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SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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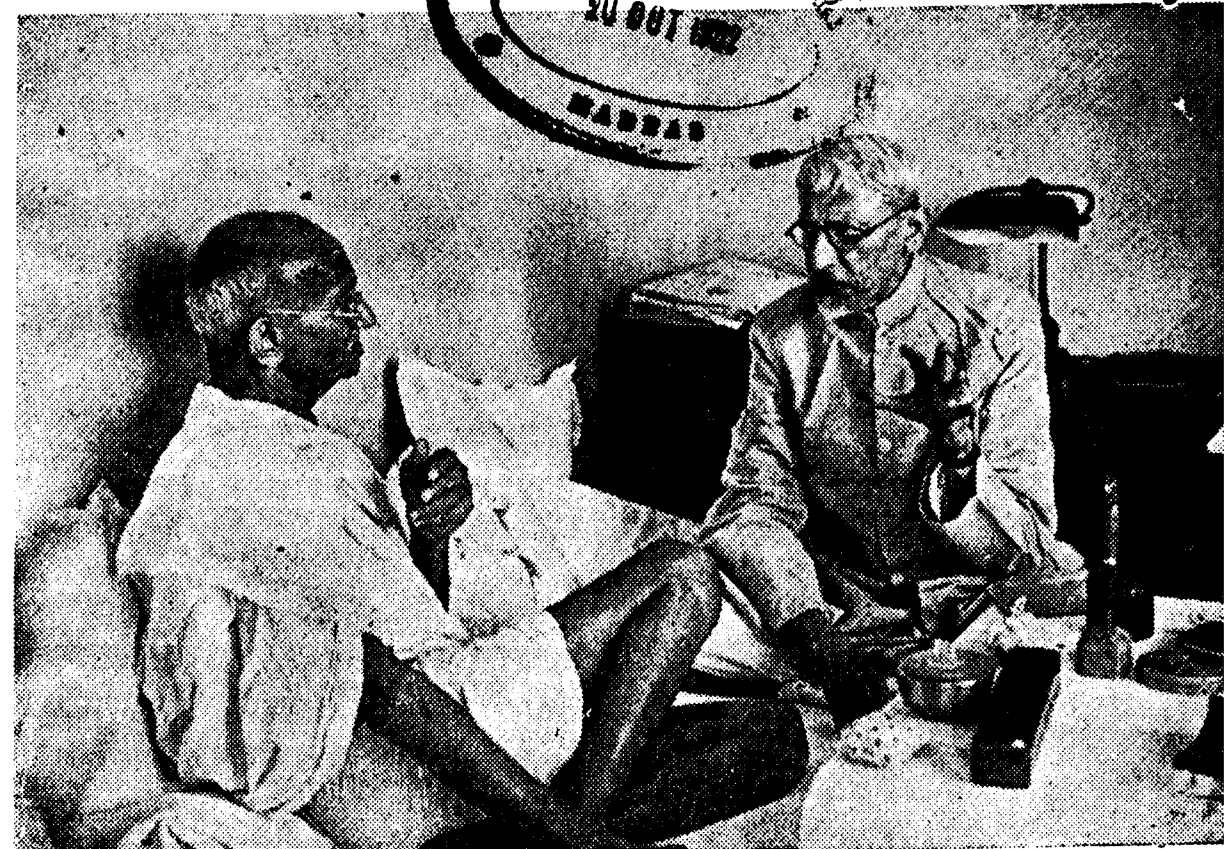


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We are sending in the usual course reminders to subscribers when the subscription has lapsed. In case of delay the next issue of Sarvodaya will be sent by V. P. P. unless countermanded. We request the subscribers to honour V. P. P.

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(with which "The KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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Published on the 1st of every month

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THE SARVODAYA SAMAJ

VINOBAJI

After the passing away of Gandhiji, constructive workers from all parts of the country assembled at Sevagram and formed a loose sort of organization to be known as the Sarvodaya Samaj. Wherever I go people ask me, "What is this Sarvodaya Samaj? What kind of organization is it?" I explain to them, "It is not just an organization. It is a mighty word expressive of a revolutionary idea. A powerful word is mightier than institutions. Organizations do not possess the power that great words have. Words have the power to make as well as to unmake. Words elevate, they also degrade, men and nations. We have adopted one of these great words of tremendous power. What does it signify? We do not want the rise of the few; not even of the many, or for that matter the rise of the greatest number. We are not satisfied with the greatest good of the greatest number. We can be satisfied only with the good of one and all, of the high and the low, of the strong and the weak, the intelligent as well as the dull. Only then will we be satisfied. This word Sarvodaya expresses this lofty and all-embracing sentiment."

'Sarvodaya — Its Principles and Programme'

Poojya Kishorlal Mashruwala

The Nation has suffered a heavy loss in the sad demise of Poojya Kishorlal Mashruwala on the evening of 9th September 1952. The loss to the constructive workers is heavier. To them he was the beacon light and a tower of strength. The nation is now at the cross-roads of different ideologies.

In him we had an independent and free thinker, clear and lucid in his expression. His interpretation of Gandhiji's programmes and philosophy, and the exposition of the ideologies behind them are authoritative. He is one of the few of the inner circle who were closely associated with Gandhiji since 1916.

Gandhiji himself has said about Kishorlal once "there is no man who having undertaken responsibility would discharge it with greater thoroughness than he." The Editorship of the 'Harijan' papers naturally fell on him, after Gandhiji. He discharged this duty with single minded devotion even to the last hour of his life. The Harijan papers reveal the brilliant scholarship and erudition in him, his sympathetic yet impartial understanding of the different points of view, his dispassionate and constructive criticism, all mellowed with toleration and love. He stuck on to his convictions with truth and love.

To his colleagues in the central and provincial Governments, his counsels and suggestions were timely and emphatic. His voice commanded a respectful hearing and careful consideration.

This illustrious non-violent fighter for political liberty continued to champion the cause of the masses for securing their economic and social freedom. He was always consistently pleading for Khadi and Cottage industries. In fact his voice is the voice of the millions in the villages when he wrote in the Harijan of 13th September, "Awakened Rural India will not bear this process of being bled white."

After Gandhiji, his personality was helpful to co-ordinate the activities of the various constructive institutions and his contribution to the 'Sarvodaya Samaj' and the Sarva Seva Sangh is invaluable.

He had identified himself entirely with the Bhoodan movement. "I do not see to

whom I can now turn with the same confidence in the domain of thought." So says Vinobaji while referring to his service in the cause of the Bhoodan Mission.

When our monthly magazine the Khadi World was started in 1951, he sent us his blessings. Again in July last when it was changed into *Sarvodaya* under the Sarva Seva Sangh he gave his benediction with a note of warning about the editor's responsibility in a critical time like this. In a small note he wrote in the *Harijan* dated 21-6-'52 introducing *Sarvodaya* to its readers:

"The English monthly Khadi World published by the A. I. S. A., Tamil Nad Branch, will appear under the altered name of *Sarvodaya* from 1st July '52, under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Though the two names are essentially synonymous, perhaps the new name will be more acceptable and suggestive to the public. I hope it will receive a good welcome, and establish itself as one of the important magazines of India.

"Everything depends upon the practical achievements of constructive workers, and the demonstration of truth, non-violence, mutual love, the spirit of sacrifice and other qualities of the head and the heart in their work and conduct.

"Now that the close associates of Gandhiji are passing through a critical stage and there is an apprehension that they might speak in more voices than one, the Editor's task will be a difficult one. He will have to take utmost care to see that *Sarvodaya* creates clarity and not chaos in the realm of thought."

We are indebted to him for the kind encouragement and help he was giving for the growth of this small journal. He was sympathetically watching its progress and used to send some of the articles intended for "*Harijan*" for publishing in our "*Sarvodaya*."

May his life and service inspire and guide us to serve the cause and the mission in the way he lived, served and died. We pay our obeisance to his great soul.

IS KHADI ECONOMICALLY SOUND?

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

If by the question is meant whether khadi can compete in price with Japanese 'fent' or even with the cloth manufactured by the Indian Mills, the answer must be emphatically 'no.' But the negative answer would have to be given about almost everything turned out by manpower as against labour-saving machine power. It would have to be so even with regard to goods manufactured in Indian factories. Cloth, iron and sugar made in factories require State aid in some form or other to withstand foreign competition. It is wrong to put the question in that way at all. In the open market a more organized industry will always be able to drive out a less organized one, much more so when the former is assisted by bounties and can command unlimited capital and can therefore afford to sell its manufactures at a temporary loss. Such has been the tragic fate of many enterprises in this country.

Any country that exposes itself to unlimited foreign competition can be reduced to starvation and therefore subjection if the foreigners desire it. This is known as peaceful penetration. One has to go only a step further to understand that the result would be the same as between hand-made goods and those made by power-driven machinery. We are seeing the process going on before our eyes. Little flour mills are ousting the *chakki*, oil mills the village *ghani*, rice mills the village *dhenki*, sugar mills the village *gud-pans*, etc. This displacement of village labour is impoverishing the villagers and enriching the monied men. If the process continues sufficiently long, the villages will be destroyed without any further effort. And the tragedy of it all is that the villagers are unconsciously but none the less surely contributing to their own destruction. With all these deadly admissions, what do I mean by saying that khadi is the only true economic proposition? Let me then state the proposition fully: "Khadi is the only true economic proposition in terms of the millions of villagers until such time, if ever, when a better system of supplying work and adequate wages for every able-bodied person above the age of sixteen, male or female is

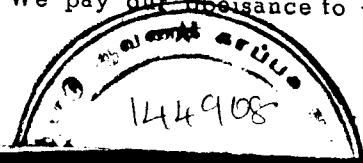
found for his field, cottage or even factory in every one of the villages in India; or till sufficient cities are built up to displace the villages so as to give the villagers the necessary comforts and amenities that a well-regulated life demands and is entitled to." I have only to state the proposition thus fully to show that khadi must hold the field for any length of time that we can think of.

The present pressing problem is how to find work and wages for the millions of the villagers who are becoming increasingly pauperized. The people are becoming poorer economically, mentally and morally. They are fast losing the will to work, to think, and even to live. It is a living death that they are living. Khadi supplies them with work, tools and a ready market for their manufactures. It gives them hope where but yesterday there was blank despair.

Q:- Then why has khadi made so little progress, if it is such a hopeful proposition?

A:- The progress khadi has made in terms of the millions, though little in itself, is comparatively the largest of all the other single industries. It distributes yearly the largest amount as wages among the largest number of wage-earners in the villages with the minimum of overhead charges, and every pice practically circulates among the people. Khadi has to work against almost settled prejudices among the villagers, against unscrupulous competition without State protection, and against the prevalent opinion of so-called experts in the science of economics, against even the demand of khadi wearers for progressively cheaper khadi. It is thus largely a question of the education of the villagers and the city dwellers in the true economics for this land of tears. I therefore maintain that, though yard per yard khadi may be dearer than mill-made cloth, in its totality and in terms of the villagers it is the most economic and practical proposition without a rival. Khadi may be interpreted to include other village industries for the purpose of a thorough examination of the proposition. ★

"Harijan" 20-6-'36





Vinobaji's Appeal For Sevaks

Vinobaji's appeal for fifty devoted sevaks from U. P. with a population of six crores, is also an appeal to other provinces to contribute their share of the sevaks for the cause of Bhoodan. A free rendering of Vinobaji's Hindi prayer speech on 7th Sep. '52, at Banaras, is given below:

Land has already come to me. It has indeed to come. And I wish I may get sevaks — men of light and sacrifice — to carry the message of the Dharma behind this Bhoodan Yagna, from village to village and from house to house. Continuing *Thapasya* (ceaseless sacrifice and service) of Sevaks is the greatest need of the day. If you ask any child it will at once say 'Death is for the body only. The soul within is immortal.' How did this idea of rebirth spread? It was because of the persistent propagation of the idea. The great task of this revolution will fully succeed if efficient and devoted workers who understand the real spirit behind it, are available to carry on the mission ceaselessly.

From this land of U. P. which has got a population of six crores, I appeal for only 50 workers. Is this too much? These fifty men can bring the mission to success in no time, for the ideal behind this Dharma is full of fire and once it is lit anywhere, it will spread at once throughout. But to light the fire there is the need of devoted workers. So let me know how many of you are prepared to come forward to spread this Bhoodan mission throughout the whole of Uttar Pradesh.

We may collect two or four, ten or twenty lakhs of acres from U. P. and the other provinces of India. The Sarva Seva Sangh has declared its target of 25 lakhs of acres to be collected within a period of 2 years. I am confident that this 25 lakhs will be collected within the period. But with this alone I won't feel happy, for this work is not such an easy thing that can achieve success with this much only. The goal will be reached only if villagers feel that their lands in the village belong to the village as a whole. People feel that their money is safe when it is in the safe custody of a bank. In the same way the whole land of the village should be deposited in the Village Bank and the village alone should be considered to be the rightful owner. Then the individual families of the village, on behalf of the

village, will draw 4 or 6 acres whatever fixed, for cultivation in accordance with the needs for the maintenance of each of the families. The cultivation of the balance of land in the village bank will be done by the village people on behalf of the whole village. Thus in every village some land will be for the individual farming for family needs and the rest for collective farming for the Community benefit. Then only the moral and economic principle behind the idea that 'every one has got a right over land' will be understood and accepted by the people.

At present we will be taking a minimum of 5 acres of land from each village as Dhan but in future as we proceed on, we will have to ask for the gift of the entire village for the good of the whole village community. Then the moral principle behind the idea that every one has got a right over land, will be inspired in the hearts of the village people. All Dharmas have emerged and spread, in this way.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION

The social order has ever been changing in relation to the progress in the evolution of moral ideas. For instance, in ancient days polyandry was in vogue in our country. That custom has now disappeared. Now are the days of monogamy. A man keeping two or four wives, even though he was respected in olden days, is now looked down by society. Similarly in ancient days, awards of punishments were inhuman. Chopping of hands or legs of the accused was once considered as just by courts of law. But that idea of justice has now changed and disappeared and the laws of justice have begun to become human. In this way the processes of the evolution of society and its ideas of morality and justice are advancing progressively. As the rules of conduct in society get reformed with the change of ideas and the growth of advanced ideals of Dharma, the customs, practices and habits of the individuals also change. In a similar way through the spread of this ideal of Dharma behind Bhoodan, we will succeed to bring about a revolution in the economic order of our society. That nobody

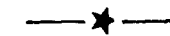
has got the right to keep with him more than the average that an individual is entitled to on the whole, is the moral and economic ideal that we should spread in our society. People ask me "how can this happen?" I ask them, "how did that practice of keeping many wives disappear?" Such things happened along with the evolution in moral ideas and ideals. It is such a weapon — a weapon most effective and capable of producing permanent changes. Without it no fundamental or lasting change in the order of society is possible.

THE MISSION OF GANDHIJI AND MARX

Now the thoughts of Marx have spread. Some like them, some do not like them. Yet every one thinks about it and whatever truth it contains is accepted. How did Marxism spread among the people? Is it by violence? No. Those who understood his thoughts, put them into practice. Marx too was a great saint. He gave his thoughts to the people and they propagated them by their strength. What was that strength behind the propaganda of the Great New Thought that Gandhiji gave to the world? On what fundamental is it spreading now? Even in ancient days, how did Sanker, Ramanuja, Buddha spread their thoughts among the people and how did their ideas get established in

society? Many kings and emperors ruled our country but they were all dead and gone and with their death their names and their power, everything, disappeared. But the power of these great philosophers and their great thoughts equally persisted. Why? Because behind them there is the strength of their conviction, ideals and practice. They translated their convictions into practice. Then why should we feel diffident in this Bhoodan work? The ideology behind this yagna will certainly spread. I have full faith and courage. People ask me "how long will it take?" I reply, "If God desires it to be spread through me in a thousand year, then it will keep me living for a thousand year. Or if He wills it to be spread within 5 years then it will give me life for 5 years." But these ideas of Dharma should be spread among the people without which no revolution can be effected. If we desire to establish real happiness and peace in this world we have to make every one understand these Dharmic laws in the economics relating to land.

This is God's work. This will certainly succeed. It contains the principles of the non-violent revolution to change present order of the world.



THE NEW MOVEMENT OF THE CHARKHA SANGH

— A. W. SAHASRABUDHE —
Secretary, Charkha Sangh, Sevagram

Till now the A. I. S. A. was engaged in the production and sale of Khadi. Along with it, it was propagating the scientific and self-sufficiency aspect of khadi work. But today it is faced with a critical situation that compels a movement for the propagation of the basic principles on which Khadi stands.

Now a crisis has developed in the Khadi centres. News comes from many places that the sales have fallen. The capital invested in Khadi work is locked up in the accumulated stock. Payment of the wages to the spinners was suspended for the last six months and the production in many places had also to be curtailed. In spite of all this, the accumulated stock today is estimated to be over Rs. 60 lakhs.

This is just the reverse of the position that prevailed last year. Then many of our leaders prevailed over the A. I. S. A., and the public to increase production and so it was increased as much as possible. But now the question before us is how to dispose off the stock and to provide work to the artisans. In some centres acute famine conditions prevail and yet Khadi work had to be stopped. In Tamil Nad and Kerala the total annual Khadi production under the A. I. S. A. is about Rs. 40 lakhs, besides the Government's production of about Rs. 20 lakhs in their Khadi centres. Due to fall in sale, production had to be curtailed. In some places nobody offers to buy yarn even for 1½ annas per hank which was previously sold for 3½ annas to 4 annas. In Bihar about 80,000 spinners have become unemployed now and the Bihar Khadi Samithi had to retrench about 250 workers.

On previous occasions of similar crises the accumulated stock of Khadi was disposed off by resorting to hawking, from door to door, by issuing Khadi Hundies and by offering special commissions etc. Even today such methods may have to be resorted to.

Under the present condition of large-scale unemployment in the country we can increase the production of Khadi many times. But the real question is the disposal of the stock. The clearance of the present accumulated khadi stock somehow or other is not the only point now. We have to go to the root cause of this recurring crisis in Khadi work and find out a permanent and radical remedy. Then only we could easily sell what is produced. This is possible only if the villagers work towards the achievement of self-sufficiency. So we feel it necessary to educate the villagers. Through a khadi movement, we have now to carry intense propaganda among the villagers to achieve self-sufficiency.

Till today the Charkha Sangh workers have been carrying on work as the representatives of the spinners. For the benefit of the poor spinners they used to go to distant villages, buy yarn from them and convert that yarn into Khadi for sale in the towns. Thus we helped the spinners to get only a few coppers. Except this small bit of relief, nothing was done among the spinners to make them organise themselves to stand on their own feet with self-confidence. Even though thousands of spinners are now completely deprived of their wages, they are not raising their voice in protest. In the big industrial areas even when there is a small cut in the wages to workers, they protest through their unions compelling the Government's interference and quick action to remedy the situation. But what happens in the case of these spinners — poor and dumb wage-earners? They are being deprived of even the pittance of this small daily earnings. The Charkha Sangh has now decided to start this khadi movement in the villages to make them understand the present situation and their responsibility to use the local village products for the welfare of the village. This will help the villagers to organize and attempt the boycott of mill cloth and city-made articles. So the Charkha Sangh's workers should now decide to propagate this idea of self-sufficiency in the villages, going from village to village, from house to house of every spinner.

The establishment of an "All-India Khadi Board" is under the consideration of the Central Government. If this Board is to function successfully the Government will have, in the opinion of the Charkha Sangh, to undertake the following responsibilities.

1. The Government should buy all the surplus yarn of the spinner after meeting his or her cloth requirements, under normal conditions. But in times of extreme famine conditions, the Government shall undertake to buy the entire yarn of the spinner, so long as it cannot give any other alternative employment to these spinners.
2. The Government should be prepared for this purpose, to enforce some effective method of control over the textile mills.
3. The Government should influence their officers to take to Khadi dress as their official dress. It should make arrangements to purchase Khadi alone for all its departmental requirements.
4. Keeping in view the fundamental principle behind Khadi, the Government should give protection to all cottage industries along with Khadi. It should also make it a rule to buy cottage industry products only in all its purchases for stores.

All these, the Government will have to carry out. But we have to educate the masses to understand the ideal of self-sufficiency. The Government alone will not be able to solve the widespread unemployment prevailing in the country. It can do so with co-operation of the people. The villagers should be made to realise that it is their responsibility to solve their problem of unemployment and that they should be prepared to make all efforts in the direction. It is only after meeting the local needs that the question of exporting the surplus should arise. If the cooperative spirit among the villagers rapidly develops it will enable the Government to carry out the programme suggested. But if for any reasons the Govt. is not willing to do their part to solve the unemployment problem, the organised strength of villagers will compel it.

The Charkha Sangh desires to propagate the message of self-sufficiency among the villagers through this programme. It feels it necessary to visit every house to spread the fundamental principle behind Khadi, to arrange for the sale of khadi among villagers and to organize the villagers for working towards the goal of village self-sufficiency.

Till now we have been selling in towns all the khadi produced in the villages. In future also we may have to sell a portion of it in towns. But if the production of khadi is to be increased on a wide national scale it should be only with this object of local self-sufficiency. Then the villager will be persuaded to accept the programme of village self-sufficiency. If the Charkha Sangh can do this work through the khadi movement, it will enable the villagers to gain sufficient strength and thereby establish Grama Rajya.

Naturally Bhoodan Yagna will also come in our programme of work. For full employment to all the villagers, equitable distribution of land also is necessary. The

fair distribution of the land would make the villagers realize their responsibility in ensuring full employment for all. Both these programmes will enable the villagers to progress towards complete self-sufficiency. With this object and ideal the Charkha Sangh desires to carry on the new khadi movement.

Among all the provinces in India, the major portion of Khadi work is being carried on in Tamil Nad and Kerala. The work in these two provinces has now reached a crisis and therefore it has been decided to start this intensive campaign here. If possible this movement will be extended to other provinces. The Charkha Sangh has decided to launch this campaign from 16th of September.



Help the Child to Teach Itself

The best thing of all is to help the child to teach itself. An illustration of the principle involved is conveyed, we think, by a childhood reminiscence of Louis B. Mayer:

One day when I was a small boy I got into a fight at school. I remember distinctly that I was sore in mind as well as in body.

When I got home I went about muttering threats of what I was going to do to my opponent when next we met, and it must have been that my vocabulary had been partially, at least, acquired from the older boys at school who thought profanity a sign of manhood.

My mother didn't seem to be paying any particular attention and went on about her work in her usual serene manner. I was surprised, however, the next day when we were out in the country on a family picnic and she called me aside. "Louis, come here a moment. I want to show you something," she said.

Now that part of the country near New Brunswick, Canada, was in a beautiful valley, with tall, rugged mountains towering on all sides perfect for echoes. My mother took me over to a little clearing that faced the mountain wall.

"Now, Louis, say what I heard you say yesterday."

I began to feel embarrassed and said, "I don't remember."

My mother was never one to dodge an issue.

"I do," she replied. "You said 'Damn you'!"

I had to nod.

"Yes, I remember now."

"Say it now," she commanded.

I repeated it, as quietly as I could.

The words rolled back with startling volume in the echo.

"Louder, son. Say it louder. Whatever you say, you must be willing to say as loud as you can, to shout it for all to hear."

I didn't want to do this very much. But it did not occur to me to disobey my mother. So I faced the mountains and shouted at the top of my lungs, "Damn you!"

Right back it came, like thunder. Like a voice from heaven it denounced me.

"Now," said my mother, "that is the way life is. It always returns to us what we say to it. If you shout at it and at your fellow man, 'damn you,' life and your fellow man will shout it right back at you. If you say to life, to humanity, 'bless you,' then your life will be an echo of those words, 'bless you!'"

"Choose ye whom ye shall serve, Louis. You have that choice. As long as you live you will have your choice. Every day, almost every hour, in some way a choice will be presented to you."

At that moment, though of course I was impressed by the amazing illustration, I

THE CHANCELLOR OF GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

J. C. KUMARAPPA

One of the greatest assets that Gandhiji possessed and which many leaders lack was his keen sense of humour which carried him through many awkward situations and won for him even those who were inclined to be critical. Here I narrate a case where his humour comes out mingled with dignity.

For several years the courtesy of the sub-editors had conferred on me a Doctorate. The reason for this was that all the three of my brothers possess academic Doctorates in their special subjects, and there have been constant mistakes being made in identifying the various brothers. To avoid any awkwardness, the sub-editors of newspapers had always referred to me as 'Doctor Kumarappa.' In my earlier public career as a stickler for form I had often written to the newspapers concerned correcting their mistakes, but I found the postage on such letters was generally wasted, probably due to the rapid turnover in the sub-editors detailed out to deal with the various news items. For this reason, after a little while, I left the sub-editors to their own devices.

Gandhiji generally had his own personal way of referring to those around him. The usual honorific that he used for me was 'Professor.' This originated from my being Professor Emeritus in Gujarat Vidyapith which was then functioning as a National University. In 1942 I was arrested for my writings and kept in detention. Later on I was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on each of three counts and kept in jail away from all other political

(Continued from previous page)

don't suppose I realized that my mother had given me a light, a moment of true inspiration. Like every human being, I have sneaked up on life at times and tried to see if I couldn't break the law of the echo, but I have never succeeded, not once.

Of course, everything we want to help our children to know may not seem so easily communicable. But this is perhaps because we are not yet wise enough to look for the proper setting, and because our too often empty words actually discourage us as much as they do our children — both we and they can certainly tell that they are not "working" in any creative way. ★

From "Manas" 11th June '52

prisoners who were detenus. I spent my seclusion in reading and writing which resulted in the two books, *Practice and Precepts of Jesus* and *Economy of Permanence*. When I was released in 1945, I sent these manuscripts to Gandhiji as he would be interested in the subjects dealt with therein. But I had not asked him for a foreword for either of them, not wanting to burden him with such extra work.

To my surprise, one day I received the manuscript of *Practice and Precepts of Jesus* with the note headed 'A word.' The latter was enclosed in an envelope addressed to me as Dr. Kumarappa D. D. Knowing Gandhiji as I did I took this to be his impish joke on a layman like me writing a book dealing with religious interpretations.

A few months later I received back the manuscript of *Economy of Permanence* with a foreword voluntarily contributed by Gandhiji, which was enclosed in an envelope addressed to Dr. Kumarappa D. D., D. V. I. At first I was a little puzzled to know what this D. V. I. was, but when I read the foreword the secret was made clear as he referred to me in it as a 'Doctor of Village Industries.'

I thought again that this was only another instance of 'puckish' humour. But to my surprise he had referred to me in the foreword as 'Doctor Kumarappa' and not as 'Prof. Kumarappa' as he was wont to do. I referred the matter back to Gandhiji to get his permission to amend the foreword accordingly. He had always been a stickler for form and never relished anybody altering even verbally any of his writings. To this he again replied back that he meant every word he had written, that I was not to alter anything in the foreword, and that it should go into print as it was.

Later, when I met Gandhiji personally, I twitted him about his arrogance about conferring Doctorates on whomsoever he pleased and, what was more, coining new degrees to suit his purpose. To this with a good-humoured laugh he said: "Why should you question my authority to confer Doctorates or to coin degrees? Am I not the Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith?"

Then in a later card he sent me, he justified himself even on the merits of the thesis submitted. ★

Taken from "Reminiscences of Gandhiji"

PROGRESS OF BHOODAN MOVEMENT

— A Review and An Appeal

— SHANKARRAO DEO —

Soon after the Sevapuri Conference, I had written a letter to you on the 30th of April, 1952, explaining to you the steps that we have to take to see that we carry into effect the resolution adopted on the Bhoodan movement. It is now about three months since I wrote that letter. I have given a brief report of the work that has been done during the past three months in the leaflet *Progress of the Bhoodan-Yajna*.

I feel that detailed information on some aspects of the progress of the work will be useful to all of us. After the Sevapuri Conference, Shri Vinobaji toured the remaining districts of U. P. Up-to-now, he has received above three lakh acres of land in U. P. Some villages like Mangroth, Janua-Pashchim etc., donated all their land to Vinobaji and thus became inspiring examples of the solution of the land problem that we seek through the Bhoodan-Yajna. Shri Vinobaji has stayed in Banaras during the rainy season, and starts for Bihar on the 13th of September. And in the last week of February, all of us Sevaks of the Sarvodaya Samaj will meet in Bihar for the Sarvodaya Sammelan. The workers of U. P. have decided in their meeting of the 20th of July, 1952 held at Banaras, that they will see that U. P.'s first instalment of 5 lakh acres is donated to the Bhoodan-Yajna before Vinobaji leaves U. P.

I have attended during the past three months, conferences of workers in the Karnatak, Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Punjab and Delhi provinces. All these conferences formulated plans for the work of the Bhoodan-Yajna in their respective provinces, and in most of these provinces, Provincial Bhoodan-Yajna committees have been set up. Committees have still to be set up in the Provinces of Bombay and Mysore.

Shri Dhotreji presided over the conference of the workers of Bengal that was held at Hatuganj (24 Parganas). He also presided

over a workers' conference that was held at Gauhati in Assam. At these conferences Dhotreji explained how the movement could be organized and popular response secured through the proper approach.

In Madhya Pradesh, Shri Dada Dharmadhikari and Shri Dadabhai Naik, Convenor of the Provincial Bhoodan Samiti, covered hundred miles in a village to village trek, and in ten days, secured donations that totalled 310 acres. At present Shri Dada Dharmadhikari is in Bihar, attending the district conference of workers, explaining the background and the rationale of the Bhoodan movement and enthusing the workers to make an all-out effort in this cause. It has also been decided that Shri Dada Dharmadhikari will now give first place to the work of Bhoodan and devote more and more of his time for it.

It is clear from the work that has gone on for the last three months that the Bhoodan Yajna has gripped the imagination of people of all the schools of thought in the country.

Another good result of the movement has been that the sense of frustration that had crept into the minds of the people, and more especially of the workers, after the advent of Swaraj, has begun to disappear like mist before the morning sun. It was wrongly expected by some that once Swaraj was won, the Governments by themselves would do all that was necessary for the welfare of the people. For various reasons, we found that though the Government succeeded beyond expectation in some of the tasks to which it addressed itself, it was not able to fulfil what could reasonably be expected of it in the domestic and economic spheres, which in fact, were the spheres that most affected the people. The result was that constructive workers became critical and dissatisfied with the Government. The Bhoodan movement has shown them that it is neither desirable nor necessary to wait in helplessness, on the Government, believing

that it alone can tackle and solve the burning problems of the people. It has shown that there is an effective non-violent way in which the people can solve their problems on their own strength. And it has been proved that the people are willing to tread this path. The *Bhoodan* movement has thus enabled the workers as well as the people to have a glimpse of the moral and spiritual potentiality that lies locked up in them.

But it will have to be admitted that though the feeling of frustration has been considerably reduced workers do not as yet feel the urge, the irresistible desire to plunge into the work of the *Bhoodan* movement with the same intensity as is necessary for the fulfilment of such a great task. One of the reasons for this is the fact that these friends have not yet fully grasped the revolutionary potentialities of the *bhoodan* movement, nor realized the urgent need to find a non-violent solution of the land problem.

As far as I can see, there is yet another reason for the reluctance to take the plunge. Workers feel hesitant, feel a kind of nervousness in approaching the people with the message of *bhoodan*, since they are doubtful about the response that they would get from the people. The rank and file of our workers seem to think that it is only people like Shri Vinobaji, who is listened to as the First Satyagrahi, as a man who has sacrificed his all at the altar of service, as a saint, as a close associate and disciple of Gandhiji, who can hope to get such an enthusiastic response from the people, and that common workers like us hardly expect any response. It is, therefore, often asked "When will Vinobaji come to our province? When will you come?" and it is said that though committees may be set up and some propaganda work may be done etc., the actual work of *bhoodan* can be started in the provinces only when Shri Vinobaji or somebody of the same nature and stature goes to the province. It seems to me that this is a wrong way of thinking, and it is necessary for us to remove the feeling that only a saint or a leader can hope to get response for the message of *bhoodan*. It is the fundamental faith of a Satyagrahi that there is within every man an all-conquering and inexhaustible source of moral power, and that an appeal to this moral consciousness even in your opponent can convert him to your cause. We should then have faith in this power that is latent in all of us, and devote

ourselves to the work of *bhoodan* to the extent that our faith and our strength warrant. We should realise that it is only thus, by right action that one can grow in moral stature. In the very nature of things, this growth can only be slow though sure. In the meanwhile, all of us can contribute our mite even as the cowherds of Krishna helped him to lift the Gowardhan, and then we see, even as Shri Vinobaji saw, that, as he always tells us, the people are the *Kalpavriksha*, the divine tree that fulfils your desire. You are given what you seek in its shade.

I also find that the constructive workers are caught up in the works for which they have already accepted responsibility, and are facing the dilemma — whether to leave off or limit their present responsibilities and to plunge into the work of *bhoodan* or to continue where they are and to contribute whatever help they can from where they are.

Though the importance of constructive work is beyond question, and though it is true that what we are today and whatever will be tomorrow, depends on our constructive work, I want to say in all humility that if we are to maintain the power and glory of the constructive programme, and to fulfil the main purpose for which it was fashioned we will have to try and solve the burning problems of the people with the help of non-violent methods. We can, therefore, say that the land-problem is such a burning problem and that the fortunes of constructive workers are dependent on the success with which we solve that problem with the non-violent method of *bhoodan*. Shri Vinobaji himself has referred to this many times. Let us all ponder over this in all earnestness, and see that we play our part in this great movement. It is therefore, my humble but firm opinion that all of us should make it our chief concern to see that the target of 25 lakh acres which we fixed at Sevapuri is reached before April 1954.

In addition to constructive workers, there are many brothers and sisters in the towns and villages who have faith in

"We must make sacrifices for poor. I am asking for land. It is just a symbol of that spirit of sacrifice. In every heart there should be a desire to serve Daridranarayan."

— VINOBAJI

Sarvodaya, who try to mould their lives in accordance with the tenets of Sarvodaya and who have contributed their share to the progress of the *bhoodan* movement. It is their duty too to see that they help in advancing the cause of *bhoodan* in their own circles and areas. Let them not hesitate for fear that some critics may ridicule them and question their right to preach the message of *bhoodan* as they themselves have not sacrificed all their possession in the cause. To such critics let them reply: "Yes, I cannot ask you to sacrifice your all, as long as I have not done so myself, nor am I doing so. But I have contributed my share, and I am only asking you to contribute your share." When a house is on fire, my duty does not end with throwing a bucketful of water into the conflagration; I have to appeal to every one in the neighbourhood to join in the attempt to put out the fire.

Brothers and sisters, wherever we are and whatever our station in society, whether we are constructive workers or just honest

men who care for the good of our people, let every one who stands for Sarvodaya immediately set about doing his utmost for this *Bhoodan-Yajna*.

In conclusion, let me say one thing more. Since the *bhoodan* movement is our solution for the land problem it is natural that we have concentrated most of our attention on it. But we must know that the equitable distribution of land brought about by *bhoodan* by itself will not be adequate to solve the problem of finding employment for all or to lead to the establishment of a Sarvodaya order of society. The second half of the Sevapuri resolution, that asks us to boycott the products of centralized industries as far as the needs for food and clothing are concerned and to take the vow of Swadeshi, i. e. to use the products of village industries, is a pointer towards the further steps that we will have to take in this direction. I therefore appeal to all our friends to educate public opinion on the latter half of the Sevapuri resolution as well.

Chartered Merchants

— BHARATHANANDA

A modern state, to survive, must be able to direct its economic life because the causes of disruption in the present day society are mainly economical. This means that every activity of economic importance should be closely co-ordinated with the needs of society. This co-ordination means in practice an integrated state, which need not be a totalitarian state. A totalitarian state leaves nothing to individual initiative, while an integrated state may leave everything to private initiative and resources, except — integration.

Among the many factors against which the modern state has to battle in its struggle for integration, the private trader, the man who trades for personal profit is the most disrupting. The very heavy penalties which are being imposed on the profiteers and black marketeers illustrate the serious and baffling nature of the problem.

As there are codes of professional honour for doctors, judges and so on, so should there be a code of honour for traders. As there are chartered accountants so should there be chartered merchants.

Equitable distribution of articles of first necessity is not possible as long as such goods are available not to the man who needs them most, but to the man who pays the highest price. Equity demands that the price of goods essential for survival should not be subject to the law of supply and demand. And this law will operate as long as the primary motive for trade is profit.

Total rationing of articles of first necessity was tried in various parts of the world and it was found that unless production is as drastically controlled as distribution, control will inevitably result in shrinkage

of production or in black marketing. Total control is only possible in a totalitarian country. Democracies must apparently choose between free trade and corruption.

The solution of the problem of just and adequate distribution of the first necessities of life lies in the creation of a sense of social responsibility. The creation of a class of chartered merchants is suggested, as one of the steps towards the creation of an integrated state, which is the outer expression of an organic society, a society not only well organised, but free from inherent antagonisms and contradictions.

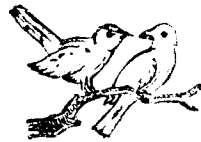
Since very ancient times it was an accepted custom that certain vitally important professions were under obligation to adhere to a definite code of conduct, to a high level of integrity, so that the privileges attached to the profession carry with them the penalty of complete disqualification for any breach of the professional code. The professions of the doctor, judge, priest, soldier, public accountant etc. were always based on a code of professional ethics. In many parts of the world every profession was bound with a code of behaviour. The mediaeval guilds looked after the competence and honesty of the craftsman and the excellence of his workmanship. Even the prices and the rates of wages were often controlled by the guilds.

As there are codes of professional honour for doctors, judges and so on, so should there be a code of honour for traders. As

there are chartered accountants so should there be chartered merchants. The code of honour of the chartered merchant would obviously be based on the protection of the interests of the consumer. On the other hand the chartered merchants will have the monopoly of distribution of articles of first necessity in their areas, with full protection against competition. Such chartered merchants will be sworn in before their peers and in the presence of the representatives of the public and the Government.

To begin with all dealings in grain, oil, milk, cloth, and fuel should be handed over to the chartered merchants. Later on this list may be extended to include less essential items. Eventually all "fair price" shops will be run by chartered merchants.

The question arises immediately: why should not such chartered merchantship be reserved for co-operative societies of producers and consumers? To this the reply is that a charter as envisaged in this article is essentially an act of trust between the individual and society, which states that there is a state of goodwill and confidence between the two. The charter is strictly personal, non-transferable and lapses with the retirement from trade or death of its possessor, just like in the case of a doctor or judge. It can be given to individuals only. No corporate or official body can hold it. A charter is a recognition of individual integrity and integrity is always individual.



There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which in the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert.

— Gandhiji

SARVA SEVA SANGH ON COMMUNITY PROJECTS

Since individual members of the Sarva Seva Sangh have been asked by the Administrator of the Community Projects to give their view on the plan for the Community Projects and since the Sangh also feels that is a matter on which it should express its opinion for the guidance of Constructive Workers, the following statement is issued.

1. It is difficult to give detailed or precise opinion on the Plan for the Community Projects since what we have is only a draft outline of the Plan. While many different items of work are found listed in the Plan, it is not stated how these will be organized, carried forward and co-ordinated. It is therefore possible to make only certain general observations.

2. The objectives of the Plan are not made very clear or beyond doubt. At one place the objective is indicated as "the greatest good of the greatest number." At another place it is stated that "A substantial increase in agricultural production is the immediate target of the Project." Then again it is stated that "It is the quality of human beings that makes a nation great" implying that the Community Projects will aim at improving the quality of human beings in the country. The Sarvodaya ideal stands for the greatest good of all and not only of the greatest number. The constructive Programme aims not only at increase in agriculture production but at full village reconstruction. The Plan does not indicate how it proposes to raise the quality of human beings in India. The plan is one directed towards the material advancement of the people and the provision of amenities and conveniences. There is no stress on the moral re-generation of the people and on the cultivation by them of the nobler values of life. Can material advancement alone raise the quality of human beings?

3. The quality of the available personnel to be in charge of various items of work under the Community Projects may be improved upto a point by proper training. But for that the training itself must be under the guidance of those who are actuated by the spirit of service and who in their own lives can set the example for the people to follow. But it is laid down that the training of village workers for the Community Projects will be carried out under a programme planned by the Indian-American Governments and

the Ford Foundation. It is of the utmost importance that the training programme should be entrusted chiefly to those in India who fully know the background of Indian culture and who have themselves had long experience in the field of social service and education.

4. The Plan for the Community Projects does not deal with the problem of employment for the whole people. Employment for every one is one of the objects from which no Plan worth the name can run away. There is no mention of handspinning at all, though that is the one industry which can give employment to the largest number of people. As regards the development of industries the Plan leans unmistakably towards the introduction of power-driven machinery. This will not solve but only increase unemployment in the long run. The road making programme is stressed to give employment. But the villages require many other things more urgently than roads. Roads in the Plan are those meant to connect the villages with urban areas. But it is the lanes inside the villages and the approaches to them that require to be attended to immediately. To do even this will be a huge task. To make good roads connecting rural areas with urban areas may under the present conditions lead to further exploitation of the villages.

5. Among village industries, handloom weaving, *ghani*, leather and sugarcane crushing are mentioned. But how long can these stand the competition from the power-driven industries, if they are not given protection in time? Will handlooms be protected from the competition of power-looms? These questions find no answer in the Plan. These can be answered only by facing the whole question of cottage and village industries versus the mills and factories. It is of great importance to make clear how the conflict between man power, bullock power and the bigger power-driven machinery will be resolved.

6. More attention seems to be given to cities and towns rather than to the villages. Till now the urban area has largely monopolised the attention of Governments. It is now therefore necessary that villages must be attended to even at the cost of the towns. In the estimates for a Village Unit, the allocation of funds for drinking water, drainage and education is very inadequate as compared with the provision made for roads, irrigation, reclamation etc. The scheme is based on the idea that one-third of the amenities already exist, one-third will be paid by the Government and the remaining one-third is to be furnished by the village itself. It is certainly necessary that the village must contribute its quota in labour and in money. But there should be no rigidity in the arrangement that one-third must come from the village and that one-third only will be executed through the Project. The arrangement may well be that up to a certain limit the village will get double of what it contributes in kind, labour or cash. That will also be a test of how far the worker in charge has awakened the mind of the people and helped them to help themselves.

7. Primary education is proposed for all children. But there is no clear mention that it will be Basic Education though it is said that preference will be given to the same. There is no reference at all to any radical change in middle and high school education.

8. There is only a casual reference to rural sanitation, but this is a matter of such fundamental importance that it will have to be included as a major item of work. It is not enough to furnish certain conveniences but it is necessary to educate the people to change their bad habits and to properly utilise night-soil and urine for the preparation of compost manure. Bath-rooms should be attached to village wells and there should be provision for godowns for the storage of grain in each village.

9. In regard to agriculture itself, three out of the first four priorities in the agricultural programme are (1) reclamation of available virgin land, (2) development of rural electrification and (3) provision of commercial fertilisers. The last 2 in a list of 18 items are the encouragement of the use of natural manures and provision for the planting and care of forests. What India needs is an intensive campaign to increase her production

per acre by feeding the soil with its natural foods and affording it protection against erosion. It would be wise to concentrate on small-scale intensive agriculture and get the maximum fertility into our existing arable lands. This cannot be done by commercialised drives for quick money returns but only by hard work on the part of the farmer who loves his land and understands its needs. The scheme however puts the whole emphasis on heavy equipment, machinery and commercial fertilisers.

10. In spite of the mention made on the need of local initiative and co-operation the Plan is in fact an official undertaking, conceived, directed and largely financed from the top. There is no place in the administrative set-up for the non-official except that he "might" be included in the "Advisory Board" of the local Project. But if development is to come up from the bottom consultation and planning must begin at the bottom. Projects locally initiated to meet local needs will be capable of being carried out largely with local talent and equipment and need not depend on expensive machinery or technique from outside. Such Projects, in which willing labour counts more than money, are the only ones which can be reproduced all over the country.

11. The general impression is that it is American money which is going to largely finance the Community Projects. The fact however is that American money will be less than rupees 450 lakhs and Indian money more than rupees 3,400 lakhs. Most of the American contribution will be in the shape of machinery, motor transport, equipment, chemical fertilisers etc. No doubt, these things are even now slowly getting into the villages but when the Government will push these into the villages through the Community Projects on a rapid and extensive scale, the strain on village economy might become unbearable. The influx of numerous highly-paid officials, incapable of identifying themselves with village life, might hasten the process of demoralisation which has already over-taken the villages through the impact of money economy and exploitation by big capital.

Under Gandhiji's guidance we in India have developed the technique of the Constructive Programme to give prosperity to the villages and to add self-reliance and therefore dignity to them. We do not believe that pouring big money from outside into

The Students: Parasites or Pioneers?

— R. R. KEITHAHN, GANDHI GRAM —

A few hours ago a young S. S. L. C. graduate came to join our 2-Year Rural Training Course. He comes from a good family. One of his relatives is working selflessly under great difficulties in the villages. He was sent by devoted village worker.

Perhaps we are wrong but we tell these applicants that they must not expect salaries when they go to work in the villages. Villagers are poor but generous. They will share their food and clothing. But we cannot expect a regular salary from them. Therefore we tell these expectant youths quite clearly that they must face realities, give themselves fully in service and expect no substantial material return. Are we not true to fact when we make such a statement?

It is true that there are growing opportunities in Government or private institutions for workers for rural development. I think there will be growing opportunity of regularly paid workers in our villages. But we cannot say these are always certainties. Moreover one is very doubtful whether the highly-paid worker in the village does much good.

I have just received a communication from a group in the United Nations which

(Continued from previous page)

the villages can really help the villages or continue except for a briefer period. The whole approach underlying the Community Projects requires to be re-considered. We think that the lines of development laid down by Gandhiji in the Constructive Programme are basically correct and sound for our country. So far, except, one or two Provincial Governments, neither the Central nor the Provincial Governments have cared to actively help in working out the Constructive Programme. Now that the various Governments are coming forward to promote the Community Projects, which will cover a good part of the country, it is for them to study how far our patterns of work are right and proper and are good enough to be fitted into their new programme. ★

is trying to assess the value of the "Auxiliary Village Worker". It seems to be taken for granted that between the highly-paid professional worker and the villager there will be always a group of village workers who really do the work of building new villages. Gradually we shall be able to support such a corps of workers. But today such workers labour under great difficulties. Normally they get no pay. Their reward is the satisfaction of knowing that they are doing one of the most important jobs in the world and that they are meeting dire need. Is that not enough reward? And yet some of my co-workers will say that such a worker often has a needy parent or a needy brother and should help those who are dependent upon him. Am I right in maintaining that a true village worker must leave his normal attachment behind and concentrate himself completely on the need of the villager?

Whatever that may be the fact is that very largely our High School and College education makes our young men and women practically unfit to serve in the villages. Study the graduate role of any Medical College - even that of a religious institution - and you will find practically no one going to serve in the village. Study the graduate role of any High School or College - even those located in a village - and you will find very few that return to the place where 85% of our people live and where there is dire need - yes, even more important where the foundations of our future society must be built!

It is a great joy to be able to say that there are a few choice young people who do leave their comforts and serve. But those of us who work in the village must face the fact, it seems to me, that the best village worker will be the villager himself who has received about 8 years of elementary education and who is then trained to work at the village level in his own village. Certainly here at Gandhi Gram our experience bears out that assumption. This does not mean that we should not continue our work with the students in their city institutions. In Government service, a sympathetic professional can always render helpful service to the village worker and to the village itself. But we must not think that our work among students will take many students actually to the village. If we want able village workers let us work with the villager himself at the village level and he will return to the village satisfied with something of a vision and training, and effective where there is dire and fundamental need. ★

Mechanisation in Agriculture

A Challenge to Animal and Human Power

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN

MAN'S USE OF ANIMALS

Since the day when man found out that he could live on food other than animal flesh, he has taken to domesticating them and utilising them for service alive for life. From the humble sheep to the mighty elephant of the forest many animals have been so domesticated. They live with him as his friends, and give him more things alive than the carrion that would be left when killed. They have by their domestication accepted man as their elder brother shedding the fear of being killed at first sight. The cow, the sheep and the buffalo gave rich milk, many others gave him rich wool, and rendered him service in the processes of producing his food from land. Why, they rendered him a thousand odd jobs for being allowed to live in peace with man. They fed on the green grass which nature gave in abundance, and drank the waters of the streams. Man too generously gave it that portion of the produce of nature which he could not consume. They became convenient companions who lived on their efforts, and served him on his own terms. Even when dead he could make use of their hides and return to nature what he did not want.

MAN'S LOVE FOR ANIMALS

It is this human appreciation of the usefulness of animals that has evolved man—the carnivorous being that he is—into a vegetarian. If today they are not many, there is the possibility of all men being so evolved one day. This mute but reliable companion and servant gradually became to be considered as the property of man, and man wanted to own more and more of this property. This forced him to take greater interest in them, and he took to rearing them. They gave him rich direct food, and all the services which his strength could not render and these added to their value. Man and animal lived so close to each other, and that built up a mutual attachment. The animals were loved and petted like children and they followed his commands as if with human understanding. Thus the prosperity of man was closely mixed up with that of

the cattle. When man and animal—the two different wings of nature—began to live and expand in harmony, there was greater peace and prosperity for all alike. Thus has the cow in our country won the veneration of the mother, while the other animals enjoy their respective relationships to man.

THE CHALLENGE OF MACHINERY

But this happy relationship of millenniums is being now attacked by wrong notions of economy and the power machinery to a considerable extent. The idea of profit has hardened man's heart, and has forced him to change his attitude towards them whom he cherished as his parents and offsprings. The power machinery—a greater source of power—enable him to disregard and discard them. Now the machine has come to render him tougher service than the cattle could and give him more money profit than the cattle. The vast wild extents which served as grazing grounds of the animals have been gradually encroached upon for growing the food-grains for human consumption, and the cattle have now no space where they can feed themselves. This change has also made it more costly for man to keep and feed animals.

Milk has been the sustainer of human life for ages, but it is being now attempted to substitute other products in its place. The infant-feeds, the malts and milk-powders are getting more popular, and the poor country of ours is importing lots of them to rear the daughters and sons of the coming generation. The causes for the scarcity of fresh milk are not being investigated, and the defects set right. People delude themselves that they are getting cheaper milk when they resort to these substitutes. This tendency when unchecked will still more pull down the importance of cattle to us.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF ANIMALS

The tractor with other accessories has come in to plough and do the other operations in the process of agriculture. The machine does these operations quicker and on a greater scale. Transport vehicles driven by charcoal, diesel oil and petrol are plying

to the nooks and corners of the country, have driven away the draught animals and their slow transport. Electric and oil pumps are fast replacing the cattle in drawing water from the depths of the wells. The poor animals cannot compare favourably before these monster machines with giant strength, and they are being gradually discarded.

To the individual it might be profitable to discard his cattle and buy a machine, but can this apply equally well to the nation? It might be that our cattle are relatively inefficient. The solution is not certainly in discarding them, but in making them more efficient. They are too numerous, and they cannot be destroyed all in a trice. That will involve the nation in a huge irreparable loss. Even if we can destroy them and bear the total loss, have we the ready money to buy all the costly machinery, and the costly fuel oil to keep them running?

Borrow we may, but we will be enslaving financially our posterity thereby. We can slowly make the machines ourselves, but wherein is the specific need to make them which are out to destroy the companions of ages of man? Why not make only such as can operate with man and the beast? Then is the danger of the machine driving away even man when his companion has been dispensed with. Has not man lost his place to machine in other trades? How can the displaced man be replaced? After all the vagaries of the machine are more than that of the cattle, and the profit inducement of the machine might not be actually realised.

DISAPPEARANCE OF GRAZING GROUND

This changed outlook has encouraged rapid encroachment on the grazing lands of the country. The war and the consequent food shortage have brought under plough most of the grazing lands in the name of the Grow More Food Campaign. The Government bent on ever increasing land revenue, has been steadily reducing the area from the past, and this new campaign has completely done away with all the grazing ground. In many parts of the country the road-sides, the uncultivated common lands and the river banks have been so ploughed and sown, that cattle have not even the space to stroll, not to talk of grazing. The Government gloats that it is increasing its food resources by such extension of cultivation, but forgets that without cattle there can be no efficient cultivation, and that cattle cannot flourish without any grazing grounds.

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The planners of the nation's economy talk of the cattle wealth of the country, but their attractions are diverted by machine, and plan for their rapid introduction. They do feel the need for grazing grounds, but do not prohibit encroachments on them for producing their targets of food and other agricultural commodities. Foresighted Rajaji has warned people against their over-dependence on the centralised sources of power supply, but as an administrator has not done anything to restore the grazing grounds to the cattle.

BACK TO BARBARITY

So economic notions and the machines help us only to go back to that hunter stage when man valued the animal for its meat. He wants meat and plans to rear them to supply him meat, and thinks of cheap ways of so doing. It will not be cheap for him to rear cattle only for the meat and even if that be possible, it will be a great fall for man to see the venerated and petted animals being slaughtered and streams of blood flowing by. It is strange economics which values the dead more than the living. Will not the total destruction of cattle break up the harmony that has been built up during ages? Has man the sole right to destroy them for increasing his profits? The animals are mute, they cannot plead or protest, but nature will surely wreak its vengeance in ways unknown to us.

LET MEN AND CATTLE LIVE TOGETHER

Wisdom lies in living in harmony with nature, and in completing the processes of evolution that has given a place to the mute animals in the human society. How useful they have become and how more useful they can be made to be. The two species of nature have lived and can live for ever together, and man can gain more for their company. He should give them vast stretches of land to feed themselves, and to depend less on him. He should tend them with love and care, attend on them when sick, and value them as living companions. With their dung he can enrich his soil, with their milk he can foster the future generations, and with their strength grow all that is needed by himself. Like the clouds they take little and give us everything. Go-Seva is not a mere superstition but a sound practical creed for working up individual and national prosperity. Immediate money profit and escape from hard work might be enticing, but lasting results and ultimate profits are achieved rather slowly. ★

VINOBA - The Apostle of Bhoodan Yagna

SURESH RAMABHAI

Acharya Vinobaji's 57th birth-day was celebrated on 11th September at Kashi. He declared his vow of not returning to his Paramdham Ashram at Paunar till the object of the Bhoodan Yagna is realised. The following is a brief life-sketch of this Apostle of Bhoodan Yagna.

Curiously enough, little is known of the history of the life of this unique man. Nor does he encourage his biographers. As he himself says, most of his real life has been lived rather within than without and if his biography is to be written he has to write it himself. Like Mahatma Gandhi's "Experiments with Truth," Vinoba's autobiography, whenever it comes to light, will be the enchanting story of the pilgrimage of a soul in constant communion with itself and ceaselessly moving ahead to its cherished objective of the realisation of the Brotherhood of Man and Fatherhood of God.

ABIDING PLACE

In an immortal verse Tulsidas has compared the character of a saint to that of a cotton fibre, since both undergo suffering to contribute to the welfare of others. And just as the black soil of Maharashtra is the richest cotton producing area of the country so also it has been an eternal source from which has sprung up a perennial current of saints who have slacked the parched throat not only of the people of Maharashtra but that of the whole country. Nivriti, Gyandev, Ramdev, Namdev, Eknath and Tukaram are familiar names who have found an abiding place in India's legend, history and song. The latest member of the self-same procession is the beggar-saint of Paunar, Vinayak Narhari Bhawe, commonly known as Vinoba as Gandhiji gave him the name.

EARLY LIFE

Born on September 11, 1895 at Gagoda in the Kolaba district of Bombay Presidency, Vinoba passed a large part of his early life at Baroda, the capital of Baroda State where his father, who passed away in September 1947, was in Government service. Vinoba is the eldest of three brothers. The younger Sri Balkoba is running the well-known Nature-cure clinic at Uruli Kanchan (Poona)

and the youngest, Sri Shivaji, is doing constructive work at Dhulia in Khandesh. All the three brothers are 'bal brahmacharis.' The father, Sri Narhari Shambhu Rao Bhawe, was a kind and genial soul who never lost his temper and was always truthful and methodical in his ways. Well versed in music, he had a passion for it and had written two books on the subject. Also he was very much interested in dyeing and painting. After retirement he gave some of his time to the Maharashtra branch of the A. I. S. A.

In 1907 Vinoba entered the Baroda High School. He was a voracious reader specially keen in Mathematics. He has remained a mathematician all his life, for he does nothing unless he satisfies himself by making calculations about it. That is why there is no wastage about him, and he once said that during the whole of his school and college life he wasted not even a minute of his time. He was also quite fond of newspapers, among which he read out 'Kesari,' the well-known mouth-piece of Lokmanya Tilak, to his mother Rukmini every day. He took up his Matric in November 1913.

But Vinoba was, it seems, not content with his life and began to think of leaving home for good and give himself up to high work. Two years of Intermediate were of intense inner agitation and suffering. One day in 1916 he was sitting by the mother who was cooking food. He had some rolled papers in his hands. He lit fire to one at its end. It began to burn. Mother asked him what he was doing. He replied that he was burning his school and college certificates to ashes. Stunned, she asked him not to be so foolish and bade him keep them so that they might prove useful if required in future. Out came the unequivocal answer, "No, now that I have decided to leave the college I will never require them. So why keep them with me?" It was a fateful decision.

READING AND WALKING:- TWO HOBBIES

In 1916 Vinoba, an under-graduate, came out of the Baroda College. During the past few years he had read so much that his eye-sight fell down to minus sight. But his memory being strong, sayings after sayings

of Maharashtra saints were committed to his heart and he thus enjoyed an intellectual realm all his own. His study helped him immensely later to translate the Sanskrit Gita into Marathi parallel couplets. When I requested him one day to take out some time and translate the Gita into Hindi as well, he replied, "Well, I can't do that, for I have not read your Hindi saints except Tulasidas; that too, only his 'Ramayan' and 'Vinaya Patrika.' As regards Marathi, I had mugged up all I could lay hands upon long long ago."

From his early years Vinoba had been fond of walking. In Baroda he, with his few friends, used to walk for three to four hours every day and cover some sixteen miles daily. Walking and reading can be said to be his main two occupations. In the Baroda Central Library his was a familiar figure, with his shirt or *kurta* hanging on the shoulder. In 1914 at college he started a 'Vidyarthi Mandal,' a sort of study circle.

JOINS GANDHIJI'S ASHRAM

The year 1916 marks the close of one chapter of Vinoba's life and the commencement of another. Mahatma Gandhi had by then come upon the Indian scene and started an Ashram at Kochrab in Gujarat. Vinoba joined it. But after some time he took one year as study leave. Gandhiji testifies to it that Vinoba returned to the Ashram exactly after one year, to the day. As he said in a letter to Gandhiji, dated February 10, 1918 during these 12 months he strictly observed Ashram rules and regulations and what he did is simply astounding. During this period, he studied the "Upanishads", the "Gita", the "Brahma Sutra" and "Shankar Bhashya" of the "Manusmriti", the Patanjali's "Yoga-Darshan" and read through the "Nyaya Sutra", "Vaisheshik Sutra" and "Yagnavalkya Smriti" and took a vow never to take salt or spices. Besides he conducted a Gita class of six students, a Gnaneshwari class of four students, an Upanishad class of two, an English class of two and a big Hindi class. Also he covered 400 miles on foot during which he delivered 50 discourses on the "Gita," etc. Concluding his letter, he asked Gandhiji to accept him as his son. Bapu blessed and wished him a life of service to the country.

ACTIVITIES IN WARDHA

In 1918 Vinoba returned to the Sabarmati Ashram. Three years later the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj came to Gandhiji

requesting him the gift of the Ashram's most blossoming flower, Vinoba, for a constructive-work centre at Wardha. Bapu agreed and so in 1921, Vinoba came to Wardha to direct and guide the Mahila Ashram. With him came some of his ablest colleagues who are working right up to now.

Another important event in 1918 in Vinoba's life was the death of his dear and revered mother. At Bapu's bidding he had gone there earlier at her service. But he did not participate in her funeral ceremony, for he wanted to perform the last rites himself, whereas the orthodox custom allowed only professional priests to do it. And he spent the time at home in reciting the Gita and the Upanishads.

Vinoba's activities from 1921 to 1947 may be regarded as the researches both of a soul-physicist in the laboratory of his self and that of a cottage mechanic in the laboratory of his Ashram-Village. The former took him to cosmic spiritual heights, while the latter found expression in the enrichment of the various items of Gandhiji's Constructive programme, specially khadi, village industries, Nai Talim and Safai. In January 1932 he shifted to Nalwadi, a village about a mile and half from Wardha, where he resolved to support himself by spinning work alone and he spun for hours and hours going deep into the various aspects of khadi craft. Illness overtook him and he was advised to go to the hills for rest. He told Bapu that he had chosen his own hill station, a desolate hillock-like piece of land by the side of the Paunar river, some four miles from Wardha town, where stood a cottage built by Seth Jamnalalji. He gave it the name of Paramdham Ashram which has remained his head-quarters ever since.

Again, it was from Wardha that Vinoba took his silent part in the political movements of Gandhiji. He was among the moving spirits of the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha of 1923, his other companions being Seth Jamnalalji, Mahatma Bhagwanden, and Sri Nilkanth Rao Deshmukh. Next year, in 1924, Bapu sent him to Guruvayoor, Travancore, in the Harijan Temple-Entry Satyagraha. The climax came in October 1940 when he appeared before the world as India's foremost Satyagrahi of the Great War II. In the individual Satyagraha movement he went to jail thrice. As in 1930-31 he was again arrested in 1942 and released three years after.

SARVODAYA MISSION

Returning to Paunar in 1945, he took up a new programme of the Scavenger of the village Surgaon. Daily he walked down three to four miles from Paunar to Surgaon and commenced his work regularly at eight o'clock, in heat or cold, sun or rain. Nothing could interrupt him except the death of Bapu when he felt suddenly called upon to undertake higher and more serious responsibilities. It was at his persuasion that the Sarvodaya Samaj was founded in March 1948. Some time later he went round the country and took interest in the problem of the resettlement of the Meos near about Delhi. That too, however, did not pacify his inner urges. Again an illness came to his rescue and after severe hard thinking he resolved upon a new venture of physical labour and self-sufficiency at Paramdham in which he himself worked in the fields for eight to ten hours a day. That experiment goes on still with a band of selfless workers devoted to it under his guidance.

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

While busy in his Samya-Yoga work, Vinoba was urged upon by leading members of Sarvodaya Samaj to attend the third session at Shivarampalli (Hyderabad-Dn.). He consented and on 8th March, 1951 left Paunar on foot and after covering more than 300 miles reached Shivarampalli on 7th April. On his way back he thought of going through the Telangana area. It was at Pochampalli village in Nalgonda district on 18th April that the idea of Bhoodana-Yagna flashed across his mind and with Ramnam on his lips he launched upon the Bhoodana-Yagna which is now a country-wide movement.

As has been said above, Vinoba translated the "Gita" into Marathi in 1930-31 and gave it the name of "Gitai" (Gita-ai Gita mother), which has sold into thousands and lakhs. His devotion to Gita is matchless and complete. As he says Gita is his life element (Pran-Tatwa) and he lives in the Gita-air. His discourses on Gita, "Gita Pravachan," are a wonderful exposition of the Gita doctrine. It has been translated into Hindi, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and several other languages of the country.

MASTER OF ACTION

Like a true devotee of the "Gita," Vinoba refuses to distinguish between Karma (Action) and Gyan (Knowledge) and Bhakti (Devotion), and feels that all three must go together as the shape and weight and sweetness of a 'laddoo' do go. He is,

therefore, a master of action and a hero of thought and a genius of devotion. As a master of action he has been a farmer, scavenger, spinner, weaver, teacher, *teli*, coolie, etc., a hero of thought he has given some very illustrious gems to the Marathi literature. Besides, Vinoba is a linguist of eminence. Marathi language is his mother tongue, so also Gujarati. He has acquired a thorough knowledge of Hindi, Bengali, Oriya and Punjabi. He knows all the four South Indian languages Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. In Telangana he recited the Slokas of Gita in Telugu and recently he was studying the classical Tamil Veda. English and French he had learnt at school. That he is always young as a student is clear by the fact that he learnt Arabic at the age of 46 and studied the holy Quran which he can recite remarkably well.

His whole life is a dedication to God whom he wants to see in the smallest particle as also in the poorest and the most down-trodden. The late Sri Mahadev Desai wrote about him:

"Vinoba has something which others have not. His first-rank characteristic is to resolve his decision into action the moment the former is once made. His second characteristic is continuous growth. Besides Bapu, I found this quality in Vinoba alone."

This is perfectly true. Like a flowing stream Vinoba is always new and fresh. Yet he observes his routine with a sun-like regularity. His refusal to cut short his programme when he met with a serious accident near Meerut in November last, bears this out. And every day he has something new to say in his post-prayer speech.

Vinoba, though on foot, is fast moving onward. His is not merely to take an acre of land here or half an acre there. His is to bring about a revolution in the life of society as a whole. The Bhoodan Yagna movement is an initial Satyagraha to this end. One can well see that time is not far off when he will give a call for Sarv-dan Yagna and turn the present unfortunate tide in the economic, social and political life of the country. But what forms the future Satyagraha will take, nobody can say. Yet none need be in doubt about the final objective—the attainment of economic and social freedom of the country. The Bhoodan Yagna, therefore, is the first step. And the more selflessly and sincerely and resolutely it is taken, the easier the journey ahead. Vinoba is on the March! Long live Vinoba! ★

Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra in Hyderabad

Shri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram started on Bhoodan Yatra on 26th August from Nanded, situated on the banks of the Godavari in Hyderabad.

Land problem in Maratwada differs greatly from that of Telangana. The land is of black cotton soil, hence rich and valuable. There are no land-lords who own very extensive area in thousands of acres, nor such poor peasants who have no clothes to wear, food to eat and hut to live. They are in all ways better off than the peasants of Telangana. Most of the land holders are middle-class people and many amongst them do personal cultivation. Hence it was naturally assumed by the workers that the mission would not bear fruit. Yet undaunted with faith in God and the blessings of Pujya Acharya Vinoba Bhawe and millions of poor hungry famished landless agricultural workers, Shri Shankarrao Deo began his tour at Nanded.

The tour progressed very satisfactorily indeed, much beyond expectations. In about 16 days till the 11th September 1952 when he reached Bidar, the first place in Karnatak area, Shri Deo had already collected nearly 2200 acres of rich fertile black cotton soil besides assurance from workers to procure much more from other villages which he could not physically cover. The workers said that they had no idea of the latent forces in the movement and they were diffident of success. Now that the gates of the divine vision had been opened to them, they were inspired, they said, and they would carry on with vigour and hope in the name of Pujya Acharya Vinoba Bhawe.

During these days many were the wonderful inspiring incidents that happened wherein offers of lands unsought for came to us. In fact the poor peasants who have little, gave more and with free heart than the rich. At one place a peasant with about 50 acres gave 12 acres of rich land and when the worker remonstrated with him he said he would himself trek all the way to meet Shri Deo and donate the land if he would not. At another place a peasant who donat-

K. VAIDYANATHAN,
SECRETARY,
HYDERABAD KHADI SAMITHI
AND MEMBER OF
BHOODAN COMMITTEE

ed 2 acres of land at night, volunteered three more acres the next morning and said he should change the survey number, because the one he offered was not that of a good land and it was not proper to donate bad land. At Latur where since morning till the meeting began, not one acre was donated, collection went up to more than 300 acres during and after the meeting. While on way from a halt to the next halt, villagers of a wayside village came with band and music 2 furlongs ahead and requested him to stay in their village for half an hour with an offer of 25 acres of land. Many were such instances. At Aurath Shajahani, a wayside place, Shri Bapurao Deshpande of Bidar, an M. L. A. from that constituency, who till then was not agreeing with the movement, volunteered with a generous offer of 500 acres of land.

From 26-8-'52 to 11-9-'52, he had walked 188 miles, halted at 14 places, covered three districts of Nanded, Osmanabad and Bidar; addressed 15 public meetings and received 2340 acres of land and Rs. 508 in about 220 donors. The message of Bhoodan was given to nearly 50,000 persons from about 150 villages and 100 workers of the three districts. During the tour Shri Poolchand Gandhi, Minister for Public Health and Education, Shri Devi Singh Chauhan, Minister for Rural Reconstruction met him and the latter followed him to a distance of about 40 miles in his constituency. The M. L. A's of each constituency through which he happened to pass took part in the Yatra besides the other prominent local residents.

The movement has stirred the enthusiasm of the people of the tract, roused them to a consciousness of their duty to their fellow brethren, made them realise the fast approaching changes in the social and economic life of the country and prepared them to give with faith and goodwill their surplus possessions. ★

The Bhoodan Yagna is a voluntary movement of the people in which appeal is made to the "haves" to share their fortunes with the "have-nots." The spiritual effect of it would be weakened if it mixed itself up with administrative projects and programmes.

MASHRUWALA

CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA (2)

Vedaranyam Kasturba Kanya Gurukulam

SURESH RAMABHAI

Of all the places in South India which earned a name in the Salt Satyagraha day, perhaps the most prominent is Vedaranyam, a village in the Tanjore District, about six miles from Point Calimere and within almost a stone's throw of the resurgent waters of the Bay of Bengal. From ancient times it has been known as a place of pilgrimage on account of the Saraswathi temple—the unique feature of the legendary idol is that there is no Veena in the hand of the Goddess. Some four hundred years ago, there lived here Swami Thayumanavar, one of the great poet-saints of South India. A direct descendant of the saint is Sardar Vedarathnam Pillai, who is himself the centre of all public activities in Vedaranyam and around it.

Sardar Vedarathnam Pillai is among the few alert and unostentatious workers of Tamilnad who have devoted themselves body and soul to Gandhiji's constructive programme and who, far from the maddening crowds and ignoble strife, carry on their work and live the mission dear to their heart. It was my good fortune to visit Vedaranyam in the last week of August and see the remarkable activities there.

The main activities at Vedaranyam under Sardar Vedarathnam are four:

(1) Government's Firka Development Work, (2) Khadi work, (3) Thayumanavar Vidyalayam and (4) Kasturba Gandhi Kanya Gurukulam.

The Firka Development work forms part of the Firka Development Scheme of the Madras Government. Vedaranyam may well develop into an ideal centre of the district. But the main concentration of Sardarji is on the other three items of work, Khadi, Vidyalayam and Gurukulam.

Some Rs. 10,000 worth of Khadi is annually produced at Vedaranyam with the spinners of the locality. Weaving is partly done by weavers at home and partly at the centre itself. Some weaver families from Coimbatore District are staying at the centre where they also impart training to the local people. Workers so trained will, be-

sides earning as expert weavers, in turn help the students of both the Vidyalayam and the Gurukulam to weave the yarn of the children in the school. The weaving school is nicely located and neatly managed.

The Thayumanavar Vidyalayam is a Basic School working for the last 5 years. There is at present primary education for children studying from classes I to V.

The jewel of all activities here is the Kasturba Gandhi Kanya Gurukulam. There are 189 girls of ages ranging from four to nineteen. Including the members of staff the Gurukulam consists of about 200 persons. The education imparted is on the Basic lines from classes I to VII. Crafts like spinning and weaving find their due place both in theory and practice. It was a pleasure to see children attending to garden work with joy and gaiety. The teachers give a lead in their work with zeal and sympathy for the younger folk.

Perhaps the soul of such an institution is the kitchen. A bad kitchen is the bane of the whole institution. But it was a pleasant surprise to see this model kitchen. I have personally seen a large number of public institutions in U. P., M. P., Gujarat and the South, but never before did I come across such a neat and tidy kitchen and dining hall. Everything was literally spick and span. The Gurukulam has a growing Museum where the most important of the exhibits is a big globe—made in the Gurukulam—showing the physical features of the world.

My last function at the Gurukulam was a chat with the young sisters, numbering about 200 in all. They all assembled in a hall and had their prayer. Oh, what a sublime picture it was! I could not help feeling I was in a temple where there were 200 God's own goddesses. Their recitations in chorus, resounding the hall, is a scene I can never forget. Surely under the hands of these would-be mothers the future of Tamilnad is at once safe and bright.

There was the barrier of language between me and my friends. But Sardar Vedarathnam's son, Shri Appakutty, my kind

host, came to my rescue and acted as an interpreter between us. The questions they put were intelligent and earnest. On my telling them that I was a humble fighter for the people's cause they inquired of me how much success I had achieved in my work. Lo, what answer could I give? But when I explained to them the forces working against the true interests of the poor people—forces of Governments, of big business, of most of the educated and learned, as also of foreign money and brains—they appreciated the point. During my talk I asked them whether, according to their innocent thinking, we could reconstruct our villages under American guidance and inspiration; spontaneously there came the loud and emphatic answer 'Illai' in Tamil meaning 'No.' This helped me and I went on to add that we had to carry on a hard and bitter struggle and that

luckily a saint like Vinobaji had appeared on the scene and was guiding our course.

Finally I congratulated them on the two distinct features of the Gurukulam—admirable cleanliness (Safai) and deep fellow-feeling. With a treasure of memories of these sisters I left the Gurukulam—an institution the like of which can be rarely seen in the country and which fulfils one of the greatest needs of our nation. The Gurukulam is a living testimony to the sacrifice and earnestness of Sardar Vedarathnam Pillai.

Many confuse between the place Vedaranyam and its moving spirit Vedarathnam! But it matters little when the man and the cause are so much identified with each other as here.



Khadi Lovers' Conference in Tamilnad and Kerala

There was a Conference of Khadi lovers and constructive workers at Palghat on the 18th September, 1952 to consider the present crisis that has arisen in Khadi Work and to decide about the programme by which Khadi Work and other Cottage Industries will take an abiding place in the villages. The Conference was presided over by Shri E. Ikkanda Varriar, Trichur. Shri Sahasrabudhe, Secretary, A. I. S. A., Sevagram attended the Conference and addressed the workers.

There was another conference in Tamilnad at Trivadi on the 20th September, '52. Shri Sardar A. Vedarathnam presided. Shri Sahasrabudhe addressed the meeting and explained the present situation and the necessity of an intensive campaign in the villages for promoting Khadi and other cottage industries.

Shri Sahasrabudhe said that there was an accumulation of Khadi stock to the extent of Rs. 60 lakhs in the country and that the object of the conference is not simply to find ways and means of temporary relief to clear the stock but to find out a permanent solution for the chronic and recurring problem before Khadi. He said that the Central Government is considering some Khadi scheme prepared by the Planning Commission which considers Khadi work as a temporary relief to solve unemployment but

not on the basis of permanent social and moral values of Khadi as emphasised by Gandhiji.

The Conference passed four resolutions, the substance of which is given below:

The first endorsed the Bhoodan Movement of Vinobaji and the Sarva Seva Sangh and the programme of A. I. S. A. for propagating Khadi and other cottage industries in villages towards realisation of Grama Rajya. It also appealed to the public to take active part in the movement and programme.

The Conference welcomes the proposals of the Planning Commission to include Khadi in their Five Year Plan; but it feels that it will not be enough if Khadi is accepted only as a temporary relief to the ever-growing problem of unemployment and under-employment. The villagers are already impoverished as they are deprived of the raw materials by the centralized industries and they are also deprived of their work in processing the raw materials grown there particularly in relation to food and cloth.

The Conference appealed to the Constructive Workers and institutions to carry on propaganda in the villages for Khadi and other village industries for achieving Grama Rajya.

In southern provinces as well as in several northern provinces where khadi work

BHOODAN NEWS

SHANKARRAO DEO'S YATHRA IN TAMILNAD

Shri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh will inaugurate the Bhoodan Yathra in Tamil Nad on the 2nd October at Rameswaram. After walking through the Districts of Madurai and Ramnad for a month he will tour in Coimbatore District from 1st Nov. to 15th November. His Yathra in Kerala will begin at Chittore on the 17th November which will continue till 31st November.

The Tamil Nad Bhoodan Committee has made all arrangements for the Yathra. Shri Shankarrao Deo and the party will cover a distance of over 400 miles in the 3 districts in Tamil Nad walking daily from 10 to 14 miles covering about 100 villages. The Tamil Nad Bhoodan Committee has decided to collect 1½ lakhs of acres. A beginning was already made at the Madurai and Tirupur Conferences and the offerings have so far amounted to about 200 acres. It is hoped that

(Continued from previous page)

is carried on, widespread famine conditions prevail and the people are in great distress. Under this circumstance this conference requests the Government to accept the following principles for the promotion of khadi activity among the people in distressed areas:

1. It shall be the responsibility of the State to purchase all the surplus yarn that the spinners may spin and offer for sale after meeting their own requirements for clothing. Under extraordinary circumstances, when the State is not able to provide any other form of work for the people, it shall be its special responsibility to purchase all the yarn of the spinners as a measure of relief for unemployment.

2. It is the considered opinion of the constructive workers that the Government should effectively control the centralized industries in order to protect cottage industries and ensure full employment for the masses in the villages.

3. The Government should influence all their employees to wear Khadi as their official dress. ★

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Tamil Nad will respond and contribute the major portion of its quota before the completion of Shri Shankarrao Deo's Yathra.

COIMBATORE DT. BHOODAN CONFERENCE

Shri K. P. V. Giri, the Convenor of the District Bhoodan Committee convened the Bhoodan Conference of the Coimbatore Dist. at Gandhinagar in the colony of A. I. S. A. at Tirupur on 7th September, 1952. Shri Sardar A. Vedarathnam presided. Shrimans N. M. R. Subbaraman, T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Munagala Pattabhiramayya, Dr. L. K. Muthuswami and others spoke on the Bhoodan Yagna. Shri K. N. Palani-swami Gounder, M. L. C., Chairman of Tirupur Municipal Council welcomed the delegates and himself offered 21 acres for the Bhoodan Yagna. The Conference constituted several committees for arranging Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yathra in the district from 1st to 15th November and made arrangements for intensive propaganda to collect 20,000 acres in the district.

PROGRESS OF BHOODAN IN KERALA

Shri. E. Ikkanda Varriar, the Ex-Chief Minister of Cochin State, took charge of of the Convenorship of the Kerala Bhoodan Yajna Samithi in the middle of August. Soon after, the Central Office was opened in Trichur. The movement is making sure and steady progress in Kerala. For purposes of organisation Kerala is divided into six Districts, viz., South Malabar, North Malabar, Cochin, Kottayam, Quilon and Trivandrum. Two District Conferences were held, one in South Malabar at Palghat and the other in Cochin at Trichur. There will be another in Kottayam on the 29th September. Besides explaining the "why and how" of this movement to the Public and the workers, Districts and Taluk Committees were appointed and the route of Shri Shankarrao Deo's tour through these Districts was fixed at these Conferences.

6000 copies of Shri Vinobaji's Appeal in Malayalam have been circulated throughout Kerala. A few pamphlets are under preparation. Mahakavi Vallathole has contributed a Poem calling upon the people to give their help and co-operation to this movement.

SARVODAYA 164

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"BREAD - LABOUR"

GANDHIJI

The law, that to live man must work, first came home to me upon reading Tolstoy's writing on bread-labour. But even before that I had begun to pay homage to it after reading Ruskin's 'Unto This Last'. The divine law, that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands, was first stressed by a Russian writer named T. M. Bondaref. Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity. In my view, the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita where we are told, that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. Sacrifice here can only mean bread-labour.

'Sarvodaya' — Its Principles and Programme

A CALL TO YOUTH

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

I ask you (young men) to go to the villages and bury yourselves there, not as their masters or benefactors, but as their humble servants. Let them know what to do and how to change their modes of living from your daily contact and way of living. Only feeling will be of no use just like steam which by itself is of no account unless it is kept under proper control — when it becomes a mighty force. I ask you to go forth as messengers of God carrying balm for the wounded soul of India.

The village work frightens us. We who are town bred find it trying to take to the village life. Our bodies in many cases do not respond to the hard life. But it is a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even heroically, if our desire is to establish Swaraj for the people, not substitute one class rule by another, which may be even worse. Hitherto the villagers have died in their thousands so that we might live. Now we might have to die so that they may live. The difference will be fundamental. The former have died unknowingly and involuntarily. Their enforced sacrifice has degraded us. If now we die knowingly and willingly, our sacrifice will ennoble us and the whole nation. Let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will live as an independent self-respecting nation.

India does not live in its towns but its villages. But if the cities want to demonstrate that their population will live for the villagers of India the bulk of their resources should be spent in ameliorating the condition of and befriending the poor.

We must not lord it over them, we must learn to be their servants. When the cities realize that they must live for the welfare of the poor, they will make their palaces and institutions and the life of their inhabitants correspond somewhat to our villages.

Who can become a village worker? For the work that is required of him each worker should have thorough knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the science of spinning. If the worker is to live a model life in his village, he must know also the laws of civic sanitation and provide an object lesson in sanitation to the villages.

He should know the domestic treatment of diseases of daily occurrence. He should know simple accountancy. Above all he must lead a pure and chaste life, if he is to make his mark amongst the villagers and gain their confidence. Naturally a village worker must find happiness in a simple and frugal life. The technique, though it reads formidable, is by no means so for a patient student. Purity of character must be a foregone conclusion in any of this work. And no village worker can help falling a prey to some disease or other if he does not know and observe in his own person the laws of sanitation and does not know domestic treatment of simple diseases.

We have to tackle the triple malady which holds our villages fast in its grip: (i) want of corporate sanitation; (ii) deficient diet; (iii) inertia..... They are not interested in their own welfare. They don't appreciate modern sanitary methods. They don't want to exert themselves beyond scratching their farms or doing such labour as they are used to. These difficulties are real and serious. But they must not baffle us. We must have an unquenchable faith in our mission. We must be patient with the people. We are ourselves novices in village work. We have to deal with a chronic disease. Patience and perseverance, if we have them, overcome mountains of difficulties. We are like nurses who may not leave their patients because they are reported to have an incurable disease.

The only way is to sit down in their midst and work away in steadfast faith, as their scavengers, their nurses, their servants, not as their patrons, and to forget all our prejudices and prepossessions. Let us for a moment forget even Swaraj, and certainly forget the 'haves' whose presence oppresses us at every step. They are there. There are many who are dealing with these big problems. Let us tackle the humbler work of the village which is necessary now and would be even after we have reached our goal. Indeed, the village work when it becomes successful will itself bring us nearer the goal.

The moment you talk to them (the Indian peasants) and they begin to speak,

you will find wisdom drops from their lips. Behind the crude exterior you will find a deep reservoir of spirituality. I call this culture — you will not find such a thing in the West. You try to engage a European peasant in conversation and you will find that he is uninterested in things spiritual.

In the case of the Indian villager, an age-old culture is hidden under an encrustment of crudeness. Take away the encrustation, remove his chronic poverty and his illiteracy and you have the finest specimen of what a cultured, cultivated, free citizen should be.

Village work... means real education not in the three R's, but in opening the minds of the villagers to the needs of true life befitting thinking beings which humans are supposed to be.

There is no school equal to a decent home and no teachers equal to honest virtuous parents. Modern (high school) education is a dead-weight on the villagers. Their children will never be able to get it, and thank God, they will never miss it if they have the training of a decent home. If the village worker is not a decent man or woman, capable of conducting a decent home he or she had better not aspire after the high privilege and honour of becoming a village worker... What they need is not a

knowledge of the three R's but a knowledge of their economic life and how they can better it. They are today working as automatons, without any responsibility whatsoever to their surroundings and without feeling the joy of work.

It is profitless to find out whether the villages of India were always what they are today. If they were never better it is a reflection upon the ancient culture in which we take so much pride. But if they were never better, how is it that they have survived centuries of decay which we see going on around us?... The task before every lover of the country is how to prevent this decay or, which is the same thing, how to reconstruct the villages of India so that it may be as easy for anyone to live in them as it is supposed to be in the cities. Indeed, it is the task before every patriot. It may be that the villages are beyond redemption, that rural civilization has had its day and that the seven hundred thousand villages have to give place to seven hundred well-ordered cities supporting a population not of three hundred millions but thirty. If such is to be India's fate, even that won't come in a day. It must take time to wipe out a number of villages and villagers and transform the remainder into cities and citizens.

(From *The India of my Dreams* by Mahatma Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu.)

Gandhiji's Daily Spinning Yagna

KANU GANDHI

Bapu was generally invited to attend the meetings of the Congress Working Committee held at Wardha. The meetings generally started at 1 p. m. and at times lasted for several hours. I remember a day when Bapu returned to Sevagram at night completely exhausted after prolonged discussions. He had not been able to spin that day before going to Wardha as he usually did. On his return he immediately asked for the spinning wheel. We requested him to give up the idea of spinning that night as it would strain his eyes in the dim light of the kerosene lamp. But he said: "How can it be given up? I did not miss my supper." He again asked for the charkha and began to spin. While he was spinning one of us explained to him the cause of our hesitation in giving him the charkha: "Fatigue was so clearly written on your face

that we dared not place the charkha before you." He said: "If I give way to a feeling of fatigue or laziness, with what face can I ask others to perform their allotted tasks at all cost?"

"There was no question of laziness or shirking of a duty. Only it would have been better for your health if you had gone to bed as you were so much tired."

"It is true, I am tired; but if I slept without performing this Yagna, my conscience would prick me all night and would not allow me to have sound sleep."

Since then, he always carried his charkha with him when he went to attend the Working Committee meeting, and did his spinning when he got time, even while the meeting was going on. ★

(From *Reminiscences of Gandhiji*)

An Appeal To Students — ACHARYA VINOBA

Some students have asked me what part they can play in this Bhoodan Yagna. I am happy to hear that they are interested in it. Many are disappointed and express that students have become disobedient and impertinent. It can be true to some extent. But on the whole it cannot be said that they are not modest. It is not they but the system of education is at fault. Every one admits that it is defective. Sardar Patel used to harp on this till the last moment of his life. Our Dr. Radhakrishnan says the same thing. The system still remains unchanged. Why is it that the change is not effected? Is it not within our power and authority? It is, but we don't think about it seriously. Every one wants the go-slow policy. The educated people are idle, but the village people are not so.

In schools even today the old textbooks of history, geography and arithmetic continue to be taught. So long this is continued it is impossible for the students to be happy and cheerful. Our students read every newspaper. They are in fact ambitious to gain knowledge and they desire to serve the country, but they don't know whom to serve. It is because their education has no bearing to service. This makes the students get dissatisfied, disobedient and impertinent. But I wish that they should not become so. I trust that they will prove illustrious citizens of India.

There is no land with the students to offer. Let them study the problems relating to land and understand what the science of economics tells about it. Let them understand our ideals behind the Yagna. Let them study them from different points of view. They should inculcate in them the regular habit of doing hard body labour. The students of today are not accustomed to it. Tulasidas has said that we should get into the habit of facing heat, cold, wind, rain and sun. But in the present system of education there is no opportunity for it and our students do not come into contact with any of these. They are protected from them in all ways. If the educational system is changed, all these defects will disappear.

Often, in homes, the mothers or the servants wash the clothes; but the students should make it a point to wash their clothes by themselves. Let them clean their own rooms. In addition, let them also spin and produce their own clothes and grow vege-

tables in their gardens. They should play games, take exercises and keep their body strong. And they should observe strict Brahmacharya by which they can remain pure in words, mind and body. The body goes on growing till the age of twenty. It is during this period all these good habits should be acquired. They should go to sleep at nine in the night. They should rise up at four in the morning and engage themselves in study. What we see them doing in these days is just the opposite. He who wastes the morning hours is not a student; he can be only one devoid of vitality and intelligence. In the early morning hours one can easily study and contemplate. That is why our ancestors have advised us to devote the morning hours for studies. If we do so we can keep ourselves fresh always.

It is entirely wrong to go to cinemas. Cinemas spoil our mind and eyes and they disturb our sleep with dreams. We should gaze at the stars before we go to sleep. What picture can excel the stars of the heavens? Let them study the vast expansive sky and the clusters of stars and thereafter pray to God and go to sleep. So I appeal to you, students, that if you desire to partake in the Bhoodan Yagna, study the economics behind it and try to control your mind and body and observe strict Brahmacharya.

Grown up students can go to the villages during holidays and do propaganda for Bhoodan. They should be examples of extreme neatness. They can take up the cleaning work outside. In homes, it is usually done by their sisters. If all the students in this town, Buxar, devote at least 15 minutes every day in cleaning work, then the entire place will be as clean-looking as a mirror. Just like homes every other place should be kept clean. The All India Cleaning Movement has been started by us to achieve this goal. Good latrines in schools should be constructed and the students should themselves clean them and keep them perfectly neat.

Till this day I am in the habit of spending some hours every day for study. My other activities go on as usual. Yet not a day passes without myself learning something new. This keeps me fresh always. I never feel dull. If the students live like this, then alone Hindustan can survive.

Condensed from a Prayer Speech in Hindi at Buxar in Bihar on 24-9-52

The Atom Bombs: The High Road to Destruction

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

I was pained to read in today's papers that England too has started producing Atom Bombs. America and Russia are already ahead on this road to destruction. All this should make us ponder over the course of action India is to take in the near future. Do we want to plan for violence, and equip ourselves with Atom Bombs? If so, be prepared to kill at least 18 out of the 35 crores of our people; for in that case all the 18 crore human beings will have to be offered in the sacrifice to please the Army-God (Senadeva) as our ancestors used to offer goats to please Indra. We will also have to accept either America or Russia, as our Guru to learn their art, which means we will have to play a secondary role for years to come. If we disapprove of this course of action, we must turn in an opposite direction. We will have to make ourselves strong morally. Even today it is due to our moral strength that our voice, though a feeble one, is heard outside. For this we will have to discover non-violent methods which are in tune with our cultural traditions to solve all the problems that face us.

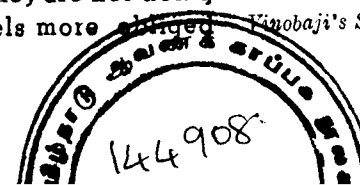
Land problem is the burning problem of Asia. But what is more important is the method of solving it than the solution itself. God suggested a non-violent method to solve it and we are witnessing something unique in the whole of human history. A mental revolution is taking place with such tremendous speed that we are not able to understand its proper significance. With the efforts of a single individual and within a short period of one year we find that the whole atmosphere is changed. The thought that land belongs to God and all have an equal right to it is catching the imagination of all. I find that landowners too accept that they are not the real owners of the land. I have not yet met a single individual who denied my right to ask land gifts on behalf of the poor people. Those who give very little apologise for it saying that it is due to *moṇa* or attachment that they are not doing their duty. So the donor feels more obliged than the receiver.

People often ask me whether legislation has any place in a non-violent society. Law can be both violent and non-violent, for it needs physical or moral sanction. I am today trying to create an atmosphere which will help the enforcement of any law for bringing equitable distribution of wealth, for without moral sanction, law has to depend entirely on police and military for its enforcement. So if the present Government desires, it can take advantage of this atmosphere and enact laws.

My ultimate goal is complete equality in which the President and the carpenter will receive equal pay. But for the present, one step is enough for me. I will concentrate all my energies in solving the land problem of Bihar. I will demand a rightful share from capitalists and city-dwellers and I am sure that my call will be responded to.

Let us remember that we are the children of an ancient land with a great culture. Our voice will be heard in all corners of the world if only we adhere to our cultural traditions. So I would ask all to regard the peaceful method that I have adopted as more important than the volume of work which I am doing. I have great faith in the method of persuasion. I have faith in the Indian mind, a mind ten thousand years old, which accepts things only after deep consideration. But once a thought reaches its depths, there is no power in the world which can uproot it. A year back people used to doubt and place no faith in my method. But after watching it they now regard it, not only workable, but perhaps as the only method. I find that the idea which I am advocating is gradually getting deeper and deeper in the Indian mind. It will release in no time a tremendous power as it once did during the time of Buddha. India is always ruled by her seers with the single weapon of knowledge (Gnana). She will rule the world again with the same means.

Condensed from a Speech at Bihita in Bihar in the 1st week of October, from the report received from Vinobaji's Secretary, Lakshmi Narain Bhartiya.



The Message of the Bhoodhan Yagna

SHANKARRAO DEO

When on 1st August 1952 I started on my walking tour of the Purendar Taluk in quest of Bhoo-Dana, most of its land was lying entirely fallow. Nor had any spade work been done to cultivate the minds of the people to receive the message of Sarvodaya or of the Bhoo-Dana-Yagna. Nevertheless, I found from the beginning that I could carry the message fearlessly and with confidence. The main reason is that there is not a trace of coercion about this movement and no occasion, therefore, for feelings of hostility to arise in the minds of those who are approached for donations of land. We are apt to be sulking and feel humiliated when we are forced to give up something against our wishes. When, on the other hand, we give spontaneously we think as if our being is enlarged and feel the joy of it.

Further on, during my tour of the Hyderabad State, I even found that the people were actually enthused over this mission of Bhoo-Dana. They were eager to listen to its call and willing to give, occasionally to give to the point of magnanimity. Every village where we made a halt held a meeting at about 4 or 5 O'clock in the afternoon. Usually we would reach it by about 10 to 10-30 in the morning but long before that, groups of peasants had already gathered from the surrounding villages and would be waiting for us. In one village we found that the meeting was attended by two to three thousand peasants hailing from 40 to 50 villages around. While they listened to the speech one could easily read in their faces how quickly the message of Sarvodaya and of Bhoo-Dana has deeply moved their hearts.

I have myself heard foreigners say that only in India it is possible to demand and receive land in this fashion. It is nothing short of a miracle to them. One would have thought that since all mankind is the creation of one God, what Indians can accomplish in their land, others can in theirs. For, did not Gandhiji always say that what is possible for one man is equally possible for another? But if we say this to foreigners, they immediately reply that unlike their own countries, India's traditions and culture made such a movement possible

The movement of Bhoo-Dana-Yagna calls out the inner goodness planted by God in every man and holds up before India and indeed the whole world the ideals of humanity and new Democracy, broad-based on equitableness and fellowfeeling.

here. The same tree, they say, will give fruits of different shape and even taste in accordance with differences in climate and soil, watering and manure. Perhaps the same law of Nature applies here too. Gandhiji has said that the peculiar religious genius of India and her cultural traditions made her specially fitted for his experiments in Ahimsa. However that may be, this is the first attempt in human history to secure social equity by way of a fair distribution of land with entirely voluntary gifts. It is now recognised on all hands that even as a technique of social, as apart from political revolution, this method is unique and unparalleled in the history of man. Doubts had been rising in our minds whether under the influence of Western Civilization and culture we were not tending to pursue pleasure as the sole end of life. But the Bhoo-Dan Movement has proved once again that India is still the land of sacrifice, Thyagabhumi, as of old that she can rise, once again under the inspiration of a new Master, to say unto herself even like Arjuna: "Destroyed is my delusion and recognition has been gained by me through Thy grace" and to hold up before the whole world a new vision of life and the means to attain it.

Another great boon of the Bhoo-Dan Movement is that the old relationship between the Constructive Workers and the masses, reared solidly on the former's austerities and sacrifices, has again come alive. Just as the holy Ganga, if the common people are to benefit by her powers to cleanse and sanctify, has to flow down from her lofty abode of the Kailasa, and run a thousand miles through the plains, even so if the masses are ever to attain the happiness and contentment of a life based on social justice and economic equality, then the Goddess of Laxmi has to leave the high mansions of the rich and make the houses of the poor her abode. It is true though regrettable that even our Constructive Workers had begun

honestly to believe that the power of the State was the only effective means to bring about equal distribution of wealth. What is even worse is, immediately after the attainment of independence, not only the poor and the down-trodden expect speedy relief from their sorrowful lot as was but natural, but the rich too began to feel an urge to better their fortunes all at once. No one remembers that the present situation in India demanded rather that every class or group, that every citizen in fact had to make sacrifices in accordance with his status and capacity, if the political independence so dearly won was to be established well and firmly and to be eventually transformed into good Government. Everybody was for getting something, nobody for giving away anything. Is it then to be wondered at that not only those who won elections or held power, but even the constructive workers who seemed to be working for and with them, began to lose popularity and esteem among all sections of the people. The rich felt that the Government was extracting too much from them, even as the masses rightly felt that they were getting only too little. The scramble for power among the more well known workers and the desire among all of them to use power for their own ends made matters worse still. The whole country slowly sank into a mood of helplessness and despair. Democratic Government actually began to acquire a bad odour and everywhere people began to feel and express the inevitability of Communism.

Modern Democracy is faced with the problems how to establish economic and social equality among the community without encroachments on the fundamental freedoms of the citizen. No doubt the revolutions that took place in England, France and America have secured political freedom and equality to the people in common but these countries have failed to secure economic equality for their peoples. Since then it has come to be commonly recognised that under a social order of economic inequality, mere equality of political rights has no meaning and that therefore political equality must go hand in hand with economic equality. That is why the call of Marxian Socialism is so successfully inciting people to stand up and organise for a bitter fight against all classes of exploiters.

In this situation, if the common people in India are ever to be ranged on the side of democracy and suffer and sacrifice for its

defence, their demand for economic equality has to be fairly and squarely met, and the only way to do this is for the richer classes of the country to develop within themselves a spirit of compromise and an overriding consideration to bring about a fair distribution of wealth.

Five years have gone by since power was transferred from the alien to our hands. We have solemnly adopted a constitution and declared India to be an independent Sovereign Republic. Popular Governments have started functioning at the centre and in all the constituent States in accordance with that constitution. But all this transfer of power is a mere change of form. How far it reflects a change of heart is the main and important question. The methods of popular Government that are in vogue in those lands where Democracy first took birth have proved a mere change in Governmental machinery which is quite incapable of meeting those direful economic and social problems that are facing Democracy and it is time to recognise that Democracy itself is doomed to failure if men are not prepared to shed their individual interests for the common good.

But mere rationality has nothing in it to inspire men to sacrifice self interest. If Democracy is to be firmly established in our country so that it becomes capable of solving the difficult problems that are facing it today, our people must learn to practise the quality of unselfishness and a constant readiness to sacrifice their personal interest before the common weal.

A compelling sense of equality for all, giving rise to a feeling of fraternity among citizens is the very soul and essence of Democracy. If with mere ratiocination and argument we seek to erect the dry bone of legal forms and little deeds into a living organism and pretend to call it Democracy, we will be committing almost tragic blunder. Only spiritual discipline for ourselves and an inner call for service and sacrifice can enable us to effect this rearing of a living and healthy Democracy. The movement of Bhoo-Dana-Yagna calls out the inner goodness planted by God in every man and holds up before India and indeed the whole world the ideals of humanity and new Democracy, broad-based on equitableness and fellowfeeling. I firmly believe that the people of India will whole-heartedly respond to and with love and devotion dedicate themselves before this call from on high. ★

GANDHI'S TECHNIQUE OF ACTION

★ KAKA KALELKAR ★

After the demise of Lokamanya Tilak, everyone throughout Maharashtra, began to discuss as to what Tilak would have done at such and such a juncture, and whether he would have liked this or that action of Gandhiji. There was so much of discussion on these lines that in the end the people got disgusted. I had, in those days, opined that, he alone whose personality was as high and noble as that of Tilak, could tell what Tilak would have done in a particular context. If everybody could foretell what Tilak would have decided or done at a particular time it would only mean that Tilak's powers were only ordinary, and that there was nothing extraordinary in him.

When Gandhiji was for the first time imprisoned there were parties which styled themselves as no-changers and pro-changers. Even learned men like Rajaji thought much as to what Gandhiji might do. But as soon as he was released, Gandhiji took a different course. After his release from the Aga Khan Palace, Gandhiji had to change his technique many a time. Perhaps he himself could not have known what he should do on his release.

Gandhiji's theories are quite simple. Even a child can understand what his doctrines are. There is nothing new in them. Those principles from which Gandhiji derived so much strength, are themselves eternal. No one can prevent anybody from having full faith in them. But Gandhiji had a living devotion for these doctrines and he invented wonderful ways of practising them.

The Gandhian Satyagraha too is very simple. Even a young house-wife knows it and can often experiment on it. But when to offer Satyagraha, and when not to offer, which principles to adhere fast to, and where to compromise and how to compromise — to understand these things is really very difficult. When one who has not even seen Gandhiji, but who has only heard of Gandhian tenets from others, says that he is pursuing the same path through which Gandhiji has trodden, then there is no danger; because people know that his impulse is pure and that he wants to adopt a new way of life.

But when they who have lived with him, who were not only inspired by him, but also guided by him, and who above all, in his absence in jails, had to guide Satyagraha or some such movements, when such men claim that they are in the Gandhian way, there is great danger.

To them who drew only inspiration from Gandhiji, but who did not become his camp-followers, who maintained their own individuality, obeyed their own intelligence and discretion, and who were not recognised as Gandhiji's disciples by the society, the path is an easy one. But he who has lived in Gandhian institutions and worked under Gandhiji's commands and instructions, becomes at once a subject of comment the moment he begins to do anything.

Our struggle for freedom, in spite of its being peaceful, true and (*Satvik*) was indeed a war. In a war every soldier has to be fully faithful to his general. Discipline is the best quality in war and in the Satyagraha movement superficial obedience alone is not sufficient. Along with obedience to commands, a Satyagrahi should also have a willing mind. He who thus implicitly obeys may often find himself in a very difficult position. People may say "These are his blind followers, incapable of thinking for themselves, who obey whatever Gandhiji says, and even support Gandhiji's opinions with greater vigour than Gandhiji himself." If they differed from Gandhiji even on unimportant points, even then people will begin to criticise their actions.

I could understand many of Gandhiji's words and actions only very late. There are yet some which I have not mastered even now. And in some of my own decisions I have gone wrong. In these circumstances I did not claim nor do I claim now that I know Gandhian ways. I am only trying to live according to what he told us and what I understood from him. But I believe that, if our aim is good and true, if we are not conceited and pretentious then we can learn good lessons from our own mistakes and the consequent losses. After all, experience is man's real capital. Experience alone will correct our conduct

and strengthen our faith. Every worker has to build up his progress on the foundation of experience.

Fortunately, in these days no one asks another to explain what Gandhian way is. No one is regarded as the sole heir of Mahatma Gandhi and there is none among the disciples of the Mahatma who can consider himself as his only heir. If anybody has drawn any inspiration from him it is but proper that he owns it, for ingratitude is the greatest of all sins. But to aspire to become a leader in the name of Gandhiji is a different thing and there can be no such ambitious claim by any one, for Gandhiji himself is an incomparable embodiment of truth.

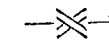
Gandhiji's firm conviction was that truth and non-violence are life maxims that can have no exceptions, that they are universal and that they do bring welfare to everyone. Gandhiji had also said that it is difficult for a human being to attain perfection in them. For any individual the perfection in these two life-principles will be in proportion to the purity of his life and character. Gandhiji used to say that he was advancing daily more and more towards these ideals but had not attained the perfection he aspired for in this life. He could have attained that stage by his concentrated devotion and practice. And who could say that he could not have attained perfection in them

towards the close of his life? It is not improbable that for a man of such strong, intense, unswerving and unique devotion and performance the limitations of the body could have disappeared just at the time of his final sacrifice.

Gandhiji's principles are eternal. His undying devotion is universal and everlasting. But his search for the same and the method he adopted for its attainment is peculiarly his own. Any one can copy him only to a certain extent.

Therefore let everyone study and understand Gandhiji's principles and live in accordance with them. But let him not claim any superiority before others merely because he has lived with Gandhiji. He, who is deep, has substance and humility in him. He who is shallow, undeservedly claims many things. Gandhian principles are imperishable, immortal and universal. Gandhiji's technique of action was his own. It can only be studied. Guidance can be sought from it. But it cannot be imitated. What Gandhiji would have asked the country to do today or what kind of intensive programme he would have placed before the country and people no body can say. Gandhiji alone had that right; he did not bequeath that right to anybody when he departed.

Condensed from the Hindi article in Mangal Prabhat of Sep. '52



Rajaji's Message for 'Compost Week'

Isavasyam idam sarvam — The Universal Spirit, the Power, that is worshipped by several names, pervades everything in the material world. He became Food; and Food is an endless chain. Everything eats something to live and grow, and everything is food again for something else. This is the Upanishad exposition. Some seek to interpret *annam* as the soul. This is unnecessary. Interpreting it as it plainly stands is good enough. All life and all matter are inter-related into an endless chain. There is no waste, but it can be made into good food again. Man and animal eat and what they cast out Mother Earth makes into food again. Thus the chain of creation goes round endlessly.

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There need be no loss if we fall in line with this law of reconversion. All the food that a city or a village eats, can again be put into the earth and reconverted soon into fresh food that we need.

Finally, buried carcasses, bones and all, again sprout into nourishment for men and livestock. Compost is not an illsmelling untouchable thing, but a *sastraic* truth. I wish I had the physical strength to do it myself, not one day or one week, but all the days. May the Municipalities and villages that take good interest in compost-making receive the blessings of God. He who does compost does an act of worship. ○

(The 'Hindu' dated 3rd October 1952)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH

(Resolution passed at the meeting of the Sangh on 24 & 25th Sep. 1952 at Wardha)

BHOODAN MOVEMENT

The All India Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, is glad to announce that up till now, approximately 4 lakhs acres of land have been received for Bhoodan by Shri Vinoba. From the 14th September last, he has commenced his Bihar tour. The workers of Bihar have decided to give him 4 lakhs acres of land. The Sangh hopes that this target too will be reached.

People have responded favourably to the decision taken by the Sarva Seva Sangh on behalf of the nation at Sevapuri, to collect 25 lakhs acres of land from all over the country before April 1954. And it is hoped that by the time of the next Sammelan the proportionate share of this target will be attained.

This decision is but the first step towards the fulfilment of the great objective of the Bhoodan Yagna, namely, just and equitable distribution of land. In order that it may be accomplished as early as possible the Sangh feels that there is the need for the people to work with redoubled vigour.

KHADI MOVEMENT

The last portion of the resolution on Bhoodan Yagna envisages the need of encouraging the development of Khadi and other Cottage Industries.

This is so because the development of Khadi and other village industries is essential for establishing the Sarvodaya order of society wherein there will be no exploitation and poverty and unemployment will be banished permanently from our midst.

The Sangh has to say with regret that although the production of Khadi is being slowly reduced during the last six months, certified Khadi worth 75 lakhs of rupees and yarn worth 20 lakhs of rupees are now lying unsold all over the country, and nearly one and a half lakh of spinners of the A. I. S. A. and of the institutions affiliated to it have been thrown out of work. The Sangh is sure that they and thousands of other people who live in the famine-affected areas, can be usefully employed in khadi work.

The Sarva Seva Sangh whole-heartedly welcomes and endorses the Khadi Movement started by the All India Spinners' Association from the 14th September on the

occasion of Gandhi Jayanti. The movement contemplates that in order to ensure employment to all in the villages, (i) some land should be given to every villager in addition to some work in some cottage industry; (ii) all the processes of producing articles of primary necessity as food, clothing and shelter should be done in the village itself; (iii) that the Government should be requested to see that the village industries do not suffer from the competition of the mill-made articles and in order to ensure that the mills do not compete with the village industries a boycott movement should be organized in every village by the village people; and (iv) that those who have land should donate land to the Bhoodan Yagna, so that the landless can have land. The programme includes a village to village campaign by the Khadi workers with a view to popularising the movement. The Sarva Seva Sangh appeals to the people and the Government to do their duty by co-operating with this movement.

HOMAGE TO SHRI KISHORLALJI

Shri Kishorlalji wanted to retire from the editorship of the "Harijan" as well as from other public activities, so that he could spend the rest of his life in peace. But the will of God was otherwise. Till the last moment of his life, he did the editorial work of the "Harijan" founded by Gandhiji. He was a consummate rationalist and yet he believed in the purity of mind and was a lifelong Sadhaka. He had a great ability to think out dispassionately the right path for good work. The way in which he bravely bore the terrible pains of asthma for such a long period and surrendered himself to the will of God, had transformed his life into that of a *tapasvi*.

By his death the country has been deprived of an unerring and detached thinker and a guide. The loss caused by his death to the Sarvodaya and the constructive workers is irreparable. We pray to God that our country may be given the strength and wisdom to follow the path of Gandhiji, illuminated by the thought and action of Shri Kishorlalji.

The Sangh and all its workers share with his worthy wife, Shrimati Gomati Behn, and other members of his family in their deep grief over the loss. ★

CONTROL THE MILLS FOR PROTECTION OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

— SIDDHARAJ DHADDA —

The Charkha Sangh had appealed for the control of textile mills for the development of hand-spinning and hand-weaving in its resolution of 9th September '46 at Delhi under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi. On Gandhiji's advice the Madras Government declared in 1946 the Khadi Scheme and their policy against the further expansion of textile mills in the State. Rajaji's recent call to control the mills so that the weaving of Sarees and Dhotis may be left over to handlooms, will be welcomed as a first step to such control for the protection of all Cottage Industries. The problem of employment for the crores in the villages can be solved only by controlling the mills in all fields—textiles, sugar, oil, rice milling etc. Sri Siddharaj Dhadra, one of the trustees of the Charkha Sangh exposes the fallacy of Sri T. T. K's arguments in opposing Rajaji's proposal in the name of consumers' interest.

The Commerce Minister of the Govt. of India, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari has found it difficult to agree to the proposal made by Shri Rajaopalachari to reserve the manufacture of sarees and dhotis for handloom weavers and to prohibit the mills to produce these varieties. Rajaji's contention is that there are about a million weaver-families in Madras Province alone which eke out their existence from handlooms. In other words about 40 lac souls depend for their livelihood on this hereditary profession. They mainly wove dhotis and sarees for generations, but the incursion of mills in the manufacture of these varieties has snatched away this work from them. The textile mills on the other hand give employment to only about a lac workers at the most in manufacturing these varieties. Even if the mills stop manufacturing dhotis and sarees, a whole range of remaining textiles would still be left for them which could easily absorb most of the labourers. Dhotis and sarees, contends Rajaji, are a speciality of Indian dress alone and have been woven on hand-looms from times immemorial, and hence this line of manufacture should be reserved for them.

The reasons which Shri Krishnamachari has given remind one of the stock arguments of his counter-parts during the British regime often given in reply to the claims of protection advanced by Indian industries against foreign competition. In addition to other arguments, the Commerce Minister played his ace at the recent Press Confer-

ence addressed by him when he took refuge behind the consumer. "It seems", he said "Consumers all over the country want mill cloth which is cheaper. We cannot ignore the consumer's interest which is the primary one with which we are concerned." The argument typifies the spirit of the 19th century Liberal Governments in England which held out the principles of *laissez faire* and refused to interfere in the affairs of their capitalists-owned industries on the demands of workers for ensuring safe and human conditions of work. But it is strange that the spokesman of a modern Government which calls itself a Welfare State, should adopt such a complacent attitude, where the question of the livelihood of millions of citizens is involved. It is well-known that even the then foreign Government of India, which raised a similar consumer's bogie when faced with a demand of protection from Indian industries had to yield and levy very heavy import duties on cloth, sugar etc., which left no alternative for the Indian consumer to buy these commodities at prices much dearer than he would have had to pay for similar imported products. Surely Shri Krishnamachari must be knowing that even to-day, but for these import duties, the Indian consumer would be getting foreign sugar much cheaper. Again, would Shri Krishnamachari show a similar softness for the consumer if cheap Japanese cloth would start invading the Indian market, and hit the textile mills?

Let us examine a little more closely this argument that the consumer's interest would

be hit by adopting the proposal of Rajaji. Who is this consumer behind whom Shri Krishnamachari has taken shelter? Surely it could be none else than the 35 and odd crores of people inhabiting this country and about three-fourths of these 35 crores comprise of the very people on whose indirect behalf Rajaji has made his proposal. The forty lac people (or more than a crore if the whole of India is taken into consideration) whose interests would be directly protected by putting a restriction on the mills for manufacturing dhotis and sarees, are only part of the large rural population which forms the bulk of the Indian people and hence the bulk of the consumer. He would be a poor economist indeed, who would not realise that village economy is so closely inter-related, that the prosperity of a large section of the rural population is bound to react favourably on the other sections of the population also. The choice is really between continuing the vicious circle of impoverishing the large rural population of India and then pleading for supplying it cheaper goods from outside its own sphere, which would impoverish it still further, and setting in motion a 'happy circle', which would give employment and hence increased purchasing power to the large mass of the Indian population thus enabling it to live a decent life. Rajaji's proposal is only an invitation to the Government of India to set this 'happy circle' in motion and if that Government really represents a Welfare State, meaning thereby not the welfare of a few but the welfare of all, its Commerce Minister would not advance such a flimsy argument against the proposal.

Another argument advanced by Shri Krishnamachari against the proposal of prohibiting the manufacture of dhotis and sarees in mills is that while the mills are producing 170 crores of yards of cloth, the production of weavers is negligible. This is merely begging the issue, as observed by Acharya Vinoba the other day while commenting on Shri Krishnamachari's stand. The real question is whether the weavers, if duly protected, can weave this much cloth or not? There are 25 lakhs of trained weavers in this country. If they weave only four yards a day, they would be able to weave 170 crores of yards of cloth in 170 days that is only in about six months time.

Shri Krishnamachari has tried to forestall this argument by stating that it is no use insisting on the revival of "uneconomic occupations." "Let us provide some other occupations to those that need them", he condescendingly says. The same argument was advanced by the Planning Commission when it was confronted with a plea to protect village industries. But where are these 'new' and 'other' occupations? It is no use talking in the air. The Government must first provide the people with new occupations before allowing the existing 'uneconomic' occupations to die. It is as much the duty of the Government to protect the vast mass of people from internal attacks by a more powerful sections of the community, as it is their duty to protect the citizens from foreign aggression. We leave aside for the moment other considerations involved in a choice between a decentralised rural economic order and a centralised totalitarian economy but if the Fundamental Rights provided in the constitution have any meaning, the people have the right to carry on even their 'uneconomic' occupations till the Government is able to create fresh avenues of employment for them. It is deplorable that while one of the main occupations which meets the daily needs of the people, namely weaving, is being snatched away from them there is only the talk of providing new occupations.

Shri Krishnamachari himself hinted at the Press Conference at the possibility of 'specialised lines' for handlooms in respect of export goods. When Shri Krishnamachari accepts the principle of specialised lines, one wonders what prevents him from accepting dhotis and sarees as this 'specialised line' for handlooms, instead of looking abroad in search of other doubtful substitutes.

The fact, however, is that the Govt. of India have no economic policy of their own in spite of the Prime Minister's repeated assertion that it is a Welfare State. They are simply drifting. It is time that the Government of India should decide once for all what their policy is going to be, whether they stand only for the vocal sections of the community or they really wish to protect the interests of their real master viz. the large mass of rural population which is unfortunately weak and unorganised and has, therefore, no voice at present. ★

Write to Sarvodaya Prachuralayam for all Gandhian-Sarvodaya Literature

Vinoba - The Non-violent Revolutionary

BIRENDRANATH GUHA



"In 1917, when Mr. Andrews was at the Ashram, I remember Gandhiji describing to him Vinoba in these terms: 'He is one of the few pearls in the Ashram. They do not come, like others, to be blessed by the Ashram, but to bless it, not to receive but to give.'"
— MAHADEV DESAI

(Condensed from an article in Modern Review—September 1952)

Born in 1894, Vinoba completed his fifty-seventh year on September 11. Vinayak Vinoba Bhave was the eldest of five children, four sons and a daughter, born to Narahari Bhave and Rukmani Devi. The Bhaves of Gagoda, Tahsil Pen, District Kolaba in Maharashtra are fairly well-to-do Saraswat Brahmins. The youngest of the four brothers died young. Balakrishna Vikoji Bhave the second brother is in charge of the Nature Cure Centre, started by Gandhiji at Uruli Kanchan. The third brother Shivaji, a great Sanskrit scholar, lives at Dhulia unattached to any Ashram or institution. He takes order from the eldest brother and is engaged in language reform work. Under instruction of Vinoba he has given shape to the *Loka-lipi* which avoids use of compounds.

Vinoba got a lot from his mother. He often fondly refers to her in his writings. In the obituary notice in Sarvodaya of Ramana Maharshi the following occurs: "One day while reading *Bhakta-Vijaya* I remarked, 'Mother, such saints were there only in ancient times.' Mother said, 'Vinoba continues, 'they are there even today. Only we do not know them. Without such as these the world cannot go.'"
Gita-pravachan contains many a like reference to his mother. Vinoba writes:

"Like so many, I also once said to mother, 'Here is a beggar strong and plump, come to beg. To give alms to such a one is to encourage indolence and lassitude. And I cited in support the *Deshe kale cha patre cha* sloka from the Gita. Mother said, 'The beggar that is come is God Himself. Now distinguish the deserving from the undeserving. Would you rate God as undeserving? Who are you and who am I to distinguish one from the other? I do not see there is much to consider. For me he is the God.'"

And then Vinoba observes, "I have not to this day found a fitting reply to what mother said in meeting my objection."

She died rather young in 1918, a victim to the influenza scourge.

In childhood Vinoba was most unmannerly. He had possibly in him a dose of surplus energy that led him to monkeyish things which often invited a fastidious father's birch. But morally Vinayak was all right, all high.

His father Narahari secured a diploma in dyeing from the Maharaja Gaekwar's Kala Bhavan among the first batch of students. He served for some time in the dyeing department of the Buckingham Mills. British India Khaki was a contribution of Kala Bhavan. In order to give his children proper education Narahari left the Buckingham Mills job and shifted to Baroda as a typist clerk in State Government service. Narahari was a man of modern outlook and had a bias for industrial education.

Up to sixth standard Vinayak always stood first. He then lost interest in routine studies, and somehow passed his examinations. Nevertheless his store of knowledge kept increasing in volume. He was selective in his studies, things enduring appealing rather than things transient. A great Sanskrit scholar, he has not read *Sakuntala*. Mathematics and philosophy were his favourite subjects. Of mathematics only recently ('Sarvodaya', March 1952) he wrote "Next to God if I love anything best it is mathematics." And mathematical precision marks all his actions as *anasakti* actions enjoined by the Gita should be. A marvellous memory aided by selective studies laid the foundations of his profound scholarship. Vinoba had French as his second language. His father had a mind to send him to Europe.

In those days there was no spiritual or ascetic trend in him. Politics drew him. And politics then meant getting rid of the British. It was partition days then. Chiplanker and Tilak were his heroes. Young Vinayak and a friend started a Vidyarthi Mandal which might any day become a bomb-throwers' association.

Vinoba was to appear in I. A. examination in 1916. Ostensibly he left for Bombay for the purpose but went to Sabarmati instead. He joined Mahatma's Ashram.

Gandhiji wrote about him thus:

"..... He is a Sanskrit scholar. He joined the Ashram almost at its inception. He was among the first members. In order to better qualify himself he took one year's leave to prosecute further studies in Sanskrit. And practically at the same hour at which he had left the Ashram a year before, he walked into it without notice. I had forgotten that he was to arrive that day. He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning in which he has specialized as very few have..... Being a born teacher he has been of the utmost assistance to Asha Devi in her development of the scheme of education through handicrafts."

"..... He is responsible for producing a youngman who has dedicated himself to the service of lepers."

Mahadev Desai wrote in *Harijan* October 20, 1940, introducing Vinobaji to the public as the first individual Satyagrahi. "I remember Gandhiji describing to him Vinoba in these terms: 'He is one of the few pearls in the Ashram.' They do not come, like others, to be blessed by the Ashram, but to bless it, not to receive but to give."

Did he not get anything in return from the Ashram? In *Young India* of 1923 Mahadev wrote:

"..... Though Gandhiji said that he had gone to the Ashram to give and not to receive, this is what Vinoba said in a talk: 'Only I can know what I have got in the Ashram. It was an early ambition of mine to distinguish myself by a violent deed in the service of the country. But Bapu cured me of that ambition. It is he who extinguished

the volcano of anger and other passions in me. I have been progressing every day of my life in the Ashram. Every year I have been making one of the *mahavratas* my own."

Vinoba was not keeping well at the Ashram. He got one year's leave. He first went to Wai, a health resort in Satara District and thence to Banaras. Wai is a sacred place, a beauty-spot on the Krishna river, and at the foot of the Mahabaleswar hills. There the Bhaves of Gagoda have a temple dedicated to Sankara. At the time Narayan Shastri Marhatta, a great Sanskrit scholar, had his Prajna Patasala there. During his stay at Wai, Vinoba took lessons from the Shastri not as a regular but a casual student. From there he went to Banaras for further studies in Sanskrit referred to by Gandhiji in his *Who is Vinoba Bhave?*

Mahratti is his mother language. Vinoba speaks English, French, Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and possibly Kanarese and Oriya. At Sevapuri he opened his talk with Sarvodaya Sevak from Bengal with a Bengali sentence: "I do follow Bengali, but can't speak it." He is learning Bengali. He learns the languages of the people of India, because he wants to appeal straight to their heart, which you never can unless you do speak to them in their own. And this also induced him to learn Arabic, the language of the Koran, the sacred book of Muslims. And he has a peculiar language sense. He will detect in your speech flaws of language even if it be that his acquaintance with your language is of the slightest. His language is simple and direct. The words he chooses are appropriate and are such as any one can understand. There is no verbiage in him. He has a rare economy in the use of words. The following excerpt from him will give an idea of the literary skill he prizes:

"Choose every word carefully. For, if the words you choose are not appropriate, your expression, instead of being substantial, may be just airy. Some words carry inadequate sense, some more than the adequate, and some again have contrary connotations. One must avoid all these three defects and express a thing exactly as it takes shape in the mind."

At Paramdham, Pavnar, Vinoba's Ashram, they produce by body-labour primary necessities of life. They forego for the time being the use of any such item they need which they have not produced. They do not go to market

for it. Vinoba defines this effort to depose money, for the realization of the ideal as *Samya-yoga*. And his *Bhoodan-Yagna* is an extension of this ideal to society, for without returning lands to the tillers of the soil, there is no doing away with the sway of wealth. Vinoba attributes his achievements in Telangana and Uttar Pradesh in this experiment of his at Paramdham, Pavnar. He says also:

"But for that experiment, I might not have the confidence which marked all my actions; but for that I might not have shed my timidity, and my shyness might not have perished. Then too the labour I put on good earth acknowledging the cultivator as my guru, has given me a humility I never have had."

Vinoba was not what he is today. According to Tukdoji Maharaj, the celebrated Bhajan singer from Maharashtra, Vinoba was not accessible. He writes:

"God is for the good of all. What was Bapu if he was not god. Today revered Vinoba has become god. Vinoba was not what he is today. His was a secluded life. He did not meet any one, nor did he talk to any. Had Bapu been with us today, you would not have found Vinoba going from village to village. He talked at you, never talked to you. He has now come to realize that seclusion, cold reserve, does not pay. He now addresses people as brother, as cousin. To some he says he is his brother, to some other he says he is his son. Who will say this Vinoba is that Vinoba? Father gone, the son has now to shoulder the burden. Now Vinoba to us is what Bapu was to us then. After Gandhiji's death he has become as loving as he."

The character of that reserve is revealed from the following written by Mahadev Desai in *Young India* of 1917.

"You may stay days and days with him without knowing him and even when you know him you only begin to know him. You meet with a reserve which you cannot easily break. He does not talk much, rarely does he say anything about himself. And yet if you could get at the bottom of his profound depths, you are sure to exclaim, 'Nowhere have I struck such treasures!'"

The Gita has been and is his guide. He turns to it at every corner for direction and he gets it. The Gita sustains him, gives him energy, gives him drive. In his own words:

"I have no words to explain the place the Gita occupies in my life. It has done me infinite good." And again:

"In all my actions the Gita has been my guide, as it is today. It has always given me peace of mind, energy and wisdom. Whenever I needed an incentive or the drive to do a thing, it came from the Gita."

Vinoba's *Gita* is a good seller. Of it Mahadevbhai wrote: "He has produced a Mahratti translation of the Gita in parallel verse which reproduces the haunting music of the original in an amazing degree and hundred thousand copies of it have been sold in Maharashtra." His *Gita* pravachan in Hindi, a translation from the original in Mahratti, has gone through five editions, number of copies running to sixty-six thousand.

Establishment of equality, to bring about Sarvodaya (the greatest good of all, and not the greatest good of the greatest number) is the object of *Bhoodan Yagna* which Vinoba has called his five-year plan. Vinoba says:

"Now that political freedom has been attained, we have to work for the establishment of equality. I have called that Sarvodaya. You may, if you like, call that Samyayoga or Sarvodaya. It is for the establishment of this Sarvodaya that I have been going from village to village."

"I call this my five-year plan. If all of you take up this work for the next five years and during that time succeed in transferring five crore acres of land, then a great non-violent revolution has taken place in India." It is a historical necessity.

"What I am doing is not against the trend of history. You have to recognize that what have not happened before may happen. Russian revolution had no precedent, yet it came. So too this may come about. Whatever that may be, what I am doing is not against history, but is a historical necessity."

"I invite you all to work for this revolution. I seek to revolutionise thought, to revolutionise the means. The sages say, youths delight in new creation, new mission. Here is a mission for them, a new world to create."

Vinoba is beginning to draw masses as Gandhiji did. He is forging a tremendous sanction. It is in us to make it compelling.

★

Which Way Lies Hope?

RICHARD B. GREGG

The book titled as above is the latest contribution of Mr. Gregg to Sarvodaya literature. It is a comparative scientific study of Capitalism, Communism and Gandhism and concludes that the hope for the world lies only in 'Gandhiji's programme.' The following is the concluding part of the book.

So it seems clear that Gandhiji's programme is not only the best for averting all the dangers mentioned at the beginning of this essay, but it holds also the greatest promise of promoting a still greater and more beneficial culture than India has so far produced. The alleged democracy of Capitalism, Communism and Socialism is a dreadfully warped and dwarfed affair. True democracy depends upon tolerance and non-violence; not upon force or coercion but upon peaceful persuasion and consent. When power threatens the welfare of the people, withholding of consent merely by the ballot is not enough. In the final analysis only non-violent resistance can curb tyranny and oppression.

If you want to be revolutionary, the use of true mass Satyagraha is the greatest revolution in many thousands of years. "But," you may protest, "it is not revolutionary to advocate and use hand-spinning, hand-weaving and other manual, man-powered skills in villages; that is very old-fashioned technology." Yet, remembering the quotations from Elton Mayo in the foregoing discussion of Capitalistic industrialism and the elaborate studies on which they were based, it is revolutionary to say that technology shall not be allowed to run wild any further, but it must be subordinated to human nature and to the cultural necessities of developing and maintaining spontaneous, happy human co-operation. If worst comes to worst, great famines would not be as bad for India as would be the loss of spontaneous co-operation between individuals and groups such as is now taking place in the industrialized West. It is revolutionary to be carefully selective in regard to technology to take and use only what in the long run will surely help to exalt humanity, not just the body but also the spirit. It is revolutionary in this age to assert that the interests of civilization are paramount over those of science, technology and money profit. And it is still more revolutionary to take actual

practical measures to assure the only means for reviving that spontaneous co-operation. It is revolutionary to say that technology should be restrained until man has learned to control his lust for power, and to work toward that end.

The follower of Gandhiji's programme does not have to wait for a large-scale revolution; he starts one inside himself and with his own hands. He immediately starts controlling his share of the means of production for the public good. He immediately starts to serve the masses and by his life helps to bring an ideal Bharat nearer into being.

Any very great widespread change of ideas or of heart takes usually at least three generations. As examples, consider the ideas of Einstein and Freud. The generation in which the new idea is propounded is startled, often repelled, and opposes out of habit, inertia, prejudice and reluctance to think new thoughts. The second generation has become moderately familiar with the new idea, has watched it longer in action, probably accepts it intellectually but it is still hampered by the unconscious attitudes they accepted from their parents. Only the third generation is free from unconscious prejudices and bias, has realized the values of the new idea and is heartily willing to explore all the implications and possibilities of it. From there on it really begins to show its power. We may therefore expect very great developments of Gandhiji's programme.

Yet in this case it is interesting to note that it required 69 years for the ideas of Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto to flower in the seizure of power by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917. To oust British power from India by Gandhiji's programme required only 28 years. The spirit has power. Along this way lies hope.

(Navajivan publication — Price Rs. 1/4 — Available at Sarvodaya Pracharalayan, Tirupur.)

PRINCIPLES OF SARVODAYA PLAN

When various schemes are being launched for the national planning it is necessary to understand the Sarvodaya approach for the long-range plan for the economic reconstruction of free India. This is indicated in the Principles of Sarvodaya Plan — drafted at the Wardha Conference in December 1949. The following note will explain the object for which it was drafted.*

When the Congress accepted office in 1937, the question of preparing a plan for the building of the nation in accordance with Congress ideals and declarations naturally came before it. The Congress appointed a National Planning Committee for this purpose. We all know the circumstances which stood in the way of the Congress. The Congress came out of office in 1939. It again accepted office in 1946. The country became free in 1947. But freedom, coming as it did in the wake of partition, brought new problems and therefore the question of social and economic planning receded to the background.

The All India Congress Committee appointed a Committee to draft an Economic Programme. The report of the Committee was adopted in the Congress Session at Jaipur. Other political parties and organizations placed before the country their suggestions and plans. The economic situation, however, deteriorated fast.

The constructive workers inspired by Gandhiji's ideal of Sarvodaya and working directly under him were anxiously watching all these happenings and were also trying to evolve a plan based on their long experience of constructive work in the villages. They felt that the time had come to restate the role of the constructive programme and the constructive workers in the changed conditions of the country. With this end in view and acting under the advice of Gandhiji, it was proposed to hold a small conference of constructive workers at Wardha in the month of February 1948. Gandhiji was to participate and guide the deliberations of this Conference. But God willed otherwise.

But the situation in the country showed no signs of improvement. On the contrary it was becoming more serious. There was a feeling of frustration all round. The feeling among the constructive workers, believing in the Sarvodaya ideal, was also growing that they must meet together and try to formulate their own plan to meet the present crisis in the country, as well as to build a permanent socio-economic order. A small conference of constructive workers under the presidentship of Shri Kaka Kalelkar was

therefore, held at Wardha in the first week of November 1949. It was decided that a statement of policy should be drawn up in the light of the decisions of this conference and placed before another session of the conference on the 22nd and 23rd December, 1949, to which a larger number of constructive workers should be invited. After the approval of the Conference, the statement should be published and placed before the people and the country on the 30th January, the second death anniversary of Gandhiji.

In pursuance of his decision, Sarvodaya Economic Conference was held at Wardha on the 22nd and 23rd December 1949, presided over by Shri Kaka Kalelkar and attended by nearly two hundred constructive workers from all over India. After a full discussion, clause by clause, general approval was accorded by the Conference to the Statement of Principles of Sarvodaya Planning placed before it, and the President was requested to publish it on the 30th January 1950 after consulting other experts and workers so that it may reflect as far as possible the Sarvodaya Ideal.

This Conference further requested the President to appoint a Committee with a view to get the statement implemented by constructive organisations and accepted by the Congress and to create public opinion in its favour. Accordingly a Sarvodaya Planning Committee was created consisting of the following members:-

Shri Kaka Kalelkar,	
" J. C. Kumarappa,	
" Shankarrao Deo,	
" Prafulla Chandra Ghosh,	
" Shrikrishnadas Jaju,	
" Gulzarilal Nanda,	
" R. K. Patil,	
" G. Ramachandran,	
" G. M. Satyanarayana,	
" Jagatram Dave,	
" K. Mitra	
" R. S. Dhotre	} Secretaries
" Bhaverbhai Patel	

The Commission met in Delhi in the second week of January 1950 and finalised the statement for Publication. ★

* Price Rs. 1/- available at Sarvodaya Pracharalayan, Tirupur

Houses of Earth

— BHARTANANDA

Next to food a house is the greatest need of man. A family without a house is like a man without a body. The house is the body of the family, and shortage of housing is, next to starvation, the greatest single destructive factor in our society. As the cause of chronic or acute misery for large groups of people, lack of housing ranks first.

In more primitive societies a family would build a roof over its head as naturally as it would dig for roots in the forest. But nowadays a house cannot be had except for money, especially in the urban and suburban areas. When money is not available, there is just no solution.

The research workers of the Kora Kendra, Borivli, have put to themselves this question: can a family build with their own hands a house, which would be strong, lasting, comfortable, spacious and beautiful to look at? It was assumed that the family has a plot of ground to build on, that the adults are strong and willing to work, but their financial resources are very low. The question was also put like this: Can an unemployed family spend its enforced leisure on building a house?

It soon became clear that the only house which would fulfil all the conditions, would be an earth house. Not a mud hut, but a real house which could be placed even in the middle of a city without attracting attention unless by its grace and dignity.

Earth was chosen as the only suitable building material, because it is universally available, can be had for the labour of digging it out, and is very rarely completely unsuitable for building. Most often it is quite suitable, sometimes it may need some addition of sand or gravel; very rarely it is too sandy.

The problem was to convert human labour into a house, directly, without the mediation of money. It was important to find a way of building which would be most economical in labour, time, space, and of the little money that may have to be spent.

The common way of building a house out of mud by making it into bricks and drying them in the sun and then laying them in walls is wasteful of time and labour. The

other way of piling up mud directly as walls is also wasteful of space, since the walls have to be disproportionately thick. Both the methods will be unacceptable in urban and suburban areas.

The answer was found in the rammed earth method of construction. In this method the earth is placed in strong forms and rammed hard until its volume is reduced to about half. As its water content is low, there is no need to wait for drying. Layer over layer can be rammed to the full height of the wall. This allows for very rapid construction.

The rammed earth walls are very tough and their carrying capacity is very high. Therefore they need not be more than half the thickness of ordinary mud walls; not thicker than an equivalent brick wall. Again it means economy in earth, labour and time.

The next advantage of a rammed earth house (in common with all earth houses) is that it is very comfortable and healthy. Contrary to stone, brick and cement, the heat capacity of rammed earth is very high, and rammed earth houses are most definitely cooler in summer and warmer in winter than houses made of any other material except, maybe, wooden logs.

Earth being usually free for the taking, one can have all the space one wants just for the labour of building. The cheapness of the material also allows for volume and mass effects not possible with more costly materials. With earth, poverty need not be ugly.

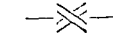
The rammed earth method of building is very ancient. The Romans used it extensively, and it is current in China even now. As a matter of fact it is one of the standard ways of house building in China.

But there are drawbacks in earth houses. An earth house must be kept dry. It needs a good roof with a wide overhang or veranda all round. In water earth dissolves.

The other disadvantage, peculiar to rammed earth houses, is the cost and the weight of the forms. They are very strong and big and would cost quite a lot to make. Numbers of men are required to operate them, and they are surely not a proposition for husband and wife wanting to build a house with their own hands.

The reduction of size and weight of forms was made possible by completely changing the traditional way of building rammed earth houses. Usually they are built in horizontal layers. The method developed at Kora Kendra may be called the pillar and panel method, because the house is built in vertical sections. First pillars are built everywhere they are needed, at the corners and by the sides of the doors and windows, and then the walls are filled in with panels of rammed earth. The gaps between the panels and pillars are filled in last, when the pillars and panels have fully dried and the door and window assemblies are fitted in.

A rammed earth house can have any number of storeys, subject to the difficulty of carrying earth upstairs. But in practice more than two storeys will be rarely built.



Foreigners' Impressions on The Basic Schools

The interest and inner urge for knowledge about the world affairs among the children of a typical village Basic School have deeply touched some foreign visitors, whose impressions are given below:

J. F. BALSURA, Far Eastern Social Welfare Representative, Technical Assistance Administration Paruskawan Palace, Rajadamnern Ave., Bangkok, Thailand.

Date of visit: 10th July '52.

I was much impressed and the fine work done of the Basic School at Kallupatti and the boys impressed me by their all round alertness and interest in world affairs. The training centre for teachers and their initiation into community life and manual work were also impressive in their general concept. Of course the pleasing feature was that both the trainees and the organisers had an open mind and were willing to listen to new ideas, a feature very essential for new projects in order to avoid the danger of complete self-complacency.

I was very pleased to meet the students of the VIII Standard of the Basic School, at T. Kallupatti. They were reading and discussing a speech in Parliament where village work was referred to. The students asked questions on conditions in other parts of Asia, Europe and America, which showed that the background of their training was sound. Their curiosity to know about the social, economic, and political

A rammed earth house will take any roof, even the heaviest. Research is being done on earth arches, vaults and domes. If successful, it will make possible a timberless earth house, built entirely out of earth with no wood in it, except for doors and windows.

The protection of the earth house from water can be done in two ways. Something can be added to the earth to make it water resistant, or the house can be covered with a waterproof layer incorporated in the wall while building, or attached to it.

There are many ways of waterproofing earth walls. An addition of 5-10% cement will make the earth water resistant. Resin will make it water repellent, and certain metallic soaps provide waterproof skins. Good progress has been made in this line.

conditions of other Asian and European peoples indicated their wide awakeness. This was the pleasing feature of their training to me.

BOB LUITWEILER, Travelling Secretary for constructive workers, International, 1109, Sterling Ave., Berkeley 8, Calif., U. S. A.

Date of visit: 18th July 1952.

My visit to Gandhiniketan has been an inspiration from beginning to end. It is truly wonderful what you have accomplished with the time and resources you have had. I liked too the spirit of the children in your school. They seemed more alive than in any basic School, I have seen and I was truly amazed by their searching questions and thoughtful answers to my questions. All in all I have a feeling that your centre will go a long way in the village uplift movement to set the pattern for the future.

Miss DORATHIYA, American Representative, United Nations.

Date of visit: March 9, 1952.

My visit to the Gandhiniketan Basic School was most stimulating. The boys and girls are alert, curious, self-confident—all the qualities of good citizens.

SCHOOL CHILDREN AND PLANNING COMMISSION

DILKUSH B. DIVANJI
Gandhi Kutir - Karadi

Gandhiji always insisted that his birthday should be considered as the birthday (or the day of rebirth) of the Spinning Wheel. For many years Gandhi Jayanthi week has been observed as Charka Jayanti Week. Shri Narendas Gandhi of the Rashtriya Shala at Rajkot initiated the programme of 'Sankalpa Kathan' — or intensive regular spinning every year for as many days as the number of years of Gandhiji's life. Spinners during these days, take a vow to spin a fixed number of hanks and organise community spinning. In Surat District this programme of 'Sankalpa Kathan' is getting more popular every year. Experience has shown that by this programme spinners were able to spin enough yarn to give them Khadi for the average need.

The Planning Commission proposes to increase the annual average cloth produc-

tion per capita from 12 to 15 sq. yds. and to spend crores of rupees for the purpose. This increase will hardly give employment to a few thousands in the Textile mills — leaving the vast problem of the semi-employed in the villages almost unsolved. But the 'Sankalpa Kathan' programme has shown that spinners during the short period of 4 to 8 weeks, could spin yarn sufficient for 6 to 15 sq. yds. of cloth per head. The Surat District Board organised the 'Sankalpa Kathan' programme in some of its primary schools with the active co-operation of the students, the teachers and the villagers. The spinners, enrolled for this programme, announced the number of hanks they decided to spin during the Gandhi Jayanti period fixed by the school. The figures in the table shown below give the result.

Spinning for a period of about 4 weeks during Gandhi Jayanthi celebration
of the Surat Dist. Board Schools

	1950		1951		1952	
	No.	Hks.	No.	Hks.	No.	Hks.
Students	6,505	71,678	7,997	1,31,258	9,484	1,69,619
Teachers	650	14,498	928	40,946	971	31,064
Villagers	1,503	40,266	2,183	64,586	1,939	87,278
Total...	8,658	1,26,442	11,108	2,36,790	12,394	2,87,961
Sq. Yds. of Khadi that can be woven	31,610		59,197		71,990	

Note: 1. Average production per spinner during 'Jayanthi' (4 weeks) is 3½ yds. in 1950; 5½ Sq. Yds. in 1951; and 5¾ Sq. Yds. in 1952.

2. The number of schools where the programme was organised is 109 in 1950; 179 in 1951; and 227 in 1952.

What do these figures indicate? If within 4 weeks 12,394 spinners can produce each 5½ sq. yds. how easily we can reach the target of 15 sq. yds. cloth production. The example of Somapur — a little village near Dandi in Navasari Taluq — is even more inspiring and eloquent. The Somapur primary school organised 'Sankalpa Kathan'

for 42 days and enrolled 265 spinners of whom 124 were students and 8 teachers. They have spun 20,034 hanks. The estimated Khadi production will be 4,000 sq. yards costing Rs. 6,000. This works out 15 yds. per spinner during 42 days. The Planning Commission has fixed 5 years to reach the same target spending crores of rupees.

If only primary school children are organised for intensive spinning as is done by Surat District Board Schools it is extremely easy for every one, above the age of 12 to spin yarn sufficient for 15 yards production during one year.

Gandhiji wanted to revolutionise our primary education by insisting education through crafts. Even while learning, children become self-sufficient through the wheel. If we rightly understand Gandhiji's message of the charkha we have only to utilise our spare time to achieve self-sufficiency in cloth. The children of the Surat District have practically demonstrated the way for the Planning Commission to copy. They have shown that (i) at the touch of the life-giving spinning wheel crores of under-employed can utilise their spare time to produce yarn sufficient for their annual cloth requirements (ii) that crores of rupees invested and spent in Textile Mills with all the devastating attendant evils of inhuman industrialisation can be saved and (iii) the beauty of this self-sufficiency Khadi production lies in the development of a real economic independence of the villages.

I wish to invite the attention of the Planning Commission to the simple economics of the charkha. Even a foreign student of Gandhiji's philosophy could easily realise the potency of the wheel. In his book 'Lenin and Gandhi' Rena Fullip Miller after a comparative study of Communism and Gandhism observes:

"While thus the violent industrialism of Russia attempted by Lenin artificially interfered with the economic position of the country, the Khaddar movement of Gandhi in India was much more in harmony with the existing economic situation. From this point of view Gandhiji's action, his bitter fight against the transplantation of industry in India and even against industrialism in general, which at first sight appears utterly absurd to the European — becomes more comprehensible; even if this hostility to the machinery merely makes use of ethical and religious arguments, nevertheless it contains a core of sober truth — from the national and economic point of view. In the economic position of India at the present moment, industrialism might in fact be more of a curse than a blessing."

★ BHOODAN NEWS ALL OVER INDIA ★

ASSAM

The Convenor Shri Bhuvanchandra Das of the Provincial Samithi, after taking guidance and instructions from Vinobaji with whom he travelled for a week in Bihar, started his walking tour in Assam to spread the mission. Sri Vallabhaswami also joined him in the tour, for a few days.

UTTAR PRADESH

A strong and influential committee for the Province consisting of Shri Purushotamdas Tandonji, Shri Pandit Pant (The Chief Minister), Acharya Narendra Dev (Vice Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University), Justice Sankar Saranji of the Allahabad High Court, Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma (Minister for Transport U. P.), Shri Kapil Bhai of Gandhi Ashram, Meerut, and six others, was finally constituted with Akshaya Kumar Karan as the Convenor to continue the work in the Province.

KARNATAK

Shri Vamanrao Hodhike conducted a training camp for 40 workers to give instruc-

6

tions in the practical methods and ideals underlying the Bhoodan movement in Karwar District. Shri Thimmappa Naik convened a number of meetings in the villages. In Ankola Tehsil the workers have started organised propaganda in about 40 villages. Shri Babu Kamat started on a walking tour in Belgaum District and collected 21.75 acres up to 28th Sept. Shri Ramachandra Vadvi with other workers went to Dharwar on propaganda work, met the Jagirdars and have till now collected 75 acres. Booklets on Bhoodan mission were printed and distributed in all the areas.

PUNJAB

Shri Lal Achinram toured some districts in the Province, organised district committees and convened meetings of workers in various localities.

MADHYA PRADESH

Shri Dadabhai Naik with a band of workers toured in many places and collected 327.18 acres. During the Dassara days propaganda work was intensified in Wardha

Taluk for which Vinobaji has fixed a quota of 10,000 acres. From 28th Sept. to 5th October, 18 villages were covered; 189.75 acres were collected. A donation of a pair of bullocks and contribution of labour for digging a well were announced.

MADHYA BHARAT

Shri Virendra Singh Mandoli of Nimad Districts toured and organised a number of meetings in villages. 490.59 acres of land, 7 ploughs, 1 Bakhar, and 6 bullocks were received as donations.

MAHARASHTRA

1. Shri Vallabhaswami addressed a number of public meetings and workers' Conferences in the districts of Nasik and Kandesh.

2. Shri Dada Dharmadhikari, toured in the districts of Ratnagiri, Kolhapur, Satara, Poona and Nagar. Shri Appa Sahib Patwardhan joined him in the Ratnagiri District where they collected 25 acres.

3. Shri Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe (Secretary A. I. S. A.) convenor of the Provincial Samithi started on his walking tour on the 15th October.

RAJASTHAN

Systematic Bhoodan Yagna propaganda has started in the districts Jaisalmer, Kotah, Pali, Sikar, and Udaipur. In Ahmer 250 bighas were collected; in Udaipur division the jagirdars of Badala and Salumbar promised 250 Bighas each and Jagirdar of Shivarni promised 100 Bighas. Shri Vijaya Singh Siriyari, Secretary of the Kshatriya Mahasabha has appealed to all Jagirdars of Rajasthan to offer liberal donations. Shri Srikrishnadas Jajuji's recent tour in the State has given a great impetus to the movement.

BENGAL

A new provincial committee was set up. Conferences of workers were held in the districts of Midnapore and Virbhum and the workers have undertaken to do the propaganda work in their respective localities.

BIHAR

The meeting of provincial workers was held on the 23rd October, wherein it was resolved to collect 4 lakhs acres before 31st Dec. 1952, to observe the Bhoodan Yagna fortnight from 1st to 15th October, and to enlist 5 workers in every district for full-time Bhoodan work. Shri Vinobaji expects this province which has given birth to the three world renowned personalities

Janaka, Buddha and Asoka and also the first President of the Republic of India, Shri Babu Rajendra Prasad, to donate atleast 50 lakhs of acres.

VINDYA PRADESH

Shri Chaturbhuj Pattak toured in Tikamgarh Dist. and distributed 87.30 acres to the landless labourers. 24.22 acres more were collected from Tekamqadh, Dadi and Reva Districts.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

This land of the Rishis has set an inspiring and a unique example. Shri Udhodasji the Mahant of Rohad donated every thing that belonged to him to the representative of Dharidra Narayan. He had a property of 5000 Bighas of land belonging to the temple of Shri Raghunathji. This whole property besides the buildings worth one lakh was donated by him. Shri Dharmadeo Shastri went to Rohad and received the offerings and the gift deeds. Rohad is the Central Tahsil village in the district of Mahasu with a population of 500. This noble-soul, the Mahant, is a youth of hardly 28 years. He has thus chosen to become a regular agriculturist and earn his living by hard physical labour. This is the most outstanding example of detachment and unselfishness and the will to adjust oneself to the changing conditions.

(Condensed from the report of Shri Krishnaraj Mehta, Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram)

A. I. C. C. AND BHOODAN WORK

Two important circulars have been issued by the General Secretary, All India Congress Committee, to all provincial committees to actively participate in Bhoodan Yagna work. "It is our bounden duty to strain every nerve to help Acharya Vinoba in fulfilling his life's mission for the welfare of the millions of landless labourers in this country; — no better item of constructive work can be selected by us at this present juncture." The circular has instructed the members of the P. C. Cs and other committees to associate themselves in this work through the Bhoodan committees appointed by the Sarva Seva Sangh and approved by Vinobaji.

PLANNING COMMISSION AND BHOODAN

The Planning Commission appointed by the Govt. of India in its revised Five-Year Plan has asked the States to give the "utmost support" to the movement initiated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave by providing the means of cultivation and other assistance

to landless labourers selected for the allotment of gifted land. "The movement has considerable moral value and, if pressed forward, holds promise of relief in meeting some of the urgent problems of landless workers."

Bhoodan in Hyderabad

Vinobaji's yatra in the beginning was for 60 days from 16th April to 14th June '51. He visited 58 villages, walking 664 miles. The Bhoodan received during his yatra is as follows:

	Acre
Nalgonda	... 4006.16
Warangal	... 3217.06
Karimnagar	... 953.23
Adilabad	... 3790.24
Hyderabad	... 110.00
Mahabubnagar	... 101.01

Total ... 12178.30

After Vinobaji's yatra 6,722.15 acres were received from 15-6-'51 to 24-8-'52.

During Sri Shankarrao Deo's yatra from 26-8-'52 to 22-9-'52, he visited 27 places and walked 225 miles in 28 days. The Bhoodan received is as follows.

Nanded	... 170.00
Osmanabad	... 721.28
Bidar	... 2801.00
Medak	... 230.00
Hyderabad	... 17.01
Hyderabad City	... 7233.39
Nizambad	... 140.00
Nalgonda	... 1001.00
	12314.28

The following lands have been distributed in the various districts.

Nalgonda	... 4141.23
Adilabad	... 3740.01
Warangal	... 25.01
Hyderabad	... 84.17
	7991.02

To Readers of SARVODAYA

We request our readers to help us in increasing the circulation of "SARVODAYA" by sending the addresses of their friends who will be prospective subscribers.

Bhoodan in Tamilnad up to 15-10-52

RAMNAD DISTRICT

DURING SHRI DEO'S YATRA

No.	Name of the Taluk.	Extent of the land.
1	Ramanathapuram	... acres 1121.87½
2	Paramakudi	... " 80.49
3	Muthukulathur	... " 59.99
4	Aruppukottai	... " 122.65
5	Sathur	... " 187.15
6	Srivilliputhur	... " 234.36
7	Thiruppathur	... " 2.47
8	Thiruvadanai	... " 55.50
9	Sivagangai	... " 5.10
		1869.58½

OTHER DISTRICTS

No.	Districts.	acres
1	Coimbatore	... 23.77½
2	Tanjore	... " 5.24
3	Salem	... " 5.86
4	North Arcot	... " 9.87
5	Thirunelveli	... " 151.43
6	Madurai	... " 94.47
7	Madras	... " 9.58
		300.22½

OPENING OF

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam

AT NEW PREMISES

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam will be shifted from the present premises at Veerapandy to Devji's Colony in Tirupur on the 10th Nov. '52.

Shri Shankarrao Deo who will be camping at Tirupur during his Bhoodan Yatra on 10th Nov. will perform the opening function at the new premises.

Our new address will be:

'SARVODAYA'

Devji's Colony, TIRUPUR.

Deoji's Bhoodan Yatra in Tamilnad

Tamilnad witnessed 22 years ago Rajaji's walking pilgrimage towards Vedaranyam sea-coast for Salt Satyagraha to free the country from the British. Now a similar movement of Bhoodan Yagna of great spiritual value was inaugurated at the sacred shrine of Rameswaram on 2nd October, Gandhi Jayanti by Shri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh for restoring the land to the tillers of the soil who are the salt of the land.

The Bhoodan Yatra was started with prayer and Sutra Yagna in the Rameswaram Temple. Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, former Chief Minister presided. Shri Vedarathnam of Vedaranyam Satyagraha fame, and Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman, Shri S. Jagannathan, Convenor of Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee, Shri M. Pattabiramaiah, Shri Subramania Nadar and many others took part in the inauguration of the great Bhoodan Yagna. Shri Krishnaswami Naidu, District Convenor for Ramnad announced offer of Bhoodan of 1246 acres 15 cents including offer of 1000 acres from the Rajah of Ramnad and 150 acres from Shri Sankara Reddiar of Tirunelveli.

Shri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar who presided, said that the *dharmik* movement was bound to succeed under the spiritual leadership of Shri Deo.

In the evening they reached Devipatinam by steam launch. Sri Vedarathnam and Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar addressed the gathering. Their appeal touched the hearts of the poor and one came forward offering all the 62 cents of land he had. Two others followed offering one acre and 3/4 acre respectively.

The next day Deoji walked to Ramnad with the party. In the afternoon there was a Sutra Yagna. Then he addressed the students and the public at two meetings. The Rajah of Ramnad had already announced his offer of 1000 acres during the inauguration at Rameswaram itself. Ten more donors offered about 120 acres in all of which 101 acres came from Mr. P. R. M. K. Mohamed Abdul Khader Marakayar who offered his

steam launch to Deoji and party for sailing to Devipatinam.

In his Yatra Deoji visited many important places like Paramakudi, Aruppukottai, Virudhunagar, Rajapalayam, Srivilliputhur, Kallupatti, Tirumangalam, Madurai, Sholavandan, Melur, Gandhigram, Dindigul and Palani, walking about 250 miles.

He had a rousing reception everywhere. Children sang the song on Bhoodan Yagna specially composed by our Asthana Vidwan Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai. Sutra Yagna was a daily programme. He never missed to meet and address the students and the constructive workers at any place. His appeal went straight to the heart of the audience.

At Rajapalayam he was received by Sri P. S. Kumaraswamy Raja, Ex-chief Minister. Shri Raja joined Deoji in his appeal at the evening meeting appealing to the people to wholeheartedly support the movement.

At Madurai there was a rousing reception. At a public meeting in the evening Deoji addressed about 10,000 people.

At Melur 71 persons donated 92.31 acres out of which 45.72 acres are wet lands. At the end of the meeting Shri Deo appealed to the audience to round off the figure to 100 acres. Shri Ramanathan Chettiar who had already offered 17 acres, responded immediately with an additional offer of 8 acres 28 cents.

It is painful that he found Sholavandan hesitating to offer any land and he declared his fast that night as he had taken a vow to fast on days when there was no Bhoodan forthcoming.

A party of workers is accompanying Shri Deo selling Khadi and Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature of the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.

The success of this historic yatra can be estimated only after some time has lapsed, as he has just now sown the seeds of the great message of Bhoodan in the intellectual and cultural soil of Tamilnad which gave birth to Avvaiyar and Thiruvalluvar, the great Acharyas and Alwars.

Deoji will continue his Yatra in Coimbatore District from 1st Nov. to 14th Nov. after which he will resume his Kerala Yatra.

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Associate Editor: M. Karthiayani Ammal, B. A., B. L.,

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SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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EQUAL DISTRIBUTION

MAHATMA GANDHI

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

It is perfectly possible for an individual to adopt this way of life without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can observe a certain rule of conduct, it follows that a group of individuals can do likewise. It is necessary for me to emphasize the fact that no one need wait for any one else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him

who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with the new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them. For according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity enters into his earnings and there is *ahimsa* in his venture. Moreover if men's minds turn towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society, and that without any bitterness.

It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society. But this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale on non-violence. Somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that *ahimsa* is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should, therefore, be limited to that sphere. In fact this is not the case. *Ahimsa* is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is at once my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult, is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence. The history of religion is full of such examples. To try to root out religion itself from society is a wild-goose chase. And were such an attempt to succeed, it would mean the

destruction of society. Superstition, evil customs and other imperfections creep in from age to age and mar religion for the time being. They come and go. But religion itself remains, because the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion. The ultimate definition of religion may be said to be obedience to the law of God. God and His laws are synonymous terms. Therefore God signifies an unchanging and living law. No one has ever really found Him. But *avatars* and prophets have by means of their *tapasya*, given to mankind a faint glimpse of the eternal law.

If, however, in spite of the utmost efforts the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. Man has been conversant with violence from the beginning, for he has inherited this strength from the animal in his nature. It was only when he rose from the state of a quadruped (animal) to that of a biped (man) that the knowledge of the strength of *ahimsa* entered into his soul. This knowledge has grown within him slowly but surely. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

"Harijan," 25-8-'40

SCIENCE FOR ALL

Not so many perhaps realise that the whole living world is equally dependent upon the mysterious chemical activity of the green plant. All animals including man directly or indirectly draw their food supply from green plants. It is the green plant alone which can utilize the energy of the sunlight so as to build up food-stuffs, out of the simple in-organic substances that are everywhere present in water, soil, or atmosphere.

— J. T. HOGG in "Science for all"

BAPU MY MOTHER

MANU GANDHI

BAPU THE MISER

Once there was a slight delay in heating the drinking water in the morning. I could not light the fire on account of damp weather. So tearing a piece of the border of my sari I dipped it in kerosene. Bapuji observed it from behind. When I was preparing to light it Bapuji said to me, "Will you show me the piece you are going to use for lighting the fire?" I showed it to him. Bapu opened out the folded piece which was long enough to be used as a tape. He said, "Wash this piece and put it in the sun to dry. Is it proper to use for lighting the fire a long piece of cloth which can serve as a tape? Do you know how miserly I am? Where is the harm if we were to get the hot water a little late? What a lot of kerosene was wasted in soaking this long piece, and would it not have been burnt had I not seen it?"

I said, "Bapu, now why should we be so miserly?" He replied jokingly, "You are a daughter of a generous father. But I have no father who will give things to me." Then, suddenly becoming serious he said, "There is always some meaning even in my jokes, which, if you can understand, I shall be satisfied." At last the piece was washed and dried and I was made to use it as a tape. I was taught to light the fire with the straw that was lying nearby. Bapuji always felt great joy in teaching such small things even in the midst of his multifarious and momentous activities in the service of the nation. ★

MEANING OF SACRIFICE

"The Lord says that he who eats without performing sacrifice, eats stolen food. This is a statement of great import. To take stolen food is like taking raw mercury.. i.e., both are indigestible. He is a thief who spends even a moment without sacri-

fice. We all must perform this incessant sacrifice. For him who has, by good fortune his heart in the right place, sacrifice is an easy task. He requires neither wealth, nor intelligence, nor education. Service rendered to anyone is a sacrifice. Only those are not thieves, who have completely dedicated themselves to service; and hence those who render service to a small extent are free from theft to that extent. Thus we all are thieves in some measure at least. Only when we give up all selfishness is our sacrifice complete. To wipe out the consciousness of 'I' and 'mine' is what is really meant by giving up selfishness. 'This is my brother or sister but that one is a stranger'—such sentiments should be eradicated from one's heart. He only can do this who can dedicate every little thing to the Lord, who can render service knowing himself to be an instrument of the Lord. Such people are always happy and calm. To them joy and sorrow are the same. They utilize their all, body, mind and soul in the service of others. For most of us such sacrifice is only an ideal. If we have the desire to serve the whole world what is the type of work which could be suggested to a number of people for the benefit of many? It is spinning. Spinning can be practised by numerous people as service of others and so it can be considered as service of humanity. Innumerable poor people can be maintained through it. Even the blind can spin and *Ramanama* can be repeated with the drawing out of each length of yarn.

"This is the spirit in which I want to teach you the *Gita* not merely grammatically. This is merely an instance to explain to you the meaning of sacrifice. Spinning is sacrifice and sacrifice is spinning." ★

From "Bapu My Mother" — The Tamil Translation of this has run its 2nd edition — under Sarvodaya Prachuralayam — Price Rs. 12

VINOBAJI'S PRAYER SPEECHES

THE NEXT STEP TO BHOODAN

Greed and plunder rule supreme now in society. Hoarding is not considered either as crime or a sin while theft alone is an offence under law. The one who hoards wealth, gives temptation for theft, and thereby abets the crime. Yet he is not treated as an offender. In an Upanishad story one Raja says, "There is neither a thief nor a hoarder in my land." Our *Gita* says that the hoarder is also a thief. But our society would say that *Gita* is the book for Sanyasins. It punishes and sends to jail only the thief but lets free his father, the hoarder, the abettor who is even respected and honoured. What kind of law and justice is this?

..... While making offerings to yagna we say "This is for Indra, this is not mine or for me." This outlook of life is the need of the day. "Whatever we produce in the country, whether it be in field, or in factory we have to offer saying, "This is not mine, this is for society and this is for the nation." Every little thing we possess we have to

offer thus to society and take back only that much which is necessary."

... Thus when every one in our midst is ready to dedicate his all to society, then our Government will neither require the mint at Nasik nor the help from America. Every home in India will be a bank and it will pay everything the moment the demand is made. Then our people will be happy and free from all sufferings.

..... But today neither the people nor our society are prepared for it. So I have asked for only 1/6 share of the land. A year and a half back I said that I have taken the role of Vamana. My first step was Bhoodan, my second step is Sampath-dan (wealth gift) and the third and final step, the most sublime one, will be the call to the people to renounce and surrender everything to society for the service of the poor. "Make yourself poor for the service of the poor." Then alone India becomes an ideal to the whole world to copy. ★

Tikari - Bihar 1-11-'52

ON BUDDHA

"I am extremely happy to be in this sacred city where Lord Buddha attained the state of Nirvana. I am merely following the footsteps of Lord Buddha who taught us that real happiness lies in sharing others' grievances and caring for the poor and down-trodden. He was an incarnation of compassion. He lived and died as a Hindu but it is his disciples who formed their own sect after his departure. I have studied Dhammapada and I have not come across a single verse which would not have been acceptable to me as a Hindu. We, Hindus also regard him as an *Avatar* like Rama and Krishna. Indian mind is influenced by *Gita* and Bhagawat on the one hand and Buddha and Mahavir on the other. The only difference between the outlook of Hindus and Buddhists is that Buddhists worship

(Free rendering from Hindi)

Lord Buddha as God while Hindus, regarding him as an *Avatar*, do not worship him simply because he belongs to our own age. Buddhists had spread the best of the Indian culture outside, in the then known world. So their contribution is very valuable. Bodhgaya is a place doubly sacred. It is Lord Buddha's *Tapasyabhoomi* and a place of international importance where pilgrims come from all foreign countries. So it is the duty of the residents of Bodhgaya to keep this place spotlessly clean and to shower love and hospitality on the foreign pilgrims so that they may carry the message of India with them. If we fail in this, we will be doing dishonour to our country. We must study if we can, the religious texts of Buddhism as they are our own texts." ★

Bodhgaya - Bihar - 3-11-'52

Bhoodan Yagna: Answer to Some Questions

SHANKARRAO DEO

Several questions have been asked about Bhoodan Yagna, particularly regarding the distribution and proper utilisation of the donated land. They are answered by the following statement issued by Sri Deo on 10th November during his Bhoodan Yatra at Tirupur.

It is fantastic even to imagine that evacuees from north India and people from other parts would be brought down to settle on lands donated, for instance in Tamil Nad, as some seem to entertain a suspicion. It is the legitimate duty of the Government to look after the evacuees and the Central Government is discharging its duties to the evacuees very creditably. Of course, with all our sympathy for the evacuee sisters and brothers who have suffered so much, we support the Government in all its measures to help them. But this need not be mixed up with the Bhoodan Yagna, as it is not started for this purpose. Unfortunately every State has a large number of poor people to look after. Therefore let all such friends who want to offer land, but yet are deterred by this consideration from giving, be assured that the first claim on land will be of the poor landless living in the same village. One must remember that the Bhoodan Yagna is an all-India movement and therefore the poor in every province will be benefited by the gift of their own province.

2. As regards the distribution of lands to the deserving people in an impartial way we can assure that only men who are just and impartial will be entrusted with the task of distribution. I think that this will be most satisfactorily accomplished if the donors themselves will come forward to help in this work in an impartial and disinterested way.

3. Persons who will be asked to do the distribution work will not come from outside; they will be selected from the same province and the districts and they will be fully

familiar with local conditions. There is no question of any superior committee giving directions to these persons. The rules of distribution are very few and they are fundamental to the movement and are capable of universal application. These will be clear to those who peruse the instructions for distribution issued by the Uttar Pradesh Bhoodan Samithi. In Uttar Pradesh more than three lakhs of acres have to be distributed and it may be taken that these instructions have the approval of Shri Vinobaji.

4. The question of legislation will inevitably arise of course, if the rich and also the poor, especially the former do not part with their property voluntarily for the community. Yet in any case the legislation will have to come. The only question is at what stage. Bhoodan Yagna even after achieving full success cannot avoid legislation. But if there is a magnanimous response from the Haves, then legislation will be the crowning act for which full credit will go to the donors of land for creating the sanction of abundant goodwill in the country by cementing the different parts of the community towards a new strength and unity. Therefore let the rich come forward and declare out of their volition that they are ready to surrender a big portion of their wealth to the community for economic equality. Bhoodan Yagna is really a unique non-violent aid for meeting the challenge of democracy on behalf of the Have-nots. If, instead of responding to this challenge with the generous gesture, the rich throw it back to the Have-nots out of sheer narrow-mindedness the future of democracy will be certainly dark.

It is true that the ultimate aim of Bhoodan Yagna is to make the community the sole owner of that kind of property which enables one to exploit another. But in democracy the process is necessarily to be gradual. The operating speed of this process will naturally depend upon the goodwill of those who wield this kind of property. The Bhoodan Yagna makes a direct appeal to the inherent goodness in every man. If those who have land consider calmly in the interest of the community as a whole they will be convinced that it is neither in their interests nor in the interest of the community to withhold gradual surrender of their lands because they will ultimately be asked to surrender all. This would be nothing but a challenge to the forces of violence to do their worst. The rich should realise that democracy cannot survive such violent upheavals. And therefore, the rich have to come forward voluntarily to remove the present social and economic inequalities as speedily as possible. Democracy in a sense means readjustment to the new conditions. The people have to be prepared to give up and change their old habits i. e., their notion of standard of living. The community is just like a family in which the total income is shared equally by all its members. And its standard of life is determined by the aggregate income. This law of family life must be extended in its application to even the society as a whole, as far as possible. Therefore, the difference between the maximum and the minimum standard of life should be very little.

6. Some entertain the fear that the new recipients of land may also in course of time incur heavy debts and lose their land even as the older generation of the peasants have lost their land as a result of their debts etc. This, I am sorry, is a static way of thinking. If the peasants are so bad, who is responsible for it? Should not the people at the top share a part of that responsibility? There is a misunderstanding about the law of Karma. It is the old Hindu trait refusing to share

the collective responsibility of the evil in society. The Hindu generally thinks that each is responsible for his own conditions and that there is nothing like collective responsibility. He considers that it is not his duty to go to the help of those who are suffering because it is attributed to one's own Karma. Yet I may assure these friends that the peasant is not so bad as is considered to be. And if only the upper classes will do their duty, the conditions will be different in the future India. Therefore let us not think of the past but work now only for the future.

7. Some say that the actual tillers have not the means to improve and maintain the lands. But who is responsible for this state of affairs? They have been so much exploited by the landlords and the middlemen for generations together that they have been deprived even of the means of cultivation which they can call their own. Secondly, if the land ultimately belongs to the community, all the implements of production will also go to the community. In the meanwhile let those who give land kindly see that the object of gift is fulfilled. All these excuses and doubts arise because the principle of Bhoo Dan Yagna which is to create a brotherhood among men has not been fully grasped. If this is realised then people offering land will also give all necessary help for cultivating it. It is true that agriculture alone cannot sustain the tiller. That is why the Sevapuri resolution on Bhoo Dan advocates its inseparable counterpart of decentralised industries and calls the people to boycott goods of centralised industries, at least in the matter of food and cloth to begin with. Here again it is the rich who are to set an example for the poor. If they will support the village industries even at some sacrifice, not only those engaged in agriculture will get means to supplement their income, but thousands of people in the villages who have no land will also get employment. The Sarvodaya Plan envisages self-sufficiency in village economics to meet at least the primary needs of villages.

8. It is mentioned by some rich that the peasants are not inclined for hard work and that they will not get full benefit of the land. "Whatever a great man does the same is done by others as well", says the Gita. When will the rich realise at least, out of compassion, that the poor have lost their will to work because for centuries there was no incentive for them to work? So, under Swaraj those who are more enlightened and advanced should help their poor brothers.

9. In India at present more than 60% of the holdings are below five acres. Bhoo Dan Yagna gives at least 5 acres for a family. If the family is large it gets even more. In Hyderabad State they had given at one acre per member of the family. This has in some cases enabled a family to secure even 10 acres. As far as possible, attempt is made to consolidate small pieces of land given by the donors by exchange. Hence the fear that the land will be more fragmented has very little foundation.

10. Some mix up the question of the land belonging to the community and the State owning the land as a whole. There is a vast difference between both. Even today in theory the land belongs to the State, though it really belongs to individuals. The Bhoo Dan Yagna wants that the land should belong to the community in the village, and the responsibility of cultivating the lands will rest with the elected Panchayat. This is decentralised economy and we want the decentralised social and political life also, of course, consistent with the security and welfare of the country as a whole. So, those who compare the objective of the Bhoo Dan Yagna to the Russian pattern as far as the land is concerned, exhibit ignorance of both.

So I would appeal to those who are in a position to give, to donate liberally for Bhoo Dan Yagna and be themselves its *Prohitis* (Priests). If they do so all their doubts will melt even as the mist before the sun.

MESSAGE OF GANDHIJI

LOUIS FISCHER

Recently the Foreign Minister of a small Asian country said to me: "Not long ago, while I was reading your 'Life of Mahatma Gandhi,' I found myself taking vows to improve myself to become a better person."

The most important thing about Mahatma Gandhi is that he lived. His life is an inspiring example. He began as an ordinary person, but he pulled himself up by his own efforts to the high mountain where he dwelt and worked for many decades. Gandhiji believed in the corrigibility of every human being, in the endless capacity of each individual to become better. He tried to see only the good in people. He regarded the good in each person as all of that person, and in this way he filled his visitors with a desire to live up to his estimate of them.

For India therefore and indeed for the entire world, Mahatma Gandhi continues to be a living force. The independence of India without violence was a tribute to Britain's political maturity and one of Gandhiji's greatest achievements, but only one of his achievements. He did not merely free India; he left her a legacy. In one of his earliest writings, in a book entitled *Hind Swaraj* or Indian Independence, he wrote that the purpose of liberating India from colonial rule was not to substitute Indian officials in the place of British officials. He had high ideals for India and for all humanity. He did not want the British ejected by force, because he knew it would generate hate and untruth and bitterness that might last many years. Such is the importance he attached to means. If the means are bad, they poison the end and reduce its value.

Although he strove for Indian nationalism, he regarded himself as an internationalist and in later years stressed this aspect of his thinking with increasing frequency. He had the eye of a Prophet and realized that more wars would widen the gulf between nations and lessen the understanding between them and thus prepare the way for more wars and more hate and ultimately the descent of humanity into barbarism. This is Gandhi's contribution to world peace.

Gandhi still has a decisive message for all the world. As early as 1919 he stated that Bolshevism was the inevitable result of materialism and that the mad chase for material goods to the exclusion of the higher things in life would result in Communism's victory. He did not believe in reported Soviet successes. Gandhi did not agree that the alternative was food or freedom. Without freedom there is no food, no light, no virtue, no truth, no peace. Those who hate cannot want peace. Those whose programme stands for destruction cannot contribute to peace.

Gandhi gave the peasants and working people and intellectuals of India a sense of their own personal importance in society. He not merely enlisted them in his independence movement but increased their individual stature and thereby made them immune to totalitarian doctrine.

"ANTIDOTE TO STALIN"

Recently, in one or two talks with Marshal Tito, the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, I asked him for his opinion of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet dictator, whom he had known personally. "Stalin has no consideration for human beings," Tito replied. But for Gandhi the human being was everything. For if his stature is diminished, if the individual is squelched and reduced to the stature of a pygmy, dictators will have a free hand. In this sense Gandhi is now the answer and the antidote to Stalin. The most effective weapon against Stalinism is Gandhism. Gandhi was a modern saint. He lived under British imperialism, yet within

that framework, and remembering the many times he and his Indian associates were clapped into jail, he enjoyed a wide margin of freedom to criticise and advocate. A totalitarian regime would have crushed the life out of Gandhi or sent him to a concentration camp. Dictatorships do not nurture saints or saintly qualities or humanistic virtues. Gandhi was a rebel and established revolutionary regimes are intolerant of rebels.

Mahatma Gandhi was no trained economist. He had a clear mind but not a scientific mind. It is interesting nevertheless that many Indians are to-day convinced that Gandhi's economic programme for eliminating the poverty of the Indian people provides a key to the solution of her present economic difficulties. He wanted land for the peasant, cottage industries for farmers during months of unemployment, and self-help by the man at the bottom rather than the imposition of policies from above. Gandhi favoured less government and more co-operative effort by the people on their own behalf.

There are some who contend that a revolution achieved by blood and maintained by oppression can mould a better individual. Gandhi said, the individual must become better and then the revolution would come of itself and its fruits would be sublime. Several Indian Socialist leaders, who formerly believed in Marxism and dialectical materialism, have recently been converted to this Gandhian view.

PROBLEM OF POWER

The central problem facing all humanity to-day is the problem of power. The problem is: How can the modern individual remain free, sane, and himself in the face of the mounting power of governments, the increasing power of economic organizations and the power now extractable from the atom and other sources? Most persons stand in awe of these fresh agglomerations of power and feel prepared to resign their prerogatives as individuals. But Mahatma Gandhi had a

Himalayan faith in the individual. If Gandhi's life shows anything, it demonstrates how each individual can by his own will become bigger and better and thus resist the assaults of organized power. In Gandhi therefore humanity could save itself from the danger which now threatens. His life is a model for all.

I lived with Gandhi in India and found him a very happy man, joyous and light hearted, friendly and personal. He seemed to have resolved his inner conflicts and it appears to me that the reason is that in

Gandhi word and deed and creed were one. He was not a split personality. He did what he believed and he said what he believed. This is the real meaning of integrity. It made Gandhi an integrated, mentally healthy individual. This integrity is what Gandhi called truth. In the early part of his career he used to say "God is truth", but in the latter part he went a step further and stated that "Truth is God." By cultivating this kind of truth, Gandhi aspired to the perfection of his soul and its re-unification with the Divine. It is in this sense that Gandhi was a Mahatma, which means Great Soul.

"The Hindu" 2-10-'52

BHOODAN: A Revolutionary Movement

S. M. NEKSATKHAN

Towards the closing decades of the last century a universal belief was taking firm roots in the minds of the people that the world had made a tremendous progress and that there would not be any regress. It was also believed that it was science that made that achievement possible. The idea of progress got a rude shock in 1914 when the modern world tumbled upon the first World War. The events that followed it brought in complete disillusionment. Nevertheless, the belief that science can and will usher in a new world order has not died. Somehow, people still hold on to it, almost superstitiously, for they do it in spite of all the evidence to the contrary. Science promised abundance of everything. Even today fanatics of science are ever ready to come out with all sorts of promises. But instead of abundance we find scarcity. Thanks to science even the universal elements found in abundance in Nature have become scarce! There is a world-wide food shortage today as was never before even in pre-scientific age. In cities and towns, the crowns and glories of science, water, air and light have become scarce. So is land. Now, whether we want to solve the land problem

or any other problem, we will have to counteract this unscientific mentality all along. The underlying causes behind every modern malaise are the set of things and ideas brought about as a result of the lopsided development of science and the abandoning of the moral aspects of life. And if we mean to understand and appreciate the Bhoodan Yagna we must look at it, first and foremost, as a moral movement.

Like the other elements of Nature like water, air and light, land is meant for all the people irrespective of their race or religion or social status. The problem of land is a world-wide problem. There are many remedies proposed for its solution and some have been already tried even on an extensive scale. This problem is akin to the problem of freedom. Freedom everywhere was and is still scarce. People and nations have won their freedom by certain stereotyped means. It was Mahatma Gandhi who showed India a different way and a better way of gaining freedom. It is now Acharya Vinoba Bhave who shows a different way of solving the land problem.

The principle is the same, the principle of non-violence. But its application has to

be in a new field. The launching of the Bhoodan Yagna was indeed a very imaginative and bold and original stroke of genius for a timely extension of non-violence. India's application of non-violence in the field of fight for freedom raised her prestige in the world and has inspired some struggling nations to use the same method. If one and all contribute their due share in this non-violent solution of land problem, it can be speedily and easily solved despite the criticisms of doubting Toms and the forebodings of gloomy prophets. With two bold precedents in the application of non-violence for the solution of two major issues, a way will be opened up for the third and the fourth successful application of it in other major problems facing us which are many. It will also further raise the prestige of India in the world and will inspire other countries to solve their land problem in a non-violent way. Thus the forces of non-violence will be strengthened not only nationally but also internationally.

A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

It is often said we are living in an age of transition. The old system has broken down and a new system is in the process of formulation. At a time like this a major change is to be made in every aspect and sphere of life. We have to change entirely our ideas and ideals, habits and customs, ways and means of living and life. That is why we have to say that a revolution is needed if we mean to create a new order. Any programme to be worthwhile in such a situation must be revolutionary. Otherwise it won't achieve anything real or substantial.

A test that we may apply to the Bhoodan Yagna Movement is to find out whether it is a revolutionary movement. Doubts may be raised as to whether it is a cent per cent revolutionary movement, but it can be easily seen that it is substantially so. To take one example, science wants to industrialise agriculture while the aim of the movement is to humanise it. Thus it is entirely against the

scientific tenets, trends and techniques. It wants to bring about a fundamental change in many aspects of life and concepts of living to reverse the whole outlook on land. Practically the whole world believes, rather makes us to believe, that land can be appropriated by a few. Of course, the philosophy of rank materialism that is behind this way of thinking is not manifested in a crude form. It is donned in scientific terms. The latest fashion in the evolution of crude materialism is the refined scientific Humanism. And so, if we want to be scientifically humane, we must have economic holding, collective agriculture and state-farming. The idea of privileged possession for the few thus gets a new lease of life, which can only be countered by putting ethics before science.

The first tenet of Bhoodan Yagna is that land belongs to God and not to any tin-gods or tinkering demi-gods, not even to that sacrosanct and sanctified abstraction, the State. Like other elements of nature like air, light and water, land and its produce is for all. When sun shines every morning, it has not to see where it has to send its rays and where it has to withhold them. When it rains, the fields, both of the believers and non-believers get water. So also, everybody gets air. Then why should land be reserved for a chosen few? However, in spite of the high-pressure indoctrination of science, economics and politics, people voluntarily come forward to change their ideas and ways of living and do give up even a part of their possession.

True, a revolution like this does not conform to a set pattern of revolution. Even Vinoba's ideas about revolution are revolutionary and are worth noting here. "There is no fixed pattern of revolution as the Marxists believe", he said once. He continued, "A revolution is something fresh and new in history. If it follows a set pattern it is not revolution." Further, if the revolution of land problem is important, more important is the way in which it is to be solved. The latter is the question of the technique of non-violence. And the technique

is always more important than the problem which is to be solved by that method.

THE SARVODAYA SIXTH

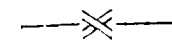
The Bishop of Canterbury, who is called the Red Dean because of his sympathies with the Reds, tried to publicise the deeds of Communist Russia in his book 'Socialist Sixth of the World.' It is for every believer in non-violence now to popularise the idea of Sarvodaya Sixth. From asking bits of lands Vinobaji has now come to demanding one-sixth of the land. Its arithmetic is simple but its spirituality is profound. Taking the average size of the family as five he implores people to consider him as the sixth member and give him his part, one-sixth. That will go to Daridranarayana. It is the realisation on the part of those who give one-sixth or more of their land that it is not fair to have more land than necessary particularly when there are many who have no land at all. That is the spiritual aspect of the problem.

The whole world today is in the throes of a revolution. There are two ways open to it, the way of the Socialist Sixth and the way of the Sarvodaya Sixth. The pull of the Communist way of life and making or marring revolutions is strong indeed. If we mean to hold up as an example to be followed of the non-violent way of life and making revolutions by solving some national and

international problems non-violently, we must put our heart and soul into this movement and make it a brilliant success. The idea may even be extended a bit further. From offering now land only, next people should begin to offer one-sixth of their property and other income besides land.

The success of the Bhoodan Yagna so far must open up the eyes of the critics and the constructive workers themselves. They may see what power the non-violent technique can wield. This technique can solve every problem. But if it is not given a trial its potentialities cannot be realised. There is a tendency, innate or ingrained, among constructive workers to be satisfied with their cells and wells. It is good to be self-sufficient economically, but not morally and intellectually. They must take up larger issues and bigger problems and use the enormous amount of moral strength that they have accumulated and locked up, at least a sixth of it.

The Bhoodan Yagna Tour is a way of Ahimsa in action. Hence, it provides an object lesson of study in non-violent technique for constructive workers, big and small, and others. Students who wish to study the releasing and working of altruistic forces at their best sources, should not miss this chance of a living study. They should be invited to tour with the party in groups.



CONTROL OF THE MILLS

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

In 1946 when the National Government was formed Gandhiji pressed for control over mills as a first step towards national reconstruction. It was clear to him that if the millions of this country were to be given employment mills would have to be progressively closed down and replaced by Charkha and village industries. But the

leadership then refused to consider, much less concede, this demand. It was obsessed with the splendour of the West. Its heart was set on leading India along the road the West had gone. It little thought that what the modern West had achieved was of doubtful value. Naturally therefore, it thought it fit to dismiss Gandhiji's proposal as impracticable.

Six years have gone by. Unemployment is increasing at a terrific pace. Our leaders are puzzled. But their obstinacy prevents them from heeding, even now, the advice Gandhiji gave in 1946. It is gratifying, however, to find that some people are at last reacting to the compulsion of circumstances and have started talking of *charkha* and village industries. But although they talk of these, they little realize that *charkha* and village industries can thrive only at the cost of mills. Both cannot exist simultaneously. This is inevitable, and is the only correct position to take. But somehow they choose to shut their eyes against reality. The result is that they fail to see light. No wonder then, that they are led to the position that it is not the business of the State to provide employment to all.

Of late Rajaji has forcefully reacted to the tragedy that obtains in Madras. He has recognized the force of circumstances. He has come to the conclusion that handloom must be protected against mills to the extent that the manufacture of *dhotis* and *sarees* should be entrusted exclusively to the handloom. No more should the textile mill compete with the handloom in the manufacture of those varieties. This development in Rajaji's outlook is a happy augury. Rajaji clearly feels that no village industry can be saved unless it is protected against the ruinous competition of the corresponding mill. But unfortunately, Rajaji's proposal is confined but to a narrow compass. The fact is that in Madras the number of *dhoti* and *saree* weavers is so large that no Government, much less a democratic Government, can afford to ignore them for long.

Rajaji's is not an ordinary position among the front rank official leaders of the Congress today. The Government of India for a time may ignore Sarvodaya workers including Vinobaji, but it can ill afford to ignore Rajaji. Our appeal to Rajaji is that he should go a step further and consider whether centralized industrialization can solve the problem of unemployment in this country. If he comes to the conclusion that

centralized production and employment to all cannot go together, and that village industries are essential, then he must know that no village industry can survive by mere words of sympathy or by casual financial aid. Among the vast population of India, are weavers the only people who are unemployed? Have our mills not rendered workless and breadless the millions of our spinners, paddy-thrashers and *ghani* men? What does Rajaji propose to do for them? True that the weavers of Madras are organized and vocal, whereas the others lack organized strength to voice strongly enough to disturb the Government. But is it for this reason alone that Rajaji will not look at the problem from the basic national angle and will be content to look at it from the mere official angle? We do hope he will not do so.

We have no doubt that if Rajaji gives earnest thought to the problem of unemployment in the country as a whole he will arrive at the same conclusion which Gandhiji reached years ago, and then he cannot but tell the Government of India that it must reserve the production of food and cloth exclusively for village industries, and slowly squeeze out the mills operating in this sphere. Decentralization of the process of food and cloth production is the only solution. Rajaji will know that even if the Government of India accepts his suggestion and puts an embargo upon mill production of *dhotis* and *sarees* his object will not be achieved. For, in the event of mill-made *dhotis* and *sarees* not made available, the hard-pressed customer will not go in for more expensive handloom *dhotis* and *sarees*; rather, he will purchase plain calico, or some printed variety of requisite width and use it as substitute and the poor weaver will remain where he is today, without work and bread.

Let us face the basic realities of the situation. We hope Rajaji will do so. If millions are to get bread, mills will have to be controlled. There is no escape from this. ★

FOUNDATION OF INDIAN LIFE

— ARAVIND GHOSH

[The following are important extracts from a speech of Shri Aravind Ghosh made in April 1908 in a District Conference at Kishoreganj, District Mymensing, Bengal. It was in support of a resolution on Palli Samiti — Village Swaraj. The speech shows how the best minds of India have thought on similar lines about the contents of Hind Swaraj and what the most cherished dream of India has been ever since her political awakening. Even though that dream may not be the best and the final one, until we have gone through that stage and seen it translated into reality, every other type of political, social and economic organization will fail to bring contentment to the people. The people must have a chance of governing themselves and not be governed by others. Even if that self-government becomes misgovernment, it will be better than good government which is super-imposed. As it is, people have neither self-government nor good government. Even as the British have withdrawn from India, the Central and Provincial Governments would do well to hand over most of their powers as quickly as possible to the villages themselves. — K. G. MASHRUWALA]

“As one of the speakers has already said, the village Samiti is the seed of Swaraj. What is Swaraj but the organization of the independent life of the country into centres of strength which grow out of its conditions and answer to its needs, so as to make a single and organic whole? When a nation is in a natural condition, growing from within and in its own strength, then it develops its own centres and correlates them according to its own needs. But as soon as for any reason this natural condition is interrupted and a foreign organism establishes itself in and dominates in the country, then that foreign body draws to itself all the sources of nourishment, and the natural centres, deprived of their sustenance, fail and disappear.

“If we are to survive as a nation we must restore the centres of strength which are natural and necessary to our growth, and the first of these, the basis of all the rest, the old foundation of Indian life and secret of Indian vitality was the self-dependent and self-sufficient village organism. If we are to organize Swaraj we must base it on the village. But we must at the same time take care to avoid the mistake which did much in the past to retard our national growth. The village must not in our new national life be isolated as well as

self-sufficient, but must feel itself bound up with the life of its neighbouring units, living with them in a common group for common purposes. Each group again must feel itself part of the life of the district, living in the district unity, so each district must not be engrossed in its own separate existence but feel itself a subordinate part of the single life of the province, and the province in its turn of the single life of the country. Such is the plan of reconstruction we have taken in hand, but to make it a healthy growth and not an artificial construction we must begin at the bottom and work up to the apex. The village is the cell of the national body and the cell-life must be healthy and developed for the national body to be healthy and developed. Swaraj begins from the village.

“Take another point of view. Swaraj is the organization of national self-help, national self-dependence. As soon as the foreign organism begins to dominate the body politic, it compels the whole body to look to it as the centre of its activities and neglect its own organs of action till these become atrophied. We in India allowed this tendency of alien domination to affect us so powerfully that we have absolutely lost the habit and for sometime had lost the desire of independent activity and became so

dependent and inert that there can be found no example of such helplessness and subservience in history. The whole of our national life was swallowed up by this dependence. Swaraj will only be possible if this habit of subservience is removed and replaced by a habit of self-help. We must take back our life into our own hands and the change must be immediate, complete and drastic. It is no use employing half-measures, for the disease is radical and the cure must be radical also. Our aim must be to revolutionize our habits and leave absolutely no corner of our life and activities in which the habit of dependence is allowed to linger or find refuge for its insidious and destructive working; education, commerce, industry, the administration of justice among ourselves, protection, sanitation, public works, one by one we must take them all back into our hands. Here again the village Samiti is an indispensable instrument, for as this resolution declares, the village Samiti is not to be a mere council for deliberation, but a strong organ of executive work. It is to set up village schools in which our children will grow up as good citizens and patriots to live for their country and not for themselves or for the privilege of dependent life in a dependent nation. It is to take up the work of arbitration by which we shall recover control of the administration of justice, of self-protection, of village sanitation, of small local public works, so that the life of the village may again be self-reliant and self-sufficient free from the habit of dependence rooted in the soil. Self-help and self-dependence, the first conditions of Swaraj, depend for their organization on the village Samiti.

"Another essential condition of Swaraj is that we should awaken the political sense of the masses. There may have been a time in history when it was enough that a few classes, the ruling classes, the learned classes, at most the trading classes should be awake. But the organization of the modern nation depends on the awakening of

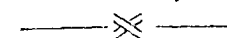
the political sense in the mass. This is the age of the people, the million, the democracy. If any nation wishes to survive in the modern struggle, if it wishes to recover or maintain Swaraj, it must awaken the people and bring them into the conscious life of the nation, so that every man may feel that in the nation he lives, with the prosperity of the nation he prospers, in the freedom of the nation he is free. This work again depends on the village Samiti. Unless we organize the united life of the village we cannot bridge over the gulf between the educated and the masses. It is here that their lives meet and that they can feel unity. The work of the village Samiti will be to make the masses feel Swaraj in the village, Swaraj in the group of villages, Swaraj in the district, Swaraj in the nation. They cannot immediately rise to the conception of Swaraj in the nation, they must be trained to it through the perception of Swaraj in the village. The political education of the masses is impossible unless you organize the village Samiti.

"Swaraj, finally, is impossible without unity. But the unity we need for Swaraj is not a unity of opinion, a unity of speech, a unity of intellectual conviction. Unity is of the heart and springs from love. The foreign organism which has been living on us, lives by the absence of this love, by division, and it perpetuates the condition of its existence by making us look to it as the centre of our lives and away from our Mother and her children."

"..... in the old days we did not hear of this distress of the scarcity of water from which the country is suffering now so acutely. It did not exist and could not exist because there was love and the habit of mutual assistance which springs from love. The zamindar felt that he was one with his tenants and could not justify his existence if they were suffering, so his first thought was to meet their wants and remove their disabilities. But now that we look to a foreign source for everything, this love for

our countrymen, this habit of mutual assistance, this sense of mutual duty has disappeared. Each man is for himself and if anything is to be done for our brothers, there is the government to do it and it is no concern of ours. This drying up of the springs of mutual affection is the cause which needs most to be removed, and the village Samiti is again the first condition of a better state of things. It will destroy the aloofness, the separateness of our lives and bring us back the sense of community, the habit of mutual assistance and mutual

beneficence. It will take up the want of water and remove it. It will introduce arbitration courts and, by healing our family feuds and individual discords, restore the lost sense of brotherhood. It will seek out the sick and give them medical relief. It will meet the want of organization for famine relief. It will give justice, it will give protection and when all are thus working for the good of all, the old unity of our lives will be restored, the basis of Swaraj will have been laid in the tie which binds together the hearts of our people."



GOVERNMENT AND KHADI

SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

That the British Government was always opposed to Khadi, needs no mention. The Congress, on the other hand, had always supported Khadi. So, when Congress Ministries were formed in eight Provinces in 1937, the Charkha Sangh placed before them schemes for promoting the work of Khadi. The Congress Governments gave financial assistance for: (i) manufacturing improved tools and making them available to the artisans, (ii) training workers and artisans in the art of making Khadi, (iii) meeting the deficit arising from the introduction of the living wage, and (iv) meeting the loss suffered in expanding the work of existing centres and in starting new centres. The Government of Madras was foremost in giving such help. The Congress Ministries left office in 1939, and after 7 years in the wilderness, returned to power in 1946. The year 1947 saw the transfer of power to India.

Readers may well remember what a great movement was carried on, and what sacrifices and difficulties had to be put up with, to boycott foreign cloth. The movement was on for merely seventy-five years, and especially in the last thirty years, it was a movement of great momentum. We can say, in retrospect, that at times we did achieve a measure of success, though it

cannot be said that we were fully successful at any time. Even so, the import of foreign cloth had almost stopped during the world-war, and Indian mills had begun to produce the cloth that was necessary for our consumption. Soon after the end of the war we got Swaraj, and with it, the power to stop the import of foreign cloth. But foreign cloth and yarn worth crores of rupees were imported into our country even after the attainment of Swaraj. What greater irony of fate could there have been for the country, and especially for the lovers of Khadi?

It would be good to refer here to the atmosphere that then prevailed in regard to Khadi. Congress Ministries were in power in the provinces as well as in the Centre. There was an acute shortage of cloth in the country. It was a good opportunity for the Governments to push ahead with Khadi. But it became increasingly evident that the Congress Ministries, and even many prominent leaders of the Congress, no longer had the same faith in Khadi that they had evinced earlier. This fact was bound to have repercussions on subordinate Congress Committees and the people at large. Not to speak of controlling the cloth-mills, the formidable competitors of the spinning wheel, in the interest of Khadi, there seemed to be no enthusiasm even to do the small

things necessary for the promotion of Khadi. Referring to this, Gandhiji wrote on the 24th of October, 1947, "Political workers who wear Khadi today wear it out of habit. Today, victory is not that of Khadi but that of the mills. We have persuaded ourselves to believe that crores of people in our country would have to go naked but for the mills. What can be a greater illusion? We have enough cotton, enough number of hand-looms and spinning wheels and also enough spinning and weaving talent. Yet we seem to have been seized with fear that people will not spin or weave to meet their own requirements. He who has given place to fear in his heart, feels afraid even where there is no cause for fear."

Khadi occupied a prominent place in the struggle for independence. All Congressmen and leaders were advocating Khadi. It was, therefore, hoped that when the Congress came to power, Khadi would secure the place that Gandhiji had visualized for it. That hope has now been falsified. It should, however, be admitted that Congress Governments have been giving some help to the work of Khadi. In particular, the Bombay Government is trying to introduce spinning in its primary schools. The Madras Government too is promoting the work of Khadi. Even during the regime of the British Government a scheme had been formulated to extend the textile industry in the country. After attaining Swaraj many Provincial Governments began to make efforts to set up new mills in their respective provinces. When Shri T. Prakasam was the Chief Minister, the Government of Madras, with a view to placing Khadi on a permanently sound basis, declared in August 1946 that it would neither sanction the establishment of new textile mills in the province nor allow the existing mills to increase the number of spindles in their factories. This created quite a sensation in the country. This policy of the Madras Government was severely criticised and opposed by mill-owners and capitalists and by intellectuals and by influential news-

papers. Even the Congress Ministry in the Centre was opposed to it. Soon, however, there was a change of Ministry in Madras. The new Ministry reversed the textile policy of its predecessor but continued the cloth-self-sufficiency scheme of the old Ministry in seven firkas. The Charkha Sangh extended its fullest co-operation to this self-sufficiency project, but warned the Government that the scheme would make no headway unless the sale of mill-cloth was prohibited in the area chosen for the experiment. The Chief Minister of Madras agreed to take steps in this direction but nothing was done for three years, and at the end of this long period, when the Government of Madras expressed its inability to take such a step, the Charkha Sangh had no option but to withdraw its co-operation.

The Planning Commission appointed by the Government of India is now proposing to give a new fillip to Khadi. It is to be seen what place they assign to Khadi in the economic structure of the country. Almost all the Governments seem to want village industries to thrive, but do not appear to be prepared to create the economic conditions in which village industries can survive.

The Governments of Madras, Punjab, Utkal Bengal, Assam and Bihar are doing some Khadi work on their own. The Government of Mysore in particular, has been carrying on Khadi work for the last twenty-five years. ★

The above is an extract from a booklet "The All India Spinners' Association and its work" by Sri Srikrishnadas Jaju, recently published by A. I. S. A., Seragram, Wardha. (Price As. 6.) This is a concise and comprehensive presentation of the origin and the progress of the Khadi Movement up to 1951 covering all its aspects. And it will be specially useful now when the Planning Commission is considering a scheme for Khadi development on an extensive scale through their Khadi and Village Industries Board.

Vinoba — The Apostle of Non-Violence and Love

MANAS, an American weekly devoted only to "ideas and principles for intelligent idealism" and not to personalities has made an exception in the case of Vinobaji because his personality represents today an idea, idea of non-violence and love. The following is a letter from India — published in MANAS — dated Sept. 17, 1952.

"This frail man alone is achieving, today with non-violence what the military might of the Government was unable to achieve with force." Thus said Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in a speech delivered earlier this year before the Indian Parliament. He was paying a tribute to Vinoba Bhave, who was trying to bring peace to the "communist-affected," panic-stricken Hyderabad by a nonviolent method, walking unarmed, unguarded, from village to village spinning, praying and preaching non-violence.

***He is trying to bridge by his deeds the gulf between the poor and the rich in India — between the teeming millions of Indian tillers and the princely landlords — by a method which has never been tried before in history, not even by his great master — Gandhi. He is appealing to the conscience of all those who have land, to donate some piece of land for those who are landless. "With folded hands," he says, "I entreat you to fulfil my mission. I do not ask land for myself. Those on whose behalf I come to demand are mute and cannot express their minds. I wish my words to touch your hearts straight as the Ramaban (the arrow of Rama). My object is to transform the whole society. The world has already seen two great wars and a third threatens to be in the making. India does not want to follow the world. She wants to show the path courageously. Let us therefore with heart within and God overhead fulfil our mission."

And lo! He is almost working miracles. From a people well known for its attachment to land, thousands of acres of land are pouring in for distribution amongst the poorest of the poor.

The distribution of land in India today is one of her toughest problems. Eighty per cent of India lives on agriculture. An

overwhelming majority of these people are landless labourers. Some State governments have tried to solve this problem by legislation, but with very little success. There is a constant endeavour from certain elements to create dissatisfaction among the labourers. But this does not help, because they have nothing constructive to suggest to them. Vinoba is trying another way out. He wants the landlords to part with their land voluntarily and he is successful wherever he goes. In Hyderabad he got 15,000 acres and is daily receiving telegrams begging him to honour the landlord by receiving some land gifts. In the North tour, Vinoba received many thousands of acres. The movement is steadily gaining momentum. Vinoba has thought of collecting fifty million acres, amounting to one sixth of all the cultivable land of India. The goal is still very distant, but he is creating an atmosphere which is unique. It may soon come to about a thousand acres a day! And an acre means decent living for one person in India.

Vinoba, like Gandhi, has a firm faith in the goodness of man. He believes that no man is completely evil. The good virtues in him can be awakened by an appeal to his conscience. The daily land-gifts from those who were unwilling to part with an inch of their land is a definite proof of this belief. It cannot be said that Vinoba is successful because of his popularity. Nobody but a few friends knew him some years back. He was working quietly in a village for more than a score of years, trying to live more simply than the poorest villager. From this life amongst the poorest he found his faith, the faith that India had not lost her soul. She obtained her independence by non-violence, she could as well gain her peace and prosperity by non-violence. It is this firm belief in non-violence that is working miracles for him. ★

SEVA SADAN AT PERUR

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

In the early years of the freedom movement under Gandhiji khadi work was the centre of activity. In the recent years Basic Education has inspired the young and the old to build up Ashrams and Gurukuls for the service of rural masses to create a new way of life and non-violent social order. Many such institutions have sprung up in the South as in other parts of India. Seva Sadan at Perur in Kerala is a typical one organised and run by Shri K. Kumaran with a band of young workers.

In the south of India, surrounded by Western Ghats on the east and Arabian Sea on the west is the long and narrow land-strip, Kerala, consisting of the Malabar District of the State of Madras and the Union of the States of Cochin and Travancore, which bountiful Nature has marked for her own. In its majestic grandeur and sublime beauty, it has evolved its own unique customs and laws, the most prominent being the daughter's right to land and property. It is the birth-place of the mighty Shankar, one of the rarest intellectual giants known to the world. Kerala has been from time immemorial a spring source of sons and daughters acknowledged and respected all over the country for the magnificent qualities of their head and heart.

In the field of fighting for India's freedom Kerala's part has been as much enviable and praiseworthy as that of any other part; so also in peaceful-and-revolutionary constructive work it has not lagged behind. In the second week of September last I had the good fortune to go and see a youthful institution viz., the Gandhi Seva Sadan at Perur in the south of the Malabar District, about two miles away from the Lakkidi station on the Shoranur-Coimbatore route of the Southern Railway.

The Sadan was started in 1945 as an humble orphanage with eight spinning wheels by two young friends, Swami Sevanand and Shri Kumaran. Two years later, they obtained a gift of 6½ acres of land where they started a Gurukulam (a children's school on Gandhiji's Nai Talim lines) with classes I and II. So it has grown step by step and today it holds its respectful place among the most promising and solid institutions of Kerala. The Sadan is a registered Trust, with Shri Kelappan, the wellknown leader of Kerala, as President and Shri Kumaran as Secretary and Treasurer.

The institution has two sections, the Sadan and the Gurukulam, situated about half a mile apart. The former concentrates on village industries while the latter on education and agriculture. The crafts carried out in the Sadan are weaving, oil-pressing, khadi manufacture, tailoring, bee-keeping, mat-making, Magan-chula and pottery work. Shri Venugopal (younger brother of Shri Kumaran) trained in the Gandhi Nai Talim course of A. I. V. I. A., at Wardha had himself prepared a Wardha ghani from thick pieces of timber.

The Gurukulam is an institution by itself with a Teachers' Training School, a Basic School, a Pre-Basic School and Balwadi.

The Training School, started in July 1951 receives help from the Madras State. It has two classes, senior and junior, with about 40 students in each. Of these not less than 30 are girls. The trainees get a stipend of Rs. 18 per month with which they meet their expenses. They have an elected prime minister with a cabinet to guide the trainees. The students in the Training School are all matriculates with a passion for service of the villages. They are in the Gurukulam all the 24 hours, but their 'class' lasts for 8 hours — divided equally between theory and practice. They devote 2½ hours to spinning and the remaining 1½ hours for agriculture. The subjects they learn are psychology, theory of Basic education, school administration, general methods of teaching, mother tongue and English language. I spent some two hours with them at one night after the prayers. Like the basic teachers anywhere else, they failed to understand why the new Government of free India has not universalised the new system of education. As at other places, blooming faces smelt danger in the incoming American 'Aid' and preferred a plan of Gandhian conception.

The Basic School imparting instruction from classes I to VII has 80 students on its roll, in which the men outnumbered women by only ten. Again, 43 of these are day scholars while 37 reside in the Gurukulam. In these 37, eighteen are girls. In class VI I met a young chap who joined the institution as an orphan when it began seven years ago.

The Pre-Basic School, the liveliest part of the institution has been recently opened. Yet there are 27 children, 16 girls and 11 boys. When I saw them in the evening, the innocent kids of Kerala were delightfully enjoying wheat chappatis.

Last but not the least comes the *Balwadi* — the latest addition to the institutions.

fruit of the almost mad longing of Shri Vishalakshi Devi, sister of Kumaran, who had training both in the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the A. I. V. I. A. at Maganvadi.

Agriculture, is a vital part of the Gurukulam. Except the little ones of *Balwadi* all members of the Gurukulam have to contribute their labour in the field. Both cereals and vegetables are grown there. The entire arrangement for irrigation or cultivation etc. is purely with manual and animal labour combined.

Swami Sevanand and Shri Kumaran, one supplementing the other, will not rest content until the Gandhi Seva Sadan becomes a light-house for Nai Talim in that part of Kerala.

CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH - 4

GANDHIGRAM

Gandhigram in Madurai Dt. is the biggest Samagra Seva Institution in Tamilnad which has been developed within the last five years under Shri G. Ramachandran and Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran. The next five years will show enormous progress since Shri G. Ramachandran who was away at Wardha as the Secretary of A. I. V. I. A. during the last two years has, come back to actively guide the Gandhigram institutions as Director.

Dr. (Mrs.) Soundaram Ramachandran, M. L. A., presented a brief consolidated report of the work done by Gandhi Gram during the last five years with a statement of accounts showing total receipts and expenditure during the period. The report showed that 135 basic teachers and 33 adult women had been trained directly by Gandhi Gram, while in the Kasturba Trust training institution located in Gandhi Gram 125 Grama Sevikas and 46 midwives had received their training during the period and that at present there were 174 candidates undergoing various courses of training in Gandhi Gram. Further, at the Rural Maternity Home and Hospital in Chinnalapatti close by, the total number of outdoor patients during the period was 1,47,641 while the number of the Hospital admissions was more than five thousand. The Hospital has 22 beds and a Testing Laboratory Unit under a German lady doctor. Total receipts under all heads during the last five years amounted to Rs. 5,71,768 and total expenses to Rs. 6,16,670.

Dr. (Mrs.) Soundaram Ramachandran then announced that having accepted the place

of Honorary Executive Project Officer in the Community Project in the Madura District she has resigned her place as the Director of Gandhi Gram and that of the Gandhi Gram Working Committee. While not accepting her resignation, The Gandhi Gram Council, the governing body, had given her leave for three years and invited Shri G. Ramachandran to become the Director of Gandhi Gram. She moved a resolution to approve the working committee's decision to make Sri. G. Ramachandran the Director which was accepted.

Three important decisions taken by the Gandhi Gram Council were (1) that the Basic Training School and Model Basic School in Gandhi Gram and the fourteen Basic Schools in the surrounding villages should be developed as a model compact area of Basic Education, (2) that 30 Nai Talim Adult Education centres should be organised in the Athur Firka and (3) that Gandhi Gram should organise the maximum public support for Shri Rajagopalachariar's proposal to reserve certain specific varieties of cloth for handloom production as part of a campaign to encourage village industries. ★

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN NEWS

ASSAM

Shri Vallabhschwamy, the joint secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh along with Shri Bhuvanchandra Das toured in Assam for ten days and addressed meetings at Gauhati, Naugau, Shivasagar, Mangaldey, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Bako and Jorhat. District conferences as well as the provincial Bhoodan conference were also held. 183 bighas of land and 5 bullocks were received as gifts.

ANDHRA

Shri Yerneni Subramaniam, and Shri Ramuluji toured in the district of Nellore and did propaganda for Bhoodan.

GUJERAT

Shri Srikrishnadas Jajuji toured for a fortnight (26th September to 8th October) in the districts of Surat, Baroda, Kheda, and Ahmedabad. He addressed about 30 public meetings and workers' conferences and explained the principles and ideals behind this non-violent revolutionary movement of Bhoodan. Shri Jugatram Dave, Shri Jyotsna Behn Shukla Shri Kalyanjibhai Mehta, Shri Uttamchand Shaha and Shri Babulbhai Mehta toured with him. In each of these districts Taluk committees were constituted to carry on the work. Two hundred bighas of land, besides the offer of voluntary labour by students, were announced.

Shri Babulbhai Mehta toured in the districts of Sabarkanta, Kheda and Baroda and collected 294 acres of land. Hari Vallabh Parek of Ananda Niketan, Rengpur, has so far collected 2356.32 acres. Shri Chottubhai Shaha is doing Bhoodan work in Bhalnalkanta. He has collected about 500 acres from 10 villages. Each family in Balquamada village decided to offer 7 acres per family and this village consisting of 15 families, has already offered 90 acres so far. This is really a brilliant example and this gives the hope that Gujarat will lead the other provinces in this Bhoodan work.

MADHYA BHARAT

Shri Viswanathji Khode and Veerendra Singhji toured in the northern districts and addressed many meetings. Six workers decided to undertake walking tour for Bhoodan.

UTKAL

Shri Gopa Bhandhu Chowdry and his wife Shri Rama Devi have again undertaken another Bhoodan tour. 215.54 acres of land have been collected by them in this month.

MADHYA PRADESH

Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari and Dada-bhai Naik toured in Chattisghat Vibhag and addressed 24 village meetings. 1814.89 acres have been collected from Bilaspur, Raipur Sarjuma and Dhrug districts. The donation of 1001 acres by Sreemathi Rani Amit Kunwar Devi is of special importance. In Wardha Tahsil 852 acres were collected under the leadership of Babaji Mokhe who with a band of workers organised the Bhoodan Paksha in about 100 villages.

MAHARASHTRA

Shri Annasahib toured in Kolhapur Dt. for 20 days, visited 50 villages, addressed 75 meetings and collected 110.27 acres. In East Khandesh district during Gandhi Jayanthi fortnight about 90 workers in 22 groups toured in 393 villages and received about 500 acres of land.

BENGAL

There were workers' meetings in the different places of Singhbhum District. Shri Saileshkumar Bandopadhyaya decided to devote all his time for Bhoodan work. Srimathi Ghosh has started on Bhoodan tour and has collected about 50 acres so far.

MYSORE

A temporary committee of three members consisting of Shri B. Narayanappa, Shri Anantha Rengachar and Shri Saraswathi Natarajan was constituted to carry on work in Mysore. They have begun to do active Bhoodan work in Mysore.

RAJASTHAN

Shri Jajuji toured in the districts of Bikaner, Sheker, Kotah and Banswada. In Sheker District 673 Bighas of good lands and 314 bighas of waste lands were collected. From Kota division 16 acres of wet land, a well and a pair of bullocks were also received.

The committee members of Jaipur, Sirohi, Pali and Beelwada districts toured in their districts and have collected so far 836 bighas of land and 4 pairs of bullocks.

Deoji's Bhoodan Yatra in Kerala

After 1 1/2 month's day-to-day walking tour in Tamil Nad receiving over 6000 acres of land, Shri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, on 15-11-'52 resumed his Bhoodan mission, trekking on into the province of Kerala. He was received at Walayar, the Gate way to Kerala, by Shri Ekkanda Warriar, the convenor of the Kerala Bhoodan Committee in the company of enthusiastic workers. Kerala is a narrow long strip of land on the western coast, extending from Cape Comorin the extreme southern tip of India, to Kasargode a few miles south of Mangalore, and entirely separated from the adjoining area of Tamilnad by the continuous high mountains of Western Ghats, except by the narrow forest pass — the Palghat Gap.

He reached Palghat on the 16th. In the evening he addressed a public meeting explaining the principles behind the Bhoodan movement in lucid terms. The ultimate goal of this movement is the establishment of economic equality in the land consistent with the cultural traditions of India which always stood for truth, peace and welfare of all. At the close of the meeting Shri Ekkanda Warriar announced the collection of 2,168.32 acres of land received for the Yagna by the Kerala Samiti so far. The offers of 1,000 acres by Mannarghat Moopil Nair of Eranaad Taluk in South Malabar District and 905 acres by Shri Samuel Aron of Chirakal Taluk in North Malabar are worthy of special mention. The local collection at Palghat is 101 acres and that was from a muslim brother Khan Bahadur Unnikammu Sahib.

On the next day he started for Perur about 16 miles to the south west of Palghat. On the way he addressed a gathering in the village Edathara where the people donated 48 acres, 15 cents. He stayed for the day in Perur Seva Sadan and in the evening addressed a public meeting where an offer of 21 acres of land by the local people was announced.

On the 18th Shri Deoji and party started for Ottapalam. Here he addressed students' meetings in the after-noon. He visited the Mahila Samaj and addressed a ladies' gathering where a donation of Rs. 101 was announced. In the evening he addressed a huge public meeting where four

people came forward offering 154.2 acres of land. The donation of 152 acres by two members of the ancient Nambudri family 'the Olapamanna Illam' is worth mentioning.

The next morning Shri Deo and party started for Cheruthuruthi where they were received by Shri Vallathol Narayana Menon, the Poet Laureate of Kerala and other friends. On the way there were receptions at Manniseri where Shri P.M.C. Devakaran Nambudripad offered 101 acres and another 2 persons 8 acres. Besides a fairly good number of agricultural implements and a pair of bullocks were received for the yagna from several land-holders.

At Cheruthuruthi he addressed a students' meeting and a workers' conference and received a donation of 12 acres and 5 cents from three persons.

On the 20th morning he started for Vadakkancheri. There he had discussions with many important persons of the locality. He addressed a students' meeting in the after noon. In the evening there was a public meeting where he talked for nearly one hour and emphasized that unless the people transfer all their rights in property to the village union for the benefit and welfare of all the villagers, there can be neither peace nor happiness in our land. A donation of over 34.56 acres was announced in the meeting. This area is a very fertile part of Cochin State where agriculture is well-developed and the value of land is exorbitantly high. Among the donors of this area Shri Manakkulam Mukunda Raja alone offered 22.86 acres.

The next day morning Shri Deo and party started for Trichur. In the after-noon he addressed a fairly big students' gathering. In quite a simple and instructive way he made the students understand the fundamental principles of the Bhoodan movement.

In the evening there was a public meeting where the elite of the town was present. For more than an hour he spoke. He traced the origin of the movement in Telengana and referred to the *Bhishma Prathigna* now taken by Vinobaji not to return back to his Ashram unless the ultimate goal is reached i.e the establishment of economic and social equality in our country.

He said, 'Today he who actually produces the wealth of the land, starves and

suffers whereas the man, the master who controls the means of production enjoys all comfort. This order of things should change and to bring about this change, the non-violent method that Gandhiji showed us, is the only way. In Rama Rajya, every member of the society should consider every other member as his own brother, sharing the entire wealth of the land in common according to the equitable needs of each. The Jermies as well as the tenants and sub-tenants, all should voluntarily out of love surrender whatever right they possess to the Bhoodan Yagna, which will then be held in trust for the society as a whole." Towards the close of the meeting 315.33 acres were announced as donation towards the Yagna.

The next day Sri Deo and party started for Nellai. On the way there were receptions at Ollur, Tholur and Amballur. The labour congress at Amballur presented a purse of Rs. 101/- for the yagna. Sri Deoji was given a rousing reception at Nellai by the village folk. There was a public meeting in the evening. He explained the significance and meaning of the Rama Rajya of Gandhiji's conception, in other words Kingdom of Heaven on earth preached by Christ and the fundamental principle behind the Bhoodan movement. Towards the close of the meeting Sri Vasudevan Nambudripad of Kozhikinedath Illam offered 21.79 acres and another six persons about ten acres in all.

On 23-11-'52 Sri Deo and party reached Chalakudi. There was a public meeting in the evening. There was no donation announced on the day. The next morning the party started for Kaladi where Adi Sankaracharya was born a thousand years back. Sri Agamananda Swamiji and the inmates of the 'Adwaita Ashram' received Sri Deoji and the party. Sri Deoji addressed a meeting in the Ashram's precincts. He said that 'Dwaita' is the cause of all the miseries and sufferings of the world and 'Adwaita'

preached by Sri Sankara is the only panacea to save the world from all calamities and quoted the word of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa that the intellect of Sri Sankara and the heart of Buddha can solve any problem of the world. The same day in the evening Deoji and party started for Perumbavur where there was an enthusiastic reception. In the evening there was a record gathering in the public meeting. Towards the end of the function donations of 301 acres by Dr. P. J. Thomas and 230 acres by Pazur Manakal Revi Bhramadathan Nambudripad were announced besides, another 23.5 acres by 21 persons. The total collection for the day was 554.51 acres.

On 25-11-'52 the party started for Muvatenpuzha. In three places on the way Sri Deoji addressed villagers' gatherings. Crossing the river Periyar the party entered the Travancore State. In the evening there was a well-attended public meeting. As many as 28 persons came forward to offer lands.

The total collections up-to-date has come to 3488.32 acres. The movement is fast progressing and there is every hope that Kerala will be able to reach the target fixed for the two years by the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The following is the Bhoodan received in Kerala from 16th Nov. to 25th Nov. '52.

Name of the place	District	Acres, cents
Chirakal Taluk	North Malabar	965.00
Eranad and Valluvanad	South Malabar	1333.17
Palghat		
Vayanad	do.	100.32
Cheruthuruthi	do.	102.00
Vadakkancheri	Cochin - Travancore	46.91
Trichur	do.	315.33
Nellai	do.	31.51
Perumbavur	do.	554.51
Muvatenpuzha	do.	31.49

Deoji's Bhoodan Yatra in Tamilnad (2)

Sri Shankarrao Deo began his yatra in Coimbatore District on the 1st of November, '52 at Kozhumam village. There he received a welcome address in Hindi presented by Srimathi Kamala. The members of the family of Sri Krishna Ayyar in the village offered

100 acres as Bhoodan. On the way to Udumalpet Sri Velrama Gounder offered one acre, that is, 1/4 of his land on casually hearing about the Bhoodan Movement. When he entered Palladam on the 10th he received ten acres from the mother of the Vice-President,

Coimbatore District Board. Sri Govindappa Gounder mirasdar of Erode offered 107 acres. He declared open the Kasturba Centre at Puliampatti. Sri Balakrishna Naidu offered 14 acres and Rs 1000/- in cash for helping the agriculturists. On the tenth at Tirupur he stayed with Messrs. Pratab Bros., at Devji Colony where he opened the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam of the Sarva Seva Sangh at its new premises and addressed a public meeting.

On the 14th he reached Coimbatore. In Periyanaickanpalayam Sri K. Arunachalam with his colleagues had already done intensive propaganda among the villages around for Bhoodan. There was an enthusiastic reception at Peelamedu. Sri P. S. G. & Sons who are reputed philanthropists of the district spontaneously offered 1116.60 acres being one sixth of their property. Sri M. Kotravel, a member of the Socialist-Praja Party offered 30 acres as being 1/4 of his property and invited the Congressmen to offer a large share of their land as Bhoodan. Pattakkar of Palaiyakottai offered 652.92 acres of land. The collection in Coimbatore District exceeded 3000 acres by the large donations announced at Coimbatore on the 14th. While Ramnad District had given about 1500 acres, and Madura District a little less than that, Coimbatore ranks now as the foremost among the three districts, having given 3069.67 acres.

Sri Deoji addressed a public meeting at Coimbatore on the 14th evening. He

had to walk nearly 25 miles on that day to reach the border village of Coimbatore for commencing his Kerala yatra the next day. He could not halt as he was not inclined to take his food in the absence of any offer of land. But luckily one doctor requested him to halt there and offered some agricultural tools saying that he had no land to give. While he was waiting there one Sri Papu Gounder alias Sri Muthuswami Gounder who had come there accidentally on some other business offered 12 acres out of his 60 acres. This was a pleasant augury in the culmination of the Tamilnad Yatra and at the commencement of his Kerala yatra.

The total collection of Bhoodan in the three districts in Tamilnad during Sri Deo's walking yatra of 525 miles in 45 days is 6,312 acres and 32 cents while their target is 60,000 acres.

Sri S. Jagannathan, Convenor of Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee will start a walking yatra on 15th December from Cape Comorin. Sri Krishnadas Gandhi has kindly agreed to help Sri Jagannathan by joining the yatra for a fortnight.

Sri Munagala Pattabhiramiah will conduct a walking yatra with some others from the first week of December in Thirumangalam Taluk in Madurai district.

It is hoped that the three districts part of which was covered by Sri Deo will make intensive efforts in realising at least half the target of 60,000 acres before the next Sarvodaya Sammelan in March '53.

NOTES AND NEWS

Charkha Sangh Trustees' Meeting

For the first time in the history of the Charkha Sangh the board of Trustees had their meeting in the South at Tirupur on 20th, 21st and 22nd November 1952. The Sanchalaks and Secretaries of the various Vibhags and Branches of the A. I. S. A. in Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnatak and the other provinces were specially invited for the meeting. Sri Srikrishnadas Jajuji, Sri V. V. Jerajaniji, Sri R. S. Dhotreji, Sri Dwaja Prasad Babu of Bihar, Sri A. W. Sahasrabudhe, Sri Krishnadas Gandhi and Sri R. Guruswamy attended the Trustees' meeting. The important subjects discussed at the meeting were with regard to the future work of the Charkha Sangh in rela-

tion to the impending Khadi Scheme of the Government of India through their Khadi and Village Industries Board and also the Sangh's new Khadi Movement which has been recently started in Tamilnad and Kerala with a view to arouse the consciousness of the villagers to self-sufficiency and for resisting the exploitation of the villagers through centralised industries by boycotting mill processed articles of food and cloth. The Trustees blessed the movement with the hope that it may bring about the desired result.

Besides there were general meetings of the Sanchalaks and Secretaries of the A. I. S. A. to discuss several details of administration.

The 5th Sarvodaya Sammelan

The 5th annual Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held in Bihar in the village Tekkapatti on the 7th, 8th and 9th March, 1953. The nearest railway station to Tekkapatti is Kursela which is on the main line of the North Eastern Railway from Cawnpore to Katihar. From Cawnpore Kursela is three stations to the west. Sevaks from eastern and south-eastern provinces can reach Kursela via Mokameh Ghat and Barauni junctions. Those from north-eastern provinces, Bengal and Assam can come via Katihar. Those from western provinces can reach via Lucknow from where there is a straight line to Kursela. There are direct trains from Allahabad and Banaras also.

A Way out for Vanaspathi

Shri D. K. Gupta of A. I. V. I. A., Wardha who has studied well the problem of Vanaspathi and ghee, has suggested a solution for protecting ghee and writes as follows:—

Sometime ago, in reply to a question in the Parliament our Prime Minister declared that Vanaspathi is consumed by three-fourths of the world, that it is quite harmless and that there is no need to ban its manufacture in India. Let us examine these facts carefully.

1. That three-fourths of the world consumes Vanaspathi is true only in the sense that many countries use hydrogenated oils which are always a sort of an emulsion. The degree of hydrogenation in foreign countries is far less compared to that carried out in India. The reason for this high degree-hydrogenation in India is that she is the only country which esteems *ghee*, and so this hydrogenated product is made to develop granular crystals and look like *ghee*. Thus Vanaspathi as is now available in India is an unnatural product.

2. The harmlessness of this product has become a drawn-out controversy. This point is not easy of solution. But without any fear of contradiction, it can be asserted that fresh *ghani* oil is dietetically superior to Vanaspathi. This means that even if Vanaspathi is harmless its production converts a meagre supply of edible oils into inferior products.

3. The whole controversy about Vanaspathi arises because Vanaspathi spoils the food of the nation and also helps the adulteration of *ghee*. *Ghee* is the only animal fat available in the country and for proper nutrition it has a very essential place in our diet. Vanaspathi which jeopardizes its production and consumption should be curbed.

Today who is in need of Vanaspathi? There is a section of the population amongst the middle-class city-folk who once used *ghee* and now for various reasons are not in a position to substitute it with oil. They are the only legitimate consumers of Vanaspathi as it satisfies their palate. These people should be supplied with oils which are only hydrogenated to a degree which will not make the oils take the appearance of *ghee* at ordinary temperatures. Then only will Vanaspathi not harm the *ghee* industry in our country.

Deepavali Khadi Sales

The Sanchalak, A. I. S. A., Tirupur writes:—

The Khadi Sales in Tamilnad in the Deepavali season in 1952 has recorded a fall of Rs. 1,59,018 over the sales in the same period in 1951. The Sales figures are as follows:

Khadi sales in	1952.	Rs.	4,68,592
"	1951.	"	6,27,610

Khadi and Village Industries' Board

The announcement of the personnel of the above Board under the Government of India is said to be delayed on account of clarification of certain points raised by the Charkha Sangh. It is hoped that the Government will decide and announce the personnel without delay.

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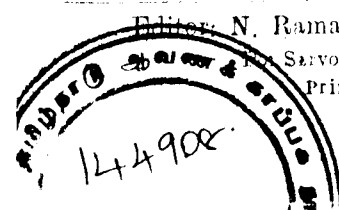
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