of unemployed to the mills and then find out whether the mill-cloth is really cheap. It is clear that the cheapness of the mill-cloth is only an appearance.

In fact Khadi is not dear. It may be that the same cloth which in its mill-made form is priced Rs 15/- only may cost Rs 25/- in Khadi. But the excess of Rs 10/- goes to support our village brethren. And that is an important consideration. On the other hand, all the money spent on mill-cloth goes to swell the pockets of the mill-owners.

Therefore if Government hesitates applying restrictions on the mills, it is clear that they are incapable of doing anything for the poor although the poor have voted them to power and although they profess solicitude for them. And it will be said, not without justification, that the mill-owners have pulled with the Government, and the Government are much under their thumb.

### The Need of Restrictions on Mills

The Government do talk of providing work to the poor. What they have in mind is the construction of roads and canals and such other things. But they forget that these things cannot make for permanent or lasting employment. For that, there is no way other than that of taking to village industries. In the course of a few years, we shall have to organize village industries on a countrywide scale. Hence, restrictions will have to be placed on the mills, although the mill-interests have well consolidated their strength. Without placing restrictions on them, village industries cannot thrive.

Some say that we want to develop agriculture in a thorough manner. They are welcome to do so. But that too cannot be done without proper aids and means. And it will be some time before these aids are made available. In the meanwhile, the production can be stepped up only through village methods and means. We have democracy in our country, the Government derives its authority from the people. The people should therefore join in giving a clear call to the

\* Post-prayer speech at Banaras on 10-8-52.



Government that they must organize and promote village industries.

### Unconscious Callousness of Poor Man's Friends

The worker whom I referred to in the beginning was clad in mill-cloth. I told him, he was a cruel man. He must also play his part in this vast effort. If those who clamour for the redress of these conditions fail to do their obvious duty, their grieving over the deteriorating conditions in the villages is useless. It is evident that if they are sincere in their sympathy for the victims of these conditions they should make use of Khadi and other village products. I do not suggest they are consciously callous. Perhaps they are not aware of this anomaly. But this is even more tragic than callousness. For while a known callousness has a chance of eliminating itself through effort and change of heart, an unconscious one may continue for ever.

### Conditions in Bihar

These conditions are not confined to this or that part of the country. Everywhere, at numerous places our people are living a precarious existence between life and death. Consider what is happening in Bihar. The position in Bihar is a strange one. Large stocks of Khadi have accumulated there, — Khadi, which was manufactured as a relief measure. The Bihar Government must accept the responsibility for its sale and disposal. But they are not doing it. How are the poor to be helped then?

### No Alternative to Khadi

I ask of those who are not convinced of the utility of Khadi to show me the alternative way. Gandhiji had not studied economics, but he had seen the poverty of the country with his own eyes, and had identified himself with the poor. This revealed to him the importance of Khadi. I claim that I know my villages and their poverty. And like him, I have realized that Khadi and village industries are the only means of fighting this chronic poverty. I have no fatuous attachment for village industries. But I do admit of one attachment — the attachment to the ideal of freedom from hunger and want. Every one must get food and clothing. And when I find that though the Government talk of mechanized industries, but show no tangible results, I feel I should ask them to be awake betimes and take to village industries. And I am sure that the village industries will certainly show them a way out of our difficulties.

(From the Hindi report of D. M.)

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### INCIDENCE OF SALES TAX

[The following two statements show the incidence of Sales Tax under the multi-point system as compared with the existing single-point one, on a family of 150 to 170 income-group in Bombay City.]

#### Statement I

(Source: Compiled from the Bombay Government Labour Gazette and represents the cost during April 1952).

Average monthly expenditure on different items of a working class family (of four members) in Bombay City

Items	Total monthly expenditure			Expenditure on items liable to Sales Tax		
	Rs	As	Ps	Rs	As	Ps
Food ..	89	14	9	14	7	0
Fuel and lighting ..	17	1	8	nil		
Clothing ..	12	8	5	8	2	11
House rent ..	6	5	11	nil		
Miscellaneous ..	29	5	3	7	6	11
	Rs 155	4	0	Rs 30	0	10

Rs As Ps

I. Amount of tax paid per month under the existing Act .. 0 15 6

II. Amount of tax payable per month under the proposed multi-point tax

A. On the basis of 30% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price

(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of multi-point tax will be 7.5 pies in the rupee) .. 1 2 9

(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of multi-point tax will be 10.2 pies per rupee) .. 1 9 6

B. On the basis of 25% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price

(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 7.8 pies per rupee) .. 1 3 6

(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 10.6 pies per rupee) .. 1 10 6

The additional burden from the multi-point tax will not exceed Re 0-11-0 per month per working class family consisting of four members in Bombay City, even if we assume the margin of profit to be 25 per cent and the stages of sales as four. In other words, the extra burden will be only Re 0-2-9 per month on a working class person.

#### Statement II

(Source: Report on the Survey into the Economic Conditions of Middle Class Families in Bombay issued by the Indian Statistical Institute in 1951).

Average monthly expenditure on different items of a middle class family (of four members)

Items	Total monthly expenditure		Expenditure on items liable to Sales Tax	
	Rs.		Rs.	
Food ..	32.88		5.6	
Fuel ..	3.19		nil	
Clothing and footwear ..	6.09		4.0	
Rent and electricity ..	27.95		nil	
Services ..	20.36		nil	
Conveyance ..	8.74		nil	
Amusements and				
Recreations ..	3.08		nil	
Cigarettes, tobacco,				
snuff, etc. ..	4.86		nil	
Educational expense ..	9.57		1.5	

Medical expenses ..	10.37 (including doctor's fees)	5.2 (for medicines and tonic)
Interest on loans	0.58	nil
Religious ceremonies and festivals ..	13.63 (inclusive of fees to priests, gifts to temples and dietary articles etc.)	4.2
Donations and Charities ..	1.38	nil
Subscriptions to Associations ..	0.64	nil
Travels ..	8.58	nil
Repairs to house, property etc. ..	1.98	nil
Presents ..	3.08 (presents in cash and kind)	2.0 (presents in kind)
Other Miscellaneous items ..	18.51	11.7
	175.47	34.2

Rs As Ps

I. Amount of tax paid per month under the existing Act .. .. . 1 1 0

II. Amount of tax payable per month under the proposed multi-point tax

A. On the basis of 30% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price.

(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of multi-point tax will be 7.5 in the rupee) .. .. . 1 5 3

(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of multi-point tax will be 10.2 pies per rupee) .. .. . 1 12 11

B. On the basis of 25% difference between the manufacturer's or importer's price and the retail price

(i) assuming that there are three stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 7.8 pies per rupee) .. .. . 1 6 1

(ii) assuming that there are four stages of sales (the rate of tax will be 10.6 pies per rupee) .. .. . 1 14 0

The net additional burden from the multi-point tax will therefore be Re 0-13-0 per family even if we assume that the margin of profit is only 25 per cent and the stages of sales are four. In other words, the additional cost for every middle class person will not exceed Re 0-3-3, as the family has been taken to consist of four persons.

#### **Eighth Nai Talim Conference**

It has been decided to hold the Eighth All India Nai Talim Conference at Sevagram from the 27th October to the 1st November, 1952. The first three days will be devoted to the special Conference of the field workers of Nai Talim and the last three days to the General Conference covering Pre-Basic, Basic, Post-Basic and Adult Education. An exhibition of Nai Talim will also be organized as an integral part of the Conference.

It is expected that the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, will meet the delegates to the Conference on November 1, and also inaugurate the Sevagram Rural University.

Workers of Nai Talim are cordially invited to take part in the Conference. The organizers will be grateful for an early intimation of your participation in the Conference so that the necessary arrangements can be made.

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM  
Secretary,  
Hindustani Talimi Sangh  
Sevagram, Wardha

## **THE COMPLAINT OF MANBHUM**

(By Bhajahari Mahato)

[The following speech was delivered in Hindi in the House of the People on the 12th July 1952 by Shri Bhajahari Mahato, M.P. (Lok Sevak Sangha, Manbhum) from Bihar in connection with the resolution regarding linguistic redistribution of provinces.—Atul Chandra Ghosh.]

I am a resident of Manbhum. My mother tongue is Bengali. I do not know English altogether. My knowledge in Hindi also is almost nil. Having got the luck of jail life in the British regime I took the opportunity of studying Hindi to a little extent. Thereafter outside jail I was trying to learn Hindi. But the overzealous Hindi fadists having made the situation in Manbhum so disturbed for the purpose of forcibly foisting Hindi on Manbhum that we are now busily engaged in facing the repressions following in its wake, and there is no peaceful situation there for the study of Hindi. Though my knowledge of Hindi is very meagre I am trying anyhow to express myself in Hindi as it is our national language. I hope you would excuse me for the mistakes I commit in doing so.

The question of linguistic redistribution of provinces is very important in regard to Manbhum, as there is going on a reign of repression on this issue. We have never seen this question of linguistic redistribution of provinces with an outlook of provincialism. We in Manbhum have all along worked with amity towards all the communities and sects. We were in the Congress and have built the same in our district. And under the leadership of Atul Babu we were working in that way all the while; but we were compelled to quit the Congress. So we have always viewed the question of linguistic redistribution with the outlook of administrative facilities in the light of Gandhiji's teachings and judgment, and not with an outlook of provincialism. Yet we ourselves have never raised this matter, for we thought that the leaders of India would themselves take steps in this regard. But now we are appealing to the leaders that they should not tarry over the question, but should finish it without delay. Because the unsettlement of this question has brought about such a situation in Manbhum that if it be allowed to continue longer, a revolution is bound to arise amongst the people of Manbhum.

Whenever the demand for redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis is raised, it is attributed to provincialism. But those who lay the charge of provincialism are the persons who are endowed with the administrative power and who themselves, having thus got opportunities to be in power, indulge in provincialism. Our provincial Government is destroying the language of the people of the regions which speak the tongue other than Hindi in order to foist Hindi on them, so that those regions may not go out of the boundaries of the State on the question of redistribution on the linguistic basis. It itself is thus indulging in provincialism.



It is said that the provinces of Bihar and Bengal should settle amongst themselves the problem of the linguistic question concerning Manbhum and such other places. I do not understand how the question may be settled by the complainant and the accused. In the matter of Kashmir, the U.N.O. asks Pakistan and Hindustan to settle amongst themselves. But the Prime Minister of India says that it is not possible; the people of Kashmir would themselves decide their own matter. Yet the Government of India is saying like the U.N.O. "Let this problem of Manbhum be decided by Bengal and Bihar themselves". Like the demand of the Prime Minister regarding Kashmir, we are also demanding that the people of Manbhum be given the right to decide their own future. Though our Lok Sevak Sangha had its own decision regarding the principle of the formation of the provinces on linguistic basis, it has left the matter to the people of Manbhum for their own decision.

The situation of Manbhum is today like that of Pakistan. As oppressions are being committed on the Hindus in Pakistan, similarly the Government of Bihar are behaving invidiously towards the Bengali-speaking people of Manbhum and are oppressing them like Pakistan. It is imperative to settle this issue soon. Inquiry should be made to see if the Government of Bihar is discharging its responsibility of administration in Manbhum properly or not. When the Government is indulging in provincialism and committing oppressions on the language issue, the administration of Manbhum should be taken from the hands of the Government till the issue of language be settled. The Bihar Government has so oppressed the people of Manbhum, that we, the people of Manbhum, are ready to live under any other administration in India, but not under the administration of the Bihar Government, we want to be relieved from it.

*Note:* Of the various political parties, which took part in the last elections, my information is that the Lok Sevak Sangh of Manbhum led by Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh was one of the cleanest in its methods. Out of 11 or 12 seats, it captured 7 in the Bihar Assembly and 2 in the House of the People, and it did this by its sheer popularity among the people without any large funds. I have known Atul Babu personally for a long time. There is no narrow provincialism in him. The trouble in the Manbhum is to a very large measure due to the 'narrow' outlook and high-handed methods of the Bihar Government. If Bihar wants to retain Manbhum within its boundaries, it must stoop to conquer the Bengali-speaking population of that district by love and just dealing. In most of the problems relating to border regions, the impression left on my mind is that the Central Government and the Working Committee have adopted the policy of yielding to the bully among them, or of trying to shelve the question as long as possible. This weakness is bound to injure their reputation.

6-8-'52

K. G. M.

## MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

[The following is taken from the Convocation Address of the Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, (21-8-'52), by its Chancellor, Shri G. S. Bajpai, the Governor of Bombay.]

Modern Ahmedabad, as a busy and expanding hive of industry, might be relatively young. But its past is long and rich alike in the pageantry of history and in human achievement. That an earlier page in its chapter of fame was written in the Muslim period of India's history detracts in no way from the contribution that its people and the people of Gujarat made to its renown. Their shrewdness and foresight in business; their tenacity of purpose fortified by caution; their artistic imagination and skill, all held in unison and inspired by a pride in whatever was distinctive in local colour, culture and achievement made this city what it was, what it is, and what it will be.

Viewed against this historical and psychological background, the establishment of a University of Gujarat was no manifestation of a spirit of narrow regionalism. For the same reason, the recent decision of the University to make Gujarati the medium of instruction for graduate classes is no startling innovation, a manifestation of mere parochialism and vanity. Although I am ignorant of the language, I know that Gujarati literature is rich and vital and Gujarati, as a language, an instrument of elegant and powerful expression, vivid and subtle and moving in its capacity to depict, respectively, scene and mood and emotion. To neglect such a language or assign to it a secondary place in any scheme of education in Gujarat, and at any stage of it, would be a gross injustice to Gujarat and evidence of lack of faith in the future of Indian nationalism which draws its strength from an over-all unity of national purposes as much as from the diversity of its component cultures.

But the impact of Science on language has created a new problem: the humanities, which comprehensively describe literature, philosophy and art have national or even regional characteristics which evolve best in their native media. That beauty is both the test of their quality and a common bond among them, irrespective of the language in which they may be clothed, permits of profound differences of vocabulary and structure. But science is universal in a different sense from beauty: in its theoretical as well as practical aspects, while laws and principles may be common, the need for a ready understanding among workers in the same branch of science makes a common currency of certain terms an essential of progress. I believe that an ingenious and scholarly attempt is being made to derive, from Sanskrit, equivalents of modern scientific terms. If this be successful, it will be simple for us in India to adopt them into every regional language.

But science is something more than a collection of unusual words. Its content, and the rapid

growth of that content — the number of serious scientific articles published almost monthly in large numbers is evidence of this growth — necessitate, both for higher scientific studies and for scientific research, capacity to read this literature in more than one language. German, English and French are part of the equipment of most advanced scientific students and workers. Mathew Arnold called Europe — today he would have included America — a Republic of Letters: India has become a member of the new and vigorous Republic of Science mainly through English. As languages like Gujarati become media of higher education, naturally the emphasis will be on students acquiring mastery of these languages. I have little doubt that, in this University, Gujarati will, before long, become the medium of post-graduate studies. In an article on this University which your Vice-Chancellor has contributed to a popular handbook about Ahmedabad, he has described how a person thinks more naturally and creatively in his mother tongue than in a foreign language. As a broad generalization, this is true. But we must not carry emphasis on this to the point of excluding either the incorporation of foreign terms — capacity for such incorporation or assimilation is proof of the vitality of a language and English is a conspicuous example of assimilative genius — or omitting provision, as an aid to higher studies, for teaching some foreign languages, not only English but others as well.

### NOTES

#### Sarva Seva Sangh

Arthik Samata Mandal

The Sarva Seva Sangh has forwarded the following resolution for publication:

As President of the Patanata Conference held on 30th and 31st May, 1952, Shri Kumarappa had sent a copy of its resolutions to the Sarva Seva Sangh for consideration. The resolutions asked the Sarva Seva Sangh to call upon the Government to take steps before the appointed date to equitably redistribute land and to fix a ceiling on incomes and in case of Government's failure to do so to resort to non-violent action on the expiry of the stipulated period.

The Sangh reiterates as one of its main objects the establishment of economic equality on the basis of social justice. The equitable redistribution of land is indispensable for achieving this object. Shri Vinoba has initiated redistribution of land through non-violent technique and the Sangh has, by a resolution, undertaken upon itself the responsibility of making it a nation-wide movement. In accordance with that resolution the Sangh has placed before the country the programme of collecting 25 lakh acres of land during the next two years and it is concentrating all its energies on its fulfilment. In these circumstances the Sangh calls upon the people and all the constructive workers to concentrate their energy on the fulfilment of this programme. In the opinion of the Sangh this is the most potent programme for the early realization of economic equality.

Sevagram, 24-7-52  
(From Hindi)

VALLABHSWAMI,  
Joint Secretary

#### Land-Gifts

Upto 10-8-52	
Uttar Pradesh	3,04,370 acres nearly
Other States	35,550 „ „
Total	3,39,920 acres nearly

D. M.

### BOTH ARE WORSE

'Probono Publico' from Bombay in his letter to the Editor poses a question which must be answered publicly, even though the writer does it without revealing himself. At the end of a long letter on drink, he asks —

"Which is worse—a man who uses alcohol to his own physical benefit and contributes to the State revenue or the man who prepares poison, deprives Government of its revenue, corrupts the prohibition officers and encourages a new generation of criminals who can afford to spend their time between jails and illicit trade?"

Evidently the questioner refers to a man who drinks licit liquor and another who takes to illicit drink or the boot-legger. I do not subscribe to their description by him. However my answer to his queer poser is very simple and it is that both are worse than a man who does not drink and lives a normal life of a good citizen. While the former is to be pitied and rescued from his ill habit in the formation of which the revenue-covetous are guilty, the latter should be brought to book by the co-operative effort of the people and the Government. None is good for the normal functioning of a good State in India. Again the licit trade in drink by Government must be held equally bad and it should also be stopped, if alcohol is a poison, which it verily is. The difficulty in men of Probono Publico's way of thinking lies in this that they hold drinking as a normal need to be tolerated, even though it is admittedly a socio-economic evil from which we have to save ourselves. Prohibition is not a matter of making men moral by law, as is caricatured by these friends. It is a socio-economic good, which the State cannot but look after. Again it is not a measure in losing money, but is a sure step for an increase in wealth and happiness of the common man. Hence it would be surely criminal for a State to be lured away from this by the easy income from the drink bill of poor and innocent citizens. It would be almost as fatal and foolish as killing a goose that lays a golden egg.

1-9-52

M. P. DESAI

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