

## HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

**PURIFICATION OF THE HEART:  
TEST OF OUR WORK \***

(By Vinoba)

It is sad to reflect that morally we remain much the same as we were before Swaraj. Greed has not left us nor egoistic pride. And we cling as passionately as ever to the sense of individual possession. I want you to understand that so long as we do not give up these faults, we will continue—whether we are conscious of it or not—to disrespect the Lord and in consequence to suffer, as Tulsidas has said, from all the worldly afflictions. Respect for God and attachment to these degrading vices are incompatible with each other. If we entertain greed, we will necessarily go after money and exploit the people with whom we live and work. Exploitation of our fellowmen means disrespect to God. If we shelter pride and consider ourselves in some way superior to others, that too implies disrespect to God. In the same way if we cling to the sense of possession, if we say—this is mine, I am the owner of wealth, I will not let others make use of it, then too we disrespect the Lord. For He alone is the owner and all must equally share all wealth which is His gift.

The Bhoodan movement aims essentially at purging the individuals and through them the society of all these faults which corrupt our national life and constitute the most formidable stumbling-block to further progress. Bhoodan seeks to reconstruct our entire life on the basis of respect to God. People do not yet understand its full meaning and ask why I do not get the land redistributed through legislation. They ask—"Why do you wander about on foot? Why do you inflict all this torment on your body and cause so much annoyance and harassment to us as well? Bring pressure on the Government, ask them to pass a suitable law, and there will be an end of the matter and all this bother to you and us." But I should like to point out to these friends that the problem facing us does not admit of such an easy solution. The law will no doubt take away your surplus lands; but will it release you from the besetting bonds of attachment, sense of possession, egoistic pride etc.? Can we enact and enforce a law that people should give up all pride, discard the feeling of

superiority, take to a life of sacrifice and cast away greed? Could we achieve these things by means of a law? Surely these are things which one must do oneself of one's free will. I am wandering about on foot just because I want to enter in your hearts, to contact your inmost soul and to influence your will from within. I want you to purify your hearts.

Purification of hearts—yes, that is our objective. And we find this objective is still far from being achieved. People are giving lands in Bhoodan. The number of the donors is growing daily. They are realizing the importance and value of the movement. All this is a matter of gratification. But gifts of land alone will not bring us satisfaction. We will judge the success of our efforts by one test only, that is, whether, or not there has been any lessening of our attachment, greed, pride, etc. Nothing can be achieved except through God's grace. And we cannot be blessed with His grace unless we have discarded these vices.

If we discard possession, greed, pride etc., we shall be able to pay devotion to God and He will be pleased with us. Now you will understand why our work cannot be achieved through legislation. It can be achieved only through the purification of the heart. And the purification of the heart comes about through contact with noble souls—men who have themselves realized the purification of heart. That is why I go from village to village. I spend a whole day in even the smallest village and explain the message to the people at their very doors. This close contact with the people has for me the same joy as the *darshan*, that is, the vision of the Lord. How can we get it from mere legislation, howsoever well-meant? The legislation even when it succeeds in transferring the land from the present owners to the landless cultivators may very well worsen the situation in some respects. It will arouse fierce disputes in every village which will then be carried to the courts. There will be long and wearisome litigation with endless trouble to everyone concerned. But if you change in your heart and begin to distribute your land to your less fortunate brothers of your own free will, not as a miser does, but lovingly and generously as a father gives to his son, if you begin to serve them and share their joys and sorrows, all our present ills will melt away in no time and instead there will be the reign of peace and happiness.

\* From a speech at Bajaura (Gaya) on 6-4-54.

It is the 6th of April today. We celebrate the following seven days from today as a national week, because the happenings during this week 35 years ago had brought about the first huge wave of awakening in the Indian people. The week has been observed year after year ever since. The Bihar leaders have decided to devote the entire week this year to Bhoodan work. The State Assembly will remain closed during this period so as to enable the members to undertake the proposed work. I congratulate the Bihar leaders on this laudable decision. What is a leader? He is after all your servant. This resolve by the leaders shows that they have realized how Bhoodan will revitalize our people and enable them to taste the joy of Swaraj. What did we win the Swaraj for? For bringing happiness to the poor, for raising them morally and materially. The poor will now be convinced that their leaders are doing for them all that they can. Why do not these leaders just pass the necessary legislation and have done with it? Have they gone crazy? No, they too realize that legislation does not make for real lasting social uplift which can come about only through the purification of the heart.

A few friends have just handed me a note which I will share with you. The note says that they like the Bhoodan work, but steps should also be taken for the protection of the cow. It is indeed a very nice suggestion—a thing after my heart. I will assure these friends that I am doing all that I can for the protection of the cow. I have supported this demand with all the strength which my voice commands. I fully believe that in India the cow including the bullock must be given full protection. They should not only not be killed but also be kept well. Indeed, they should be kept as the animal members of our families. We have therefore urged the Government to do its duty in this matter. The Government will no doubt pass a suitable legislation for this purpose. But the legislation by itself cannot accomplish all that we aim at in this regard. There is much good work being done in this connection at Wardha where a band of devoted workers has been carrying out this activity quite systematically. We must learn to keep the cows well, to improve their breed, to increase the yield of the milk, to popularize cow-milk and cow-ghee among the people. All this is as vital a part of the cow-protection work as the legislation. Then there must be *go-sadanas* for keeping decrepit cattle. Money for these *go-sadanas* must come from our rich friends. Mere banning of the slaughter of the cows will not ensure their protection. Our Kisans must cultivate real love for them and learn to keep them well. Lastly cow-protection too as everything else depends on Bhoodan. After all it is only after man has been provided with the wherewithal for his livelihood that he can bestow his love and care on the upkeep of the cow. Let us therefore work for Bhoodan and save the cow and accord her the position of a respectable member of our household.

(Adapted from Hindi)

## THE IDEA OF A THIRD CAMP

(By A. J. Mauste)

By the term Third Camp we do not mean a Third Force consisting of power-states grouping together alongside or over against the two power-blocs which now dominate the world. For one thing, the situation does not permit the emergence of such a third power-bloc of the conventional type. A few years ago there were those who hoped that "Europe" would constitute or form a major part of such a counterforce. With the split between East and West still running down the middle of Europe, the near-collapse of the European Defence Community project, and the fact that if it does come through, it will signify Western Europe's dependence on the American power-bloc, the precarious condition of the present regimes in Italy and France, and the rapid falling apart of the colonial empires, it is probably now clear to all that the time has passed when Europe can enter the lists as Colossus No. 3.

It is occasionally suggested that the Asian-Arab bloc could fill this role. Even if the Asian-Arab nations were firmly united, the chance that they could fill such a role would, in my opinion, be remote, in view of the tremendous power the two presently dominating blocs possess, thus enabling them to exercise a terrific centripetal force upon all lesser centres of power. But such current phenomena as the strong Communist influence in Indo-China, Indonesia and Malaya, the deep-going cleavage between Pakistan and India over the projected U. S. military aid to the former, the unlikelihood that the Moslem world will accept Indian leadership and vice versa, and the Israeli-Arab clash, seem to me completely to rule out any possibility that Colossus No. 3 will, at least in our day and before the showdown—or reconciliation—between Russia and the United States, develop in this part of the planet.

In the second place, were such a third power grouping to emerge, it would not solve our problem. It would simply give us a slightly different pattern of power, struggle and war. It would in fact be the pattern (wherein) three powers (are) engaged in perpetual war, for variety sometimes A and B against C, sometimes C and A against B, and so on. It is a new political, economic and social pattern, a new spiritual basis, a new vision, the world needs—not a variant on the old pattern. Hence, the usefulness of the term Third Camp.

At this point another comment on the contemporary political situation may approximately be made. The emphasis of much peace work—and this holds good of a considerable number of pacifists also—is on negotiations between the two Leviathans of our day looking toward their "peaceful co-existence". This is an implicit, when not explicit, recognition of the fact that the two power-blocs do to a frightening degree dominate the world scene and can largely



make life and death decisions for other nations. To this extent the activity in question is based on realism. But the idea that negotiation from strength, which is the kind of negotiation in which the powers engage, leads to anything like durable peace is an illusion based on what seems to me a superficial analysis of the forces at work and their accumulated momentum. This is not to say that tensions may not temporarily be relaxed and relations between the two blocs relatively stabilized. Nor do we for an instant prefer overt war to such "relaxation" in the form of covert war. But if the two regimes remain essentially as they are, the negotiation and stabilization will simply register the power relationships.

Furthermore, as suggested a moment ago, power now tends to flow toward these huge power-centres or, to change the figure, one nation after another is forced to incline toward one or other of them, with the result that tension keeps mounting. There has to be another centre toward or into which power may flow. But this depends upon whether, e.g. the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin-America which have not yet irrevocably taken sides and do not want ever to do so, have a *genuine alternative* to the American regime of capitalism or "free enterprise" on the one hand and Stalinist or totalitarian Communism on the other hand. The peasants of India, e.g., must have another way of overcoming landlordism than the Communist way, another means for utilizing technology in ways appropriate to their country than the path of subjection to American or native-centralized capitalism. Otherwise, India must eventually take one or other of the ways now open. If a Third Way is open, they will take it. Furthermore, the peoples in Russia and the United States and their respective satellites will then also recognize that they are not limited to the regimes now in control of their countries. Along such lines, possibilities of relaxation of tension which go deeper than the surface appearance open up.

To put the matter in psychological terms, in a situation in which, as one of our brilliant young chemists put it a year or two ago, two powers have become irrational, each "meeting paranoia with counter paranoia" therapy is obviously required. This means either that one of them must come to his senses and risk meeting paranoia with sanity or there must be a third party which does not itself yield to the madness of militarism, an atomic armaments race, exploitation and lust for power and thus can serve as therapist. This is the role of a Third Camp.

If next we ask ourselves where potential or emerging Third Camp Forces may be found, the answer from one point of view might be that the masses of people everywhere, including those under the rival power-blocs, are Third Campers, in that they are fed up with war and long for

peace and freedom. No regime anywhere in the world dares to announce any other objectives for its policy! But as Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick once observed: "All of us want peace; we also want the things that make for war."

A brief summary of the programme on which Third Camp elements tend to unite would include the following:

1. Opposition to both the capitalist and the Stalinist social systems.

2. Natural and productive resources and key instruments of distribution and communication belong to all and should be socially owned and democratically administered through the people's own community, co-operative and other instrumentalities. Technology must be the servant and not the master of man.

3. Refusal to give support—"critical" or otherwise—to the war preparations of either side in the cold war or to those aspects of their foreign policy which are a part of such war preparations.

4. Unequivocal recognition of the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control, whether military, political, economic or cultural.

5. Vigorous and unremitting defence of civil liberties, including those of Communists or others who might not extend civil liberties to those who disagreed with them.

6. Deep-seated concern for and belief in democracy, i.e. the essential dignity of the human being. For the pacifist, non-violence of spirit and method is, of course, integral to the conception of democracy. Democracy ceases to be democracy when it seeks to base itself on coercion and violence rather than upon consent.

It seems sound, important and urgent to establish closer contact among the groups and individuals who have this Third Camp orientation, both for the purpose of clarifying thought and trying to formulate a philosophy and programme, and for the purpose of discovering what concrete possibilities exist of co-operation in the struggle against war, militarism, tyranny and want.

(From *The War Resister*, Spring, 1954)

### Clean Drinking Water for Animals

Hot weather has now commenced in India. In this hot season beasts of burden such as carriage horses and cart bullocks become tired and thirsty from labouring in the burning sun all day. Therefore, public cattle drinking-water ponds constructed in various parts of Indian cities which are under supervision of Indian Municipalities should be always kept full of clean water day and night.

I have seen animal drinking-water ponds empty. Poor people wash their dirty feet and dirty clothes in them which Municipal inspectors should never allow.

Wealthy people should use their money for building many more such wells and ponds.

Such little acts of kindness and love for the suffering poor people and for animals are true prayers of God as all religions teach.

S. R. MISTRI

# HARIJAN

May 1

1954

## STATES REORGANIZATION AND LANGUAGE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The States Reorganization Commission has begun its work and visits to States for interviewing various persons. One main thing that was aimed at in appointing the Commission was to create a calm and peaceful atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the problem that was otherwise creating much avoidable bitterness and undue friction among States and political parties. These may well now submit whatever they wish to suggest on the matter of reorganization, feeling confident that it will get all the attention and justice from the Commission.

It might be fairly said that this aim seems to have been well served both by the procedure that the Commission has decided to adopt and by the general reaction of the people to its appointment. People are realizing that ultimately it must be a sort of a committee that should go into the whole matter and submit its report and the decisions on it will be taken by the Parliament. Surely it is not a matter of fighting a war for winning new territories. Therefore it is no good creating bad blood between the constituents of the same country. Such innate good sense on the part of our people augurs very well for our democratic State.

The Congress Working Committee in its recent session at Delhi passed a resolution with a dual aim of helping the creation of this calm atmosphere and safeguarding its prestige and position as a political party in the country. It asked Congressmen to avoid public controversy, specially among themselves, and not to associate with other parties in making joint representations to the Commission nor join in a common platform with them. And it said that all Congress Committees and Congressmen would have full freedom to represent their views before the Commission. If this resolution succeeds in its objective, it will not only justify itself, but also it might set an example to other parties.

The popular mind is naturally anxious about how the issue of language will have its weight and bearing on reorganization. And it is not surprising, if we remember that the Congress has educated the popular mind on the ideal of linguistic States for fairly a whole generation. The principle behind it was that, for an order to be democratic, it is necessary that all education, administration and such other public activities of a region must be conducted through the language of the people of the region. It is a basic need of any democratic functioning. However,

the organization of States or provinces that we inherited from our ex-rulers was different. It was aimed to meet their needs of foreign rule and occupation. It should be suitably altered and rearranged now according to our needs of Swaraj. But surely it is not partitioning or parcelling out our motherland on grounds of income or territory, which unfortunately seems to be the idea at present. Such a thing would endanger any dispassionate or objective consideration of the problem, much more any happy solution thereof.

However, rearranging linguistically is not so simple an affair as it appears. Language alone cannot be a decisive factor, because we find intermediary bi-lingual tracts on the frontiers of linguistic regions.

Again there may be a region like North India which may have one language but may be too large to be one administrative unit. It must be rearranged, wherein not language but economic, geographical, administrative and such like considerations will be decisive. However it is true that in the new set-up there should be no new State which is so arranged as to be bi-lingual.

There are certain States which are multi-lingual, such as Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad etc. There is a school of thought which holds that there is a desirable virtue in having such composite States. There may be some truth in this idea. But what will be the language of administration, education, courts etc. in such a State? Bombay has thought of having Hindi for higher education. It would be good if it reconsiders this, because such a thing would violate the basic requirement of the idea of a linguistic State. Rather, it would give a strong ground for demanding that we should have no composite State if it would mean the use of language other than those of the State. Therefore, if at all there is to remain a composite State, it can be possible only if its regional languages are assured their due place of honour in all the affairs of the State.

There might be a region like Bombay City where language becomes a subordinate consideration, giving place to other factors of greater importance. In a way, Bombay affords a peculiar case.

Incidentally I am reminded of an anomalous situation in regard to the working of composite States. Take for example, Bombay. There are four Congress provinces with a common Congress Government of the State. These have four Congress Committees, the B.P.C.C., the M.P.C.C., the G.P.C.C., the K.P.C.C. The four regions may have their own peculiar positions, if not vital difference of opinion, on issues that may arise in the State administration. This would surely create an intriguing and difficult question.

We may also note the 'C' States. They were a provisional arrangement to meet with the situation created by the accession of Indian States to the Union. They must now be integrated in the



final reorganization. This is an obvious task that the Commission will have to do. For that, it will be required to go into their linguistic, geographical, economic, administrative, communicational and such other needs. Obviously the predominant factor will be the life and language of the people; everything else can be only subsidiary to it.

It must also be seen that the whole scheme of reorganization is not made comparatively expensive. There is scope for economy in providing a High Court, Public Service Commission etc. for each State. The new States must be viable. Evidently all States will not have equal incomes. They must cut their coat according to the cloth. Of course, in spite of that, it might be that some may require to be helped, which the Centre should surely see to; but this can only be for a time, during which the State must balance its economics. Therefore, if people of the regions begin to quarrel over the areas and the incomes from them, it will be like creating new States and separate nations. This is surely to be avoided. India is our joint property. The reorganization which is aimed at, therefore, is with a view that we might all be helped to live peacefully and in a joint effort to set up a democratic order in our common homeland, India.

22-4-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

## NOTES

## Dr. Satyapal

The demise of Dr. Satyapal, the Speaker of the Panjab Legislative Assembly, reminds one of the stirring days of nationwide agitation against Rowlatt Bill 35 years ago. The seven days from 6th to 13th April form part of nation's life and are ever since observed as the National Week every year throughout the land. In a sense the anti-Rowlatt Bill movement opens the chapter of the nation's fight for freedom or Hind Swaraj. The Jallianwala Bag massacre of innocent people ordered by General Dyer deeply wounded the nation's self-respect. It was under the courageous leadership of Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew that Panjab carried on the agitation in those days. Happily they were the days when mutual love and inner unity reigned in the hearts of Hindus and Muslims, as if a single life-force throbbed in their hearts. Their work at that time gave a fresh fillip to the growing tide of patriotism and zeal to serve the cause of the country. They will ever be remembered for this by the nation.

23-4-'54

(From Gujarati)

## M. P. T. Acharya

The reader knows Shri M. P. T. Acharya from his occasional contributions in *Harijan*. He had been a constant correspondent with me. Every week, he used to write to me on various topics of the day and send cuttings on diverse

subjects bearing on the Indian situation. For the last few weeks, to my surprise, I was not hearing from him at all, when one day a week or two back an issue of the *Harijan* addressed to him returned to the office with a cryptic postal remark, 'died'. The sad news is now confirmed by an article about him in the *Sunday Chronicle* of 18-4-'54 from Bombay which says that he died on March 20, at the Bhatia General Hospital, Bombay, from cardiac failure.

The writer of the *Sunday Chronicle* article truly says, "An Indian revolutionary who campaigned for nearly half a century for the freedom of his country recently passed away almost unnoticed, uncared for, and penniless." It is sad to learn that when he died 'there was nobody even to look after the last rites of a patriot who once trekked from one European capital to another (and U.S.A.) canvassing support for Indian freedom.' The description is not the least exaggerated.

I came to know Shri M. P. T. Acharya in connection with my editorial work of this paper. On my taking over the work from late Shri Mashruwala, he immediately wrote to me introducing himself that he had known Shri K. G. Mashruwala, whom he had met in Bombay and who liked his views, specially on anarchist philosophy which Shri Mashruwala was gradually coming to appreciate. He also told me that Shri Mashruwala was helping him, an invalid completely bed-ridden and unable to make even two ends meet in any manner. He showed his desire to see me, if I happened to go to Bombay, some time. I replied that I would surely see him, which I immediately did. It was a joy to see the old man quite fresh and alert in mind, though ailing and completely bed-ridden with none by his side. However, it was a painful experience to see a life-long worker of India's freedom in such dire difficulty. I may not detail here its painful story. I am only happy that, at the instance of late Shri K. G. M., this paper could do a bit for him during his last few years.

Shri Acharya was a total believer in the doctrine of philosophical anarchism. He believed in the message of Gandhiji's non-violence and Sarvodaya. This belief he had come to hold as a result of his long and arduous campaigning in foreign lands, for the cause of India's freedom.

Shri Acharya left India when he was in his teen age in 1908. He was in the high school where late Shri V. S. Shastri was the head master. In 1906 he started a nationalist paper in Madras with the famous Tamil poet Bharati. Next year he went to Poona and came under the influence of the great Lokmanya and went as a delegate to the Surat Congress. It was after a long span of 30 years that he could come back to India; thanks to the help of his English pacifist friends like Fenner Brockway and others. He had married a Russian woman, an artist, while he was

M. P.

in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution, which he could not agree to. Both came out safely from that and after arduous wanderings in many lands came to India. Unfortunately his wife died a few years ago leaving Acharya really alone in the world. He told me he had a brother in Bombay, who once came to see him and did not bother more about him. His last days were a veritable battle between him and crushing poverty and benumbing illness. Shri Acharya had humour enough to bear and brave the ordeal. He was really a brave servant of the motherland and stood firm in his views till the end of his days. He was a peace-lover and ardently stood for real communism or socialism as different from Russianism or Bolshevism which is wrongly described by that name at present. He stood for a free and decentralized social order based on complete liberty, equality, and the dignity of true human personality. May he rest in peace.

20-4-54

M. P.

### A BALANCED OR MIDDLE ECONOMY

(By S. N. Agarwal)

From times immemorial, India has been the home of small village communities or republics on the basis of decentralized democracy and cottage industrialism. These village panchayats should never be regarded as the "relics of tribalism"; they were the result of mature thought and experience through the ages.

Gandhiji emphasized the same ancient traditions and wanted India to evolve a healthy and balanced system of self-sufficient and self-governing rural communities on a co-operative basis. He wanted to eschew the evils of both capitalism and communism by striking a golden mean. Decentralized economy leaves the initiative in the hands of the individual or a group without allowing much scope for economic exploitation. It strikes a balance between the merits and demerits of *laissez faire* and regimented economic planning of the Soviet pattern. It is essentially based on the principle of non-violence and respect for human personality. To Gandhiji, man was much more important than machines, and any system which reduced men to automatons and cogs in a big wheel was to be shunned as undesirable. We have always regarded the two extremes of American Capitalism and Soviet Communism as unhelpful for the healthy growth of human personality and co-operative living. Both these systems are, more or less, economic crudities which India should try to avoid in the best interests of the nation and the world at large. In place of the capitalist or the communist economy, we want India to develop a *balanced or middle economy*—by the way, we do not relish the word 'mixed',—in accordance with her true genius and culture. In such a balanced economy, we shall care not for the "greatest good of the greatest number" but for Sarvodaya or "the good of all". In place of economic ex-

ploitation of the labour of others, we shall promote the philosophy of "bread-labour" or the eating of one's bread by the sweat of one's brow. Instead of merely attempting to raise the "standard of living", we should try to raise the "standard of life" of the people.

We are also convinced that in this Age of science, non-violence could be the only practical proposition. The combination of science with violence would surely lead to total destruction of humanity. The combination of science with non-violence would pave the way for a better and happier world.

(Adapted from A.I.C.C. Economic Review, 15-4-54)

### MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT PROHIBITION

(By Vaikunthbhai L. Mehta)

Going about the country as I have recently had the opportunity of doing, I have been amazed at the extent of the misconception that prevails among the educated and well-to-do classes about the working of Prohibition in Bombay. My present work has brought me into contact with persons—public men, administrators, businessmen, economists—who are expected to take facts into account before expressing opinions, and not to base judgements on impressions gathered from hearsay or from sensational headlines in the Press. Unfortunately for Bombay's reputation with these sections of public life outside the State, it is on the prejudiced views of confirmed opponents of Prohibition and on the stories retailed by "gay" visitors to the City that quite a large number of the leaders of public life in other parts of India build up their case against Prohibition. Never was I more convinced than when I visited other parts of India about the need for more vigorous publicity to be carried on throughout the year. Such publicity should have as its watchword truth, for I am certain that well-directed publicity having facts as its basis is bound to carry conviction in the long run.

Another phenomenon that I observed was the feeling that outsiders had that by its sacrifice of the revenue from drink Bombay was impeding progress in promoting social welfare and plans of economic development in other parts of India. It was often urged that, therefore, in the interests of the country as a whole, Bombay should be called upon by the Centre to abandon Prohibition.

When one attempts to examine the basis of this plea, one discovers that it has none! Because of the supposed inroads made by the introduction of Prohibition into the revenues of Bombay State, Bombay has made no demands on the Centre for a larger share of the assigned taxes or for special treatment in the matter of grants and loans. Bombay is willing to have its claims in respect of both assessed in the same manner as for any other State in India. Certainly, it will resent invidious treatment because of its effecting an essential measure of socio-economic reform.



But, so far as I am aware, there is no reason to suspect any such differential treatment being meted out to it.

A third aspect of the situation that attracts attention, when one considers the outside reaction to Prohibition, is the closed minds one observes almost everywhere. For the thesis which he advocates with great vigour, Shri P. Kodanda Rao of the Servants of India Society has so far, apparently, secured few supporters. That thesis provides a fiscal justification for Prohibition. According to Shri Kodanda Rao, the excise duty on alcoholic drinks is wholly an inequitable form of taxation. It imposes a heavy tax burden mainly on those sections of the population who have the poorest capacity to pay, while it is increased consumption in the inebriate that brings in increased receipts to the State exchequer. It is because of the inequitable incidence of excise duties, and not for moral reasons or as an article of social reform, that Shri Kodanda Rao would call upon Governments of States to forgo their revenue from drink. The burden will then have to shift to other shoulders; but, so argues Shri Kodanda Rao, these strata of society will, under any equitable system of taxation, have much better capacity to contribute to the exchequer than the thousands among the poorer and backward sections of the community on whom the incidence of State excises mainly falls.

#### THE HANDLOOM AND OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY

The handloom industry is scattered all over the country, and looked at from the point of view of the operations alone, can be considered the nation's premier industrial occupation. The total number directly engaged on it has been estimated at 10,000,000, though no claim for accuracy can be made for this estimate. On this basis, handloom industry easily ranks next to agriculture in importance.

Side by side with the mill industry, the handloom industry of India has been supplying the needs of the nation throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Throughout the period till the outbreak of the War, its annual output of all varieties taken as a whole has ranged between 20 and 25 per cent of the total output of cloth in India.

Despite the lack of organization, finance and skill, the handloom industry is not altogether unimportant as an export industry. The following table brings out clearly the importance of the industry and the potentialities of it:

PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS OF HANDLOOMS

Year	(Million yards)		Value (Crores)
	Production	Exports	
1948	1,075	8.92	N. A.
1949	1,200	50.70	N. A.
1950	900	41.16	6.57
1951	800	43.64	10.38
1952	1,100	53.86	9.23
1953	1,200	62.45	14.70

The Post-Korean crisis and its attendant effects on all industries spotlight for the first time the problems facing the handlooms in India. The problem no longer was the adequacy of the yarn supply to the industry, but one of wholesale reorganization and rehabilitation from the point of view of the role assigned to it by the Plan.

The appointment of a new All-India Handloom Board, followed soon after by the reservation of specified varieties of cloth for the handlooms and prohibition of their production by the mills, was completed when the Textile Enquiry Committee was appointed to go into the question of the respective role of each sector of the industry.

To foster the development of the industry along prescribed lines, and to implement various proposals for their co-ordinated progress, a cess was levied on all mill cloth; the proceeds of which were to be credited to the Handloom Development Fund.

These proposals and measures taken by the Government since 1950 have once again revived the original controversy regarding the place of each sector of the industry.

A pragmatic approach to the problem of handlooms shows that despite their primitive methods and technique, non-comparability of products, etc. they provide employment for an enormous number. The capacity of the economy to develop other industries or activities to absorb even a small portion of these large number, during the next decade, is strictly limited.

Moreover, the handloom industry is excellently suited to serve as complementary industry to agriculture, and, therefore, does not involve the transfer of labour from the village to the towns. Above all, the demand for handloom products in India continues to be as much as production, and, for particular products, considerably more than available supply.

An economic analysis must, therefore, consider whether the retention and development of the mill industry would achieve the same ends of social welfare. By their very nature, mill industry necessitates larger concentration of capital, labour and services in one particular locality.

Their development towards modernization, etc., does not offer as many employment opportunities as the handlooms although their cost is relatively lower.

The mill industry cannot satisfy entire domestic demand inasmuch as consumer demand patterns vary from State to State.

Thus, judged against objective standards, the development of the mill industry in India as compared with the development of a reorganized handloom industry, promises fewer social benefits.

The Handloom Industry is ideally suited to serve as a subsidiary, off-season industry in the

rural sector. In an under-developed country with a growing population, the need to reduce under-employment by the development of suitable subsidiary, seasonal industries is pressing inasmuch as the subsidiary industries provide additional employment without disturbing the basic economic structure and facilitate process of modernization in gradual stages. From this point of view alone, the claim of handlooms for subsidized development is unassailable.

An even greater claim for protected development lies in the demand for capital investment. The economic development of modern industries necessitates large investments of capital, which is not available. Relatively handloom industry needs a negligible volume of capital and, to that extent, creates less pressure on the capital market. Moreover, the economic operation of the handlooms requires no more managerial and marketing talent than is available or can be made available to it from local sources. In this respect as well, handlooms create less pressure on limited resources than the mill industry.

The greatest single advantage of the handlooms is, however, their aesthetic significance to the workers and their effect on the human personality. Gandhiji looked upon the *charkha* as the symbol of a free man precisely because the *charkha* represents the ability to lead an independent, socially useful life.

In much the same way, the handloom worker associates himself with his work in a way that yields far greater personal satisfaction than any work in a mill can afford. Economic development as is now being increasingly realized, extends far beyond the limits of economic dynamics, and touches sociology, politics and ethics. It is, therefore, not enough merely to judge handlooms on the purely market price-demand basis as it totally excludes a vital consideration.

The analysis made above shows that the role of the handloom industry in a scheme of economic development extends far beyond the pure economic nexus, and its importance to the individual, community and nation consists in its contribution as much to the development of the human personality as of the economy.

(Adapted from the *Free Press Journal*, 25-3-54)

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## THE UNIVERSITY AND THE GOVERNMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A press report from Bombay says the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan organized a meeting to support the State Government's education policy and to felicitate the Education Minister for the bold stand he has taken. Evidently, this has reference to the policy of the Government to have Hindi as the medium in Government colleges. It is good to learn that the Government is studying the implications of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the question and if the State's present education policy was found to be not in line with that resolution, Government would revise its policy accordingly.

Incidentally there are two things which should be noted in the press report. One is regarding the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Does the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan stand for Hindi as the medium of higher education in non-Hindi areas? I learn that the organ of the Wardha Samiti of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has expressed such a view in its recent number. If this is true, it is a serious matter for non-Hindi regions.

The Education Minister is reported to have remarked that the present policy, the credit for deciding which, he declared, was not his, but of the Bombay Cabinet, — was that instruction in Government colleges will be in Hindi, while the universities were left to follow their own policy in respect of their colleges. If the report is correct, there is grave misapprehension in the distinction made in this respect between Government colleges and the rest. All colleges are under the university, including those conducted by the Government. Therefore the policy of the university, whatever it be, should govern all of them in like manner and Government colleges can have no policy separate from that of the university.

13-4-54

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