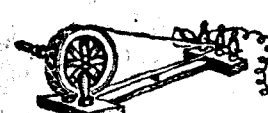
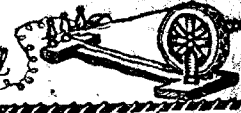


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SARVODAYA



With which "The KHADI WORLD" is incorporated



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Photo - Karm Gandhi — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot

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SARVODAYA SAMAJ

(As resolved at the Sevagram Conference —
13 to 15th March, 1948)

NAME: Sarvodaya Samaj (*Sarvodaya* means the "Welfare of all"; *Samaj* is "Brotherhood".)

Those who believe in Mahatma Gandhi's ideology decide to form themselves into a Brotherhood.

AIM: To strive towards a society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinctions of class or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for the development of both individuals as well as groups.

BASIC PRINCIPLE: Insistence on the purity of the means as that of the end.

PROGRAMME: For the achievement of the Aim:

1. Communal harmony.
2. Removal of untouchability.
3. Abolition of Caste.
4. Prohibition.
5. Khadi & other village industries.
6. Village sanitation.
7. Nai Talim.
8. Equality of rights & status for both men and women.
9. Development of Indian languages.
10. Health and cleanliness.
11. Removal of narrow Provincialism.
12. Hindustani as the national language.
13. Economic equality.
14. Agriculture.
15. Organisation of labour.
16. Welfare of Aborigines.
17. Organisation of students.
18. Care of lepers.
19. Relief work for destitutes.
20. Cow Protection.
21. Naturopathy.
22. Other similar activities.

SARVODAYA¹⁶⁶



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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MY FATHER, DO NOT REST!

— SAROJINI NAIDU —

With the dawn of the new year the memories of 30th January and 12th February crowd our minds. The depth of the country's feelings and faith in Gandhiji's message cannot be better expressed than in the immortal words of Srimathi Sarojini Devi in her broadcast speech from Delhi on February 1, 1948. We are indebted to 'HOMAGE TO MAHATMA GANDHI' of A. I. R. Delhi.

Like Christ of old on the third day he has risen again in answer to the cry of his people and the call of the world for the continuance of his guidance, his love, his service and inspiration. And while we all mourn, those who loved him, knew him personally, and those to whom his name was but a miracle and a legend, though we are all full of tears and though we are full of sorrow on this third day when he has risen from his own ashes, I feel that sorrow is out of place and tears become a blasphemy. How can he die, who through his life and conduct and sacrifice, who through his love and courage and faith has taught the world that the spirit matters, not the flesh, that the spirit has the power greater than the powers of the combined armies of the earth, combined armies of the ages? He was small, frail, without money, without even the faint complement of garment to cover his body, not owning even as much earth as might be held on the point of a needle, how was he so much stronger than the forces of violence, the might of empires and the grandeur of embattled forces in the world? Why was it that this little man, this tiny man, this man with a child's body, this man so ascetic, living on the verge of

starvation by choice so as to be more in harmony with the life of the poor, how was it that he exercised over the entire world, of those who revered him and those who hated him, such power as emperors could never wield?

It was because he did not care for applause; he did not care for censure. He only cared for the path of righteousness. He cared only for the ideals that he preached and practised. And in the midst of the most terrible disasters caused by violence and greed of men, when the abuse of the world was heaped up like dead leaves, dead flowers on battlefields, his faith never swerved in his ideal of non-violence. He believed that though the whole world slaughter itself and the whole world's blood be shed, still his non-violence would be the authentic foundation of the new civilization of the world and he believed that he who seeks his life shall lose it and he who loses his life shall find it.

His first fast in 1924 with which I was associated was for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It had the sympathy of the entire nation. His last fast was also for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, but the whole nation was not with him in that fast. It had grown

so divided, it had grown so bitter, it had grown so full of hate and suspicion, it had grown so untrue towards the tenets of the various creeds in this country that it was only a section of those who understood the Mahatma, who realised the meaning of that fast. It was very evident that the nation was divided in its loyalty to him in that fast. It was very evident that it was not any community but his that disapproved so violently and showed its anger and resentment in such a dastardly fashion. Alas for the Hindu community, that the greatest Hindu of them all, the only Hindu of our age who was so absolutely and unswervingly true to the doctrine, to the ideals, the philosophy of Hinduism should have been slain by the hand of a Hindu! That indeed, that indeed is almost the epitaph of the Hindu faith that the hand of a Hindu in the name of Hindu rights and a Hindu world should sacrifice the noblest of them all. But it does not matter. It is a personal grief that is, loss day in and day out, year in and year out, for many of us who cannot forget, because for more than 30 years some of us have been so closely associated with him that our lives and his life were an integral part of one another. Some of us are indeed dead to the faith; some of us indeed have had vivisection performed on us by his death, because fibres of our being, because our muscles, veins and heart and blood were all intertwined with his life.

But, as I say, it would be the act of faithless deserters if we were to yield to despair. If we were indeed to believe that he is dead, if we were to believe that all is lost, because he has gone, of what avail would be our love and our faith? Of what avail would be our loyalty to him if we dare to believe that all is lost because his body is gone from our midst? Are we not there, his heirs, his spiritual descendants, the legacies of his great ideals, successors of his great work? Are we not there to implement that work and enhance it and enrich and make greater achievements by joint efforts than he could have made singly? Therefore, I say the time is over for private sorrow.

The time is over for beating of breasts and tearing of hair. The time is here and now when we stand up and say, "We take up the challenge" to those who defied Mahatma Gandhi. We are his living symbols. We are his soldiers. We are the carriers of his banner before an embattled world. Our banner is truth. Our shield is non-violence. Our sword is a sword of the spirit that conquers without blood. Let the peoples of India rise up and wipe their tears, rise up and still their sobs, rise up and be full of hope and full of cheer. Let us borrow from him, why borrow, he has handed it to us, the radiance of his own personality, the glory of his own courage, the magnificent epic of his character. Shall we not follow in the footsteps of our master? Shall we not obey the mandates of our father? Shall not we his soldiers carry his battle to triumph? Shall we not give to the world the completed message of Mahatma Gandhi? Though his voice will not speak again, have we not a million, million voices to bear his message to the world, not only to this world, to our contemporaries, but to the world generation after generation? Shall sacrifice be in vain? Shall his blood be shed for futile purposes of mourning? Or, shall we not use that blood as a tilak on our foreheads, the emblem of his legion of peace-loving soldiers to save the world? Here and now, here and now, I for one before the world that listens to my quivering voice pledge myself and you, as I pledged myself more than 30 years ago, to the service of the undying Mahatma.

What is death? My own father, dying, just before his death with the premonition of death on him, said: "There is no birth. There is no death. There is only the soul seeking higher and higher stages of truth." Mahatma Gandhi who lived for truth in this world has been translated, though by the hand of an assassin, to a higher stage of the truth which he sought. Shall we not take up his place? Shall not our united strength be strong enough to preach and practise, his great message for the world? I am here one of the lowliest of his soldiers, but along

with me I know that his beloved disciples like Jawaharlal Nehru, like his trusted followers and friend Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Babu, who was like St. John in the bosom of Christ, and those others of his associates who at a moment's notice flew from all ends of India to make their last homage at his feet. Shall we not all take up his message and fulfil it? I used to wonder very often during his many fasts in which I was privileged to serve him, to solace him, to make him laugh, because he wanted the tonic laughter of his friends— I used to wonder, supposing he died in Sevagram, supposing he died in Noakhali, supposing he died in some far off place, how should we reach him? It is therefore right and appropriate that he died in the city of kings, in the ancient site of the old Hindu empires, in the site on which was builded the glory of the Moghuls, in this place that he made India's capital wresting it from foreign hands, it is right that he died in Delhi; it is right that his cremation took place in the midst of the dead kings who are buried in Delhi, for he was the kinliest of all kings. And it is right also that he who was the apostle of peace should have been taken to

the cremation ground with all the honours of a great warrior; far greater than all warriors who led armies to battle was this little man, the bravest, the most triumphant of all. Delhi is not only to-day historically the Delhi of seven kingdoms; it has become the centre and the sanctuary of the greatest revolutionary who emancipated his enslaved country from foreign bondage and gave to it its freedom and its flag. May the soul of my master, my leader, my father rest not in peace, not in peace, but let his ashes be so dynamically alive that the charred ashes of the sandalwood, let the powder of his bones be so charged with life and inspiration that the whole of India will after his death be revitalised into the reality of freedom.

My father, do not rest. Do not allow us to rest. Keep us to our pledge. Give us strength to fulfil our promise, your heirs, your descendants, your stewards, the guardian of your dreams, the fulfillers of India's destiny. You, whose life was so powerful, make it so powerful in your death, far from mortality you have passed mortality by a supreme martyrdom in the cause most dear to you.

THAT HEAVEN OF FREEDOM

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by
narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards
perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country
awake.

GITANJALI

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NO LABOUR, NO MEAL

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

Poor feeding in important functions and gruel centres in famine area are the common features of the day. And there may be poor feeding on 30th January and 12th February as usual. It would behoove us to ponder deeply over the economic cause behind the need of such poor feeding, and consider Gandhiji's dictum 'NO LABOUR, NO MEAL' in his article written about 27 years ago in "Young India" dated 13-8-'25.

Some time ago I was taken to a magnificent mansion called the 'Marble Palace' in Calcutta. It is richly furnished with some very expensive and some very beautiful paintings. The owners feed in the compound in front of the palace all the beggars who choose to go there, and I am told that the number every day is several thousand. This is no doubt a princely charity. It does great credit to the benevolent spirit of the donors, but the incongruity of this ragged humanity feeding whilst the majestic palace is, as it were, mocking at their wretched condition does not seem to strike the donors at all. Another such painful sight was witnessed by me on my visit to Suri where the reception committee had arranged for feeding the beggars of the district. At the Marble Palace the crowd that besieged me passed through the line of beggars eating off their dusty leaves spread on the ground. Some almost trampled over them. In Suri it was a little more decently managed, for the crowd was not to pass through the line of beggars, but the motor car that drove me to my destination, was slowly taken through the line of the beggars as they were eating. I felt humiliated, more so to think that this was all done in my honour, because, as it was put to me by one of the friends there, I was 'friend of the poor.' My friendship for them must be a sorry affair if I could be satisfied with a large part of humanity being reduced to beggary. Little did my friends know that my friendship for the paupers of India has made me hard-hearted enough to contem-

plate their utter starvation with equanimity in preference to their utter reduction to beggary. My *ahimsa* would not tolerate the idea of giving a free meal to a healthy person who has not worked for it in some honest way, and if I had the power I would stop every *sadavrat* where free meals are given. It has degraded the nation and it has encouraged laziness, idleness, hypocrisy and even crime. Such misplaced charity adds nothing to the wealth of the country, whether material or spiritual, and gives a false sense of meritoriousness to the donor. How nice and wise it would be if the donor were to open institutions where they would give meals under healthy, clean surroundings to men and women who would work for them. I personally think that the spinning wheel or any of the processes that cotton has to go through, will be an ideal operation. But, if they will not have that, they may choose any other work. Only the rule should be 'No labour, No meal.' Every city has its own difficult problem of beggars, a problem for which the moneyed men are responsible. I know it is easier to fling free meals in the faces of idlers, but much more difficult to organize an institution where honest work has to be done before meals are served. From a pecuniary stand-point, in the initial stages at any rate, the cost of feeding people after taking work from them will be more than the cost of the present free kitchens. But I am convinced that it will be cheaper in the long run, if we do not want to increase in geometrical progression the race of loafers which is fast overrunning this land.



SARVODAYA - The Eternal Dharma

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

THE MAGIC WORD SARVODAYA

The word 'Swaraj' inspired thousands to do selfless deeds. They found real joy in self-sacrifice. They gladly welcomed the sufferings in jails. Many joyously faced the gallows.

Now another magic word 'Sarvodaya' is before us. Before the general public it was only an abstract idea. This Bhoodan found out in Telengana, gives them a concrete practical programme of work. My work is not merely confined to the solution of land problem only. My aim is to establish the eternal Dharmas among all people, irrespective of their religious denominations, as Hindu, Muslim etc. and as distinguished from the formal religions.

THE ETERNAL DHARMA

The word, 'Sanathana' though often used is not exactly and properly understood by people. Dharma are of two kinds; one changes with time, place and context, while the other remains unchanged for all times. Even in ancient days, not only in India, but in every other country of the world, to observe Truth, and to protect it, is considered a Dharma of every individual. It is an eternal Dharma i. e. a Sanathana Dharma. Similarly Bakti (devotion) is an eternal Dharma. Whatever be the different forms of worship among the different religions of the world, Bakti is equally a true Dharma for all. So also love, kindness and tenderness. All these are eternal or Sanathana Dharmas. So we should realize the inner essence of Dharma, keep it in mind always and act accordingly. I do not care for that Dharma that is transient. So I am trying to make people understand the soul of Dharma, which will establish unity and equality everywhere among all in spite of the external man-made differences and forms.

When they are in childhood, it is the Dharma of parents to keep their children

under proper discipline. But when they grow up into adults, the Dharma of the parents is to give them freedom and merely advise them. Thus parental Dharma varies with time. Yet the essence of parents' Dharma to love and do service to the children irrespective of their age remains the same for all times.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE

When society was in its infancy, it was ruled by kings. It was then the Dharma of the kings to keep the subjects under control, guidance and protection and it was equally the duty of the people to obey their king and his orders. But now society has emerged from its infancy. The need for the king's rule is no longer necessary as the sovereignty has passed into the hands of the people's representatives. The old maxim 'Raja Kalasya Karanam' is now rewritten as 'Praja Kalasya Karanam'. The advance of science has enabled the general public to know things which even emperors and learned people in olden days were ignorant of. Emperor Akbar might not have known anything about America or Moscow. Today even little kids in schools, know these. But to create harmony in the whole of society and to bring in the maximum unity amongst all remains the fundamental and basic principle which stands equally applicable at all times.

In ancient days there was not the need for people's franchise but today it is found necessary and people assert this right. Similarly in ancient days there was no necessity for distribution of land as the population then was few and land per family plenty. But things have changed and there is the necessity now for the distribution of land.

DISCRIMINATIVE EQUALITY

Equality does not mean that every individual should have five acres of land, ten yards of cloth and each family the same kind of house. Our goal is that all the basic

common necessities of life should be made available to all. If this is achieved no one will have any ill-feeling against anyone else possessing a little more.

We desire to bring in equality with discrimination. In other countries attempts were made to bring in equality through violence. Such a kind of equality is devoid of sensible discrimination and was of no value. A mother does not feed her children according to arithmetical calculations. She nurses the youngest child with milk only, the next above it with milk and bread and the

grown-up one with mere bread. In this manner, every individual in society should be fed and cared for with the sensible and due consideration of the needs and demands of the individual's body. But we see in countries where equality was forced in by violence, a regimented standard has been prescribed for all individuals irrespective of any consideration. This type of standardization is not what we aspire. Our ideal is to bring in spiritual equality.

(From Shri Vinobaji's Hindi prayer speech at Kudu, Ranchi - 25-11-'52)

The Concept of Sarvodaya Samaj

— VINOBAJI —

Sarvodaya Samaj had its origin at the Sevagram Conference in March 1948. The concept of the Samaj is explained here by Vinobaji. Its basic principle, aim and programme are given elsewhere in this issue.

The condition of the world to-day requires anxious consideration. There are violent conflicts everywhere. ...

* * *

I am not a pessimist, for I know that the soul is at the bottom of all peaceful and undivided whole, and that the conflict and divisions which appear on the surface are after all trivial. But like a tiny blot on a very clean cloth, it at once draws one's attention. I knew no despair even when the world war waged. I, then, believed and do so even now, that the world wars are divine, may be, they are inflicted as a kind of divine punishment on man, but intended ultimately for his progress. However large they might appear, they occupy but a small point of that vast eternal soul, and make their appearance only to disappear after some days. My purpose in referring to these matters is to make you ponder, and not to make you lose heart. To me the solution seems to lie in the concept of the *Sarvodaya Samaj*. People ask me about the nature of the organization of the *Sarvodaya Samaj*. I tell them, it is a revolutionary idea and not an organization. It is a thing to be thought over, and acted upon.

The Western idea of the greatest good of the greatest number contains in it the germs of minority and majority problems. But the idea of *Sarvodaya*, as preached by the *Gita* is to merge oneself in the good of all. This of course demands on our part absolute faith in truth and non-violence. Never should we resort to untruth in our private and public life, nor in our business or other occupations. We should try our best not to allow violence a place in our life. The constructive programme which was meant for the uplift of society should be carried out in part or in full, individually or with the co-operation of friends and colleagues, as also by establishing local institutions where-ever necessary. We should meditate over the great thought that is behind all this, and should give expression to it, and remember it at all times.

If we could revert the attention of the young and the old on this great concept, the solution of all the problems of the world would be found therein. The present political methods which are being tried all over the world will be of no avail.

★

'SARVODAYA — ITS PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMME'

SARVODAYA YATRA-AN APPEAL — DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

The Sarvodaya Paksha is the fortnight from 30th January to 12th February when Gandhiji's ashes were immersed. The President of the Charkha Sangh has issued an appeal to follow a six-fold programme during the Paksha.

It is now five years since Gandhiji passed away. The sudden loss of that great soul that was giving light and guidance for the last 30 years to one and all, made his associates stupified and aghast. It looked as if there is none to take up his work. Afterwards all met and formed the Sarvodaya Samaj. The Sarva Seva Sangh was also created. All was looking to Vinobaji to lead, but he was deeply engrossed in his work and researches. At last God induced him to come out and take up the cause of Sarvodaya revolution. So Gandhiji's associates and the constructive workers felt optimistic and began to be active and enthusiastic.

During the Sarvodaya Paksha last year thousands of workers organised Sarvodaya Yatras. They toured on foot in groups from village to village and collected yarn offerings. They did propaganda for Bhoodan yagna and the boycott movement. They had good receptions in villages and this gave us a glimpse of their hearty response to Sarvodaya ideals.

Now one more year has elapsed. Meanwhile Bhoodan movement of Vinobaji has attracted the mind of the public. To-day even little children in the country sing songs in praise of it. This year Sarvodaya Paksha comes in such a surcharged atmosphere. May I appeal to all young men of the country to come forward to spread the ideals of this non-violent revolution started by Vinobaji, to every nook and corner of every village and town.

The All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, for the observance of this Paksha, has placed the following programme before the public:

'The fortnight from 30th January to 12th February was observed every year as the Sarvodaya Paksha. Last year with a definite programme of work, hundreds of batches of workers came forward to work in the country.

We appeal to all Sarvodaya Sevaks to come forward in such batches in greater numbers during this coming Sarvodaya Paksha also and follow the programme of (1) sacrificial spinning, (2) community prayer, (3) sanitation work, (4) propaganda for Bhoodan Yagna, (5) boycott of centralized industries and (6) distribution of Sarvodaya literature.'

The Sarvodaya Sevaks in the different places should begin to organise the work from even now to carry out the programme successfully. The tollies should go in January itself to all the villages they intend to tour and do all the preliminary work in order to enable the villagers to participate with enthusiasm in the programme. It will be good if they follow the same programme which was suggested by me last year. Particularly in villages the following 4 items of work besides the other activities are necessary. (1) Collection of yarn offerings. (2) Collection of Bhoodan. (3) Collecting signatures in boycott pledges. (4) Sale of Sarvodaya literature.

In this year a special programme of work has also to be followed. When the Sevaks proceed from one village to another let them go with greater number of people to the next village so that the villagers may feel enthusiastic to accompany them up to the next camp. Such marches will take the shape of processions with appropriate songs and slogans. This will produce a great psychological effect on the minds of the village masses. They should attempt to organise more of spinners, weavers, hand-pounders of grains, *Ghaniwallahs* etc. to focus their attention on the boycott of centralized industries. I appeal to all members of Kathai Mandals, Khadi-workers, and to all Sarvodaya Sevaks to concentrate their efforts to organise the tollies during the ensuing Sarvodaya Paksha.

(From Hindi)

YARN OFFERING FOR SARVODAYA MELA

— VINOBAJI —

The yarn is not merely a token of obeisance to Mahatma but would prepare for a revolution in mind and values. All the yarn offerings received at various places of Mela all over the country will be utilised by the Sarva Seva Sangh. It will distribute them to such institutions like the Sevagram Ashram which have almost eschewed money and manage with their own labour or labour contribution from others.

It was decided to hold *melas* at all places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed. Such *melas* were held throughout India on the 12th February 1949 and will continue to be held every year... What I wish to say is that the idea of offering hanks of yarn is commendable and it should be organised properly. In my opinion each one should offer only one hank. It is not wrong to give or accept more. But one hank each is enough for the occasion. If one spins more, he can use the yarn for himself or contribute it separately to the Charkha Sangh, which will utilize it for the poor. But if each one gives one hank, it will also be possible to find out how many brought the offering. I would like as many people as can go to attend the *mela*. Though personally pilgrimages do not interest me much, I make this suggestion in the hope that by innovations like this, it will be possible to place before the country a different and better conception of what pilgrimages ought to be like. This is also likely to give an impetus to the reform and revitalization of other pilgrimages which have become more or less like *tamashas*. The workers should go from village to village

and explain to the people the idea of offering hanks. If this succeeds, a good convention will take root and every child of India will be inspired to offer something or other for the sake of his country. In course of time it may happen that none will go there without a hank of yarn. I am not suggesting that none can go without a hank, but when it becomes a convention, people would like to observe it.

Through this offering of hanks, the idea of worship through work would be spread and people would develop a truly spiritual outlook. Just as I do not favour the offer of more than one hank, I should also discourage money-contributions. The idea in restricting the offerings to one hank is to give expression to the idea of equal regard and at the same time to encourage the idea that what we produce by our own labour is the best offering and this kind of sacrificial offerings would give dignity to physical labour instead of to money. Otherwise such places would become centres of greedy people and this would breed evil. We would be saved from all these evils if we do not accept money. ★

VINOBAJI'S INSTRUCTIONS TO BIHAR WORKERS

Towards the close of the post-prayer speech at Satbarva (Bihar) on 21-11 '52 Vinobaji has given the following instructions to the workers:

1. Lands, less than 16 of the total extent in the hands of the donor, except in the case of poor small-holders, should not be received towards *Dan*.

2. The worker should request the donor to tell him the extent of the holding in his possession. If the donor refuses to disclose it, then the worker should humbly take leave of him after explaining the principles behind *Bhoodan* and the method of achieving it.

3. The workers should refuse to accept if land less than 16 of the share is offered (after ascertaining the total extent). Such refusals will advance the cause and the movement. The light that emerges out of such refusals will be of great importance. The flame and the fire that come out of it will certainly melt the minds of the rich: A miser today will necessarily become a generous man tomorrow.

4. Our movement will weaken if the rich continue to give small bits as *Dan*. Not only that, the contempt and hatred that people have at present for the rich, will otherwise go on increasing. ★ (From Hindi)

GANDHIJI — A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

— C. RAJAGOPALACHARI —

This is part of Rajaji's exhortation to students to remember Gandhiji's message to seek and strive after truth and humility, while unveiling a portrait of Gandhiji at the Govt. Arts College, Madras on 20-11-'52. The portrait pictures a happy pose — Gandhiji affectionately taking in hand a Hindu and a Muslim youth and bringing them together.

No picture of Gandhiji, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, could reach up to the original. An ordinary man might not be very different from his physical body, but the extraordinary person, the man of spirit, one who truly led the world and certainly the whole of this country, could not be adequately represented by the body in which he resided or the likeness of that body, however true and faithful. It was difficult to paint the true man of spirit in a picture of his physical body. The picture was also a reminder to them of the loss they had sustained, and the vast difference between the reality that was the man and the mere body represented in the picture.

VISIT TO SABARMATI RECALLED

The picture, Mr. Rajagopalachari continued, brought to him associations of his first meeting with Gandhiji, in Madras. Subsequently, he met Gandhiji quite often. He went on many occasions to Sabarmati Ashram where Gandhiji lived for a long time. When he went to Sabarmati soon after the first meeting at Madras, Gandhiji made him as comfortable as possible in the Ashram. Gandhiji swept the hall and spread the bed for the guest and they all slept in the hall. When he went to the Ashram in later years, after Gandhiji's death, and went round the place, looking at the house where he once lived, the room where he used to work, the places he used to go about, the same old windows and the same old apartments still there,— he felt like weeping. The whole place looked so empty. The house, the room and everything else was there, just as of old; but the man was no longer there!

The same thing happened, Rajaji said, when he went to Sevagram which became his dwelling place later. Everybody took

him round and there was a crowd following but so far as he was concerned, he could see only an empty house and nothing else. The entire place was there, as before, but not the man.

"Whenever I see a picture of this kind, almost the size of the original", Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "a feeling quite like that comes on me. The house is there but it is only the empty house I see; the man is no longer there." "Please, therefore, do not call me for unveiling Gandhiji's picture." After a pause, Rajagopalachari continued that he made that request not in a spirit of fault-finding but only to tell them how he felt on such occasions...

LIFE OF GANDHIJI.

They would have known about the life and work of Gandhiji. There were many books, in fact, so many of them that they hardly read any. Sometimes, people were also ashamed of reading a book lest others should think that they were ignorant of the subject matter of those books, particularly if they were well known. He remembered how he had not read Robinson Crusoe until he was 40 and how when he read it for the first time in jail in 1921, he tried to read it while others did not see. But he would advise them to read Gandhiji's autobiography in "My Experiments with Truth." Gandhiji spoke in it from the bottom of his heart and spoke to the common man. That book depicted his life only up to a point. For the later part of his life, they could read a number of other books. He would like everyone of them to read the autobiography and know what were Gandhiji's contributions to South Africa, India and, in fact, to the whole world, and why only a few days back they had placed Gandhiji's bust

in the International Hall. They should study his life and his work and then they would be inspired by the picture on the wall.

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE COMMUNAL UNITY

The picture unveiled that evening, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, represented the passion of Gandhiji's life; namely, that Hindus and Muslims of India should be brought together and that they should fully understand each other, live together, co-operating with each other and feel that they were one. To bring together Hindus and Muslims who were thinking that they were different, was a great task and that was what he wanted to achieve. That was his aim till the end of his life. In fact, his very death was part of that aim. While in perfect health, his life was taken by the bullet of a man who was educated and brought up in traditions of culture and whom nobody would have classified as his enemy by any computation. There were people who did not like the Hindus and Muslims coming together as was depicted in the picture just unveiled. Those people thought that Gandhiji's programme in this connection was wrong and there was no means of stopping him in this work except to do away with him. A foolish idea but that was the idea! When it was done, nothing could be done to remedy it. It was final, destructively totally, and the man whom all India loved so intensely was removed in a minute. How greatly wicked a man could be, despite education, circumstance, culture, tradition and breeding, was shown in this act and that should be a warning to everyone. Let no one imagine that mere study of books, cultural association, education and up-bringing was enough; they might yet make a mistake, unless they were warned against ignorance, and against imagining that what they thought alone was right and anybody who differed from them was wrong and that if they could not convince another, they could kill him. Gandhiji's death was a great lesson in that respect..

A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

Sometimes suspicions became so great that nothing but the supreme sacrifice of

death removed it. It was a proof and demonstration which completely extinguished the being itself. That was what happened. Everyone was bound to die; every man born was under capital sentence passed on him as it were; his dying was only a question of time. But only in some cases that death itself served as an inspiration to humanity. That was Gandhiji's death, and he earned the name, "Father of the Nation," after his death. He was Father of the Nation all his life but it was only when he died that the nation realised that it had lost its father. He hoped that the picture would serve as a source of inspiration to all the students of the college and keep Gandhiji and his spirit alive in their minds...

CULTIVATION OF HUMILITY

Above all, Rajaji said, they should cultivate humility. People might know much but they should be humble. Gandhiji knew a great deal about many things but he was always humble. Young men of 18 and 16 to-day knew quite a lot more than those in his days and they imagined they knew very much. One who listened to young men now, could hear them talk about land reform and distribution — though they might not know what land was or distribution — decontrol, peace in the world and so on and they criticised everyone and everything; the boys were almost citizens of the world, discussing the Peace Conference at Peking, Atom bomb, nationalisation of industry and so on. Often-times, these subjects were also set for debates in Unions and probably also came up as questions in examinations. The Public Services Commission too might ask them such questions. They had no doubt to study many matters but they should have a spirit of humility and always remember that they were still immature and that while they might know a few things, there were thousands of things which they did not know. *There was all the difference between confidence and conceit; it was the difference that existed between bathing in a river and getting drowned in it.*

— From "The Hindu" dated 22nd Nov. '52



Community Projects and American Aid

— BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

India is rapidly and almost inadvertently slipping into a position of financial dependence on the U. S. American dollars and American experts are landing on us in large numbers, and many in our country are honestly disturbed by the fact...

So far as the U. S. Government goes it cannot, like (America's) the large-hearted citizen, be prompted by mere generosity. It has to give a valid reason to the tax-payer for giving away so much of his hard-earned wealth. The reason it offers him is that helping countries like India with food and technical aid is the best way to fight Communism, and to prevent Communism from spreading over the world, and therefore over America itself.

Americans as a people dread Communism, and will do anything to save their country from it. They believe that it is through free enterprise that they have achieved their unrivalled prosperity. Their history as a pioneering people glorifies the self-made man. The pioneer is a sturdy individualist. He works hard on his plot of land or in his workshop, and takes pride in what he has built up through the sweat of his brow. His prosperity, he feels, is the reward of his own labour, and believes simply that he who like him works gets, and he who will not work with the latest devices that science puts at his disposal starves. Americans are convinced that it is this philosophy that has made them wealthy and strong, for under it the individual is thrown on his own resources, and he has freedom and incentive to produce as much wealth as he possibly can. They dread Communism precisely because it cuts at the roots of this philosophy, and therefore at the foundations of their prosperity. So when the Government asks the tax-payer for money to help countries like ours, its strongest argument is that through this means it can help to ward off Communism.

Such are the only motives, so Americans tell us, for their wishing to aid India, and from my contact with them during the last three years of travel throughout the length and breadth of their country, I may testify that in this they appear to be thoroughly honest. As a people they have no imperialistic ambitions.

And yet America should also know that if we suspect her of such ambitions we have a reason. From our dealings with Britain we know that a people can be genuinely friendly and well-intentioned, and their Government profess the noblest motives, and yet in practice control our affairs in their own selfish interests. Even as we take note of the good-will of the American people, America should also understand our genuine fear that behind the extended hand of friendship there may be the mailed fist of America's financiers and industrial magnates wanting to control India in the interests of American business, and of American war-lords desirous of using India as a military base for operation against Russia and her satellites in Asia. So far, Europe's interest in Asia has been for what she can get out of Asia, heedless of what ruin and disaster she may cause to Asia...

Whatever be the motive for American aid, the next question that arises is whether we should depend on such aid. In principle, at any rate, the policy of never-borrow-never-lend is sound. It is far better that we cut our coat according to our cloth. When we do so, we are thrown on our own resources. When we struggle with our problems ourselves, we grow and develop, we gain self-confidence and become resourceful. This is not so, when every time we are in trouble, a benign outsider steps in to help us out. We then become dependent and incapable of standing on our own legs. Further, it is better that we expand only in proportion to our resources. This has a sober effect on

our plans. Otherwise, trusting on capital easily forthcoming from abroad, we are likely to overlook our limitations and undertake more than we can effectively execute. Moreover, what is needed above all for reconstruction is not so much money as personnel. This was Gandhiji's life-long experience. American aid is apt to make us overlook this fundamental fact, and trusting only in money makes us undertake all kinds of ambitious schemes without the proper personnel, and then find ourselves heading for failure. Also, in international affairs our being financially obliged to the U. S. may prejudice our capacity for independent thinking.

Besides, foreign aid may give a wrong twist to our development, for foreigners can help us only along lines familiar to them. With the best will in the world, they may then direct us the wrong way. Their methods of production, for example, are devised to save labour. To this end they invest large capital on machinery. We, on the other hand, are rich in labour, but poor in capital. So our methods of production must per force be different. Theirs is a city-centred, machine-based economy. Ours has to be a village-centred, people-based one.

Not only so, our cultures are different. We have certain traditions, for instance, against animal slaughter and in regard to family and social life. Their solutions, therefore, may not suit our requirements.

For these reasons, then, it would seem that we should try to find our own solutions for our problems and get on as far as possible without foreign aid.

U. S. AID — ITS USE

If, however, we do obtain American aid, for matters which are urgent and cannot be postponed, the question is how we should use it. We should, it seems to us, in the first place have a clear-cut definite philosophy of national development based on our own rich culture, and test every scheme of reconstruction by it. American experts should be told what this philosophy is, and made strictly to fall in line with it. To

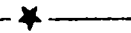
illustrate, it should be easy enough to use American experts for the construction of dams. But community projects for which millions of dollars are being spent from now on are another matter. They will involve the economic and social life of our people at every turn. For that reason they will have to be planned very carefully and almost entirely by ourselves. American experts may serve on committees and see that their dollars are spent for the purpose for which they have been ostensibly given, but the planning and directing of community projects should be in our hands. The Americans working under these projects should be told, for example, what we require in the way of improved implements. If they can supply them, well and good. If not, we must not let them dump their unwanted surplus machinery on us. We are short of petrol and crude oil. We do not want to hitch our agriculture on to machinery which are run on such oil, for then our agriculture becomes dependent on import of mineral oil, and when that happens, our cultivation can be completely paralysed by war or by whoever controls oil supply or shipping. It is far better that for this reason we run our agriculture on cattle power, which is within the control of the cultivator. If the American expert can devise better cattle-drawn ploughs for us, let him, but let him not supplant our cattle by oil-driven machinery, not only for the reason already given but also for the reason that we require cows for milk, and as our culture does not permit us to kill cattle for food purposes, we have to use our male cattle in agriculture.

These ideas are not new. They have been put forward repeatedly by Gandhiji and by others closely connected with him. Are the community projects being planned by such people? We look upon Gandhiji as the Father of the Nation. And yet in national reconstruction, even under a Congress regime, those in charge of constructive work founded by him, like for instance the organizers of the Village Industries Association, Spinners' Association, Talimi Sangh, Go-Seva

Sangh and the Kasturba Gandhi Trust, seem to have no part or lot in planning the community projects. This is a matter for serious thought. Community projects will have far-reaching consequences for our future. We are through them laying the foundations of our national life. Should this work not be in the hands of men whom Gandhiji instilled with his ideals, with whom he entrusted various kinds of constructive work for the nation, and who have a record of life-long devoted service along the lines he marked out? We may certainly take advantage of American talent and experience. American experts themselves, we feel sure, will be glad to be directed by Gandhiji's trusted

workers. So even if financed with American money, the planning and organizing of community projects should, it seems to us, be directly in the hands of Gandhiji's constructive workers, if in this and the succeeding years of freedom we would strive towards realizing the India of Gandhiji's dreams.

The community projects are only an illustration of how American aid, if taken advantage of, should be employed. It should be our responsibility to make the best use of it and get the maximum benefit out of it for the nation and we should have to blame no one but ourselves if the work under it does not proceed according to our own best judgement.



THE ECONOMICS OF A PEACEFUL SOCIETY

— WILFRED WELLOCK —

Wilfred Wellock is one of the few Pacifists who feel that war can be better resisted by abolishing the economic structure that is contributing to it every moment rather than at the point of its culmination. He is incessantly propagating the Third Way or the Sarvodaya way of life. Recently he has been issuing a special series of pamphlets — "The Orchard Lea Papers." The first has appeared in an abridged form in "Harijan" dated 13-12-'52. This extract is from the second pamphlet with the caption "The Economics of a Peaceful Society." Mr. Wilfred Wellock is sending us copies of these Papers for distribution and these can be obtained from Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur by sending postage stamps at 2 As. per copy.

For over a century the materialism of capitalism was confined to its authors, but the long struggle of the workers for economic justice has caused the latter to take over much of the capitalist way of life, and to lose sight of the spiritual content of the objectives of the early Co-operative and Socialist pioneers. There is now some danger that the materialism which is sweeping across the Western world may travel to the East, dominate the agitation for social justice that is raging there and swamp the fine spiritual qualities which have kept its civilisations alive for many millennia. Should that happen, the outlook for mankind would be black indeed.

Western nations see in the American way of life a new Arcadia of abundance and

romantic gadgetry. Yet it is demonstrable that the world's resources and man's present power to exploit them could not sustain any raising or extension of American living standards, and at the same time an appreciable and long-overdue rise of those of the East.

British socialists and pacifists used to ask: why war, when there is enough for all? But there is enough no longer. An expanding materialism, with its satellite militarism, has brought us to scarcity, and the fear of starvation, Communism, and war.

But is the American way of life the really good life for man? That question is crucial and must be squarely faced. The plain truth is that it is too feverish, too irrational and ephemeral to be satisfying

as the more thoughtful Americans freely admit. The U. S. is one of the most restless and fear-ridden nations in the world to-day, and these characteristics make even the rich poor, and more discontented than the poor.

To satisfy the deeper cravings of the human soul, that is, of the whole man, life must be creative and co-operative, "social" in its means and in its ends. At its best it is an all-out working together for common ends — the enrichment of the local life, the community in which one has one's being.

Once again civilisation must decide whether its well-being resides in the abundance of its possessions, or in a balanced spiritually controlled life, the needs of the body being regulated by the needs of the spirit.

The time has come to call a halt. Our need is a simpler life, plainer living and deeper thinking and the substitution of a qualitative for a quantitative civilisation.

The transition to this creative way of life involves a spiritual revolution, the discovery and adoption of a new order of values and a new system of education, also the recovery of the right to responsibility, creative opportunity and the vital social relationships of well integrated small communities.

The outcome will be a new personal and a new national economy.

The basic demands of this new way of life are :

(1) A reasonably self-sufficient agro-industrial economy, as this will reduce international economic tensions to the minimum and make possible the pursuit of a qualitative civilisation.

(2) The small community, such as the village and the small country town. Its actual size will be determined by the need of enabling all its members to embrace the entire community in their imaginations, all its leading spirits and its manifold activities; to feel their unity with it and share the responsibility for its welfare. The organization of the local economic life would be the back-

bone of its politics, which would be vital because directly connected at all points with the life of every citizen. In such conditions economic and social planning would acquire new meaning and help to develop a powerful civic sense and a satisfying consciousness of community strength.

(3) The unification of agriculture and industry so as to bring everyone into contact with nature, with the values, interests and influences of the countryside, including neighbourliness.

(4) Small-scale industries as far as possible, to which end new industrial techniques will be required. Even now technicians should be giving attention to this need. Not all industries can be decentralised, of course, but many can, while experience in operating small machines and small industrial units will lead to their extension. Quality, beauty, variety, and durability will supersede quantity and the monotony of over-standardization, and the waste of rapidly changing fashions.

(5) Homecrafts and handicrafts of all kinds, as these have a powerful integrating effect in those who perform them and in the homes and communities where they thrive. They develop self-confidence, individuality, personal, family and social strength.

(6) A new culture, which will develop a keener social awareness and a deeper appreciation of creative and social values. Every social order embodies distinctive values, which are inculcated in the general community. One of the major tasks of our age is to supersede the art of money-making by the art of living. That is the function of education. Indeed the fundamental purpose of all education should be to teach the art of living, of discerning and estimating human values with a view to achieving the good life. This calls for meditation. Church, school and work-shop would constitute a trinity whereby persons might achieve wholeness, and communities unity of purpose in all their institutions.

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THE FUNCTION OF UNIVERSITY

— DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN —

(Important extracts from his convocation address to the Allahabad University on 13th Dec. '52 and his reply to Municipal address — reported in "The Hindu" 15-12-'52.)

Purpose of Education

"If the universities produce men, who are not afraid to work for the things they believe in, if they are not afraid of being laughed at, if they have disciplined courage, they will have justified themselves.

"Courage is an individual quality but when disciplined, it becomes co-operative and social. The spirit of fear and cowardice is fatal to good Government and to good society.

"It is the function of universities to provide young people with an intellectual experience which will broaden their horizons and make them more valuable members of our society. It is their ambition to extend the bounds of knowledge and serve the highest spiritual as well as intellectual needs of men . . .

"Mass production which may be valuable in industry is fatal in education. The university is not to be treated as a coaching institute. University teachers are not to be mere lecturers and examiners but men of learning. They can do more by their example than by their detailed instruction."...

The duty of university men

Dr. Radhakrishnan said that it was true that there was no democracy where there was no freedom of opinion and speech but where fear and hunger existed there was no freedom of speech and opinion. "Man's hunger and poverty and the prolonged unemployment of intellectuals," he added, "are the greatest allies of all subversive movements. Decent men cannot acquiesce in evils that could be removed. These evils are the greater dangers since they do not kill but corrupt men. It is for the universities to give us a social conscience. When wickedness gets organised into the framework of society, when it takes the shape of the bigotries, of faith and injustice of caste, evils of landlordism, it is the duty of university men to protest. Our Constitution may

lay down principles of human equality and brotherhood but to implement them, to make them prevail, there must be adequate public opinion."

The need for peace and concord

Referring to the political development of the country, Dr. Radhakrishnan said that the recent elections had shown that people were anxious for betterment on democratic lines. "They have," he continued, "an intense dislike of the profiteer and the blackmarketeer. In the international world we have attained a position in these five years, which is distinctly to our credit. I hope that the peoples of India and Pakistan will recognise the need for peace and concord, the necessity of common and concerted action in many problems which face us both."

Saying that for a people of many races and creeds, a pattern of society based on respect for all religions was set forth, Dr. Radhakrishnan added, "We must work not for the homogeneity of the Indian people but for their harmony."

* * *

India's Contribution to the World

"I am one of those who believe that India has many contributions to make to the world. I do not think these contributions are likely to come by scientific inventions, industrial progress, or military glories. India has always laid stress on spiritual values. Our rishis never vied for wealth, power and prestige, but gave value to suffering, sacrifice and service.

"It was in the spirit which kept up the uniformity of Indian culture that India would make her contributions to the world. We aim at unity, we have respect for differences. That has been the great characteristic of this country. We have never made distinctions between the civilised and the barbarians so far as fundamental values are concerned. We want to settle all quarrels and disputes in that spirit."

VICTORIES WITHOUT VIOLENCE

The Western world is slowly recognising Gandhiji's non-violent resistance as a practical alternative to war for solving all disputes in personal, social and national life. There is already a valuable contribution 'Power of Non-Violence' by Richard B. Gregg, on the subject. 'Victories without Violence' compiled by A. Ruth Fry is an interesting addition giving 73 incidents to prove how dangerous situations threatening the play of violence were tided over through courageous non-violence. Three of the incidents, given below, are from the above book. (Obtainable from the authoress at Thorpeness, Suffolk, England — Price 2 s. 6 d.)

The Leper Doctor in China

About a year ago a doctor who is giving his life to China went to make a study of an island to see if it would do for a leper colony where he could carry on, without danger of spreading contagion, the marvellous modern medical treatment of leprosy. On the way out he passed the perilous haunt of bandits in safety because a fog hid his boat. But on the way back the bandits spied them and boarded their boat. Here they were at the mercy of brigands who were supposed to have no conscience, no heart, no sympathy, supposed to be actuated only by greed and to know only one force, the guns of their pursuers. This doctor showed them that he had no guns, no weapons of any kind. He told them that he purposely came without defence. He also laid before them his plan of work for the lepers, his desire to save these poor creatures from their sufferings, and his hope to make human love build a better world. With a kind of awe they listened and then left the boat to go on its way in peace, and rowed back to their retreat. Once more the positive way of life, the way of faith, of fearlessness and love had overcome. ★

The Drunkard in the Boat

Some years ago a party of youngsters went for a picnic in a Coastguard's motor boat to visit the opposite coast of one of the Irish Loughs. Half-way there the captain brought out a bottle of whiskey, which he proceeded to drink neat, so that on arrival he was unable to stand. On the return journey he pulled out of his locker a second

bottle of whiskey and began to help himself, at the same time giving confusing and contradictory orders to his engineer. The eldest of the party was an Irish girl of about 16, who whispered to her English friend "This can't go on, I must take the tiller and the command of this boat." Her friend answered, "Whatever will happen?" and the Irish girl replied, "I don't know." She went up to the Captain and said to him very quietly, "Give me that bottle of whiskey." "What do you want it for," replied he. "I want it for myself," she said, looking him full in the face. He handed her the bottle and she threw it into the sea, saying, "I am in command of this boat now. Give me the tiller." He got up quite quietly and took another seat. This girl brought the party safe to land and next day received the captain's humble apologies. "What can I do for you," said he, "to show how sorry I am?" to which she answered, "Wear the blue ribbon and keep your pledge." This he faithfully did. ★

"If Thine Enemy Hunger"

During one of the wars between Israel and Syria, the King of Israel asked Elisha whether he should smite his enemies. Elisha answered: "Thou shalt not smite them; wouldst thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? Set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their master." And he prepared great provision for them; and when they had eaten and drunk, he sent them away, and they went to their master. So the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel. ★

* Sign of teetotalism

SEVAGRAM BASIC EDUCATION CONFERENCE

— K. ARUNACHALAM —

The 8th All-India Basic Education Conference was held at Sevagram from Oct 27th to 1st, Nov. 1952. It combined in a most unique manner simplicity with efficiency and elegance with tranquility. There can be no better appraisal of this conference than Nehruji's comment on it. He has held it up as a model for all future conferences.

ORGANISATION

The day previous to the conference old students of the Talimi Sangh, who were themselves delegates to the conference, met and elected a steering committee. This committee drew up the programme for the first three days teachers' conference and conducted it. Even though the main burden of the conference rested upon the present inmates of the Talimi Sangh, the delegates freely shared much of the work in the organization. Community work as sanitation, cutting vegetables, serving meals, taking care of distinguished visitors were all undertaken by the delegate-old students. The proceedings were so planned as to give adequate opportunities for all the delegates to freely participate in the necessary day-to-day work. The very organization and conduct of the conference were in themselves a process of education for those who attended it.

In addition to six or seven hours of group meetings, sectional conferences and general sessions, the delegates joined the general *safai* i. e. sanitation work, swept their own rooms and volunteered to serve meals. In one corner of the conference-pandal were spread out planks, knives, baskets and heaps of vegetables. It was a pleasant sight to see scores of men and women quietly cutting vegetables while their ears were following the speeches from the dais. Physical labour and intellectual activity march hand in hand in the Sarvodaya society that the Nai Talim aims at. It is true that expenses were cut down to the minimum by such an arrangement. More than this the conference atmosphere was surcharged with an air of a huge family gathering instead of being a formal affair that most conferences are.

PRAYER AND SPINNING

The golden touch to the conference programme was the daily prayers held early at

5-30 a. m. and at 8-30 p. m. Morning prayers were followed by silent spinning. Work is worship. The feeling of solemnity thus prolonged was enhanced by the sweet and melodious devotional music. One was reluctant to leave the spot when time was up. On October 30th all the delegates joined the Ashramites in their worship on the Ashram grounds. To sit on the same spot where time and again our beloved Bapu used to pray was a thrilling experience.

RECREATION

Most conferences turn to be unsuccessful as they are inconsiderate of the people who attend. We are social beings and usually recoil from stiff, formal situations. We like to hobnob with our fellows and carry on our business in an intimate and friendly way. Sevagram conference was undoubtedly a success as far as this goes. Both in work and in recreation members could relax and forget themselves. Every evening there was a programme of cultural and recreational activities. Delegates in groups participated in folk dances of various kinds with appropriate music. Representative items from the northernmost Himachal Pradesh to the southernmost Travancore-Cochin gave pep and colour to the evenings' proceedings. This programme was designed to revive the best Indian culture, folk lore and fine arts. It proved an eye opener to the high standard of art that can be reached with simple and natural set-up with very little make-up. It is hoped that this revival of clean and healthy recreation will act as an antidote against the corroding influence that is spreading through the low level of entertainment as seen in most of the present day cinemas.

The crowning item in the evening programme was the pageant - *Bharat Ki Khushi*. Great excitement was roused when Nehruji joined in the dance. Those present at the conference realised that he was very much at home in an environment that Basic education creates. There can be no doubt as to what system of education he wants for the nation.

EXHIBITION

The exhibition was arranged on the premises of the Charkha Sangh. Shri Pyarelalji opened it. One of the chief features was the statistical data on self-sufficiency

Charts exhibited were not showy, but purposeful and educative. Children's own contribution were much in evidence in this year.

Much more interesting were the living exhibitions of the work at Sevagram both on the Ashram site and in the village. There was definite improvement in the village life as reflected in the way the houses were kept and decorated as well as in the behaviour of children. Delegates visited and enjoyed the village, the pre-basic school and the child welfare centre.

Sevagram's chief attraction, Bapu's hut, doubtless contributed much to the serene, happy and ennobling atmosphere that pervaded over the whole conference. Its educational influence in simplicity and beauty coupled with functionalism on those who saw was immense.

The Charkha Sangh, Gopuri, Maganwadi-Village Industries Association, Paunar and several other constructive work centres provided life size exhibition to the inquiring delegates. They could see clearly how all these could lead to the Sarvodaya social order.

CONFERENCE SESSIONS

Ordinarily conference planners think of topics and speakers and publicity. They don't think in terms of effects on the participants. General sessions are too long with too many speakers. Group meetings too often compete with one another. But this time the central focus of the conference was deliberately placed in small-group meetings. Instead of making these subsidiary to a series of full-dress general meetings, the latter were planned to provide stimulus and background for the small discussion groups. For example the opening meeting of the teachers' conference presided over by Shri Aryanayakam featured a short address on the theme of the conference which emphasised problems to be solved. Another general meeting received reports from the groups. The one general session which was a bit boring was the one in which the State representatives read their reports. Some of them were unduly long. It would have been more useful if the gist of these were circulated in advance to the delegates so that there could be some useful fact finding and discussion on them during the general session.

This conference was unique in two respects. This was attended by as many as

fourteen of the States' education ministers. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru attended the last day's proceedings and declared the Sevagram Rural University open. He also distributed diplomas to the twentyone students who had successfully completed the Post-Basic Education course.

In this conference most of the resolutions of the past conferences were discussed, clarified and reiterated. There was intense discussion regarding the khadi produced in schools lying unused. It was pointed out that the quality was poor. Though morally it is better for children to learn the joy of working for others it was explained that a portion of the cloth produced should be given to children-themselves. This would enable them to take a realistic interest in the cloth craft.

BHOODAN YAGNA

At the very outset Shrimathi Asha Devi expressed a desire that all the delegates should live together like a family and not to entertain the idea that some were Government servants and that some others were constructive workers. In fact in that simple work atmosphere which Sevagram provided, everyone felt that he or she was part of the big family. The participation of Shri Pyarelalji and other seasoned constructive workers and associates of Bapuji gave a tone to the whole conference.

A special session was set apart to discuss Shri Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna movement. Shri Vallabhawamy, joint secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh read the moving appeals of Vinobaji. He also exhorted that all the constructive workers especially Basic Education teachers and students should devote as much of their time as possible in spreading this message and working for the realization of the ideals for which Vinobaji is undertaking walking tours throughout the country. The meeting passed a unanimous resolution to that effect. With this the conference concluded.

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Consumers or Spinners?

We have all these years thought of the consumer and done precious little for the spinner, forgetting that the Association was a Spinners' Association, not an association of consumers. We have to be true representatives of the spinners. — Gandhiji

19-10-55

DEOJI'S BHOODAN YATRA IN KERALA (2)

On 26-11-52 Shri Deo and party proceeded from Muvatempuzha to Koothatukulam. In the public meeting held there Shri Deo laid special emphasis on the unemployment problem of the day and pointed out that the Bhoodan mission is bound to solve it. A donation of 95.66 acres was announced on the day.

The next day morning the party started for Kuruvilanghad. On the way at two places Shri Deo addressed villagers' gatherings. In the public meeting in the evening Shri Deo spoke for nearly 1½ hours. He dealt at length on decentralization and the ways to solve the present day economic difficulties in the country. Towards the close of the function a donation of 702.92 acres was announced. Dr. P. J. Thomas (Retired Economic Advisor to the Government of India) gave a further donation of 701 acres besides the 301 acres which he offered two days back at Perumbavur.

On 28-11-52 the party reached Kottayam where they were received by a big gathering of students. Shri Deo addressed the students when he pictured in vivid terms the set-up of the welfare state which India aspires to establish in future under the Sarvodaya order. There was a public meeting in the evening, which was well attended. Shri Deo explained in detail the principles and fundamentals of a democratic State. He said that the real essence of democracy is equality. This can be achieved if only every individual is given equal opportunity in life to grow and develop and the basic necessities of life are available to all. A donation of 930.39 acres was received on the day. It is particular to note that Sri George Thomas offered a block of 500 acres.

The next day the party proceeded to Changanasserry. At Pallam, Chigavanam

and Thuruthi there were receptions by villagers. The total donation at Changanasserry was 170.79 acres.

On the 30th the party left for Thiruvalla and there Shri Deo was received by two State ministers. 32.25 acres were received as donation at Thiruvalla. The same day the party proceeded to Chengannur when an unprecedented crowd joined all along from the neighbouring villages on the way. By the time it reached Chengannur the procession was about a mile long. The public meeting in the evening was the biggest gathering the Yatra witnessed during this tour in Kerala. Shri Deo explained at length the principles of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya order. 67.26 acres were announced towards donation at the meeting. With this the Kerala Yatra was wound up with a community prayer in pin-drop silence and a sublime atmosphere.

This Yatra of 15 days covered only the central part of Kerala and that only along a particular route of easy approach. Over 5,500 acres have been collected (over 1/5 of the quota fixed for Kerala for 2 years) and the ground for the movement and future work has been well prepared. The physical feature of Kerala is peculiar. As it is a slope with hills and dales from the Western Ghats to the sea, the party had to tread on rough terrains with ascends and descends and houses situated far apart.

The striking success of the Kerala Yatra is largely due to Shri Deo's self-sacrifice and his spiritual appeal to the people besides the spade work done by Sri Warriar who has put his heart and soul into the movement. He has ceaselessly worked day and night. After spending the day with Shri Deo's daily programme he used to spend all the night in visiting and persuading his friends to give their share of land to the Yagna. ★

AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC

— E. IKKANDA WARRIER

(Convenor, Kerala Bhoodan Yagna Samithi)

It appears that there is a general impression that with the termination of Shri Shankarrao Deo's tour in Kerala, there remains nothing more to be done in connection with the Bhoodan Movement. This is a wrong impression. The work has only just begun.

The immediate objective is the propagation of the Bhoodan ideology and the collection of 25,000 acres of land as a token of the acceptance of that ideal by the people.

The ultimate objective is to persuade by non-violent means all those who own and possess lands to willingly surrender them in favour of the community without payment of compensation. The Bhoodan movement will continue until this goal is reached.

The awakening and the interest in the movement created during the 15 days' Yatra as evidenced by the increasing number of people actively participated in various capacities and the subscription of more than 23% of the quota during the said period give

one hope of attaining the goal before the stipulated time.

The programme of work is:

1. to carry on intensive countrywide propaganda by means of public meetings and the spread of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan literature;

2. to collect the quota fixed for Kerala;

3. to distribute lands already received among the deserving landless labourers who are willing and able to work on land and prepared to live upon the income from those lands supplemented by the income from Cottage Industries during the off season;

(The lands so far received will be sufficient, it is hoped, to settle over one thousand Sarvodaya families.)

4. to organise and conduct more Yatras all over the country.

Bhoodan Yagna in Tamil Nad — S. JAGANNATHAN

(Convenor, Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee)

The first Tamil Nad Sarvodaya Sammelan was held in Madurai in the month of June, when the Sevapuri programmes of the All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan were ratified. Tamil Nad quota of Bhoo-dan was fixed as 1½ lakh of acres, and a provincial committee was formed. It was also decided to start the Yatra from Rameswaram on October 2nd.

General work of organising as forming of district Bhoo-dan committees, printing and distribution of booklets and leaflets on Bhoo-dan was done during the months of July, August and September in three districts.

The Yatra was started on Gandhi Jayanthi Day under the leadership of Shri Shankarrao Deo. It lasted for 45 days covering a distance of 522 miles. 6325·80½ acres, 16 pairs of bullocks, 34 sets of ploughs, two buildings, and Rs. 1000, were the total donations received from 260 persons.

Besides big land-lords, small agriculturists also have contributed. In Coimbatore district 3 persons have given one acre each out of their 4 acres. In Ramnad district one donor walking 13 miles gave one acre out of his three acres and another old gentleman came running from his village and gave a den of 4 acres. When Deoji asked how many acres he had, he replied, he possessed only 12 acres. In Coimbatore district one Sri Kolandaiswamy Gownder offered 1/5th of his lands, 107 acres 39 cents; a Praja-

While thanking all those who took part in and worked for the success of the Yatra particularly those who set an example by making liberal gifts, I appeal to them as well as those who were not able to take active part till now to come forward and take up the Bhoodan work by offering voluntary services in their own villages or towns by contributing lands and money to settle poor families and supply of agricultural implements, irrigation facilities, bullocks etc. The rich and the poor can take part in this movement — the rich by the liberal gifts and free services for organisation and the poor by giving manual labour free in the early stages for reclamation of lands etc. Students and other youngmen can particularly help the movement through propaganda in various ways including the sale of our literature during their holidays. ○

Socialist Party member offered 1/4th of his property, 50 acres and 7 cents. The family of Sri P. S. G. Naidu offered 1116 acres and 60 cents, i. e. 1/6 of their landed property.

Besides these *dans*, good propaganda has been done all throughout. The Bhoodan songs composed by Tamil Poet Laureate Sri Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai have become popular in many village schools. These were relayed from the All-India Radio, Trichinopoly, twice during the Yatra. Shri Shankarrao Deo's speech was broadcast once. All the local Tamil papers gave good co-operation.

People have begun to understand the movement and now there is confidence that we can reach at least half the target before Vinobaji reaches Tamil Nad. The three districts' workers have resolved to continue work in their respective districts and collect at least half of their quota before the end of February '53.

Another Yatra will be started from Cape Comorin in Travancore State and will cover Tirunelveli district. Thus the Southern four districts and some part of Travancore State will be covered before the end of February. There are six more districts. We hope the work will be easy in the rest of the districts as already the message is reaching the people. We appeal to our leading men to give at least part of their time if not fully to this work. ★

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN NEWS

The following is collected from Hindi 'Sarvodaya' and some daily newspapers.

Madhya Bharat

Shri Dadabhai Naik and Shri Dada Dharmadhikari toured in the district of Katni and addressed a number of workers' conferences and public meetings. Shri Morey with six other people have started a walking tour for 35 days in Yeotmal District. Maharaj Thukadoji and Shri Rajendra Malpani are touring in different places to propagate the Bhoodan mission. Shri Prabhakerrao Bapat is touring in Bandara District. Shri Babaji Mokeh and other workers are touring in Chanda District. 445·7 acres were collected in all in this month.

Bengal

Shri Lal Behari Singh, Convenor of the Birbhum District with his co-workers undertook a walking tour for 73 days in the district. They visited 190 villages, and addressed 40 meetings.

Gujarat

The workers of the districts Nadiyad, Mahesana, Banaskanda, Baroda and Panchmahal had a joint conference where they fixed their quota for each district. Shri Naryan Desai toured in Vyarah and Navasari Taluks and collected 50 acres and a number of bullocks and ploughs.

Shri Dada Dharmadhikari has begun his Bhoodan tour in Gujarat. He is receiving Bhoodan in all places. Shri Balji, the Jain saint, is touring in Saurashtra and propagating the Bhoodan mission and has collected 929½ bighas of land so far. Shri Jugatram Bhai, along with the teachers and students of Vedchi Ashram has begun touring in Amodh, Baruch and Angleswar Taluks.

Over 5277 acres of land have been so far collected in the whole of Gujarat.

Maharashtra

Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe completed his one month's tour in Kolhapur and began touring in Sholapur District. He addressed students, teachers and peasants in various places. He is now touring in Ratnagiri District.

Karnatak

Shri Vallabhwami toured in the province from 15th to 20th November. In the District Workers' conference he explained in detail the principles of Bhoodan Yagna. Shri Thimmappa Naik has undertaken a walking

tour in Karwar District from 15th December onwards.

Vindhya Pradesh

The Pradesh Samithi had its sitting on 21st November. Eleven acres were collected during the month.

Bihar

Under the direct guidance of Vinobaji Bhoodan work is progressing. Ranchi District promised to collect one lakh and Vinobaji asked them to give 28,000 acres as the first instalment. On the 29th November at Ranchi there was a youths' conference when about 100 young men, students etc. came to attend from different provinces. They decided to actively participate in the Bhoodan movement. Shri Damodardas Mundada went to Gaya District Jail and talked to the prisoners about Bhoodan mission. Four prisoners gave 2 acres and 2 bighas of land and signed the Dana Patra. They offered Rs. 100 also as donation, but it was not accepted as Vinobaji does not accept money donations. For that amount they purchased Vinobaji's books to read.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain is touring in many places in Gaya District and propagating Bhoodan ideals.

The total collection in Bihar upto 15th December is 35,039·66 acres of land, 11 pairs of bullocks, and 6 wells.

Shri Srikrishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, has volunteered to work for the Bhoodan movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave during the period of the latter's convalescence. He will undertake a tour in this connection of Motihari, Samastipur, Muzaffarpur and Bhagalpur from Jan. 9.

The Executive Committee of the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee which met here on 22nd Dec. '52 decided to request Acharya Vinoba to take complete rest till he recovered fully and to ask Provincial Congress leaders to tour the Province for the success of Bhoodan movement.

Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, Revenue Minister, Shri Baidyanath Prasad Chowdhury, former General Secretary of the B. P. C. C. and Dada Dharmadhikari will also undertake a tour of the different parts of the Province in connection with the Bhoodan movement in the month of January.

Rajasthan

Shri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, after completing his tour in Kerala, proceeded to Rajasthan. He has started his walking tour in Beelwada District on 16th December. His tour in Rajasthan will last till 19th January, '53.

It is reported that the Rajasthan Government has promised to give one lakh acres of land to Acharya Vinoba Bhave for redistribution among landless peasants under his Bhoodan scheme. Out of this 25,000 acres will be made available immediately.

Orissa Ministers' Offer

Shri Nabakrishna Chaudhuri, Chief Minister of Orissa, announced at the Utkal P. C. C. meeting that he would make a gift of all his personal lands to Acharya Vinoba Bhave for redistribution among the landless.

The Finance and Education Minister Shri Radhanath Rath offered to give away one-fourth of his share of the paternal landed property. The Law Minister Shri Deshabandhu Sahu said he would make a gift of ten acres. Pandit Lokenath Mishra declared that he would donate one acre.

BHOODAN ALL OVER INDIA		
(RECEIVED UP TO 5-12-1952)		
		Acres Cents.
Assam	...	...
Andhra	...	7,021.91
Uttar Pradesh	...	3,10,728.74
Utkal	...	2,223.50
Karnatak	...	99.14
Kerala	...	5,500.00
Tamil Nad	...	6,325.80
Gujarath	...	5,501.34
Delhi	...	1,124.50
Punjab-Pepsu	...	111.00
Bihar	...	35,039.66
Benqal	...	32.48
Bombay City*	...	...
Madhya Pradesh	...	11,866.92
Madhya Bharat	...	2,490.59
Maharashtra	...	238.80
Mysore	...	16.00
Rajasthan	...	1,824.15
Vindhya Pradesh	...	1,282.66
Saurashtra	...	00.00
Himachal Pradesh	...	1,006.50
Hyderabad	...	30,224.33
Total		4,22,658.02

* Just formed

Bhoodan Movement in Mysore State

Sri B. Narayanappa, Convenor, Bhoodan Samiti, Mysore, writes:

During the first week of November Sr B. Narayanappa and Sri T. S. Anantarangachar, the convenor and one of the members respectively of the Mysore State Bhoodana Yagna Committee participated in the Yatra of Shri Shankarrao Deo in Tamilnad. During the second and third week both of them visited important towns in all the districts of the State and conveyed the message of Bhoodan Yagna. They held a number of meetings, contacted several persons, discussed about the programme for propagating the movement. In the last week of November Shri Vallabhsami, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, toured in Mysore State. Except Chitaldrug, he visited all the district centre and some important towns spreading the message of Vinobaji.

For two weeks from December 1st the convenor and Sri Anantarangachar undertook a walking tour in Arekal Taluk of Bangalore District. They visited 16 villages, addressed 23 gatherings and covered about 50 miles. So far 24½ acres of land have been received as gift. Srimathi Sarasvati Nataraja was the first in the State to come forward to donate 16 acres. Arrangements are being made to continue the Yatra from the coming New Year's day.

U. P. Assembly Passes Bhoodan Bill

The U. P. Legislative Assembly has passed the Uttar Pradesh Bhoodan Bill. It seeks to facilitate donation and settlement of lands in connection with the Bhooda Yagna initiated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. It provides for the establishment of Bhoodan Yagna Committee for Uttar Pradesh with a Chairman nominated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave subject to the approval of the State Government.

The function of the Committee will be to administer all lands vested in it for the benefit of the Bhoodan Yagna. The Chairman and the members of the Committee shall hold office for four years. The State Government will have the power to dissolve the Committee if it was satisfied that the Committee had failed to discharge its duties.

It is hoped that the other State Governments will make similar law facilitating Vinobaji's Bhoodan Movement.

NOTES AND NEWS

Fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan in Bihar

Shri Vallabhsami, Joint Secretary Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha writes:

1. The Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held on the 7th, 8th and 9th March, 1953 in the Tekkapatti village. As far as it is possible, the Sevaks will be lodged as guests (two or three) in the huts of the villagers. A fee of Rs. 3 for each Sevak will be collected for the period.

2. Separate huts for a family of 4 to 5 members will also be available. The rent for the same will be Rs. 25 for the Sammelan period.

3. Those who stay in family quarters will get their meals from the Gramodhyoga Kitchens etc. and they will have to pay for the same.

4. The Sevaks' fees should reach the office on or before 20th January, '53 so that their names may be recorded in the register. The Sangh will not take the responsibility to accommodate any who has not remitted the amount intine and got their names registered.

5. Do not send postal orders or cheques.

6. The M. O. should be sent to the address:— Sarvodaya Sammelan, Reception Committee, P. O. Tekkapatti, Dist. Purniya, Bihar.

7. Railway concession forms will be sent to all the existing Sevaks and only to those who enrol themselves as Sevaks before 20th January, '53.

Confusion in Public Mind about Genuine Khadi

Sri M. S. Narayana Rao, Director, Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu writes:

There are different kinds of "Khadi": Government Khadi, Certified Khadi and Charkha Sangh Khadi. Another member also threatens to join this family (Khadi produced by anybody).

In Salem, Tiruchengodu and many other places weavers hawk cloth calling it Khadi. Due to our inability to go on producing Khadi we have to suspend Khadi production on the usual scale, only producing a little quantity to replenish the stocks we need.

That has thrown many weavers out of employment. But even other weavers are

unscrupulous enough to say that they produce only Khadi without any profit. They are selling 50" cloth at Rs. 1-8-0 a yard. Even Congressmen who ought to know better take to this Khadi and some of them say that the Charkha Sangh should reduce the prices. They do not understand or do not want to understand the stand of the A. I. S. A. in paying a living wage.

I appeal to the Secretary, A. I. C. C. to issue a circular to Congressmen to use and encourage only genuine Khadi as defined by the A. I. S. A.

Rajaji on Co-operative Movement

The 28th Madras State Co-operative Conference was held on the 19th and 20th October, 1952. The Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachari inaugurated the conference. During his speech he made some important observations regarding the co-operative movement. One of them was, "The Co-operative Movement retains the good qualities of individual interest and property as well as the good qualities of a socialist organisation. If, therefore, you want the middle path, the co-operative movement is the middle path." He also gave a very sound piece of advice when he observed, "Whatever may be your movement, whatever may be the mechanism and the members and doctrines in a movement, ultimately its success or its failure depends upon the character and the diligence of the people who work it." Both his observation as regards the advantageous role of the co-operative movement as also his advice to co-operators deserve great attention.

International Conference of Social Work

The Sixth International Conference of Social Work was held in Madras from 14th to 19th, December, '52. This is the first time that the conference was held in the East. The conference is an International Forum for discussion of important social work issues and strives to promote exchange of information and experience among social workers and social agencies—throughout the world. The main theme of the conference was "Role of Social Service in raising the Standard of Living." If every alternate meeting of the conference is held in the East it may possibly promote better understanding of the economic and social issues of the East.

An Opportunity to Youths

Service-minded capable young persons determined to dedicate themselves to the cause of the villages of India are cordially invited by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, to serve as its workers in villages. Suitable arrangements for their training and maintenance after training will be made by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The honorarium offered is Rs. 75/- to Rs. 150/- per month. Those desirous of taking advantage of this opportunity should get into touch with the Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 5, Mansing Road, New Delhi - 2.

A Book on Gandhiji's Humour

Sri S. Durai Raja Singam, Abdullah School, Kuantan, Malaya, writes to the readers of Sarvodaya:—

As I am writing a book on Gandhiji's humour, I shall be very thankful if you would be kind enough to write to me a few instances of Gandhiji's humour or jokes with you (or with any others you know of) so that I could include them in this volume. I have collected all instances of Gandhiji's humour as found in Gandhian literature and it is the unrecorded personal instances you know of that I do require. As I am keen on preserving those instances of Gandhiji's humour, I shall be very grateful for your help in the preparation of the book.

Vinobaji's Health

Vinobaji had been walking in Singbhum District in Bihar amidst hills and thick forest areas infested of virulent malaria. He had been moving among the hill tribes in those parts. During his halt in the village Saraikela a village peasant offered some sour curd at night after the meeting was over. Vinobaji took two spoons of the curd to satisfy the peasant though he usually does not accept such offers. This affected his throat and caused cough. This resulted gradually in high fever.

Shri Vinobaji had the first attack of fever on the 12th evening before reaching Jamshedpur. On the 13th he walked 12 miles to reach Jamshedpur and he carried out all the programme in spite of the fever.

On the 14th morning he travelled 12 miles in a bullock cart. On the 15th he had to cover 9 miles again. The temperature rose from 101° to 103° on the 15th. All his further programme was indefinitely suspended. His condition became serious since 16th.

Vinobaji refused to take medicine. This made the whole country feel helpless and anxious. The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Premier Pandit Nehru were contacting through phone with Sri Srimannarayan Agarwal specially deputed to Vinobaji's side to persuade him. Shri Srikrishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar pleaded, "your life is precious and most needed for the nation." Vinobaji went into deep thought and after consultation with his camp inmates who were all in tears all through, finally said, "That will free the friends and well-wishers of all the anxiety and strain they are put to. Ahimsa demands consideration from that angle also." Everyone felt a great sigh of relief. The Civil Surgeon Dr. Das Gupta administered medicine to bring the temperature down and tone up the condition of the heart. The temperature began to come down immediately and pulse rate began to improve.

Since then his health has been slowly improving and he is said to be now out of danger. The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad broke his journey for a time at Jamshedpur on the 22nd and paid a visit to Vinobaji at Chandil along with Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, who found him to be slowly recovering though very weak. The President expressed his gratefulness to Shri Vinobaji for having agreed to place himself under medical treatment.

The doctors said that the malignant malaria and anaemia from which Vinobaji was suffering from, have to be completely cured before he could think of resuming his Bhoodan tour. Dr. Sushila Nayyar, Health Minister of Delhi, and Col. Nazib Khan, medical officer of the Tatas, examined him on the 23rd December and have reported that the progress was satisfactory.

The nation now feels greatly relieved that Vinobaji has just come out of this crisis. We pray to God to restore Vinobaji to his normal health to guide the country in the non-violent revolution of Bhoodan.

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TO OUR READERS

The next issue of Sarvodaya will be published about the 15th March after the Sarvodaya Sammelan in Bihar.

There Is No Wealth But Life

We thus see that money is only an instrument which makes for misery as well as happiness. In the hands of a good man it helps in the cultivation of land and the harvesting of crops. Cultivators work in innocent contentment and the nation is happy. But in the hands of a bad man, money helps to produce say gunpowder which works havoc among its manufacturers as well as among its victims. Therefore **THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE**. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

This is not a time for self-indulgence but for each of us to labour according to our capacity. If one man lives in idleness, another has to put in a double amount of work. This is at the root of the distress of the poor in England. Some so-called work is nugatory as in jewel-cutting and even destructive as in war. It brings about a diminution in the national capital, and is not beneficial to the worker himself. It seems as if men are employed, but really they are idle. The rich oppress the poor by misuse of riches. Employers and employees are at daggers drawn with one another, and men are reduced to the level of beasts.

(From Gandhiji's 'Sarvodaya'.
A Paraphrase of Ruskin's 'Unto this Last')

TO SUBSCRIBERS

Usually a reminder is sent to subscribers when the subscription has lapsed. The subsequent issue is sent by V. P. P. unless countermanded.

We request our subscribers to send a few addresses of their friends who are likely to subscribe for Sarvodaya to enable us to send them free specimen copies.

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REAL ECONOMICS

MAHATMA GANDHI

(The following is part of a speech of Gandhiji delivered on December 22, 1916, in the Physics Lecture Theatre of the Muir College, Allahabad, under the auspices of the Economics Society of the College.)

‘Every human being has a right to live and, therefore, to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws. ‘Take no thought for the morrow’ is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In well-ordered society the securing of one’s livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owns, but of absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is, whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral advancement.

‘Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered a moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps, most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockfellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality, but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not

necessarily meant moral gain. In South Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance as did the poor. The rich men’s sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I was not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show you that the possession of riches had been a hindrance to real growth.

‘I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves is not a new one. It was addressed to Jesus two thousand years ago.

‘St. Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood, he is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the great economist of his time. He succeeded in economizing time and space; he transcended them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down and asks, ‘Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?’ And Jesus said unto

him, 'why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery, do not kill, do not steal, do not bear false witness, defraud not, honour thy father and mother.' He answered and said unto him, 'Master, all these have I observed from my youth.' Then Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him, 'One thing thou lackest.' Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; come, take up the Cross and follow me.' And he was sad at that saying and went away grieved for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about and said unto his disciples; 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God.' And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and saith unto them, 'Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the Kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God.'

"There you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as we say today: 'But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have some money or we cannot even be reasonably moral.' So they state their case thus. And they were astonished out of measures saying among themselves, 'who then can be saved?'

Sutrakoot Parvad for Sarvodaya Mela

— VINOBA BHAVE —

THE HANUMAN OF SARVODAYA SAMAJ

The 12th February is fast approaching. It is the great Red Letter day for the offering of *Suthranjali* (yarn offering). Today people have not fully grasped the great potentiality of this offering. In the building of Sarvodaya Samaj *Suthranjali* can do as much work as Hanuman had done in *Ramacharitra*.

And Jesus looking upon them saith, 'with men it is impossible, but not with God, for with God all things are possible.'

"Then Peter began to say unto him: 'Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.' And Jesus answered and said: 'Verily, I say unto you, there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother or wife or children, or lands for my sake and the gospels but he shall receive a hundred-fold, now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and land and in the world to come, eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last, first.'

"You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures and I will not insult you by quoting, in support of the law stated by Jesus, passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages—passages even stronger if possible than the Biblical extracts, I have drawn your attention to. Perhaps, the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of an affirmative answer to the questions before are the lives of the greatest teachers of the world. Jesus, Mohamed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankar, Dayanand, Ramakrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over, and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot. ★

(From MAHATMA Vol. No. 1)

Before my mind's eye a very beautiful picture of it, stands. I see a *Sutrakoot* mountain in each and every place of Sarvodaya Mela.

EVEN THE CRIPPLED CLIMBS UP MOUNTAIN

The people's mind is ready to receive. But there is the lack of workers.

Among the few workers, some lack in imagination and those who have originality are unable to use it. Thus ours is a group of cripples. Even then if God wills, it is possible that even the lame can climb up mountains.

Last year, both the mind and heart of our people, even of the Sarvodaya-Samaj Sevaks, were so much drawn to the election campaign that the work of yarn offering was very much neglected. In those days my Bhoodan tour was daily being continued regularly in the places between Ganga and Yamuna. Many friends whom I expected would give help in Bhoodan Yagna, went away to the wrestle in the election work and left me as the relations leave a rich man when he becomes poor by some misfortune. Yet my work went on. The general people took full interest. I got Bhoodan according to the expectations. But friends ventured then to suggest to me that in those election days it would be better if I were to postpone the work for a month and a half. How clearly I realised how excited the workers' heart, in those days!

VERY EASY TO COLLECT 36 LAKHS

Very well, what happened has happened. Now in this year if all the Sarvodaya lovers concentrate their efforts in this work, then a beautiful picture of new India can be seen. If the lakhs of spinners of the Charkha Sangh were made to understand with love the idea behind the yarn offerings, then they could easily give with joy each, one hank of yarn in memory of Gandhiji. The students and teachers of Nai Talim (Basic Education) and other schools can also contribute. Those institutions created by Gandhiji, spread throughout the whole of India, can advance this cause. The Congressmen and the Praja-Socialists on whom there was the blessings of Gandhiji, and who on every occasion drag in the name of Gandhiji can easily give one hank each. If we all exert to the maximum, for every hundred people at least one hank can be collected. In this way it is very easy

to get 36 lakhs of hanks and we can erect a *Sutrakoot Parvath*.

FROM THE GUJARAT OF GANDHIJI

But last year there was the promise of 2½ lakhs, but the collected yarn was only one lakh. Looking at this result, who will make the promise to collect 36 lakhs? Therefore, I say only this much: Let all join together and collect as much as possible. This time the young men of Gujarat have promised to collect 50,000 hanks. But I was expecting the Gujarat people to collect and give one-and-a-quarter lakhs of hanks as per the calculation of one hank per hundred people. But this was the first occasion for them to make the promise, so it was as if they did, I believe, on a modest estimate. Gandhiji is not of India only but of the whole world. Even then he was a Gujarathi. With the idea of serving Hindustan through Gujarat, he opened the Ashram in 'Patnagar', even though there were offers from many other places. All these things we cannot forget. Therefore, I hope that Gujarat, not only in this year but even in the coming year, will lead in the whole of India and show the way. How will then the other provinces fall back?

In Congress there is the talk of bogus members and there is the problem before us how to purify it. If productive labour is substituted for the 4-anna-bit membership in Congress, then most of this fear will vanish and there will be benefit. Gandhiji made such an effort before, but it did not succeed while he was alive. Much interpretation on dignity of labour is being given everywhere but in the language of *Upanishad* it is * "*Vaacharambanam Shramo, Namadeyam Chavanni, ityeva Satyam*." I do not desire to give the Hindi version of it. If the Sarvodaya Sevaks and other lovers of Gandhiji's ideology would glorify this idea of yarn offering, then the dignity of manual labour will be established and a new way will be opened.

If the conception of this idea had risen in the mind of the ancient poverty-afflicted

* The inception of the word is work, its name is 4 annas, this only is the truth.

Mohandas, (devotee of Lord Krishna), then instead of taking a handful of begged parched rice, he would have taken as many hanks of hand-spun yarn as there were members in his family to interview Lord Krishna and He being so much pleased, would not have transformed his whole village into gold, but

instead, would have entirely freed it from money-economy and made it self-sufficient. But the modern Kuchel (Gandhiji) who voluntarily had chosen poverty, taught us this idea and if we cannot understand it, in spite of the fact that we are his Santhans, then who can be worse unfortunates than we?

(From Hindi)

TWELFTH FEBRUARY

— SWAMI ANAND

The twelfth of February when Gandhiji's ashes were immersed is drawing near. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has shown us a very easy way for expressing our sense of gratitude for infinite obligations of Mahatma Gandhi for our country as well as the world and for demonstrating our faith in his teachings.

And that way for every person, man, woman and child, to dedicate on hank of yarn spun by his own self. We should all give one hank of yarn as our homage. That is as good as performing any religious ceremony after the dead.

The name of Gandhiji is to-day on the lips of various groups, parties, sections, organisations and institutions. But as it is seen elsewhere in the world, here too we find only a few who would sincerely put in practice his behests and teachings. Every child of the country knows now that the spinning wheel was loved most by Mahatma Gandhi. Whether it was morn or evening or night or whether he was travelling or sick or fasting, even when he had gone to England for negotiations, he never missed spinning; whatever the circumstances of all that he did he felt most happy when he plied the wheel.

And he who would not contribute a hank of self-spun yarn, only once in a year on the occasion of the anniversary, would be ungrateful being indeed. There is no doubt that the person who contributes this small offering reverentially in the memory of Rashtra Pita is his true follower.

For this Sutrangali no skill or artistry apart from mere spinning is necessary. Children, oldmen, women, lame, disabled, sick, all can pay their homage from their homes. In this way we express our faith in Gandhiji and the great principles and ideas propounded by him as also cast our vote in favour of the means of achieving these ideals.

Vinobaji asks for one of such hank and one only. It must have been spun by the giver only, and not purchased by his money or procured on his order or got spun by someone else. As our saying goes we cannot go to heaven without ourselves first dying. In the same way we cannot register our faith and devotion to Rashtra Pita and the way shown by him.

Vinobaji wants that the mutual contact of the constructive workers and the people should be enlarged more and more and in fulfilment of Sarvodaya equal burden should fall on all shoulders. That is why he insists on building from humble beginnings like filling the ocean drop by drop or erecting a dam pebble by pebble. By doing this we shall make a good demonstration of decentralised constructive power.

So, everyone who gives the Sutrangali and everyone who collects it should know well that it is like an insurance premium by the people themselves for their true prosperity and well-being, which in course of time will blossom forth in goodwill and realisation of true constructive ends. Constructive institutions and activities will derive benefit from them.

(Translated from Gujarathi)

Institutions Cannot Bring Revolutions

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

(Shri Damodar Das Mundada's report of a Hindi speech at Chandil on 4-1-'53)

"Have the Gaya people forgotten their pledge? To none have I explained so much as I have done to them. But it is now more than a month and a half and not much worth mentioning has been done there. When on board, people remember the Lord, but when on shore they seem to forget Him. That is the state of the people's mind!" These words full of agony were expressed by Acharya Vinobaji in his prayer speech this evening. Some workers of Bihar had come to see him and it was as it were his loud thinking with them.

Continuing Acharyaji said, "People do not seem inclined to make any concentrated effort. That is the tendency I am witnessing. They are more enthusiastic to listen to speeches than to act up to the teachings contained in them. Much more could have been done if there were a band of workers engaged in Bhoodan work. Revolution demands selfless workers prepared to sacrifice their all. To me it is not the land that matters, for land is surely going to come to me. I am anxious to see workers who have faith in this mission. The more the number of selfless workers, the greater and deeper will be the result."

Vinobaji in the beginning stressed that good men should now relieve themselves of the allurements of institutions. In this connection he illustrated how Hinduism laid down stages of progressive renunciation from Grihastha Ashram to Vanaprastha and thence to Sannyas. That is the only way to lead a life of valour without which transformation in society is an impossibility.

Referring to the conditions of the present day institutions Acharyaji said that although these institutions were supposed to have been founded for the sake of service to people, they were not free from the bondage of party and group politics.

"While man is already a slave of his body and passions, he creates these new bonds of party and at last has fallen a prey to various fetters. Instead of realising God in all, one is deprived of the very feelings of fraternity that once existed. I have therefore come to the conclusion that institutions cannot bring about revolution. They only hinder. They do not make one free."

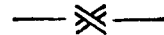
Expressing his deep agony over the recent happenings in Bihar Congress Acharyaji asked "Have these quarrels helped anyone in the least? They have only helped in increasing mutual distrust and ill-will. These Congress men have neither been able to serve any one nor could they purify their own minds. Other institutions also are not free from this disease. They all have but one programme and that is of mutual fault finding and decrying each other. They take pride and feel big in doing so.

"The lesson that I have taken from all this has given me protection and brought me salvation. That is the lesson that Hinduism has given through the preaching of Sannyas. Salvation is impossible if there is the slightest attachment for anything whatsoever. People start institutions which in the end over-power the founders themselves. Unrighteous and bogus men capture these institutions while the founders have not the courage for disillusionment. They cannot free themselves from the bonds of institutions. They get themselves involved in the problems of minority and majority. Rule of majority is the law of the day. Whether the majority has or has not scruples and character, it does not matter at all. Is not majority only brute force? How can you differentiate between the rule of the regiment, rule of money and rule of majority? What is it if it is not brutal force? The only way to get rid of this is that those who are good and

respectable should resign from the institutions and prove man as man. That is the path the sages have trodden. Buddha, Kabir and Tulsidas did the same and that is how they could uplift Society.

"In spite of such an inspiring programme like that of Bhoodan-Yajna, I see people speaking in terms of sparing either four days

or five days for this cause. They have leisure enough all the 365 days in a year, to look after their domestic affairs. Did Shivaji and Shankaracharya who brought about revolutions, think in terms of four days or five? They worked hard and constantly too. Only such workers can make this revolutionary programme a success."



The Co-operative Movement in India

— W. P. WATKINS —

Mr. W. P. Watkins is at present the Director of International Co-operative Alliance. Co-operation is his life mission. He has served it locally, nationally and internationally. He had been to India last year for the first All-India Co-operative Congress. We are very grateful indeed to him for having taken the trouble, in the midst of his multifarious co-operative activities, covering the five continents, to send for the readers of Sarvodaya a valuable contribution from his experience and wisdom. We hope that constructive workers will find it illuminating. If we are to secure greatest benefit from our newly won freedom we must make a tremendous success of our experiment in democracy. His finding that "those countries which have made the greatest success of parliamentary democracy are precisely those in which people's movements on a democratic basis, and particularly Co-operation, are most highly developed and influential" must induce us to take a very active part in co-operation in our country. His observation that in co-operation there is a transcendent cementing force at all levels, local, national and international, is for us at this juncture very relevant and timely.

If I were an Indian citizen and had struggled and suffered for the liberation of my country, I should be one of those who are giving serious thought to the Co-operative Movement and playing an active part in it. For I should regard the expansion of the Co-operative Movement as one of the best guarantees, not only that the new India will solve her immense problems of productivity and nutrition, but also that the liberties India has won will be buttressed and preserved in the future.

It is quite easy to understand why many Indian patriots paid little attention to Co-operation before India achieved self-Government and responsibility for her own economic destiny. Co-operation was introduced into India under the British regime, although the credit society, the pioneer type of co-

operative enterprise in India, was not of British but of German origin. It is difficult, especially in the heat of political agitation, to give an alien Government credit for anything good. A people intent on securing its own freedom will always place self-Government higher than merely good Government.

Today, perhaps, it can do no harm to suggest that the co-operative structures built up under the care of the British Raj and under Diarchy are among the best legacies of British rule in India and possibly also one of the best things ever introduced by the West into the East. After fifty years of effort the Indian Co-operative Movement consists of hundreds of thousands of societies with a total of 12½ million individual adherents.

In February of last year Co-operators held their first All-India Congress in Bombay. The participants included Registrars and

other officers responsible for the supervision of Co-operative Societies in the various Indian States as well as voluntary workers engaged in Co-operative activity because they realise its enormous actual and potential benefit to the country. The fact that almost every State of the Indian Union was represented is one indication of the possibilities of Co-operation as a force making for unity, especially when it is remembered that the subjects of discussion were intimately related to the general welfare of every community and transcended all differences of class, religion, culture and political outlook.

Although Government takes a great interest in Co-operation and actively promotes it there is no doubt about the ultimate aim and that is, to build up co-operative organisations which are capable of existing and working independently of Government. When we look back a century and examine the origins of Co-operation in Europe, we find that it began in a period when Governments acknowledged very little responsibility for economic welfare or social progress. Individualism was the orthodox creed and laissez-faire the commonly accepted policy. Co-operation was the outcome of the efforts of the common people, often encouraged and guided by social reformers, to improve their condition by self-help and by helping one another. They defended their own economic interests by combining to establish co-operative stores, credit societies and work-shops managed by their own democratically elected representatives.

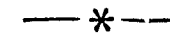
In India today, while Government acknowledges its responsibility for the welfare of the people and is making tremendous efforts to increase productivity, eliminate malnutrition and raise the standard of living, there is no reason why the possibilities of self-help, and especially the mutual help which Co-operation represents should be neglected. On the contrary, Government cannot initiate and supervise everything, nor can it perform the proper tasks it has set itself unless the people are prepared to

collaborate actively and shoulder their own share of the burden.

This involves much more than economics. India is making a great experiment in parliamentary democracy as the general election of 1951-52 clearly showed. Experience in Europe suggests that political democracy cannot endure or develop where the mass of the citizens are passive and inert. Or, putting the matter positively, those countries which have made the greatest success of parliamentary democracy are precisely those in which people's movements on a democratic basis, and particularly Co-operation, are most highly developed and influential. The life of democracy in any country is to be found not in its political structure but in the spirit of its institutions.

Finally, there is another reason why the Co-operative Movement can assist and facilitate India's advance into the modern world. That, paradoxically enough, is its relation to the ancient world, the traditional mutual aid and communal life which have existed from time immemorial in the Indian village. The idea of working together for common ends which is the essence of Co-operation is familiar enough to Indians, but if the people are to benefit by modern techniques and not to be enslaved by them, they must learn to apply the idea in new forms appropriate to the age in which we live. To give one example, through Co-operation the function of credit which belongs essentially to the community but which, in a period of social and economic decay, has been usurped by usurers for their own profit, can be restored to the community once again.

And beyond all this, there exists in Co-operative principles properly understood, and in the structure of the Co-operative Movement as it stands today, the possibility for the Indian people to cultivate good neighbourly relations not only with their fellow-villagers or townsmen, but with Indians of other States of the Union and with peoples beyond the shores of India who also understand and practise Co-operation.



(Extracts from an Address to the Inter-Collegiate Philosophy Conference at Madras on 11th Jan. '53)

Atomic Age is a bogey and you need not be frightened about that word. Secondly, assuming that there is great danger of the Atom Bomb and, therefore, everybody must live trembling in fear of it, even then philosophy is very useful. In the first place, it will reconcile one to death and make one feel that it is much better to die a philosopher than to die someone else in an Atomic Age; let us die without fear. Philosophy will teach you to reconcile yourself to trouble, misfortune, and to Death itself, in whatever form it be. That way, philosophy is a good thing, and what is good is also practicable.

The other use of philosophy in an Atomic Age is to prevent the age becoming atomic, — or at least too atomic. Philosophy will be good if it can be spread throughout the world so that people might learn that it is not good to make Atom Bombs for the purpose of destruction. If people understand the Ultimate Reality, they will stop making Atom Bombs. Philosophy teaches men the general causes and principles of things. If they learn these they will stop making destructive things. To dissuade men from making destructive weapons with the help of the atom, is a very good use to which philosophy can be put. It would at least help prevent such destructive things increasing in number and that will mean a great deal saved. If gradually from college to college, institution to institution—those who are not in colleges will not know to make these bombs,—young men and women there come to hate making these bombs, and come to see the general causes and principles of things and understand the Ultimate Reality, the world is bound to improve. That will mean that nothing can be more useful than philosophy in the Atomic Age.

"Is philosophy practical in the Atomic Age?" "Is the Atom Bomb practical?" one might ask. Atom Bomb can never conquer a man's invincible will; it can only destroy

him. To change the other man's opinion, force of persuasion, not the force of the bomb, can do something. Thus, philosophy, not the Atom Bomb, is practical. That way, the Atom Bomb is really not practical. If in regard to practicality, there were a competition between the Atom Bomb and philosophy, I will give the prize to philosophy, however little it may achieve, because the Atom Bomb achieves much less.

Philosophers are *par excellence* doubters. That was how great philosophers began their studies of the Ultimate Reality. But the scepticism of philosophers in the past and the *rishis* of the *Upanishads* is very different from the doubts and scepticism of the modern rationalist Press, for instance. The one is a reverential enquiry; the other is a denial and a continual state of doubt. Another difference is the difference between religion and philosophy. In philosophy doubt replaces faith, while in religion faith is the basis. Just as in the study of Geometry, one proceeds on the basis of a number of axioms and there is no attempt to prove those axioms, in religion too, one proceeds on the basis of faith. Faith is like the core of iron which lent strength and kept intact the cement which, without that reinforcement would fall apart by the operation of the law of gravitation. If philosophy should stand life's tensions, it should have a core of iron and that is what is called faith. With that core, it becomes religion. Man should thus have ferro-concrete philosophy and not merely clay philosophy of mere doubt which would fall apart by the operation of the law of gravitation.

Philosophy is practical and it is useful in the Atomic Age, if there is a core of faith in it; philosophy without that core will not protect man or help him or to be of much practical advantage to him in this age. Therefore, let us be good philosophers and let our philosophy be built round this core of faith, so that it would stand. ★

— From "THE HINDU" dated 12-1-'53

Economics of Bhoomidan

— SRIMANNARAYAN AGARWAL

The Constitution lays down as one of the "directive principles of State policy" that steps should be taken to "make effective provision for securing the right to work" and to "secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life."

According to the latest census figures, the population of our country is now 356·8 million out of which about 44·8 million are "cultivating labourers" without owning any land, and 5·3 million are "non-cultivating owners of land" and "agricultural rent-receivers." The total land in India available for cultivation including current fallows and cultivable waste is approximately 300 million acres.

As is well known to all of us, the average size of holdings in India as compared with many other countries of the world is very small. The average size in U. P. is 6 acres, in Madras 4·5 acres, in Bengal 4·4 acres, in Punjab 10 acres, in Bihar and Orissa 4·5 acres and in Madhya Pradesh 8·5 acres. Exact figures for the number of holdings above a ceiling of say, 25 acres, are not available for all the States. There is, however, sufficient material to indicate that there is a substantial area of land in the country which is above the ceiling of 25 acres. This land could be utilized for redistribution among the landless labourers in order to solve the problem of unemployment and satisfy the innate hunger for land among the rural population. This, then, is the first basic premise of the bhoomidan yagna movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Land hunger is a legitimate and healthy desire of human beings especially in the countryside like air and water, they have every right to possess land as well from bountiful Nature.

CEILING SUGGESTED

Nobody has, therefore, any right to own land more than what he and his family can

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cultivate for the production of food articles. In fulfilment of this moral principle as well as its obligation under the "directives" of the Constitution, the State should try to redistribute land to the cultivating labourers on the widest possible scale as speedily as feasible. The economic holding in India may range from 5 to 10 acres of average quality. A ceiling of 25 acres of land will, therefore, be a reasonable proposition.

How is this land to be redistributed? In Communist countries landlords have been expropriated without compensation. Under the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution, however, it is obligatory for the State to pay compensation for acquiring land. No rate of compensation has been laid down in the Constitution. But it is quite evident that even a low rate would run into crores of rupees which a poor country like ours can ill-afford to pay. What then is the remedy? Acharya Vinoba is trying his best to meet the challenge of Communism by demonstrating to the world that, through non-violence and persuasion, the landlords can be urged to give away their surplus lands to the landless people without any compensation. He has already collected about 3·5 lakhs of acres so far through his bhoomidan yagna movement.

As Robert Trumbull wrote in the New York Times Magazine Acharya Vinoba "walks from village to village preaching that those who have much should give to those who have nothing." Acharya Vinoba's novel method has attracted and inspired millions of people, both rich and poor, and he is known as "the God who gives away land." It is true that Acharya Vinoba is not expected to solve the whole problem of land redistribution in the country single-handed. But his bhoomidan movement is surely paving the way for a speedy and satisfactory land reform to be followed by Government legislation in due course. Acharya Vinoba's land movement is, indeed, the only effective

counterblast to Communist activities in India.

Some doubts have been raised regarding the policy of land redistribution followed by Acharya Vinoba. The Planning Commission, in their draft outline of the Five-Year Plan, have suggested that the unit of land cultivation should be the whole area of a village on a co-operative basis. They have also advocated the establishment of "registered farms" on a fairly large-scale and mechanized basis. Acharya Vinoba, on the other hand, strongly feels that, to begin with land should be distributed to the landless labourers in small plots of about 5 to 10 acres in accordance with the quality of land and facilities of irrigation.

Instead of trying to pool the land, attempts should be made to introduce co-operative endeavour in the main agricultural operations like ploughing, weeding and harvesting. Co-operative societies may also be formed for marketing, purchase of seeds, machinery, manures, etc. In other words, we may encourage "co-operative better farming" rather than "co-operative joint farming." Apart from satisfying the land hunger of a large number of people, small-scale farming will also be more productive through efficient and intensive cultivation on a family basis. It is wrong to think that large-scale farming is more economic and efficient than small-scale family agriculture. This view is not a sentimental or medieval conception: it is based on hard facts of human nature and psychology. It is supported by a large number of economic thinkers and is based on practical experience.

SPEEDY STEPS NEEDED

"One of the immediate needs of the country," observes Prof. C. N. Vakil in his Planning for a Shortage Economy, "is to hasten the pace of land redistribution. Whatever be the merits of large-scale ownership of wealth in a non-agricultural form of activity, so long as agriculture continues to be a way of life, rural opinion which is more and more becoming conscious of the reforms

introduced in other countries... will never tolerate any piece of land reform which does not think in terms of redistribution of land and the splitting up of large-sized holdings."

Sir Malcolm Darling, in a recent article in the Manchester Guardian on co-operative farming in Yugoslavia, observes that the experiment "has not only set peasants against peasants but many peasants against the State. Even crop yields in the collective sector differ little from those in the private sector." There is "inefficiency and waste, bureaucratic methods and internal conflicts shirking and loafing."

In a recent publication entitled, Marx against the Peasant Prof. Mitrany points out how in Eastern Europe small-scale farms have persisted successfully despite the Marxian theory of large-scale agriculture. He also opines that even where large-scale farming has been successful commercially, "it has been apt to prove costly nationally because it exhausts the stored goodness of the soil." Practical experience in farming has amply demonstrated the fact that large-scale and mechanized farming often results in increased productivity per man but not per acre.

Mr. Massingham in his book, *The Small Farmer*, makes the following categorical statement: "Taking into account human limitations and other natural factors, wealth per acre (both 'input' and 'output') tends to move in inverse ratio to the size of the holding." This is mainly due to "a persistent and permanent desire for a life of independence on the land."

During my tour round the world, I had the opportunity of visiting the Japanese countryside with well laid-out small and artistic farms the average size of which is only 2.5 acres. In China also the present Communist Government has started by first fragmenting bigger plots of land into smaller pieces for distribution to the actual tillers of the soil. The State has sunk thousands of surface wells in order to provide better irrigational facilities to the cultivators. It is through intensive cultivation and almost

"land farming" that China and Japan are able to produce about two to three times the Indian yield per acre.

There is large-scale farming in the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. because their proportion of land to the population is very different from that obtaining in Europe, China, Japan and India. They cannot but organize large-scale and mechanized farming because labour is very scarce and land is very extensive. Even in the U. S. A. however, where only 18 per cent of the total population is at present engaged in agriculture, there is a growing tendency towards small-scale farming because a large number of people now desire to settle on land and live in "garden cities" in the country-side.

A GRIM LESSON

In the U. S. S. R., which is the home of collective farming there was very severe resistance to collectivization by the farmers. Doreen Warriner in his *Revolution in Eastern Europe* tells us how Soviet experience was a grim lesson. "Collectivization brought two years of famine and an immense slaughter of livestock which it took ten years to make good." Despite the Kolkhoz (collective farm) in Russia, every worker on a big farm is allowed a small holding, sufficient for his needs, varying from half an acre to two-and-a-half acres.

On these small farms, the Russian peasants work hard with the sweat of their brow to produce for the needs of their families. As the author of *The Land and the Peasant* in Rumania states, the fact is that "the form of intensifying production has proved to bring in returns which, for a number of reasons, diminish in the proportion in which the size of the agricultural undertaking increases." "Protagonists of large-scale farming," observes Mr. Charan Singh, Revenue Minister, U. P., "love to think that a plot of four acres while added to another of four acres will yield produce not equivalent to that which one single plot of eight acres will do but something higher. This conclusion may be true of the manufacturing industry, but not of agriculture."

As I have indicated earlier, this does not mean, however, that there should be no scope for co-operation in such small-scale farming. On the contrary, mutual aid and co-operation among small-scale farmers for various agricultural processes is of vital importance. Short of collectivizing their land, they can help one another in ploughing operations, in weeding, harvesting, marketing and purchase of essential commodities, both for consumption and production. There could be ample scope for co-operative banking and credit, mutual insurance against loss of cattle or loss by drought or excessive rain, co-operative irrigation and drainage, co-operative dairying and stock-raising and crop-planning by the village community. Co-operative consolidation of holdings in the case of very small and economic plots could also be practised.

In order to relieve unemployment among the landless labour and satisfy the legitimate hunger for land, it is, therefore, imperative to undertake redistribution of land on a very wide-scale. Acharya Vinoba's bhoomidan movement is creating the necessary atmosphere for the transfer of land from the rich to the poor, almost without any compensation and with goodwill and sympathy. Such an atmosphere of peaceful redistribution of land could alone save the country from a bloody revolution which the Communists are only too ready to precipitate.

I, therefore, regard Acharya Vinoba's yagna as of paramount significance in solving one of the most difficult problems facing not only India but the whole world. The Acharya has been eminently successful in scattering the seeds of a bloodless revolution over the vast tracts of India. We may not fully realize the immense potentialities of the bhoomidan movement at this stage. But I have no manner of doubt that Acharya Vinoba's land movement will go down in history as one of the most potent landmarks in the Titanic struggle of good with evil, of non-violence with violence and of the forces of peaceful construction with the frenzy of hatred and destruction. ★

From "THE SEARCH LIGHT" — 14-10-'52

Requirements of a Natural Economic System — EDMOND SZEKELY

Mr. Edmond Szekely has written an interesting book "Cottage Economy — The Answer to the Atomic Age." The results of a collective experiment in cottage economy were published from this book in our Sarvodaya of September 1952. He has laid out ten conditions for an ideal economic system for the total human goodness which are given below from the same book. These ten conditions offer a reasonable basis for judging the efficacy of any ideal economic planning. (We are arranging to stock this and other books of Szekely in our Sarvodaya office for sale.)

FOR TOTAL GOODNESS

It is impossible to separate a cell or organ from the body as a whole, and it is equally impossible to consider economics divorced from the totality of the laws of nature, life, society and thought. We shall therefore try to approach the economic problem from the standpoint of totality and to view it as one aspect of the good life — of paneubiotics, the science of the all-sided realization of the best forms of life.

Before proceeding to any solution, we must first examine the essential requirements or preconditions of an optimum economic system.

1. THE BASIC NEEDS OF LIFE

The first requirement — which is self-evident — is that a natural economic system should provide man with all the material needs of his existence. This is the first precondition of self-preservation. Human material needs may be grouped in two classes: first, basic needs—food, water, shelter, clothing, fuel and the like — without which man cannot survive; and, secondly, superstructural needs which are not absolutely indispensable for survival, but make life more agreeable, comfortable and complete. Needs of the second category cannot be so easily catalogued, as they vary according to the individual. Some superstructural needs will be real needs for some people, and no need at all for others. However, such needs do exist, and they must be catered for by a normal economic system.

2. SECURITY AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT ETC.

The second requirement is that the economic system should give security. The need for security is very deeply rooted in

human nature; it has played a very important part in human evolution — from prehistoric up to contemporary man. In our modern age, security is needed against unemployment, disease, financial loss, war and whatever else threatens human existence and well-being.

3. MAXIMUM RESULT WITH MINIMUM SACRIFICE

The third requirement of a natural economic system is that it should be economical. Economy means the capacity to obtain the maximum result with the minimum sacrifice. It is a very important precondition, as in the absence of true economy there can be no security. Moreover, it is a law of nature to avoid waste and superfluous effort. In the universe matter and energy are transformed without waste, in accordance with the law of equivalence. Any excessive energies of man should be expended on the arts, games and other creative activities, not on monotonous work.

4. HEALTH AND VITALITY

The fourth requirement is health and vitality. Health has an economic value. A fit, strong member of society will be an active point in the universe, contributing values to the community instead of requiring help from it. Health is also our biological responsibility towards the human race. It is our duty to transmit the best possible hereditary dispositions to future generations. Health and vitality have likewise ethical values, as they permit us to help others. Since health is a precondition of life itself, an economic system which fails to provide and guarantee health is definitely unsatisfactory.

REQUIREMENTS OF A NATURAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

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5. FREEDOM TO DEVELOP PERSONALITY

The fifth requirement of an optimum economic system is that it should further the development of individual aptitudes. According to modern psychology and psychiatry, happiness depends on the adequate harmonization of a person's inner tendencies and aptitudes with his environment. When an economic system suppresses the free development of individual abilities owing to a mechanistic pattern of life, it is taking away a man's most precious possession — the opportunity to develop his capacities to the utmost. The economic system must also give scope for the development of the intelligence; especially for that aspect of the intelligence which consists of the ability to adapt oneself rapidly to unexpected changes in the environment. The fifth precondition can be summed up in the single word "freedom," which concretely is the possibility to develop the personality without economic or legal hindrance.

6. LEISURE AND HAPPINESS

The sixth requirement is leisure — free time. This is a very important precondition of human happiness. We may be very rich, but without time to enjoy our wealth we might as well not possess it. We need free time for study, for hobbies, for artistic activity, according to our inner dispositions.

7. LONGEVITY

The seventh requirement of a perfect economic system is longevity. It may seem strange to include longevity in the science of economics, but it undoubtedly has an economic value. If we double our life span, we can perform our function in the economic system very much longer. Longevity has also a human value: it is the tragedy of man that when he is young he does not have the knowledge, experience and wisdom to know how to live. By the time that he acquires them, his life span is over. According to the biological sciences, man should live between 120 and 150 years, if it were not for the limitations imposed by ignorance, wrong

way of living, and economic necessity. It is obvious that a satisfactory economic system could do much to remedy this state of things.

8. IMMEDIATE PRACTICABILITY

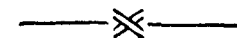
The eighth requirement or precondition is immediate practicability. It may appear unnecessary to mention this, but many solutions put forward in history have been valueless for the very reason that their implementation would have taken several generations. Delay of a plan involves risks and dangers. A sound economic system must be one that is practical here and now, without waiting on changes in the economic systems of all the countries of the world.

9. COMMON ADVANCE OF HUMANITY

The ninth requirement is that the optimum economic system should improve humanity as a whole, as well as individuals within it. Even if all individual requirements are satisfied, the economic system cannot be regarded as satisfactory unless it contributes to the general advance of humanity. For humanity is the individual's environment, and no one can be happy if humanity as a whole is not. Its improvement—biologically, economically, ethically — must therefore be a precondition of an optimum economic system.

10. TOTAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE WHOLE EARTH

Finally, the tenth requirement is that the economic system should improve terrestrial nature. Even though an economic system fulfils all the previous requirements, it cannot be regarded as satisfactory if it fails to preserve the natural resources of our planet, and especially the few inches of topsoil which are the foundation of our whole civilization. Terrestrial nature is the most fundamental part of man's environment, and any sensible economic system must contribute to its improvement, by carrying into effect the ancient idea of Zoroaster that the whole planet should be a beautiful orchard and garden, with a permanently improving climate.



SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL

— LEON BENSIMON

The Service Civil International was formed after the first world war to enlist volunteers from all nations for tasks of reconstruction. They are striving to build up peace from the bottom by dedicating themselves in manual labour and living together at the time of their service, which ranges from 2 weeks to 2 years. They are simply housed and fed but not paid anything. During the last few years several volunteers, men and women from England, Japan, Finland, France and other countries came and worked in many parts of India building houses, schools, roads, colonies for refugees etc. We have already published an article by Shri Robin Mukhopadhyaya in our SARVODAYA of September '52 on the Work Camp Movement.

This article is from Mr. Leon Bensimon of France who is in India for the last 20 months under the S. C. I. doing manual work in Karachi, Ahmedabad, Assam, Himachal Pradesh and Hyderabad. He is 42 and was serving in different fields as farm worker, office clerk, factory agent, Government servant etc. He is now in India greatly attracted by her spiritual and cultural contributions to the whole world. After fulfilling his commitments of 1½ years work under S. C. I. he is now working with the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Ashram at Sevagram. Having read our SARVODAYA he has kindly sent the following article for our readers. The S. C. I. has an inspiring programme to yoke the man-power for constructive work, bridging the gulf between the pen-men and the tool-men, and for bringing together people of different parts of the world into simple fellowship through ennobling service and dignified labour. Thus it strives to build up the very foundations of peace from the bottom.

After three work-camps with the Service Civil International in Pakistan and in India, I badly wanted to serve two weeks in the work-camps of a specifically Indian organisation, and thus acquire a new experience, since "receiving" and "giving" are from the same source. Having finished building a school in Assam, a short free period gave me the opportunity, before the S. C. I. work began in the mountains in the north of India, to accept the invitation of the Indian Youth Service.

This movement was founded on the lessons drawn from the World Pacifist Meeting, held in December 1949, in two different places in India; first at the University of Tagore at Santiniketan, then at Sevagram, where Gandhiji founded his great community, his schools of basic education, his workshops for apprentices, and from where his principles now radiate. It was Gandhi who before his death inspired this pacifist movement, and it is not surprising if the leaders of the Indian Youth Service, and those who join it are filled with the ideals of this Apostle of non-violence.

This youth organisation possesses the important characteristic, new in the Indian country, of remaining independent of all political parties, of religious creeds, of racial discrimination and narrow sectarianism, in all of which it resembles closely the Service

Civil International. As India has only recently become a free country and has therefore first to solve her own problems, it is not yet possible for the Indian Youth Service to have international connections. But this does not imply the refusal to collaborate with other countries.

Its financial means are naturally difficult and very limited. But the faith and enthusiasm which inspire its workers know no bounds.

Having in the past contributed to the development of human progress, India now finds herself faced with great difficulties. To alleviate them she looks, as she always has, to the younger generation who, if they are full of energy, life, faith and enthusiasm, can on the other hand slip into bad ways when their good qualities are not used in constructive work. The youth, capable of great generosity of soul, detachment, devotion, and practical idealism, can also, alas, feel discouraged if there is not opportunity to make use of these qualities. And here several dangers may arise, such as throwing oneself into a fanatical sectarianism opposed to all that is unfamiliar, not to mention wasted leisure and ill-used holidays.

The ideals of the Indian Youth Service are to maintain and improve cultural levels, to build up a sense of responsibility towards one's country, to learn to appreciate the

value and effectiveness of pacifist methods in achieving an aim, and to understand that the means are as important as the end; also to develop a sense of discipline both personal and collective, to get rid of narrow prejudices and to acquire a creative spirit: in short, to seek to look at problems in a new way, and in understanding the value and importance of manual work, to give young Indians the chance of working for their country and of freeing themselves from ideas of "provincialism;" thus they may be led on to the concept of the unity of India, by reviving and developing that fraternity and friendship which are the great steps towards Peace. A better understanding of the mission of human service has a deep spiritual foundation.

At Bengal, where the Indian Youth Service movement has been established since May 1950, various voluntary work-camps have been engaged in building country roads cultivating the fields, sowing, harvesting, carrying out social work, clearing the jungle, cleaning irrigation canals; also in hygienic and cleansing work such as the construction of latrines, whitewashing and disinfecting homes in villages with D. D. T. against malaria and cholera.

In addition, evening classes were given by student volunteers to adults in the villages, social surveys made into the surrounding district, and talks, discussions, music, games, plays all formed part of the activities that were carried on together with the manual work.

In Calcutta assistants were trained for teaching adults. Under their instruction, working people were given the opportunity to learn to read and write. A very active group at Howrah near Calcutta spend all their free time at the week-ends among the working people in the surrounding district. Some members of the Indian Youth Service have already taken part in the seminars of UNESCO, the service of the S. C. I., and the work of the Friends' Service Unit. Others are engaged in carrying out social investigations to plan work for the future.

At the beginning of the organisation, more than a thousand people from Calcutta and Bengal, mostly students, responded to the request. But a careful selection had to be made, for it was necessary to launch the undertaking with those who were most suitable.

At the end of May 1952, I took part for a fortnight in the service at Ajhapur (in the district of Burdwan), 80 km. north of Calcutta. The camp lasted two months, and each volunteer was to stay for a fortnight. More than two hundred requests poured in from volunteers. But only fifty of them were chosen because of the financial difficulty.

The main work consisted in the repair of irrigation canals of a total length of 5 km., width 1 m. 20, depth 0 m. 75. This meant first clearing the thick brushwood, then digging out the canal again, making it level, and carrying away the soil. Every two or three metres, we found the holes of cobras which were luckily asleep in the great heat of Bengal. The canal had been unusable for six or seven years. In the broiling sun, this work was arduous enough, especially for students unaccustomed to hard manual labour. Other work was undertaken, such as the repair of the road, 1 km. in length, running from the village to the station; cleaning a great cistern full of grass which made a fine heap of compost; constructing a little wooden bridge, and making provision for sanitation with local material, — bamboos and palm trees. Two hundred small houses were disinfected with special D. D. T. against epidemics such as cholera, smallpox, and malaria. After the Indian Youth Service camp had finished, the work of sanitation for the 3,200 houses was continued at week-ends by the youth from Calcutta and the village people. The village itself has 2,000 inhabitants widely scattered, quite apart from the surrounding centres included in this hygienic work.

The repair of the canal meant that water can be brought to 150 *hectares of agricultural lands, and that the yearly production of rice and cereals can be increased, according to the estimate of the Agricultural Service, by 500 tons above the harvests of previous years when there was no irrigation.

Every evening the volunteers would go to some corner of the village and there, beneath the stars, give their lessons to adults. By lamp-light, they would speak to the people about the meaning of present-day events in India and the world, about means of improving the yield of the fields, and the hygiene of milk. The reading of newspapers and all forms of activity which served to open new horizons took their course in a friendly atmosphere with many questions

* Hectare-2.471 acres

and replies, always within the framework of daily life. On an average ten persons took part in these evenings.

One day we went with some peasants to pay a thorough visit to an experimental farm.

At the camp, which was established in a secondary school, the recreational evenings included discussions, lectures, talks on various subjects, and community singing. (The French song, "Alouette, gentille alouette" was sung again and again by everyone). In the early morning our young Indian friends practised with great skill Yoga exercises, which displayed their agility and the flexibility of their bodies. Before going off to work, we spent some minutes together in spiritual meditation.

The atmosphere was full of joy, laughter and good humour, which are inseparable from the life of youth in India. Everything of course was simple; — we slept on mats on the ground, had vegetarian meals mostly of rice eaten with the hands, without forks or spoons, we washed and bathed in the wells or pools that are so numerous in Bengali villages. During the thirteen days of my stay, we were six volunteers (five Indians and one European) living together; but at work we were joined by twenty volunteers from the village, young people and peasants. What a fine brotherly atmosphere! The Indians joked as they worked, and stopped each time they were tired, without much discipline. But after some days they became more regular and efficient in the work.

I felt distinctly that these young town-dwellers loved deeply their peasant brothers. They strengthened me in spirit for the idea of Service, for happiness in simple living, and for a balance in life with the things of the spirit. They were young people full of activity and disinterested devotion. Some of them were sorry they were tied by their family obligations, which prevented them from giving their whole life to this sort of altruistic activity. One or two had worked with Gandhi and naturally they were imbued with the influence of this saint. Another was called in his village, "The second Gandhi." Yet another wished definitely to leave his post as a teacher, and come with me to the services of S. C. I. They were envious of me because I could devote at least eighteen months to this voluntary work free from care. I was most touched by this. They often said to me, "You, you are free." We still keep up a most regular correspondence.

Two days before I left, the work-camp, twelve students came from Calcutta, and for

the first time handled spades and picks, but although they were inexperienced, they asked no more than to be shown how to use them.

At leisure time on the work-camp, some people would climb mango trees or shake them to get the fruit. The peasant owners laughed in delight at this unexpected harvesting.

As a European, I was at first an object of curiosity. But after the young workers had made some explanations, this curiosity changed quickly to affection expressed in lovely smiles, in greetings with joined hands, in gifts of fruit.

My last impressions of my experiences in this work for peace were crowned by two unforgettable days spent at Calcutta with a young Bengali, visiting the monastery of the Ramakrishna Mission and, crowning all, one night at Dakshineswar at the temple of Kali where Ramakrishna, one of the venerated sages of India lived in the last century. We crossed the sacred Ganges twice by boat. These two days were not the least additions to my happy experience in Bengal. They were a necessary complement to it, and most enriching.

This is what a new Indian volunteer wrote to me concerning this work-camp: "It is the first time in my life that I have experienced communal living. I am full of enthusiasm for work of this kind. It is a way of life more full than any I have so far experienced. Moreover, this camp life shows us the dignity of labour, living in the work-camp teaches us the discipline which we need so badly. During the British occupation we were never given the chance to work in this way. Now that we are independent, we hope to make progress. But India is so poor that the Government and people must help us so that similar movements can be maintained."

INDIAN YOUTH SERVICE & SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL

Both organisations would benefit by remaining in permanent contact, and working closely together, by exchanging volunteers, letters, reports of activities, and monthly bulletins.

Although the Indian Youth Service is not international, it is open to all people of good will. One of the things they have most strongly in common is the principle of friendship and fraternity in a volunteer service for the benefit of the community. In their writings, the I. Y. S. is not concerned,

like S. C. I. with the question of replacing compulsory military service by civilian service, because there is no conscription in India at present. But the idea of World Peace is a good basis.

The Service Civil International will have accomplished its task in India when the Indians take into their own hands the S. C. I. camps and when Westerners work under their direction. Meanwhile it is not to be recommended that we work only in our own circle. As far as we are able, we should endeavour to send to organisations like the Indian

Youth Service volunteers having the necessary skill, discipline and spirit of service, to go where they are required, and to help in every kind of work.

The volunteers which S. C. I. sends will benefit greatly from mixing with their Indian friends, for whom and with whom they will work. They will have the satisfaction of working under the orders of those for whom they came to India. Thus they will attain one of the highest aims of S. C. I., and will really serve India with all their heart.



THE HANDLOOM IN AMERICA

— K. S. NARAYANASWAMY —

The December issue of the Reader's Digest carries an interesting article of a new experiment on hand-weaving by an ex-textile-worker, Elphege Nadeau of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, U. S. A. The article is condensed from The Saturday-Evening-Post. Nadeau has invented a handloom with pedals made of tubular aluminum which can "fit comfortably on a kitchen table," which can weave any kind of cloth from delicate silks to the heaviest rug-braiding.

Nadeau is one of those talented workers whose genius never found itself manifest in the drudgery of mechanical work tuned to a huge textile-mill where the individual is completely stifled. He was a designer and weaver for over twentyfive years and hardly found any genuine interest in his wretched routine. He determined to extricate himself from the octopus of a huge machine and find himself expressing through creative work in complete freedom. He saw a great vista of possibilities in the art of handweaving and applied himself to the job of inventing a loom that would 'revive hand-weaving in the home and make the loom commonplace like the sewing machine.' His observations on the mill-industry are typical of the feeling of any thinking individual condemned to the place of a cog in a huge machine. "I have seen too much of lethargy in the textile industry, too much opposition to change" he says and has resisted the temptation of selling the patent of his new loom and draw comfortable royalties. Nadeau speaks from his heart when he says that "I want to see the handloom in every home. Millions of people are unhappy because their creative instincts are frustrated

by modern living. Weaving can bring them release."

While India treads the way of colossal economic upheavals, our ancient handloom which has remained indestructible, today faces the fear of extinction by the textile mills. The Khadi loving Government itself feels utterly helpless to appreciate the inherent possibilities of the handlooms and act up to it. The stubborn fight on behalf of the handlooms now put up by Sri. Rajaji and the half-hearted measures of the Central Government are typical of an unimaginative administration. The people of the country have to resist the captivating illusions of industrialism and avoid being irrevocably caught in the meshes of its inhuman organisation like the west. The best minds of the west are slowly beginning to understand and appreciate the forethought of Mahatma Gandhi in his advocacy of complete decentralisation of methods of production with regard to food, clothing and shelter. Let us not throw it away just when we need it most.

The same article of the Reader's Digest says that "...Handweaving by amateurs has steadily gained popularity in Britain.... Authorities in Britain agree that handweaving is useful not only for therapeutic work, but in schools and among the common people who feel the need of an outlet for their creative instincts in these difficult days." Guilds of weavers are being started in many counties. The London Guild of weavers, spinners and dyers (35, Portland Place, W. I.) has over 400 members and would furnish any further information on this topic.



SHOULD A KHADI LOVER SEEK PATRONAGE FOR OTHER CLOTH?

SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

FIVE TYPES OF CLOTH

Four different types of cloth, like so many contestants in the arena, stand pitted against one another in the Indian market: (1) The mill-spun and the mill-woven mill-cloth, which is of course the most widespread type; (2) the mill-spun but the powerloom-woven powerloom cloth; (3) the mill-spun but the handloom-woven handloom-cloth; and (4) the hand-spun and handloom-woven Khadi. There is a fifth variety too which had passed into disuse but which promises to stage a come-back, thanks to Shri Rajaji's efforts. This is a mixed type using the mill-yarn for the warp and the hand-spun yarn for the woof. It used to be available in considerable quantities some years ago, but then it disappeared; and we had almost forgotten it. Now at the instance of the Madras Government, and with Rajaji's powerful support behind it, it is being produced again.

COMPETING AND CONFLICTING RELATIONSHIP

The relation between these different varieties is one of competition and so they are in serious conflict with one another in the market. Those which suffer from the weakness of higher prices cannot hope to stand in the competition, while all need help in one form or another. There is none which can stand on its own legs. There is an erroneous belief that the mill-cloth can stand on its own legs because of its cheapness. It is forgotten that for years together, it has received State protection worth crores of rupees per annum. Nor can it be affirmed that it would not need such aid in future. The foreign cloth is likely to become cheap and then the mill-cloth will have to be saved from its competition by some kind of protection. The need of help in case of the other varieties is clear enough, because all of them are costlier than the mill-cloth in varying degrees. The powerloom cloth seems to approach the mill-cloth in price, but it also needs protection. During the period when the textile industry was under rigorous control the powerloom cloth enjoyed some

exemptions. There were then cases of the fraudulent traders passing off the mill-cloth as the powerloom cloth. The handloom cloth has always had a precarious existence passing through crisis after crisis. The question of its safety from the fatal rivalry of the mill-cloth has been always present. The Government has granted some protection to it, though it has not so far proved efficacious. Now Rajaji has come to its rescue, and we may hope that his endeavours will bear fruit and lead to some permanent solution of this intriguing question. He has put the demand that the *dhotis* and *saris* should be reserved for handloom weaving. The India Government has accepted the demand, quite insufficiently, though in regard to *dhotis*. In the face of the organized demand of the handloom workers and the backing up of the same by Rajaji, the Government may be compelled to do something more. But I feel the mere reservation of *saris* and *dhotis* for the handloom is hardly calculated to solve the weavers' problem on a permanent basis. The fashion may change and along with it the liking of the people. Other varieties of cloth may be found to serve for *dhotis* and *saris*. The printed border may replace a woven border. The only effective measure to ensure the manufacture of *saris* and *dhotis* for the handloom would seem to be to stop the mills from weaving cloth of 40 to 54 inches width. And eventually it may be found that for safeguarding the handloom weavers it is necessary that the mills should stop weaving altogether. As to Khadi, it goes without saying that it needs strong protection. In case of the proposed mixed sort, inasmuch as the woof will be made up of the hand-spun yarn, — which will be dearer than the mill-yarn — its price is bound to be higher than that of the mill-cloth. Therefore, if it is to sell in the market, it will also need protection, although it may be less than what may be required for Khadi.

THE PROTECTION OF THE HANDLOOM

Our Governments and those who are in authority want to promote all the five varieties though they are at cross-purposes with one another and cannot exist together in

open competition. The Governments are spending a good deal in this effort, and it seems the expenditure will go up. Each of these varieties demands support and each has its arguments to justify such demand. The mill-cloth has to be saved from foreign cloth, because the latter is cheap. Crores of rupees of indigenous capital have been invested in mills and they provide gainful employment to some five to six lakh labourers. The powerloom is a step towards the decentralization of the industry and gives work to a fairly good number of weavers. (It is conveniently forgotten that it throws out of work many more). Then its cloth is also cheap. As to the handloom, it supports about a crore of our people. Next to agriculture, it is the only home industry which provides means of livelihood to such vast numbers. How can we snatch it from them unless we are prepared to give them alternative work? And so, for the time being, all have accepted the position that the handloom has to be kept alive.

THE CHARKHA AND THE HANDLOOM

Khadi has the further advantage of a very glorious tradition behind it which has accrued to it from its place in the fight for freedom. No other industry can rival it in its use as a means for eradicating unemployment. The handloom can only help the weavers, but hand-spinning is the only great home industry on which we can rely for fighting the wide-spread unemployment, either partial or total, among other sections of our population. This is recognized by many people but because hand-spinning is slow and causes Khadi to be costlier than other forms of cloth, they reject it as being impractical and consider it useless to persist in it. The Sarvodayists, however, regard it as the symbol of the ideal economic and social order and adopt it as the basis of their plans and programmes. Therefore they hold on to it with all their faith and strength and are striving hard to advance its cause.

THE MIXED VARIETY AND ITS FUTURE

It is claimed for the mixed variety that it will solve the problem of hand-spinning. The hand-spun yarn warp handicaps weaving and this enhances the weaving charges. The use of the mill-yarn in the warp and that of the hand-spun yarn in the woof will facilitate weaving and the mixed variety cloth will be cheaper than Khadi. However it will even then remain dearer than the handloom cloth. When the handloom cloth itself, under competition from the mill-cloth is finding

it difficult to sell and hence necessary to raise the demand for protection, how is this mixed cloth expected to push itself up in the market? It will not even have the advantage of the sentiment which people have for Khadi, and it will also lack the cheapness of the mill-cloth.

PATRONAGE NECESSARY ONLY FOR KHADI

Thus every variety is equipped with a well-argued case and our Governments as also some people seem ready to support all of them notwithstanding their incompatibility with one another. They have even demanded patronage for them both from the State and the people. Under the circumstances the question arises whether those who are wedded to Khadi can join in this demand for patronage for other varieties of cloth. The readers must here distinguish between help and patronage. It is one thing to extend help to a good human cause, but quite another thing to demand patronage from the people to an industry which is opposed to the one we stand for. And in formulating the answer to this question we should be careful to keep an eye on human nature and take into account the objective repercussions of the course we give our assent to. A merely philosophical answer will not do here.

WEAKENING OF KHADI SENTIMENT

When popular leaders and those in power ask for patronage for mutually conflicting things, the general mass of people accept what they find the least difficult and content themselves with having done their duty. In the 1930-31 movement, there was a vigorous campaign for the boycott of foreign cloth. There were then several mills, which, though they were located in India, were foreign in every respect: in ownership, capital, management etc... A list was prepared distinguishing the indigenous from such foreign mills and people were asked to buy the indigenous mill-cloth only. It was said that preference should be given to Khadi but in case the customer decides to go in for the mill-cloth, then he should buy the Swadeshi, the mill-cloth. This gave to many Khadi-wearers an opportunity and an excuse to change over from Khadi to the Swadeshi mill-cloth. The net result was that the sentiment for Khadi weakened and its sale went down.

RAJAJI'S APPEAL FOR HANDLOOM CLOTH

Rajaji has appealed to the people to extend their patronage to the handloom cloth. He adds that it is not his intention to do any

harm to Khadi. But what is happening? The Madras Government had passed an order that the administrative offices of the State should use Khadi. Though the order still stands the Madras Government is now reported to have recommended the use of the handloom cloth by its offices. It has also approached the Centre to introduce the same in its offices. What place can Khadi have in the Government offices in this situation? It also seems quite likely that the mixed variety cloth which Rajaji has suggested may replace Khadi in the Government of the Madras State. Let us suppose, for instance, that a cloth-dealer stocks both Khadi and the handloom cloth at his shop. If he is a lover of Khadi, he will advise his customer to the effect that it was his duty to buy Khadi. But if he did not want Khadi, he might buy the handloom cloth as the next best. Morally he will be considered to have done his duty. If the customer is strongly attached to Khadi, he would not need this advice from the shop-keeper. But if he is not then it is clear that he will surely go in for the handloom cloth because it is cheap. Thus in trying to encourage both, Khadi is bound to be the sufferer. This kind of divided loyalty is not calculated to please our chosen deity. Those who are wedded to Khadi cannot join in the demand for patronizing other varieties. One may say that there is no place for Khadi at all. This we can understand. But to say that one wants Khadi and demand protection for

other varieties of cloth in the same breath does not make sense, for the other varieties are destroyers of Khadi.

KHADI LOVERS' DUTY

The question is asked: Should we not then help handloom, an industry, which supports a crore of people? So far as this help takes the form of putting restrictions on the mill-cloth, it is in the interest of Khadi also. But as stated above, helping an industry is one thing, but asking for patronage, whether of the State or the people, is a different proposition. It is the duty of the Government to create conditions that the handloom cloth may stand in the market on its own strength, without any patronage. The Government may even help it financially; that would be quite proper. Or just as it has to stop the import of foreign cloth in order to save the indigenous cloth, so it may control the mills in favour of the handlooms. Or it may raise the price of the mill-cloth high enough to enable the handloom cloth to sell without any patronage. This will be right. But it is patently wrong to declare one's love for Khadi and yet demand patronage of the people for the handloom cloth. One cannot demand patronage for a variety of cloth which hampers the growth of Khadi. We should offer worship at the altar of one single deity; worship of multiple gods cannot take us to our goal, much less of such gods as are opposed against one another.

Food, Clothing and Shelter for All

— DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, presiding over the prize-distribution function in connection with the crop competitions, in Hyderabad on Jan 10, pointed out that "unless we are able to remove hunger and poverty, the greatest enemies to stability of any State, the well-being of the whole country will continue to be unstable."

"When you have a building there are some people who strut about on the broad surface, but it is the foundation that sustains the building. So also our peasants who have won their rewards today are the people who are contributing very essentially to the maintenance of the Indian Republic. We call our-selves 'Welfare State'. This welfare includes intellectual, social and physical welfare. But unless we are able to live, it is not possible for us to live well, culturally, artistically or socially. The foundations of the society, therefore, depend on our capacity to supply the vital needs which will enable our individuals to live well. It is

essential that we should do our best to see to it that all our people get food, clothing and shelter. In the Grow More Food campaign we are trying to supply these very vital things for which our society stands in great need today. It is unfortunate that in our country, where more than 70 per cent of the people are engaged in agriculture, we are not yet self-sufficient and we have to depend on imported foodgrains. That only shows that we have not been able to exploit our resources to the best possible extent. By introducing crop competitions, you are only trying to enlist the enthusiasm and sympathy of the ordinary people so far as our food programme is concerned". ★

VOLUNTARY COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA

— K. ARUNACHALAM —

American life is highly standardised. Houses, streets, clothes, articles for use in daily life or in music and art, all come under the yoke of mechanical duplication. People are migrating in large numbers from rural areas into urban centres. "American way of life" is in the mouth of every American even though he may not be able to explain to you what it really connotes. Business men might brag about free enterprise and rugged individualism. But throughout the country a desire for co-operative endeavour in all spheres of life is strongly in evidence. Here and there one could meet individuals who have had enough opportunity to experience the sterility and superficiality of living in the city; of seeing everyone and knowing no one; of being herded in mobs in crowded streets, street cars, restaurants, movies and stores; of being absolutely dependent on a wage and of owning nothing except a few clothes and household goods; of seeing children herded into assembly-line factories called schools and processed into perfect mob members.

Even in the midst of this there are some pioneering men who have realised the evils of modern city life have a constructive solution for all problems of human relationship, and refuse to use violence at any stage. The Macedonia Co-operative Community is one of the several organisations which these pioneers have formed in their attempt to work out a solution. Members of this community, though they belong to different faiths and denominations, are opposed to violence. They were conscientious objectors in World War II and would be again in the event of another war.

Thirteen families and four unmarried people live in this community. Nearly one thousand acres of timbered land are possessed in common by this group. These experimenters are attempting to build a new pattern of life. To the viciousness of contemporary pattern of people, machine and money concentrated in too few places and controlled by too few men this community offers as a positive alternative small groups of people operating within a framework of co-operation and mutuality owning and controlling their own small shops and farm, building among themselves socially, cultu-

rally, recreationally a way of life in which men can be peaceful, free, responsible and creative members of the human family.

FAMILY AND THE GROUP

Family is the unit in the community. Each family lives in a separate house. But lunch is common for all and so at midday they all meet. This meal is prepared by women members in turn. Lunch time is generally a time for sociability and music; but occasionally business matters are discussed or something in the morning mail calls for a quick decision.

Children are taken care of in the nursery school by one of the members who have special aptitude for this work. In the beginning of the year this community budgets its time and work just as it does its money. Members volunteer to do the work they are most fitted for, and usually there is a rotation which prevents monotony.

EXPERIMENT IN MANAGEMENT

The head of the community is called the co-ordinator. By common consent they have decided that no one will be co-ordinator continuously over a year. Everyone who is willing is to be given an opportunity to do this work. When I was told about this I was reminded of the experiment that goes on in the Charkha Sangh and some other Gandhian organisations, of appointing the Secretaries or Managers by rotation.

DECENTRALISATION AND DIVERSIFIED OCCUPATION

Macedonia looks like a farm but it is really a miniature community which provides for all the amenities and activities of life. Only a few are engaged in agriculture. The rest are absorbed in small industries that are being developed to diversify occupation and furnish economic outlets. The wood-work shop has a speciality all its own. The members have learnt the skill and are making sets of children's toy blocks in standard units. The wood used is mostly poplar cut from the forest on the farm. The educational blocks turned out from here are popular. Business transactions are carried on without infringing on ethical principles. They do not favour selling their produce through middle men. All transactions are carried on directly with the consumers.

COMMON PURSE

The community has its purse in common. Each family spends according to its need. Early in the year all the families prepare their budgets which are discussed by the whole group and approved. Some families spend more and some less; but on the whole each family is guided in the satisfaction of its material needs by its conscience and the state of the bank balance.

Goods are purchased wholesale and kept in the common store-room. The families take them out as and when they are needed, keeping their own records as to what they consume. There is no store-keeper as such to issue things or to keep the room tidy. Everyone who takes out the things sees that the room is kept neat and clean.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The community tries to raise its own grain, milk, meat and vegetables. Every

member is expected to contribute physical labour to keep going the productive activity of the Community. To-day the community is not self-sufficient but it is their aim to become so. They are endeavouring to start more income producing activities so that rural America can retain its adventurous youngsters and prevent them from migrating to urban centres in search of satisfying work.

Even in ultra-mechanised America people are turning to quieter and simpler ways of life and hope to find in them a way for world prosperity. Those of us in India who have had the privilege of having this way of life fully propounded and worked out by Gandhiji must beware that we are not blinded by the glare of mechanised civilization. Let us stand firm in the sane traditions of our village life and all that it connotes.

★

NOTES AND NEWS

SARVODAYA EXHIBITION AT HYDERABAD

The Sarvodaya Exhibition organised by the Sarva Seva Sangh during the Congress Session has invited great attention. Satish Babu's opening speech given below is specially important as it explains the principle of the Cess on mill cloth which will finance the work of the Khadi and Village Industries' Board constituted recently:—

"Any machine-product coming to compete with the necessary articles of life made by hand and threatening to throw the artisans and craftsmen out of employment should be taxed at the source by a cess in order to make hand-made articles withstand such competition.

"Today mechanised production has brought ruin to the cottage industries. They had hoped that Swaraj would end that curse and people would find healthful occupation in producing the necessities of life which would be protected against competition from mechanised industrial products. But things have gone in a direction reverse of that. After independence, the love for cottage industry products had slackened and even Khadi had fallen into partial disuse. Even the circulars from the Central Government to the effect that hand-made products were to be purchased to meet the requirements of the Government were not given effect to by many States on the plea that the Finance Department would not pass such purchases,

as if the Finance Department was the dictator and not the servant of the State. The real thing was that those at the helm of affairs believed in mechanisation and, therefore, their short-sighted policy for progress really retarded the progress of the country by creating unemployment. The just price of an article of common consumption should be the price at which it could be produced in the villages themselves with the help of human or animal labour.

"The Planning Commission might not accept their proposition in full. But, for the immediate objective of finding employment for the unemployed, room had been found in the Five-Year Plan for helping the village industries by reservation of the spheres of production, non-expansion of the capacity of the large-scale industry and making arrangements for the supply of raw materials and co-ordination of research and training. The Central Government had announced their intention to create a Khadi and Village Industries Board to give effect to this policy of protection. Their good intentions were clear. But the burden would be now on the believers in the Sarvodaya Philosophy of furthering the cause of Village Industries, to make full use of the opportunity offered. The Government should realise that large industries were inimical to village or small-scale industries in the same lines of production of goods. Full-fledged support

for cottage industries would only come if and when the Government was relieved of the expenses of maintaining the Defence Forces. The Sarvodaya Samaj envisaged the creation of a State based on non-violence. The President stated that in the Sarvodaya State, money was to take a secondary place in national economy. Today cash-crops were grown in preference to foodgrains. Land should be diverted from cash-crops to food crops."

BHOODAN IN TAMILNAD & KERALA

The Bhoodan Yatra was started on 17th Jan. '53 from Cape Comorin amidst a good shower of rain. Prayers were offered early morning at the temple after which followed procession, singing Bhoodan songs, sacrificial spinning and public meeting. Sri V. M. R. Subbaraman of Mathurai presided. Sri Veerasivam welcomed the gathering. While inaugurating the function Sri Sardar Jedarathnam said that the Tamilnad Yatra is really begun now without depending any help or expecting outside leadership and people should learn to give for the cause and not the personality.

Sri S. Jagannathan, convenor of the Tamilnad Bhoodan committee, is leading this yatra from Cape Comorin.

Sri Shankar Reddiar of Munanjipatti who of only gifted 205 acres, one-sixth of his property, as Vinobaji desires everyone to do, also toured in five villages. After house to house propaganda he was able to get nearly 50 acres. Sri Shankar Reddiar assured his whole-hearted co-operation to the bhoodan movement in the district. He announced the total land gift of 556.96 acres from 69 persons.

District workers' meeting was held on 16 7th December at Tirunelveli and formal district committee was formed.

Preliminary propaganda is carried on by Sri Sivan Pillai and Sri Veerasivamubramaniam for Travancore-Tamil area and Tirunelveli Districts respectively.

The Convenor for Madurai District bhoodan committee, Sri Munagala Pattabhiramiah started his yatra from Tirumangalam.

Sri Ramachandran Reddiar, M. L. A., and other Sarvodaya workers have started yatra for 15 days in Tiruvannamalai Taluk, North Arcot district. They are having good response. Having encouraging results Sri Ramachandran Reddiar is planning to continue this yatra after a short interval.

The total Dan received in this month during the Tirumangalam (Madurai District) and Tiruvannamalai (North Arcot District)

yatras and through post is 110.55 2/3 acres out of which 37.15 1/2 acres are wet lands. Besides 34 sets of ploughs, one pair of bulle and three sampath-dans were received

Sri R. Krishnaswami Naidu, M. L. A., with a band of workers will carry on Bhoodan Yatra in Srivilliputhur Taluk from 30th January to 12th February.

The Erode Taluk Bhoodan Committee will start the Bhoodan Yatra in Erode Taluk on 30th January and carry on till 10th Feb.

Under the auspices of the Calicut Taluk Bhoodan Committee, a tour was organised by its convenor Shri Shamji Soonderdas during the last week of December. The party headed by Shri Keraleyan is touring various places in the Taluk addressing meetings and doing propaganda for Bhoodan. They are receiving gifts more from the poor peasants. It is reported that good propaganda for Bhoodan is being carried on in Chirakal Taluk by Shri Samuel Aron and others.

KHADI & VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

Press Note issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry says that the Government of India have decided to set up an All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. Mr. V. L. Mehta will be the Chairman of the Board, which will have fifteen members.

The other members of the Board will be Messrs. A. W. Sahasrabudhe, Wardha; Dhwahe, Prasad Sahu, Muzaffarpur; Dwarakanath Lele, Wardha; G. Venkatchalapathy, Madras; Jhaverbhai Patel, New Delhi; Lakshminarain, Muzaffarpur; Raojibhai N. Patel, Gujarat; R. Srinivasan, Palghat; Satish Chandra Das Gupta, Calcutta; Siddaraj Dhadda, Rajasthan; Srikrishnadas Jaju, Wardha; Vichitra Narain Sharma, Lucknow; V. V. Jerajani, Bombay; and a member-Secretary to be appointed by the Government on the recommendation of the Board.

The constitution and personnel of the Board have been announced in a resolution published in the Gazette of India dated January 17, 1953.

Representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Commerce and Industry, Rehabilitation and of the Planning Commission will attend meetings of the Board and participate in its proceedings on behalf of the Government.

The Board will work in close co-operation with the State Governments and the All-India Spinners' Association. Its headquarters will be at Bombay.

The Board will be responsible for preparing and organising programmes for the production and development of Khadi and village industries, including training of personnel, manufacture and supply of equipment, supply of raw materials and marketing and research and study of the economic problems of different village industries. It will also function as a clearing house of information and experience relating to these industries.

The Government of India propose to create a Khadi fund by the levy of a cess on mill-made cloth, from which grants or loans will be made for financing, in whole or in part, the activities necessary for the development and improvement of the Khadi industry. The Government also propose to make available separate funds for the development and improvement of village industries.

The first meeting of the Board will be inaugurated by the Prime Minister at New Delhi on February 2, 1953.

BIHAR SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The next Sarvodaya Sammelan, which according to the earlier announcement, was to be held at Tikapatti, will now meet at Chandil, where Vinobaji is convalescing after his recent illness. The Sammelan will meet from the 7th to the 9th March (both days inclusive). Chandil is a village in the Manbhum District (Bihar). It is 21 miles from the Tatanagar Station (Eastern Railway), and 32 miles from the Purullia Station.

Intending visitors should apply to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Sammelan, Chandil, Manbhum District, Bihar for the Railway concession form which will be sent generally to those who would have registered themselves as Sevaks by January 20, 1953.

Apart from the general arrangements for the accommodation of the visitors, separate huts also will be available for a family of 4 or 5 persons on a rent of Rs. 25 for the Sammelan period. Applicants for the huts should remit the rent of Rs. 25 before February 7.

Arrangements are also being made for a Telegraph Office for the Sammelan period; the telegraphic address will be: Sarvodaya, Chandil.

ALL INDIA BHOODAN NEWS

PUNJAB

Sri Rajendrachandraji, Raja of Nadhau has offered 100 acres of land for Bhoodan.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

Sri Takore Surath Ram Prakash has decided to devote all his time and energy for Bhoodan work. He was with Vinobaji for some days during the last month, to study the work. He will begin his tour in the districts shortly.

VINDHYA PRADESH

Sri Ramasahay Thivari and Sri Chathurbuj Patak have begun walking tour in Chatharpur district.

GUJARAT

The total collection in Gujarat during the month is 410.36 acres and 645 Bighas.

MYSORE

Sri Narayanappa and Sri Anantharangachar along with many workers toured in many taluks of Bangalore District. From the 1st to 13th December they organised 24 public meetings in 17 villages. They sold Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature.

UTKAL

Sri Gopabandu Chowdhri and his wife Sri Rama Devi undertook a second walking tour in the districts of Badrak, Baleswar, Mayuraqanch, Kendracher and Cuttack. They covered about 487 miles and addressed 64 public meetings where Adivasis, peasants, labourers and students etc. were present in thousands.

In all 462 acres 94 cents of land, 7 pairs of bullocks, 6 maunds of grains, and 816 rupees worth of implements were received as gifts.

BIHAR

Sri Kausalendra Narayan Singh, the prince of the State of Tekari, gave all his lands to the Bhoodan yagna except thirty acres which he will himself cultivate for the family. This is the biggest donation from the zamindars of Bihar who are working for Bhoodan.

Sri Harichandra Singh Dev of Singhbhum District gave 12,096.15 acres of land for Bhoodan in the Nischintpur camp of Vinobaji. No individual in India has so far given so much land. The total collection in Bihar till now is 45,080 acres of land, 2 bullocks and 6 wells.

SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 2 March 1953 No. 9



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TO OUR READERS

The Next issue of the 'Sarvodaya' will be published on the 6th April with full texts of the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan speeches of Rajen Babu, Vinobaji, and Jaiprakash Narain.

THE SOUTHERN PUBLICATION SECTION

of the AKHILA BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH

The Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh is an all-India organization. Some of the leading constructive institutions created by Mahatma Gandhi have merged in while some others are federated to it.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has its publication department at Wardha.

The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya at Tirupur functions now as the Southern Section of the Publication Department of the Sarva Seva Sangh for publishing and distributing all Gandhian - Sarvodaya literature.

All publications of the All-India Village Industries' Association, Talimi Sangh, A. I. S. A., Go-Seva Sangh, Navajivan Trust, Vora & Co., Hind Kitabs Ltd., and others are available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya.

We are negotiating with other publishers in India and abroad dealing in Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature and we hope to stock all their books with us for distribution in the South.

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

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SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



Vol. 2

March 1953

No. 9

CONTENTS OF SWARAJ

— MAHATMA GANDHI

In a conversation with Louis Fischer, the American journalist, Gandhiji explains his conception of "India of 700 thousand villages."

"You see", Gandhiji began, "the centre of power now is in New Delhi, or in Calcutta and Bombay, in the big cities. I would have it distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages of India. That will mean that there is no power. In other words, I want the seven hundred thousand dollars now invested in the Imperial Bank of England withdrawn and distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages. Then each village will have its one dollar which cannot be lost."

"The seven hundred thousand dollars invested in the Imperial Bank of India," Gandhiji continued, "could be swept away by a bomb from a Japanese plane, whereas if they were distributed among the seven hundred thousand shareholders, nobody could deprive them of their assets. There will then be voluntary co-operation between these seven hundred thousand units, voluntary co-operation — not co-operation induced by Nazi methods. Voluntary co-operation will produce real freedom and a new order vastly superior to the new order in Soviet Russia. Some say there is ruthlessness in Russia, but that it is exercised for the lowest and the poorest and is good for that reason. For me it has very little good in it. Some day this ruthlessness will create an anarchy worse than we have ever seen. I am sure we will escape that anarchy here. I admit that the future society of India is largely beyond my grasp. But a system like the one I have outlined to you did exist though it undoubtedly had its weakness, else it would not have succumbed before the Moghuls and the British."

"I would like to think that parts of it have survived, and that the roots have survived despite the ravages of British rule."

Those roots and the stock are waiting to sprout if a few drops of rain fall in the form of a transfer of British power to Indians. What the plant will be like I do not know. But it will be infinitely superior to anything we have now. Unfortunately, the requisite mood of non-violence does not exist here, but I refuse to believe that all the strenuous work of the last twentyfive years to evolve a new order has been in vain. The Congress Party will have an effective influence in shaping the new order, and the Muslim League will also have an effective influence."

"I would like you to pursue this idea of the symbolic seven hundred thousand dollars," Fischer suggested. "What will the villages do with the dollar that has come back to them from the Imperial Bank of England?" he asked.

"One thing will happen," Gandhiji asserted. "To-day the shareholders get no return. Intermediaries take it away. If the peasants are masters of their dollars they will use them as they think best."

"A peasant buries his money in the ground," Fischer suggested.

"They will not bury their dollars in the ground," Gandhiji said, "because they will have to live. They will go back to the bank, their own bank, and utilize it under their direction for purposes they think best. They may then build windmills or produce electricity or whatever they like. A central Government will evolve, but it will act according to the wishes of the people and will be broad-based on their will."

"That state, I imagine," Fischer said, "will then build more industries and develop the country industrially."

"You must visualise a Central Government without the British Army," Gandhiji said. "If it holds together without that army, this will be the new order. That is a goal worth working for. It is not an unearthly goal. It is practicable."

THE HANDLOOM AND THE CHARKHA

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

Since the broad-cast speech of Shri C. Rajagopalachariar on 11-6-'52, in support of the handloom cloth, the place of Charkha and Khadi seems to have receded yielding all prominence to the handloom cloth. Gandhiji, the author of the khadi movement took to weaving first and later he was compelled to the discovery of the Charkha as the sole protector of the handloom. Shri Jajuji has critically analysed the pros and cons of Rajaji's proposals in an article published in our January issue. Later, on 25th Jan., '53 Rajaji's proposals were mooted for a discussion at Gandhigram Study Circle, Madura Dist., in so far as it affects Khadi. We are giving below copious extracts from Gandhiji's own writings on various occasions with the background of their contexts, which will give an emphatic answer to the issues arising out of Rajaji's proposals.

1. The Sad Plight of the Handloom

... The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants, and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages as are not locally producible.

Young India, 14-2-1916

★

2. A Charkha in every Home and a Loom in every Village

The friend has forgotten the central truth that the wheel furnished occupation and a small income to the millions who must have an additional income if they are not to starve. It is not possible to put up a hand-loom in every home. A loom in every village, a charkha in every home is the formula. If a spinning mill is put up in every taluka, it will result in nationalizing the exploitation of the many by the few.

Young India, 26-6-'24

★

3. I first became a Weaver and then a Spinner

...I first became a weaver in 1915. I told you that I became first a weaver and then a spinner. I have woven with these

very hands both foreign yarns and our mill yarns. But you will excuse me for claiming to know more than you do the secret of this business. As I was sitting—I can point out the spot where I was sitting—as was I sitting at my hand-loom weaving cloth, certainly not half as fine as any of you perhaps weave, but as I was sitting at my loom, I was considering for myself where I should be and where thousands and tens of thousands of weavers should be when mills were organized enough to weave that kind of cloth themselves. And as I was thinking of this thing my heart went out to the millions of starving sisters in our villages, and I began, as I was weaving, to think of the lot of these sisters. I became sad and disconcerted, and together with my companions I began a diligent search for some spinner who would teach us hand-spinning, and I began also to find whether there was a single village where I could find hand-spinning still going on. I knew nothing then of the fact that there were some sisters spinning in the Punjab. But as despair was creeping over me, I took shelter under a brave widow of Gujarat. She was working in the cause of untouchables. I shared this deep sorrow of mine with this great sister, and I charged her to wander from place to place in Gujarat and not rest content till she had found those sisters, who still had the art of hand-spinning in their possession. And it was she who discovered at Vijapur in Gujarat a few Mussalman sisters who were prepared to spin if she would take their yarn from their hands. From that moment began the great revival which is now covering over fifteen hundred villages in India. And it was after this discovery that I decided not to weave a single thread of foreign yarn or mill-spun yarn in the Ashram of which I happened to be in charge.

LET US NOT MIX UP MILL-YARN WEAVING WITH THE CHARKHA MOVEMENT

I place for your consideration yet another important fact. If you will study the history of the hand-weaving movement in India, you will discover that at the present moment several thousands of weavers have been obliged to abandon their trade. Weavers all of your own trade, Saurashtras, are to-day working in Bombay as scavengers. Weavers in the Punjab are some of them hired soldiery and some of them have taken to the butcher's trade. And so you will understand why I cannot possibly endorse your recommendation. That does not mean that you may leave off weaving mill yarn from to-day. You do not need encouragement from me. But I venture to suggest to you that it is to your interest not to ask me to mix up this mill-spun yarn weaving together with this movement which I am leading in all humility. And it is equally to your interest to support this movement so that, if it becomes stable, prosperous and immovable, every one of you would find a respectable living. I therefore suggest to you that, if this hand-spinning movement grows apace, it is likely that it may be of help to you."

(In reply to an address at Madurai by the Saurashtras requesting Gandhiji to encourage hand-weaving even through foreign yarn or mill-made yarn.)

Young India, 13-10-'27

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4. Handloom vs Spinning Wheel

Apropos of the contention often thoughtlessly advanced that the handloom is the only thing worth preserving and that it can only be preserved through the use of mill-spun yarn, Shri C. Balaji Rao writes:

"An effective answer to those who in order to belittle the charkha would exalt the hand-loom is given here. 'Lord Curzon was voicing the opinions of his departmental scientific advisers when he declared at the Delhi Durbar that it was inevitable that the hand-loom should be superseded by the power-loom, just as the hand punkah was being superseded by the electric fan.'"

Of course Lord Curzon's dictum need not be accepted as a conclusive answer, if the longevity of the handloom can be sustained through mill yarn or any other means save the spinning wheel. And these pages, I hope, are daily making it clear that hand-spinning can save the hand-loom in spite of the prediction of Lord Curzon. Indeed, if the wheel regains its ancient status in our national life, the hand-loom

and many other domestic industries must revive automatically.

Young India, 23-2-'28

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5. Convert the Handloom to Handspun Yarn

We ought to be able to convert all these hand-loom to the use of hand-spun yarn, but we are powerless to do that to-day. Our charkha yarn to-day is neither of sufficient strength, nor is it produced in sufficient quantity. So long as we cannot produce hand-spun yarn that will stand comparison with the mill yarn in strength and uniformity, the hand-loom weaver will refuse to handle it and for very good reason too. In the first place, the employment of weak and uneven yarn reduces the quantity of cloth that he can turn out in a given time, and thus affects his earning capacity. Secondly, the hand-loom weaver to-day has specialized more or less in higher lines of production while our output of hand-spun yarn of a fine count is extremely meagre, and that too is confined mostly to Andhra. The solution of the difficulty involves a complete mastery of the khadi science. But I am not asking anybody to tackle this problem to-day. It can for the present wait. There are a number of other problems which will have to be successfully tackled before we can cope with the question of the handloom. Only let it be borne in mind that this problem will have to be successfully tackled before the dream of universalizing khadi is realized.

Harijan, 17-4-'37

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6. How to save Handloom Weavers

...There are not today half as many handloom weavers as there were, say, twentyfive years ago. There was a time when, as the spinning wheel spun the whole of the yarn required by the nation, the hand-loom wove all the cloth required. When the mills were established the spinning wheel all but died out for the very simple reason that it gave a paltry return and was never a whole-time occupation. But the loom offered stubborn resistance, for the reason, among others, that it was a full-time occupation by itself and paid the weaver enough to eke out a living. When the spinning mill came, the weaver fell back upon it for his hanks of yarn. He even welcomed the change because he could get more evenly spun and stronger yarn. Little did he know that he was to become perfectly helpless if the mills for any reason could not supply him with yarn. Unlike the village spinner the mill-owner

dictated the price of his yarn. By and by the weaver who wove simple, patternless khadi could not withstand the mill competition, and he died. And for the past few years the weavers of fancy cloth has felt the pressure from weaving mills. Public taste is slowly but surely changing. If the mills cannot exactly copy the patterns woven by the village weaver, they can, as they do, produce new patterns and by efficient advertising attract customers. Therefore several thousand Orissa weavers are idle for want of custom. A similar cry came to me the other day from Ahmednagar, a strong weaving centre. My advice to them all was that, if these weaving families would but introduce carding and spinning in their homes, they could be wholly independent of mill yarn and enlist the never-failing assistance of the A. I. S. A. It might be that the weavers might not earn as much as before because of part of their time being given to spinning...

Let it be borne in mind that the weaver, in introducing spinning and carding in his family, has to go in for very little outlay. The wheel he already has. It will no doubt require some improvement. He has to invest in a carding bow costing a few annas ...

Harijan, 20-8-'38

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7. Hand-spinning and Hand-weaving Inter-dependent

Shri Appa Patwardhan writes:-

"The Bombay Government spend a large sum in helping weavers. They have appointed a marketing officer and salesmen. They give loans. Yet the weavers cannot compete with mills, and in my opinion the expenses incurred do not bear fruit. Moreover the weavers use foreign yarn as well. Side by side with this fruitless help the Government tender some help to khadi also. I do not know how far this divided loyalty is justified."

I have always held the opinion that help to the weavers who use foreign or Indian mill yarn is a waste of money and effort. Experience has not changed the view. Nor does it change because in certain provinces the Congress rules. I hold this view because the disappearance of the weaver of mill yarn is a question of time only. In the nature of things it cannot be otherwise. The weavers' only hope lies in a universal revival of hand-spinning. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are inter-dependent, never hand-weaving and mill-spinning. I have therefore suggested that, if hand-spin-

ning cannot immediately supply the weavers' requirements, they should be induced to introduce hand-spinning, carding, etc., in their own families, if they will not become spinners themselves. Now that in several provinces the Congress rules, the saving of the weaver becomes easier. Thus the Government can encourage spinning on a wide scale, guarantee the loss in khadi sales as the State guarantees the foreign railway companies. It is the primary duty of the State to guarantee employment of its choice to everyone in need of it. This includes the weavers also. If during the transition stage it is found impossible to guarantee weaving for every weaver, the State has to find him some other employment, profitable alike to the State and the individual. It should be borne in mind that the possibilities of hand-spinning have not yet been explored by any Government. I am of opinion that such investigation will yield startlingly encouraging results. My arguments undoubtedly assume the elimination of all mills from consideration. No industry, indigenous or foreign, can be allowed to increase unemployment and thus harm the true interest of the community as a whole.

Harijan, 9-9-'39

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8. Charkha — the Sole Protector of the Handloom

Question: "By insisting on the use of certified khadi only, you have delivered a very severe blow to the Muslim weavers on the land who are mostly using mill yarn, and on the other to the consumer who is thus induced to purchase certified khadi which is notoriously dear. ... I appeal to you to remove this double hardship by sanctioning the use of hand-woven mill yarn khadi."

...Khadi has as yet made little impression upon mill yarn weavers. What it has done is to provide occupation to those Hindu and Muslim weavers who were thrown out of employment by mill competition. Those weavers who do not take to weaving hand-spun are cutting their own throats, because the natural consequence of the spread of mills will be the destruction of weavers as it has been that of hand-spinners. The hand-loom weavers who have held their own are pattern weavers. If khadi became universal, Muslim and other weavers who are today weaving mill yarn would, as a matter of course, take to weaving hand-spun. Thus there is no case of khadi ever hitting a single weaver. In fact it is his sole protection.

Harijan, 9-3-'40

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(Italics & para heads ours)

IN MEMORY OF BAPU

— VINOBA BHAVE —

(From a Hindi speech delivered in the prayer meeting on 30th Jan., '53 at Chandil, Bihar)

People desire that I should talk something today. But my heart is full. Still I shall try to say a few words. Five years have elapsed since Bapu left his mortal body. Everyone, be he an avatar (incarnation) or an ordinary being, will have to leave the mortal frame. But avatars disappeared leaving something behind. What they left behind was the essence of their life. We hear of the great avatars, Sri Rama, Sri Krishna and Sri Buddha, born in India. We hear of Zarathustra, Jesus and Mohamed, born outside India. But we have not seen anyone of them. Of course people of their days had seen them and handed down their sacred memories to us.

SUCH MEMORIES - FOR OUR BENEFIT

Many of us got the chance to see Bapu's life. Some of us were fortunate enough to live and work with him. Some have indeed transformed their lives accepting the way of life he showed us. Led by him the whole of India got independence. Now we do something every year in memory of him. His soul does not gain anything by it. He attained the highest state by his supreme deeds. It is to our good only we remember him and his deeds.

Now we should search our minds and see what we have gained by our remembering him all these five years. What have we achieved in our personal life, in our social life? What have our society, our nation which calls him as the Father of the Nation, achieved by it? Have we purified our personal lives? How far have we tried to tread the path he advised? We have to ponder over all these. We should attempt to follow his teachings to the best of our ability.

THE DISCOVERY OF CHINTAMANI

When he was alive, I was in his Ashram for 32 years. Then I spent my days in contemplation and meditation and was serving the poor villagers under his direction and guidance. After his departure, people desired and I too felt the necessity that I should move about. So I started on a tour. First I travelled by rail and saw about half of India. I thought that thus I would be doing some service too. But all along I was in search of that which can bring about that social revolution fundamentally aimed at by Bapu — that non-violent revolution. At last I discovered the *chintamani*. It is the Bhoo-

dan and the Sampath-dan Yagna which I have placed before you. I call it *chintamani* in its full sense. *Chintamani* is that which can give everyone what he necessarily needs. Bhoodan Yagna and Sampath-dan Yagna are such programmes of work which if advanced, will fulfil in entire the aim and purpose of all the other constructive programmes which we have been doing till now. All other constructive items of work will certainly die if the Bhoodan programme is not immediately carried on. Therefore for the last two years I was all immersed in that work, though I was constantly carrying on the other constructive activities for the last so many years. I do believe that I am doing the same work that Bapu would certainly do if he were alive today in this independent India.

UPLIFT OF THE POOR-THE CALL OF THE DAY

I wish that all workers to whichever party or group they belong, should forget their differences and join in this work. They should decide to devote one to two years at least entirely to this work. Then they will see and enjoy the real worth of independence which we have not yet begun to taste. It will not be enjoyed so long as the poorest of the poor in the land is not lifted up. He has fallen to the lowest level from where there can be no further going down. So it is becoming difficult for him to rise up. I find no effort is being tried today to lift him up. If these men at the lowest rank are raised then the rest, those above him, will automatically rise up. But what we see now is that the benefits of all the activities carried on today go first to the good of those who are at the top, then to the middle class and only last to those at the bottom. Our Sarvodaya method will enable them who are at the lowest rank to enjoy the benefits first.

FORGET DIFFERENCES, JOIN IN WORK

Bapu thought of Charkha, Harijan service, village industries, nature cure treatment and Basic education. He laid his hands on all these and worked at them with the main objective to reach immediate relief to the poor. In these days there is the lack of such an outlook and few think in that line. The Bhoodan work and the Sampath Dan programme, both have such a fundamental approach. So I appeal to all workers to forget their party labels, sink all differences and join hand in hand to work for the advance of this cause.

TO THE BENEFIT OF ZAMINDARS ALSO

Besides to the workers, I appeal to all big zamindars and land-holders to consider this Bhoodan work as their own. Till date it fell to my lot to go to them and collect land-gifts. Two years have passed now and I can make a claim on them to come out of their own accord and give lands. They should themselves take up the cause and work for it. It is not enough they voluntarily come and offer lands; they should also go about asking others to offer. I believe and I hope they will do it. My appeal will touch their hearts and they will realize that this movement is equally to their benefit as it is to that of the poor. It is nothing but Sarvodaya — the rise of all for the welfare of all.

TAKE THE VOW OF WORK

I am happy to state that some of them have already taken up this work. Now their number is few, but it will increase. Bapu did consider the rich as trustees of the poor. Now let them begin to serve the poor and thus prove the words of Bapu and gain the confidence of their poor brothers in the land. As I said before a few alone have come forward to serve in the cause of the poor. There are others who still harass them. With folded hands I entreat them: "Brothers, desist from such acts. This will pain the Lord of All. And He will get displeased. His displeasure will make every one suffer." We are *buktas* who repose faith in God and not mere rationalists. We believe in the teachings of our Rishis (Seers of old). My mind senses that our past sins are the sole cause of all the present day famines and sufferings in our country. Let us give

up the practice of sins and pledge ourselves, today, to do good to all. Let us not wish to do anything which will bring misery to others. In addition, may I appeal to you all to devote all your time and energy for this Bhoodan Yagna work till the land problem in our land is solved. I wish you may resist the attraction from the several other activities. Let us take a vow to dedicate ourselves entirely to this work. I have already taken the vow and often repeat it. Now again before God, before Bapu and before you all, I repeat it again. I wish my friends also will take a similar vow. Then we will see this land of ours full of blessings and happiness. See, what a revolution will result then out of it!

For two years only we have been doing this work. In fact I was working alone for one year. The second year I got some friends to help. The Sarva Seva Sangh has accepted this Bhoodan work and made it their own. The Congress, the Socialists, the Jana Sangh, all have expressed their sympathy. Even now they are only expressing their sympathy. Till date with this little effort we have received 5 lakhs of acres. If we calculate on the basis of an average of Rs 200 per acre it can be estimated that wealth amounting to ten crores has reached the poor. Money fluctuates and disappears, but land is stable and steady. If all of us unitedly concentrate in this Bhoodan Yagna work then we are sure to achieve the economic revolution that we aspire for, in an air of peace and love. These are my prayers to Him: "May He bless us, our friends and brothers with the inspiration and concentration to fulfil this work."



GUIDE TO SAMPATH-DAN

— ACHARYA VINOBA

1. Each donor should keep the Sampath (the money gifted) with himself. If necessary it can be kept in a bank.

2. Whatever be the share that one donates, it should be given for life. Therefore it should be with the concurrence and consent of the responsible members of the family.

3. The Dan should be free of all charges i. e. free and freed from all liabilities.

4. The use and expenditure of the amount should be as per my instructions.

5. The amount received every year will be spent in that year itself. There is no reason to keep any balance, for the work to be done in the country is so extensive that whatever that is received will at once be spent on it.

6. At present I think of utilising this amount for three important programmes of work, (a) for the supply of seeds, bullocks, wells etc. to those landless agriculturists to whom land will be distributed, (b) to give some service allowance to the self-sacrificing workers for their maintenance and (c) for the propagation of good literature.

7. I desire to gain personal intimacy with the lives of those who offer Sampath dan. So those who wish to associate themselves in this Yagna should send to me some information about themselves.

I will be writing more and more on this as and when occasion arises.

(From Hindi)



A New Chapter in the Development of Khadi

— SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU —

1. With the constitution of the Khadi and Village Industries Board by the India Government, Khadi and Village Industries enter a new phase of their development. In the present article I shall be writing only about Khadi. Speaking generally, most of the State Governments have always been giving some financial help to the Khadi, though looking to the magnitude of the work to be done, it was only nominal. But now by levying a cess on the mill-cloth, the India Government seems to have decided to render substantial help to Khadi industry.

2. Inaugurating the first meeting of the Board the Prime Minister said in the beginning that the first thing which occurred to him on the occasion was why they did not take this step four or five years ago. He did not provide an answer to this query though he realized the mistake. When substantial political power first came into our hands, Gandhiji was still with us. Proposals and schemes for the promotion of Khadi were then placed before the Governments and the authorities. We had then the advantage of a favourable atmosphere and the popular feeling of a strong regard for Khadi. If those in authority had seen their way to encourage Khadi at that time, Khadi could have made tremendous progress. Now all those favourable circumstances are lacking and special efforts will have to be made to secure them. To think that the cause of Khadi can prosper merely on the strength of money will only prove itself a delusion.

3. Khadi being costlier than mill-cloth its marketing presents difficulties. If on the other hand its prices are brought down to the level of mill-cloth, huge losses will have to be incurred. That will necessitate excessive cess on the mill-cloth which the Governments will not like. Besides it will not conduce to the right attitude in regard to Khadi. Therefore for the present it is proposed to make it available to the consumers without adding administrative overhead charges. Our experience shows that these overhead charges come to about two or three annas per rupee. Hence it is proposed to allow a discount of As 3 per rupee. Even then it will cost more than mill-cloth. Under the circumstances it cannot be sold unless there is a sentiment in its favour. Inasmuch as it is intended to provide

employment to the unemployed through hand-spinning, it will not be proper to curtail its production in the event of reduction in the consumption of cloth. On the contrary, we have to try for its maximum expansion.

4. After Independence, there were many who thought that Khadi had now exhausted its utility and there was no more use for it. They argued Mahatmaji had linked Khadi to our fight for freedom and so it prospered. These friends seem to have forgotten that Mahatmaji had asked for a permanent place for Khadi in our economy. He considered it to be the symbol and the foundation of the Sarvodaya social order. But this will hardly appeal to those who have no faith in Sarvodaya itself. The lovers of Khadi however still cherish that aim. Their approach to Khadi and village industries is different and they are carrying on Khadi work in their own way, especially from the point of view of self-sufficiency in cloth. The Government did not pay proper attention to Khadi so long. Now under the pressure of the situation they seem to have come to the conclusion that hand-spinning is necessary for solving the widespread unemployment and underemployment. The interest of the Governments is limited to that only. Even so, sentiment for Khadi will be necessary in order to ensure its consumption. The Charkha Sangh has made some suggestions to the Government to this end. It remains to be seen how far the Government will accept them. One thing is clear: It is the duty of all of us and the Government to create a favourable atmosphere for Khadi. We need sacrifice and industry in order that the nation may go ahead and Khadi can act as a potent means of inculcating these virtues.

5. Owing to the exigencies of the situation some of the main khadi workers have accepted to become the members of the Board. Some friends have raised an objection that since Khadi really aims at something which is different from the limited aim of the Government, the presence of the front rank Khadi workers in this Board will cause needless misunderstanding, and may lead to the alienation of the lovers of Khadi from its real aim. The fear is not unfounded. The Charkha Sangh decided to

change over from commercial to self-sufficiency Khadi in 1945 when Gandhiji was still with us. And though in view of its usefulness as relief measure, it was not considered advisable to stop commercial production all at once, it was clearly understood that the Charkha Sangh would progressively withdraw from this side of its activity. Work in respect of the commercial Khadi then came to be entrusted to other institutions in the field, if such were available, and in their absence to the new ones which were created for the purpose. The present position is that except in Tamilnad, in all other provinces, the Charkha Sangh has curtailed its commercial Khadi work to a very great extent. It is being carried on now by certified institutions. In case of Tamilnad too, efforts were made to build up a new institution to take over the work, but there was no success. The newly formed Board will work for an expansion of Khadi on a big scale and since those who have been in Khadi work so long, are specially conversant with its working, it is quite proper to enlist their help. On the other hand it is also true that with workers occupying themselves with this side of Khadi work, there may come about a slackening of the hold on the real aim of this work. But Khadi had both these aspects from the outset, first rendering relief to the unemployed poor and next propagating the ideal of self-sufficiency, which is essential for the Sarvodaya economic order. For solving the widespread unemployment in the country there does not appear to be, for the present at least, anything more efficacious than hand-spinning. Any measure which promises relief to the unemployed should be welcomed by all. Under the circumstances, when the Government shows its readiness to introduce Khadi on a big scale, how can the Khadi workers refuse to help them? Of course we should take care to keep our hold on the true aim of Khadi, despite our association with this venture. And in case of a conflict between the two, we should be prepared to shed our attraction for mere expansion and concentrate on our goal. As it is, one cannot, at this stage, foretell how things will develop. Only time will show that.

6 With the formation of the Board, the Khadi workers will have to shoulder new responsibilities. Khadi will be produced on a big scale. Efforts should therefore be made to meet all other difficulties, except the high prices which are unavoidable and

which hinder its sale. Up to 1935 every attempt was made to strengthen the position of Khadi: Designs and varieties were developed and it was made artistically attractive so as to satisfy the taste of the various classes of buyers. Then for several reasons the progress stopped. In the last few years even the texture has deteriorated. We will have to introduce all those improvements again, so that the customers may buy willingly. The Governments are expected to purchase a lot of Khadi for some of their departments. It is necessary that the Khadi supplied to them keeps to the mark consistent with their needs. All these improvements are to be effected without any corresponding rise in the cost; everything has to be done economically. One more warning would seem to be necessary. Government is going to provide financial aid in various forms. Care should be taken to accept it and expend it in complete conformity with the rules evolved for the purpose.

7. We will have to be careful about one thing more. Because of the fall in the sale of Khadi, new production has very much gone down. Now if the Board succeeds in pushing up the consumption, the production will again go up before long to four or five times its present quantity. At the centres where there is large-scale hand-spinning, it will not take long to step up the production. But after it has reached the limit, further expansion can be achieved slowly because it takes time to train new spinners, to secure tools to them, and to let them improve the quality of yarn. These limitations will also apply to new centres. Therefore great caution has to be observed in a speedy stepping up of the production. The yarn will be crude which in its turn will adversely affect the quality of the cloth produced. Not only that, it may lead to far more dangerous result: there might be fear of resorting to mixed Khadi, i. e. admixture of mill-yarn. Therefore as soon as production outstrips the capacity of the centre, the management will have to be alert and so plan things as to preclude such a fear. The Charkha Sangh has devised, from its long experience, certain measures which may be adopted with advantage in fighting this evil. Even apart from all this, it is essential to be careful about the purity of Khadi at a time when production is on the increase. Production of Khadi is a far-flung affair spread over a number of villages and the admixture of mill yarn will spell its complete failure.

Sevagram 17-2-'51

The Five Year Plan & Khadi and Village Industries

The Government of India has constituted the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board to draw up a programme and evolve a machinery for the production and development of Khadi and village industries. The Five-Year Plan makes a financial provision for Khadi and cottage and small-scale industries — rupees 2 crores annually for khadi and 15 crores during the Plan period for other cottage industries. These funds will supplement those in States' plan for these purposes. Prime Minister Nehru inaugurated this Board on 2-2-'53 at Delhi.

PRESIDENT RAJEN BABU'S MESSAGE

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a special message said: "Hand-spinning and handloom industry were for centuries the miraculous fountain from which flowed the river of gold and silver into our land and enriched the life of our teeming millions in the countryside. It was an evil day for our vast millions when this industry as also other subsidiary village industries were ruined under the political pressure of foreigners. Since that day, the progressive impoverishment of our people began and darkness and despair descended into their lives. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, had clearly perceived this historic truth, and so has made the spinning wheel the main instrument of the revivification of the Indian spirit and the awakening of our people. By doing so, he restored the broken link of our history and infused our people with new courage and confidence in their future. Indeed our freedom struggle revolved round it, and we were able to win in the end because the home-spun thread of Khadi had joined the hearts of our village and city people to produce irresistible mass energy. Besides, Khadi was a symbol of true democracy in the eyes of Mahatmaji, for he was convinced that democracy could exist in human life only when economic and political power were both decentralized.

"I am, therefore, glad to learn that an All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has been constituted to continue this great work of mass regeneration through the spinning wheel and other village industries. May I send the Board my good wishes for its success in this noble mission."

PRIME MINISTER'S SUGGESTION

Prime Minister Nehru said that such a Board should have been set up four years ago. Although the delay had caused him surprise, he was glad that a beginning had been made at least now. When the Board was about to be constituted, one of his friends had suggested that the Prime

Minister should be closely associated with it. He liked the idea but he was told that rules and regulations forbade association of the Prime Minister with such organisations and institutions. The Prime Minister's presence in such a Board would have only a show value. He, therefore, wrote to the sponsors of the move that he would not like to be directly associated with the Board. He would, however, give all the help that was needed to the Board.

Gandhiji, said Mr. Nehru, had laid particular emphasis on charkha, khadi and village industries. Charkha was made by him as an economic and revolutionary symbol for the people. It became a weapon in the hands of the struggling Indians to secure economic uplift and stage a political revolution. The nation profited by it enormously politically. With the gaining of freedom, the political aspect had disappeared and with one of its two pillars thus knocked off, it had to stand only as the bulwark of economic benefits to the people. Every effort must, therefore, be made to strengthen this economic significance of khadi and village industries.

NEED FOR SELF-HELP

In the final analysis, said Mr. Nehru those who were now concerned with the work had to prove—they should work sincerely to prove it—that the economic utility of khadi and village industries still remained an important factor in the country's well-being. No institution could progress unless it had its inherent strength. Nor could any institution flourish if it depended entirely upon the help of others or the Government. Government would of course render necessary assistance but the need for encouraging and developing its own inherent strength was there. He had often heard of complaints that the Government was not helping institutions of this character. There was no point in blaming the Government. The progress and the future of the Board depended on the strength of the movement and unless the economic foundation involved in the work

was strengthened, it could hardly make progress. The work might take five or ten years. They should not despair at it; it was worth labouring for.

All these matters were of course interconnected with the larger issue of the Economic Policy of the country. In the fast changing world, one had to adjust to the changing conditions and no one could afford to remain static. But some orthodox economists did not realise that none could live in isolation and work exclusively. The outlook of many had to change along with the changing conditions in the world.

Emphasising the need for a dynamic approach in dealing with the development of khadi and village industries, Mr. Nehru pointed out that the nation benefited immeasurably from Khadi during its freedom struggle. The effect of adopting the charkha as a symbol and khadi as an instrument was immense in the country's political struggle.

WELFARE STATE

"In my own mind, an idea is growing daily that the yardstick by which one can measure the economic progress of a country is the extent of employment. We have been talking of having a welfare State. A welfare State is one where every citizen is a partner, sharing its benefits and responsibilities equally. Every citizen must realise that he is actually a partner in the State. People must have full employment. How could there be a welfare State if people could not get employment? For the unemployed, the welfare State has no meaning. The biggest problem before the country is, therefore, unemployment of young men. This question has got to be solved. It is a social disease and it has to be checked and removed. Some people think that this problem would be solved if the country maintains the present rate of progress but I feel we have to place a greater emphasis on the question of solving the unemployment problem. Khadi and village industries have a great role to play in this sphere of solving unemployment."

BIG INDUSTRIES V. VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

"I do not foresee any conflict between big industries and village industries. If a country wants to maintain its independence, it has to develop industries on a large scale. The need for big industries is there and those industries must be State-owned and State-controlled. This need must be co-ordinated with the development of small industries. I think, for a country like India,

there is a considerable scope for the expansion of big industries. These industries cannot, however, solve the problem of employment. There still remains a big field for the setting up of small-scale industries. The small-scale and village industries will help in solving the unemployment problem.

"The issue, therefore, is not merely the advancement of the cause of Khadi and village industries. In it is involved the advancement of the cause of the nation and the wellbeing of the people. This should, therefore, be dovetailed into the general planning for the people as a whole."

THE CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS

Shri V. L. Mehta, Chairman of the Board in the course of his speech said:

"The main objective that governs the Commission's attitude on this subject is, believe, the discharging of the State's obligation to provide employment to the growing number of the unemployed and underemployed in villages. It is, however, pointed out that village industries will have the best chance of developing on the basis of local demand. But, as the Commission notes, a programme of village employment has to be part of a larger employment programme. A common production programme for every industry is what is aimed at which necessarily involves the idea of the exercise by Government of control over the organization of an industry. What forms such control can assume is set forth in general terms by the Commission, but I presume it will be part of the duty of a body like this Board to place before Government from time to time suggestions about the restrictions that may have to be imposed. It is not the interest of a section, those engaged in a particular village industry, that should weigh in the determination of policy in this respect, but the broader interest of the national economy as a whole. We, the members of this Board, propose to approach our task in this broad spirit, but distinctly inspired by a belief that Khadi industries and village industries bear accepted necessarily as an integral and essential part of any national planning.

"I shall now take the liberty of referring to a few details. In their orders relating to the setting up of this Board, it has been laid down that the Board will work in collaboration with the All-India Spinners' Association and will establish contacts with State Governments. It will be the duty of the Board, as early as possible, to place itself

communication with State Governments and unofficial bodies operating in their areas. It is with their support and, wherever possible through their agency that the plans that are approved for the development of Khadi and other village industries can be worked out. It would be a travesty of the conception of

a decentralized economy if the Board were to attempt to run the production units itself. It may, however, have to shoulder direct responsibility in the field of research and, to a certain extent, for the extension of facilities for training in the industries sought to be developed."

SARVODAYA — ITS LOGIC AND TECHNIQUE

— S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO —

(Research Assistant in the Dept. of Social Sciences of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore)

The word *Sarvodaya* was coined by the Father of the Indian Nation to translate "Unto This Last," the expression borrowed by Ruskin from the Gospel according to St. Matthew (XX: 14) for the title of his great work, in which he pleads for the ideal of morality in political economy. *Unto This Last* was one of the formative forces in the life of Gandhiji, who analyzed the work into three basic ideas — the good of the individual is contained in the good of all; the equal worth of all vocations in so far as they yield a livelihood; and the excellence of manual labour. The other two of the trinity of influences that stirred and propelled Gandhiji were Tolstoy's philosophy of "bread-labour" and the doctrine of disinterested action taught in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Creatively contemplating these teachings, Gandhiji discovered the supremacy of the two principles of truth and non-violence and interpreted the meaning of human existence in their light. He experimented with the application of these principles to man's corporate and political life. The full significance of these experiments can of course be judged by history alone. But one of the immediate and tangible consequences of Gandhiji's career was the emphasis on ethics in the political emancipation of our country and this has prepared the ground for translating into action the teachings of Ruskin, Tolstoy and the *Gita*.

Gandhiji in his life time initiated many a constructive programme calculated to improve the lot of all Indians. He dismissed as short-sighted the Western policy of "the greatest good of the greatest number;" his programme envisaged the greatest good or welfare of all (*Sarvodaya*). And in carrying this programme to fruition, he insisted that

the means were at least as important as the end; hence his emphasis on right conduct.

This is reflected in the economic plan he proposed for our country. The four fundamentals on which this plan rests are, in the words of Shriman Narayan Agarwal, simplicity, non-violence, the dignity of labour, and human values. It is, however, not a plan for the Government to push through, although the Government can make a substantial contribution to its implementing. It is rather for every man to appreciate and execute.

Gandhiji strove to revolutionize the thinking habits of the people to accord with the best traditions of our culture, for thus alone is to be ensured the building of real democracy. *Sva-rajya* is a very ancient expression, and its meaning is not restricted to political autonomy; it is more naturally employed in our philosophical literature to signify self-sufficiency, self-reliance, a sublime state of human existence where one fears not another, seeks nothing but is absolutely self-contained. *Apnoti Svarajyam* is equivalent to "He has realized the God-head." This is the ideal of all religious endeavour and the genius of Gandhiji asserted that this was the ideal of our political and social endeavours as well. The means to realize this sublime end must doubtless be equally sublime. The message of the Upanishads: "By renouncing alone is immortality gained," crystallized in the doctrine of *anasakti-yoga* (the discipline of disinterested action) of the *Gita*, suggested to Gandhiji the gospel of service (*seva*). All the constructive programmes he initiated were inspired by this principle of selfless service for the welfare not of one party or section of

the people, but of all. The lofty purpose for which this great son of India lived and died was *Sarvodaya*.

This meaning of the Mahatma's advent in Indian history was recognized by a handful of close but silent followers of his, who assembled in Sevagram in March 1948 and decided to launch the Sarvodaya Movement of which indeed the Mahatma was a living embodiment. They were persons of high integrity, who had made great sacrifices for the cause of the country, who had dedicated their lives to constructive work and who never cared to step inside the portals of power. Dr. Rajendra Prasad (whom the country later managed to make her President), Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Shankarrao Deo, Kaka Kalelkar and Kishorlal Mashruwala (who recently passed away) were among the well-known people present. They decided that *Sarvodaya* was to be a movement only; there was to be no organization, lest it degenerate into a party or a sect; it was to have no membership in the usual sense of the term. *Sarvodaya* emerged as a brotherhood (*Samaj*), open to each "who had faith in Gandhiji's teachings and ideals and who tried to give expression to them in his or her own life." Adherence to the *Samaj* was to be ratified only by one's own conscience; one was always at perfect liberty to describe oneself as belonging to the movement so long as one accepted the Gandhian ideology and practised it in actual life, irrespective of whether the leaders of the movement were aware of one's doing so or not. The person thus identifying himself with the movement was to designate himself not as a *sadasya* (member) but as a *sevak* (worker). "While," in the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "every *sevak* will be free to do the work that suits him best—of course consistent with the teachings of Gandhiji—he will not do anything in the name and on behalf of the *Samaj*."

Therefore it is that "the *Sarvodaya Samaj* will not act as an organization, it will not undertake any work or programme by itself, although all *sevak*s are expected to be doing something or other in furtherance of some constructive work." Every April an annual conference of all *sevak*s is to be held, and on February 12th *melas* (fairs) are to be arranged at places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed in holy waters. For these congregations, attendance is altogether optional and such of the *sevak*s as choose to attend must come as pilgrims, making their own arrange-

ments. Here the workers meet, exchange ideas, relate experiences and thus strengthen their faith in constructive work and prune it with wisdom. They are bound by no sort of organizational control or party discipline.

...One of the greatest achievements under the auspices of this movement, one still in process, is the *Bhoodana-Yajna* launched by Acharya Vinoba. The secret of the economic welfare of India lies in our agriculture; and agriculture has suffered in our country because of the system of land-holding; the creation of vested interests by favouring loyal Zamindars who are only absentee landlords; excessive subinfeudation; land in the hands of non-tillers and tillers possessing no land; and similar evils. This has invited the doctrines of Communism to gain ground in India.

...The *Gita* declares: "He who only *eats* and does not *give*, is a thief! "And the donor does not grudge his gift, for he acquires merit therefrom: in fact, he thanks the one who receives it. Vinoba tells the land-donors that what they are doing is a sacred rite, a *yajna*. And when a saint of such sterling purity as Vinoba begs on behalf of the landless, who dares to refuse? He objects, however, to any sense of meanness which goes with beggary or the air of superiority which goes with almsgiving; he points out that the donor is only rectifying to some extent the previous misdeed of monopolizing the possession of that which belongs to all. There has been a marvellously enthusiastic response to Vinoba's call, and beyond doubt the pleasant revolution that has been inaugurated thus non-violently has proved a formidable challenge to Communism in India.

Kaka Kalelkar pleads for the creation of a new culture of *Sarvodaya* in the life of humanity, co-ordinating various lessons of history. And the Sevagram resolution seeks "to strive towards a society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for the development of individuals as well as groups". Vinoba describes *Sarvodaya* as a revolutionary idea—to be thought over and acted upon. In this world, torn by violence in thought, word and deed, darkened by the clouds of distrust and hatred hanging over mankind, in this thickening gloom, *Sarvodaya* is indeed a ray of tender light promising health and life; it is a sure balm for ailing humanity. But will man heed wisdom?

"The Aryan Path" February, 1933

Money Economics — A Menace to Humanity

— N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN M. A. —

"Money has no invariable and constant value of its own, and has only helped the less honest to come to the fore-front. If human values are to predominate, money has to be pulled down from its seat of authority. When it disappears, and in its company avarice and deceit vanish, human society will prosper and transform itself into a heaven on earth."

THE ORIGIN OF MONEY

Happy should have been the primitive days when money was not created. Man worked with his limbs and got all his necessities in return. The able-bodied worked and kept well the old and infirm and reared the children. It was all work, direct return and consumption. He produced his own implements and reared his cattle when he felt the need for them. When his needs multiplied he put in more labour to produce them. When one had more of anything with him, he gave it to the one who needed it and got back from him what he needed in return. The production and possession of more than needed by one naturally led to the institution of property. But natural things have a short life and undue accumulation of anything is not profitable. Then money came in as a measure of value of things. This simple measuring rod of value—mainly of human labour—has now out-grown its small stature and has assumed a form of its own, and has become the chief motive of all human activities. Thus the created money has become the master of the creator.

MONEY MECHANISING MAN

This created money has a magic power for propagating itself, for he who has it, is enabled to make more of it, and he who has not it never gets at it. It has become capital and multiplies without human effort. It has a price—interest—for its temporary use. Mere possession of money assures its owner all the necessities of life without any labour on his part. It helps its owner to command the labour of others and to make a profit out of others' labour. Money out to make profit breeds faster in the production of non-essentials. Likewise it encourages the consumption of non-essentials. It mechanises man and changes his attitude and behaviour. The human touch everywhere has disappeared before money motive, and the finer instincts have yielded place to money craze. This money craze pulls down all; the non-

monied become automatons, while the monied become the devils ravaging human society.

LABOUR AND MONEY

Money coming in between labour and its produce has revolutionised values. It has now ceased to be a constant measure of value, especially of human labour. The labour spent in producing the primary needs of man is valued low, while labour expended in the production of non-essentials is valued high. The labour involved in creating money is valued most. The banker gets the highest wages while the farm labourer gets the lowest wages. In between these range the wages of others, the general rule being the most essential labour getting the least in terms of money. Thus money has totally lost its original function and has turned topsyturvy all human values.

GAMBLING IN MONEY VALUES

Money after its long evolution has now a thousand forms, not one having any intrinsic worth of its own. The nickel and bronze coins, the currency notes and the negotiable instruments have all been given values which are not constant. The value of money is being so constantly manipulated by those who create it. The price indices, the trade balances and the schemes of financiers all go to vary the value of money. But the general tendency is to increase money and to lower its value, but the manipulations in its value is such as to help the monied to get more of it to the detriment of others. The expansion of money helps to create a false sense of prosperity though facts go against it. Now we are told that the per capita income of an Indian is about Rs. two hundred and fifty, many times more than what it was before the war, but the fact is that while many had enough to eat and to wear, there, we have to live on short rations now. Lacking the primary necessities of life we are led to believe that we are on the road to prosperity. The increased money wages of the labourer only serves to console him in

his poverty. The expanding services of the State to the citizen in terms of money come to nothing when actual services are counted. This money with varying values plays havoc with the debtor and the creditor, making both of them lose the sense of morality.

MONEY BREEDING PROPERTY INSTINCT

The property instinct of man is given a great fillip by money. Before its inception man could keep only a little of his necessities, for nature allows its produce life only for the short duration needed for its reproduction. Money with almost a permanent lease of life and as a commodity which can be conveniently and safely kept, helped man to convert his produce into money and to build his property. Man can conveniently keep any amount of money, can conveniently send it to any corner of the world, can buy any property anywhere and get its yield to his own place. There are convenient devices for all these transactions. While one having a few heads of cattle or a few bits of land is proclaimed a man of means, one having millions can easily pass for a beggar. This convenience has made all money-mad, one vying with the other to gather and to keep more and more of it. To the extent that it gathers with one, the others are the losers, for however manipulated money has to ultimately base itself on human labour and its produce. So money helps one to gather the fruits of others labour in so many surreptitious ways, which in main is the cause of all the miseries of humanity.

THE DOUBLE LOSS TO THE TILLER

The insignificant and the unknown peasant with his small extent of paternal land and his humble cottage will lead a happy and prosperous life if not for the interference of money. He works hard and gets from the generous nature all that he needs, but money does not leave him alone. His hard work and bumper harvests leave him poorer and starving, caught in the meshes of money economy. He has to use money to buy his needs and in selling his surpluses. Both ways he is made to lose, for the merchant who helps him in both the transactions makes more money than the peasant. Caught in money economy he deals with others in terms of money, for he is not allowed to deal otherwise. He has his money obligations—taxes and debts,—and to meet them he parts with his produce in a hurry and gets very little of its real worth. Money economy infuses in him a

false sense of profit and prompts him to go speculating. The more he stoops to it, the steeper becomes his fall. The money prices of his produce are so unsettled that they always leave him the poorer. Speculation forces him to borrow, which he has to return with interest. If he borrows when prices are high and when the prices go down his crash sets in and he is forced to take leave of his land. He is too humble to understand the variations in the value of money, and those who manipulate it are the least inclined to consider the interests of the peasant. From the village merchant to the tax collecting Government all are bent on taking away from him more than what is due from him. The manipulations of the currency is the game of the magnates who are out to exploit the money-less. The peasant is impoverished not by his lack of industry, not by a ungenerous nature, but by the money economy. This ultimately leads him to part with his land. After disposing of his paternal land he walks out into the strange wilderness in search of a living. In this venture, thousands perish while one comes out successful.

VINOBAJI'S MOVEMENT

Vinobaji's attempt to replace money economy by labour economy though in the limited sphere of his Ashram is born of the appreciation of the danger to humanity ruled by money economy. The real factor to be counted should be labour expended in producing the necessities of life. If it were so there may not be much variation in the value of things. Now we find labour spent in the production of sugar is valued more than that of the labour in manufacturing jaggery, while that in the production of rice—the food of man—is valued least. The weaver who weaves cloth gets considerably less than what the tailor gets for his cutting and stitching the cloth. The poor school master—the maker of the future citizen—stands in comparison to the lawyer who in turn pale into insignificance before the Cinema Star. Money wages increase for labour which confers no real benefit to humanity. Money has no invariable and constant value of its own, and has only helped the less honest to come to the fore-front. If human values are to predominate, money has to be pulled down from its seat of authority. When it disappears, and in its company avarice and deceit vanish, human society will prosper and transform itself into a heaven on earth.



HONOURING GANDHIJI:

How would you discharge the duty and honour of having been Gandhiji's contemporary? Do you know that there are many things which you can do, which do not cost a single pie to preach or practise?

(1) You may just decide to speak the truth and shame the devil; (2) You can get up early in the morning at least if not hours before the sun-rise; (3) You can be punctual; (4) You can pledge yourself to be tolerant in thought, word and deed; (5) If you cannot fast now and then, at least you may eat just what you want and no more and do not waste or throw away food and see that your children too observe this; (6) You may travel light and travel 'third' and endure the extremes of weather,—having been born in a country which has all sorts of climates and conditions to harden the human constitution; (7) You may, if you have that much will, practise self-control as the best form of birth control; (8) You may mentally picture to yourself that Triple-Monkey-Miniature, the group that symbolically closed their eyes, ears, and mouth to symbolise that they would not see, hear or speak evil; (9) You may say Ram Dhun, relax and regenerate at the same time; (10) You may at least learn to study, sympathise with or even beg to serve that curious creature, the 'common man', the dumb-driven millions of India, the landless ryot, the oppressed worker, the man who cannot get even a single square meal a day all through his dreary existence.

We turn now to those items that cost a little. (1) Of course there is the self-spun and self-woven Khaddar; (2) You can, little by little, reduce your wants, and aim at "non-possession absolute" at some distant date; (3) You can give not a mere 10 days' pay, but anything you can spare for the numerous all-India objectives for which he sold autographs, auctioned souvenirs, made forced marches and melted the minds and lightened the purses of millionaires; (4) You can adopt a Harijan boy or girl and bring them up as a member of your household without coercion, mental reservation or hypocrisy or expectation of any return and even in the face of ingratitude, as a species of racial atonement; (5) You may engage a tutor and learn Hindustani in both Hindi and Urdu script; (6) You may carry a time piece as an inexorable reminder that not only time spelt with a capital T is money: but time is God; (7) You may travel about and use your

— DR. C. S. S. SARMA

holidays in less sophisticated nooks and corners of your orbit, to get the rural bias, and the village uplift bias in their proper setting and help others to do so if you are yourself handicapped or under some duress; (8) You may plant a garden or otherwise produce with a little investment something, whatever your present means of livelihood and if you are a public servant try to show that service and sacrifice guide you in thought, word and deed; (9) You may read and distribute copies of the 'Gita' to your friends and relations on any important occasion; (10) If you have not given up intoxicating drinks, you can punish yourselves by putting the equivalent in cash into a savings bank and earmark it to a good cause (This applies equally to your indulgence when tempted to any other dissipation e.g., the races, women, shooting, excessive cinema-going).

There are also calls to practise Gandhiji's tenets on the heroic style and stature; (1) You can sell all and follow him as the Nehrus did; (2) you can rush with the armour of non-violence and the buckley of Truth into the thick of the battle and fall bleeding and martyred or fight on till you have a breath left; (3) you can turn yourself to be a Tolstoyan peasant, living the plain life and thinking high, and spread an illuminating, loving kindness in the environments where God has planted you; (4) you can turn Apostle and carry his message first-hand to countries where the great name has been heard and requires to be de-legendized and humanized and brought to bear on live problems as the master architect talked, discoursed, commented and annotated to the uttermost detail; (5) Gandhiji's single, simple recorded voice was on God and its emphasis on whomsoever heard it was on the "altered life and conduct" of the man. He was at once converted and illuminated and endowed with grace. You may imitate Gandhiji like unto a Thomas a Kempis' Redivivus and whatever your cross, you may take your cross and work, for sure, there is no crown without its cross.

Above all, contemplate at all hours of the day and night on this eventful and epochal man born in the Bharata Bhumi, amidst portents for good and evil and the mixed heritage of many a culture and tradition which a world symposium pondered deeply over to discover its meaning and message.

From "SWATANTRA" Jan. 24, '53

A SPIRITUAL CHALLENGE TO ENSLAVING FEAR

WILFRED WELLOCK

Wilfred Wellock has been writing a series of articles in what he calls The Orchard Lea Papers developing the ideas in his brochures 'The Challenge of our Times: Annihilation or Creative Revolution?' etc. So far, four Papers have come out with the following titles: No. 1. The Supreme Crisis of our Civilisation, No. 2. The Economics of a Peaceful Society, No. 3. The Transition from a War to a Peace Economy, No. 4. A Spiritual Challenge to the Enslaving Fear of Russia. A portion of the fourth Paper is given below. All these Papers are obtainable from Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur. (Price as. 2 each)

THE TWO POWER BLOCKS

THE IMMEDIATE outstanding world problem is the communist-capitalist [and socialist] impasse, symbolised in the Russian and the American power blocks, with many Eastern nations swaying in an uneasy independence between them.

It is outstanding because it is commanding and consuming the genius, the labour and the natural and spiritual resources of many nations, determining their way of life, narrowing their horizons, retarding their development and jeopardising the future of their young men of military age; and it is immediate because the manifold demands of a war economy are damaging almost beyond repair the material, political and social fabric of the greater part of the world. Expanding armaments, instead of resolving the impasse are frustrating humanity's spiritual powers and destroying the hope of saving Western civilisation, while should the military stock-piles now being amassed ever come into action — and who can control fear in times of intense crisis? — man's future on this planet need not concern us, as his loss of grip on basic realities will have destroyed his power and his right to survive.

SPIRITUAL BANKRUPTCY

That impasse need not and ought not to have arisen, and it has done so only because of the spiritual bankruptcy of the Democratic Nations and the consequent breakdown of the world's economy. The real enemy of mankind to-day is not communism but the fear of it, and the materialism from which that fear springs, and which even now is preventing the anti-communist block from challenging communism with an effective alternative.

The entire policy of "containing" Russia, or communism, by means of colossal military power, is the product of fear and of spiritual

impotence, for which reason it is doomed to failure. What in fact the Western nations of the American block are doing is to combat an ideology which owes its origin to the evil fruitage of their own ideology, with means which defeat their own ends. Peace and fear are incompatibles. The victories of fear turn out to be spiritual defeats, as two world wars have proved.

REVOLT AGAINST PREDATORY CAPITALISM

To these nations Russia is the black beast of the modern world. But to hundreds of millions in the Near and Far East she symbolises deliverance from the tyrannies of local potentates who, in league with Western Imperialism, have for a century carried out a policy of ruthless exploitation. Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, and General Franco are among the latest allies of that imperialism.

It is necessary to see communism in its true perspective, that is, as one of many revolts against a predatory capitalism that is now in process of disintegration. Among those revolts, in Britain, e.g., were Trades Unionism, the Co-operative Movement, Chartism or the struggle for political democracy, and socialism.

These revolts, however, while achieving a measure of success, have failed to uproot the basic evils in capitalism, especially the materialism which has equated the good life with material possessions and power, maximum consumption of goods and services, and subjugated spiritual, creative and human values to those of money.

CALL TO MAKE AMENDS FOR THE PAST

A revolution of a different order must be tried. In Orchard Lea Paper No. 2 I outlined the economic, industrial, social and cultural changes which would be necessary if world peace and well-being were to become a reality. I would now add a further

ENSLAVING FEAR

condition, that of making amends for the wrongs of the past and adopting a policy of generosity and faith. The Imperialist Powers owe to most of the nations of the East and of South America, and to Africa, a sacrificial act of penitence and recompense for a long period of ruthless exploitation of millions of helpless people. The system still continues in places, but even in the areas where it has ended, its evil effects and the bitter memory of its cruelties remain, and as long as they do so they will place in the hands of Russia a weapon equal to the military power of many armies.

The Western nations of the American block possess the means to destroy that power. Military might cannot do it: already it has failed. The fear which inspired that might is as powerful as ever, and is capable of turning into panic at very short notice.

FEAR, A GREATER EVIL THAN WAR

Gandhi said that fear was a greater evil than war, probably because fear destroys faith in spiritual agencies and thus renders war inevitable. Who can calculate the harm that has been done by the fear which American hysteria has generated since 1949?

The vast schemes of armaments expansion under the pressure of American Aid since that date may justly be described as "Operation Fear."

THE WAY OF FAITH

The triumph of fear is the death of faith. The way of faith in our time demands that the genius, the energy, the material, mental and spiritual resources of mankind be transferred from military objectives into constructive, world-rejuvenating enterprises of many kinds. Such enterprises, boldly conceived and operated, would give to mankind precisely the tonic it needs, and for lack of which it is losing its grip on reality and preparing for its own destruction in a war of weapons of unknown killing and destructive power. That destructive power in the grip of fear generated at new high pressures, will in a time of crisis pass out of man's control.

Were such a task undertaken joyfully, in the spirit of a great crusade of international dimensions, it would transform the fear of communism and Russia into a mighty victory over materialistic communism and capitalism alike, break down all the barriers of race, creed and colour, and herald a new era of creative living, and thus of personal, national and international relations.

The Colombo Plan and the Point Four programme are to-day little more than apologetic appendices of a military policy which, inspired by an enslaving fear is sapping the energies and poisoning the blood and the spirit of the very nations which ought now to be using their immense wealth and their boasted accomplishments to nourish, rehabilitate and inspire the world's depressed populations as the first step in the inauguration of a new creative era.

In such a situation Russia could do no other than accept the challenge and try to go one better, which would be all to the good. Some nation must take the lead in transferring the energies, interests and enterprises of mankind from destructive, fear-determined ends to constructive, faith-determined ones. If Russia should beat us in these enterprises, all credit to her. Let the issue from now on be: who can build the most beautiful and satisfying civilisation and the finest types of human personality!

GANDHIAN ECONOMY

The Western Powers should even now be organising a series of conferences with the social, spiritual and political leaders of the depressed nations to discuss the kind of civilisation they would like to build, and how they could best be helped to build it. It must no longer be assumed that the economic and industrial policies and techniques of the west are sacrosanct and should be adopted everywhere. In India, for example, the followers of Gandhi are trying to develop an economy and a civilisation based on Gandhi's concept of Village Republics — well-integrated agro-industrial villages, self-controlled and largely self-sufficient. Their industries would be small-scale, based on new industrial techniques and small co-operatives.

This concept, I have discovered, appeals very strongly to Eastern peoples generally and also to Africans, who, like the former, regard Western industrialism with considerable misgiving. It is, therefore, possible that along the lines of the Gandhian economy India would evolve a pattern of civilisation which would become universal for the reason that it laid chief stress on the culture and development of the human person, the common man and everyman, and the subservience of money values to spiritual and human values.

THE CHOICE BETWEEN FAITH AND FEAR

In the crisis of communism, as in all crises, there is a choice between two diametrically opposed principles, faith and fear and it is most significant that fear of communism is strongest in the United States, the wealthiest and most militarily powerful country in the world. In this faith-bereft age, day-to-day events change the thermometer of fear considerably, but especially in the United States, where it is liable to fly to danger point very quickly, a fact which brings into question the fitness of the United States for world leadership.

Huge armaments tend to make fear the most powerful emotion in a nation, whereas reliance on justice, moral courage, righteousness and truth strengthens the faith, the integrity and the spiritual power of men and nations. By the latter means Gandhi completely overcame the South African Government in 1913. To-day confronted with a much wider attack on the principle

of racial unity in South Africa, that method is again being adopted, even by Africans, who may later apply it on a staggering scale in defence of racial freedom. Moreover when Gandhi launched his policy of non-violent resistance to British rule in India, it was in opposition to a policy of terror which had already taken root. His way of faith in truth and justice triumphed over that of fear and violence, and ultimately over the might of Britain.

Fear is the defeat of the spirit as love is its triumph. All powerful emotions such as fear and love tend to mould those who experience them in the pattern of what is feared and loved. Men study so closely the things or persons they love and fear that they cultivate and embody their qualities, and so become like them. Moreover, love and worship stimulate the creative impulses and fortify the mind, whereas fear and hatred stimulate the destructive instincts and disintegrate the mind.



THE UNIQUE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

— VASANT NARGOLKAR —

I came across the following while reading the Bible. It refers to the activities of the apostles of Jesus Christ after his crucifixion and to the effect of their preaching on people:

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common... Neither was any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid down at the apostles' feet: and the distribution was unto every man according as he had need."

This was about 1950 years ago. The passage struck me as very unusual for two reasons. The similarity of the last words in it with those in the very desirable Marxist ideal of "from everyone according to his ability to everyone according to his need!" is very striking indeed. Secondly, the incident described bears a very close resemblance to the unique movement of the Bhoodan Yagna started by Shri Vinobaji. It seems that ideas, like some recessive characteristics in

biological evolution, have also a tendency to reappear or to be reborn in different contexts and in different degrees of magnitude and intensity.

The Bhoodan Yagna movement is unique because it is completely free from any trace of hatred and violence. This is all the more remarkable against the background of the Communists' efforts in India and their achievement in Russia and China in the matter of redistribution of land without compensation. In fact, as Vinobaji is never tired of pointing out, the movement aims at achieving something much higher than mere peaceful redistribution of land. He wants to appeal to the nobler instincts of not only the rich but also those who are usually classed as belonging to the middle class and the poor. He would induce them to give their mite as well in the sacrifice, in the form of money if they are landless or in the form of voluntary free labour if they are also poor. For they too are in need, though in a much smaller measure of the preaching which gently persuades them to give up notions of private property and personal gain, to live for a larger ideal and to work for the sake of the community as a whole. The movement

is undoubtedly grand in conception and without a parallel in history. If it succeeds, India will have marched another step forward in the fulfilment of her mission of proving to the war-weary world the efficacy of non-violent solutions of the many small and big problems which plague the world today.

And yet it will be admitted that it is a big If. In spite of the uniqueness and the unexpected success which has attended the movement during the limited period of about two years, it is feared that the movement may not gather sufficient momentum to fulfil its objective within a reasonable period. I have all along felt that there is a flaw in the movement which has made it lop-sided. I had ventured to draw Vinobaji's attention to it twice during the Sarvodaya Conference held at Sevapuri last year.

We may not lose sight of the larger perspective and the larger objective which Vinobaji has in mind. It cannot, however, be denied that the success of the movement largely depends on the change of heart of the numerous big landlords who are expected to donate one-sixth of the entire land in their ownership to Vinobaji. Apart from the walking tour and the prayer meetings, the main programme naturally consists of approaching the landlords with a view to inducing them to voluntarily part with their lands. It has been the experience up till now that people are prepared to donate land to eminent Gandhians like Vinobaji and Shri Shankarraoji, to a few leading constructive workers and to well known political leaders like Shri Jayaprakashji. Hundreds of other constructive workers, however, have nothing better to do than make personal appeals to the landlords to make some contributions to the Yagna in view of the leaders' visit to some particular town or village. Steeped in the age-old culture, the people everywhere look upon Vinobaji or Shri Shankarraoji with traditional reverence similar to that shown to high priests of the yagnas of old. On all occasions whether in private or public meetings these high priests of the unique modern yagna are greatly honoured. And rightly so. For they are looked upon as representatives of all that is good in the old culture as well as of that in the new classless society yet to be born. They are in a way apostles of Gandhiji trying to spread his message after his death as did those of Jesus Christ. Hence their word and presence carry conviction with landowners and turn waverers into willing donors.

The next who share the honours of the day on such occasions are naturally the landlords who of their own accord or under moral pressure from local workers perform the ennobling act of renunciation of a part or the whole of their landed property. Their names are announced with great eclat. In exchange for the material loss they gain what is spiritually more valuable, the respect of their neighbours. None would grudge them the honour, for it must be remembered that they have succeeded in overcoming the possessive instinct in some measure, not under the threat of law, nor of physical violence but under moral persuasion only. The whole atmosphere at the Bhoodan meetings is certainly elevating and evokes the nobler sentiments in all who gather there.

But one feels that still something is lacking which, as I have said earlier, results in the lop-sidedness of the movement. And in my opinion, it is this. The donee or the landless cultivator is nowhere in the picture except as a passive receiver of land whenever it comes to be distributed. There is no room left in the present procedure for the active participation of the landless labourer. He is merely one among the spectators and admirers. In fact, however, it is for his sake that the whole movement is started. He has for centuries been deprived of the fruit of his labour. It is not for the restoration of any abstract principle of justice that Vinobaji conceived the idea of the Bhoodan Yagna. His intension was and still is to immediately make the land available to the actual tiller. His Gopal, just as much as Gandhiji's Daridra Narayan, is not a superhuman deity but the starving toiler in the fields. This Gopal, this tenant or landless labourer is for all practical purposes a non-entity in the present programme of the movement. Having no role to play except that of a silent spectator and passive receiver, he has no sense of achievement and no joy which results therefrom. He is not called upon to make any effort to recover what he has been wrongfully deprived of. The priests and the hosts do everything for him. He is expected only to continue cultivating the land though, of course, more industriously and more scientifically than before now that it is transferred to his name.

Anything that is acquired without any effort on the part of the donee, not only loses part of its value in the donee's eyes but robs him of an opportunity for self-expression and development of personality.

The movement offers unlimited opportunity for development to the priest and to the host. This is, in fact, one of its main justifications as against the alternative Communist method of hatred and violence which degrades morally and spiritually all the three parties involved, namely, the wrong doer, his victim and the victim's saviour, in as much as all the three resort to deceit, cruelty and murder.

In order to remove the lop-sidedness of the Bhoodan Yagna movement and to make it more dynamic, it is, therefore, necessary to devise ways and means to fully associate the tenants and the landless labourers with it. It is then alone that they will realize their stakes in the success of the movement.

Constructive workers are already engaged in doing work with regard to one or the other item of the Constructive Programme amongst the villagers. As a preparation for active participation in and promotion of the Bhoodan Yagna movement they should make a list of the tenants and landless labourers in the area in the vicinity of their centre of work. They should move amongst them, listen to their grievances, try to give them, whatever relief is possible under the existing law, plead and represent their case before the landlord, the government and the people at large. When as a result of constant and close association with the constructive workers, the tenants and the landless labourers have learnt to shed fear of the landlords and of the government, the former will be truly ready to receive the message of the Bhoodan Yagna. In the Bhoo-

dan meetings, it should be made a point to invite, not generally but specifically, all those who have been and are cultivators but who are still landless. They should be honoured for their past and present services to the nation in as much as they have been supplying all of us with food under the most difficult conditions of work and life. They would thus be encouraged to produce more in future. Today for want of voluntary support of the landless, the Bhoodan Yagna movement is limping. When we succeed in winning their active participation, the movement will stand on its own legs and would make rapid strides. In other words, it will proceed from objective to objective through its own inherent dynamism. Till then the movement, in spite of its uniqueness, will remain restricted and will be an expression of the non-violent force of the few strong-willed elite among the Gandhians, but never of the common people who have learnt to shed fear. ★

(The Bhoodan yagna is essentially a voluntary movement of penitence and change of heart among the 'Haves' to do sheer justice to the 'Have-nots.' What is mentioned as a flaw and a drawback by Sri Nargolkar is, in our opinion, the special characteristic of this yagna. This is yet in its early stage and as it progresses to the stage of distribution among the landless it will naturally evolve into a mass movement of the 'Have-nots' for their rehabilitation. Till then, it behoves us to do our best to widely propagate the basic ideas and objectives of this unique and marvellous movement. — Ed.)

★

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

The beatification of Mgr. Apor, Bishop of Gyor in Hungary has been under consideration at the Vatican.

When Allied troops entered Gyor in 1945, many women sought shelter in the Bishop's residence.

A number of soldiers demanded entry. Mgr. Apor stood guard and refused to move. Several shots were fired and the Bishop was killed on the spot. The soldiers then went away.

What a classic example of non-violent resistance. If Mgr. Apor had tried to defend these women by physical violence he could not possibly have saved them. As it was he sacrificed his life for them and the soldiers were so moved by this they left the women unharmed.

— Michael J. Randle

In "Peace News" — Jan. 2, '53.

All - India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Chandil

The All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan commenced its three days' session at Chandil (Bihar), on 7th March, '53. The conference was convened by the Sarva Seva Sangh. The President Babu Rajendra Prasad, Shri Vinobaji and thousands of Sarvodaya sevaks, were present. The proceedings began with sacrificial mass spinning.

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, President of the All-India Spinners' Association was proposed to the chair. Babu Rajendra Prasad spoke for a few minutes. He said that the realization of the great ideals for which Mahatmaji lived and died is the objective of the Sarvodaya movement and exhorted the sevaks, "Go ahead with the noble task."

Shri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh made a touching reference to the death of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala. He presented a printed report of the activities of the Sarva Seva Sangh during the last year. He also announced the collection of 8 lakhs of acres of land for the Bhoodan till date.

Shri Vinobaji spoke for nearly 1½ hours. In clear terms he explained the basis of an ideal society and the ideology and programme of work for the Sarvodaya sevaks. He pleaded for the division of responsibility and the decentralization of power in all spheres to ensure a sound social and economic system. Compulsory spinning for every villager, he said, should be a qualification for the right of citizenship. Since villages are the life-giving centres in India, village planning should be preferred to National planning. He reiterated his determination to collect the 5 crores acres of land by 1957.

In the afternoon session Shri Jaiprakash Narain exhorted the students to leave their schools and colleges and work for the movement for one year; if not, at least for three months of the vacation period. He has put his heart and soul in Bhoodan work and has already collected about 10,000 acres. He addressed his party members in the party meeting to put all their efforts in the Bhoodan movement for one year at least.

The Sarvodaya Exhibition was opened by Shri Gopabandhu Choudhary.

On the 2nd day there were a number of group meetings of the sevaks. In the open session Shri Shankarrao Deo appealed to all Sarvodaya workers to concentrate on Bhoodan. Many sevaks spoke of their experiences and announced the land collections made by them. Shri Kumari Mala, daughter of Shri Damodaras Mundada, the youngest speaker of the day announced amidst cheers the collection of 162 acres for Bhoodan in 13 days by her party of girls.

On the final day, the Sarva Seva Sangh placed a resolution appealing for country-wide prohibition and congratulating the Bombay and Madras Governments for introducing prohibition in their States and called upon the other State Governments to follow their example at the earliest.

Vinobaji, in his closing speech on the day advised the sevaks not to take any extreme sides in their attitude to the Five Year Plan and the Community Project of the Government and to support the Government in all its good and sound items of welfare work. With Vinobaji's speech the conference concluded.

SARVODAYA PAKSHA & MELA IN TAMIL NAD

In Tamil Nad from 31st Jan. to 12th Feb. batches of workers belonging to the Bhoodan Committees, Charkha Sangh, Kathai Mandals, Basic Education Institutions, Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tamil Nad Constructive Workers' Samithi, and similar other constructive work institutions, engaged themselves in doing intense propaganda for Bhoodan, for Sarvodaya literature, charkha and khadi, village industries, village sanitation and preparation of compost manure. In Madras a batch of workers after visiting 15 villages reached the Beach on Feb. 12th and celebrated the Mela there. 691 hanks of yarn were received towards offering. Near Chidambaram another Mela was held. 666 hanks of yarn were received as

offerings. 6 batches of workers after touring in some villages in Tanjore district reached Srirangam and participated in the mela there.

From 4 different centres, 4 groups of sevaks toured in about 200 villages in Ramnad dist. 5 batches of workers from 5 different centres toured in about 70 villages in Madurai dist. These two district workers went to Rameswaram on 12th Feb for the Mela. 2300 hanks of yarn were offered. 4 batches of workers started from 4 different centres and visited about 70 villages in Tirunelveli dist. and collected about 119 hanks of yarn.

★ ★ ★

NOTES AND NEWS

MR. BEVAN AT GANDHI GRAM

Director, Gandhi Gram, Chinnalapatti, Madhurai Dist. reports as follows:

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, member of the British Cabinet in Mr. Atlee's Government, paid a visit to Gandhi Gram at 11 p. m. on 27-2-'53.

After being received he was taken around the Institution. He evinced a great interest in the activities going on.

Later he addressed a gathering consisting of the students and workers of Gandhi Gram and a number of people from the nearby villages, for a few minutes.

Stating that the great kindness and hospitality with which he was treated while in India made him feel deeply humble, Mr. Bevan went on:

"This is the first time that a member of the British Cabinet that existed after liberation of India has paid a protracted visit to India. I have, therefore, been all the more affected by the, if I may be allowed to say, intensity of the affection I have received because it is clear that the Indian people are only too ready to forget what we are not too eager to remember. It is, therefore, so pleasant to realize that the friendship that exists between the ordinary men and women in India and the ordinary men and women in England is much greater, than that which exists between any other peoples in the world. Now I am here after having a long fight to come here. I want to see whether work has been done or merely talked about. Now it seems to me that what you are doing and what you are going to do is in some respects the most important work in the world. I think, perhaps it is not easy for you to appreciate quite how important it is. You are so near to it that perhaps you do not see in the proper perspective.

"We are very anxious in Europe to find out whether India can transform her society, her present population, backward way of life, with more advanced methods without having to resort to the coercive methods which have been adopted in other countries.

"There is obviously a very great gap between the urban population of India, especially some of them, and the peasantry of India. The less that gap is narrowed the greater the civilization. You have certain advantages which we do not have. And the

most important one is that you started later than we did. So you can benefit by all the mistakes we made. And no one can say that we have not made many. Also the Soviet Union has made many mistakes. So also China is inclined to make mistakes. So India can show us the way. What she has to do is to prove them that free men and women by the use of free institutions can raise the material standard of life and maintain the essential virtues. I wish you all success in your work. I hope you will be able to resist the greatest of all temptations — that is you will not separate the ordinary village from the village you have made here. With good luck it may not be long when I shall come again to India, and I hope to see all this transformed into normal Indian village life."

Mr. Bevan left Gandhi Gram for Madhurai at 11-45 P. M.

ALL INDIA KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

The Board, at its sittings in Delhi on the 2nd and 3rd March, '53 is reported to have made the following proposals:-

1. Shri Pranlal S. Kapadia is appointed as its member secretary.

2. Two sub-committees were proposed, one for khadi and the other for village industries, to draw up the programmes and budgets for the year and also to frame rules for the recruitment of staff prescribing their qualifications, experience etc.

3. A grant of Rs. 9 lakhs as subsidy to the A I S A for 1952 and a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs for the purchase of cotton for the Khadi production programme for the next year were proposed.

4. Two sub-committees were proposed (i) to conduct a rapid survey of the existing arrangements for the training of artisans and instructors and (ii) for the extension of facilities for research, in connection with the development of the ten village industries mentioned in the Five Year Plan. The Board with a view to provide contacts, decided to call informations from State Governments regarding the work of development of village industries and the production and the sale of khadi and also the machinery provided by those Governments for the purpose.

IMPROVED CHARKHAS

We invite special attention to the following improved models of Charkhas, which have attracted the attention of Charkha Sangh from both its own research department as well as from individuals, who have been carrying on independent research.

1) *Bapu Charkha I*: On which spinning can be done by both hands.

2) *Bapu Charkha II*: The same as No. I but with one spindle only.

(These two models are invented by Shri Naqindas Parekh of Bardoli Ashram, Gujarat)

3) *Ekambaranathan's Model*: (A) Hand driven: four spindle charkha, which can be run by the hand.

(This is invented by Papankulam Sri Ekambaranathan of Tamilnad.)

4) *Ekambaranathan's Model*: (B) Pedal driven. Four to eight spindled charkha with pedal fittings.

(This is Sri Ekambaranathan's model, but improved and developed by Shri Nandalal Patel of Wardha)

All these four models of charkhas were exhibited at the Sarvodaya Pradharsini at Nanalnagar, Hyderabad. A short description of all the models are given in a leaflet published by the All India Spinners' Association, Sevagram, Wardha.

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN NEWS

ASSAM

In North Laxmipur district Sreemathi Amalprabha Devi and Shri Bhuvanachandra Das toured and received about 100 bighas of land-gifts, and 2 pairs of bullocks. In Sivasagar district a shibir of 10 workers was held. Bhoodan work is being actively carried on by these workers in the villages. In Tejpur and Nangau districts 5 pairs of bulls and 700 bighas of land were collected as gifts.

UTKAL

Shri Gopabandhu Choudary completed his tour in Cuttack district where the inhabitants of Manpur village offered all the lands of the village for Bhoodan. Sreemathi Ramadevi and Iswarlal Vyas are touring in Baleswar district. Shri Viswanath Patnaick toured in Koraput district. Shri Saratchandra Maharana along with the district convenors toured in the districts of Sunderghat and Sambalpur. The total collections for the month amounted to 844.46 acres, 6 bullocks and 17 maunds of grain.

MYSORE

In North Bangalore taluk in the village Gunoojur, a Bhoodan Conference was held on 28th Jan. Shri Kadidhal Manuppa, the Revenue Minister, inaugurated the function. 23 small land-holders offered 21.50 acres of land and 4 pairs of bullocks on the occasion. The workers are carrying on active propaganda in the different taluks.

PUNJAB

Sreemathi Rameswar, Nehru presided over the Hissar District Bhoodan Parishad. Shri Satyabala in the company of Shri Ganeshlalji and other workers is touring from village to village, spreading the message of Bhoodan and has so far collected more than 2000 bighas of land. Shri Retan Anmol Singhji has sent a gift deed of 101 acres to the Provincial Bhoodan Committee.

RAJASTHAN

Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra in Rajasthan was very successful and it yielded results beyond the expectation of the workers there. Kisans, as well as jagirdars, labourers as well as employers, all alike actively took part. The students on their own initiative took enthusiastic interest. About 18,000 acres of land-gifts were received.

MAHARASHTRA

Shri Shankarrao Deo, after completing his tour in Rajasthan, began his Maharashtra Yatra on the 24th Jan. He toured in East Khandesh for about 15 days and received 1500 acres of land-gifts. Then he proceeded to Vidarbha and was touring there till 1st March. Shri Annasaheb toured in 21 villages of Sholapur district and collected 76 acres. Shri Appa Saheb Patwardhan undertook a tour in Ratnagiri district and received about 1100 acres. The total collection up to 15th Feb. in Maharashtra is 4198 acres of land.

BIHAR

The provincial Congress workers are busy doing active propaganda in the villages to collect their declared quota of 4 lakhs of acres before the Sarvodaya Sammelan. The people of Siadih village offered the whole of their village land to Bhoodan. In the whole of the province the collection up to 25th Feb. is one lakh of acres.

During the convalescent days of Vinobaji several members of his party scattered themselves in the different villages in order to spread the message of Bhoodan from door to door. Sri M. G. Venkateswaran of Tamil Nad, who joined Vinobaji's party early in the Bhoodan movement, with his colleague Sri Diwakerji began touring in the villages of Buddha Gaya in the 1st week of Jan. Within 6 days they received 200 acres of land from 60 donors. During the next week with the co-operation of the local Congress and Praja-Socialist workers they collected another 250 acres. Till the 7th March the total collection made by them in Buddha Gaya dist. is 7500 acres.

UTTAR PRADESH

Distribution of lands has been started in many districts. Babu Purushotamdasji Thandon, Baba Raghavadasji, Shri Karan Bhai and others are engaged in Bhoodan tours to complete the quota of 5 lakhs before the Sarvodaya Sammelan.

MADHYA PRADESH

Shri Dada Dharmadikari, Shri Dadabhai Naik and others are carrying on intensive propaganda in the districts of Vidarbha. The total collection in the province up to 25th Feb. is 12,595 75 acres.

KERALA

Under the auspices of the Calicut Taluk Bhoodan Committee, Shri Vishnu Bharatheeyan* in the company of some workers toured in many villages in the taluk for a fortnight (30th Dec. to 16th Jan.) and collected 62.76 acres of land.

*We regret for our slip in the previous issue 'Keralayyan' for Bharatheeyan.

TAMIL NAD

In the districts of Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramnad and Coimbatore, Bhoodan Yatras were well-organised by the local leaders. Batches of workers toured on foot through a number of villages spreading the message of Bhoodan. Mass sacrificial spinning, collection

of Bhoodan, sale of khadi and Gandhian literature of the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya were the most important items of their programmes.

On the 17th Jan. Sri S. Jagannathan, convener of the Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee with a band of Tirunelveli district workers started on a Yatra from Cape Comorin in Travancore State. The party reached Koilpatti on the 12th Feb. The total collections of land for Bhoodan for the period is 1246.65 acres from 219 persons. Three persons offered 1/6 of their landed property. There was also a Sampath-Dan of Rs. 2349 per year. Kadayannallur Sri Subbayya Mudaliar alone offered Rs. 2000, 1/20 of his income per year. Besides these a donation of 16 pairs of bulls was also received.

Again, on 16th Feb. Sri Jagannathan started on another Yatra in Periyakulam taluk of Madurai district. Sri V. Guruswami, the taluk convener did a great deal of spade work beforehand in the area. The Yatra was inaugurated by Sri Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Provincial Congress Committee. The total collections in the taluk for the 12 days was over 320 acres.

Sri. R. Krishnaswami Naidu, M. L. A., organised and led the Bhoodan Yatra in Srivilliputhur taluk of Ramnad district. The party started on 30th Jan. and toured till 12th Feb. in 110 villages and did intense propaganda for Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. They sold over Rs. 800 worth of khadi, enrolled 61 subscribers for 'Sarvodaya' magazine and received land-gifts of 161.44 acres. The Charkha Sangh worker Sri R. Venkitakrishnan took a very enthusiastic part all through in the Yatra.

In Erode taluk Sri T. P. Ramaswami in the company of a fairly good number of workers started a Bhoodan Yatra on 30th Jan. The party visited till 10th Feb. 143 villages addressing meetings and spreading the message of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. In all places the party was well received by the local people and collected 156.87½ acres of land, 13 bulls and a Sampath-Dan of Rs. 200 per month, Rs. 100 from Sri Meenakshi Sundaram, Chairman of Erode Municipality, and the other Rs. 100 from Sri Dr. L. K. Muthuswamy. The Charkha Sangh workers and members of the Praja-Socialist Party also joined the Yatra.

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(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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Photo - Kanu Gandhi — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot

THE MONTHLY DIGEST MAGAZINE OF THE AKHILA BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH

Sarvodaya Prachuralayam

1 The Sarva Seva Sangh is the All-India organisation to co-ordinate the activities of all constructive institutions founded by Mahatma Gandhi.

2 The All-India Village Industries Association and Go-Seva Sangh have merged in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

3 The All-India Spinners' Association which was a member federated to the Sarva Seva Sangh has recently decided to merge itself in the Sangh.

4 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is the Dakshina Prakashan Vibhag (Southern Publication Section) of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram.

5 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is now running two monthly Digest magazines, **SARVODAYA** in English and in Tamil.

6 It has also published so far about sixty books in Tamil on Khadi and other items of Constructive Programme, translations of Gandhiji's writings, and some of the latest books on Gandhiji during the last few years.

7 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has been recently entrusted with the publication of Gandhian literature in Tamil on behalf of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Tamil Nad).

8 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is endeavouring to help in the publication and distribution of Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature in the other regional languages of the South, namely, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada.

9 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is stocking Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature of Navajivan Trust, Talimi Sangh, All India Village Industries Association and other publishers.

10 Foreign publications of similar literature will be stocked for sale in the Prachuralayam. Enquiries on all the above and others of the Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature may be addressed to:-

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(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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An Appeal to Our Readers

This magazine first appeared in July '51 as 'The Khadi World' under the Charkha Sangh. From July '52 this is being published as 'Sarvodaya' by the Sarva Seva Sangh. It will be completing its second year with June '53.

There is no advertisement income as the readers may know. The only income is what annual subscribers and the monthly subscribers pay. The subscription is kept at the lowest level of Rs. 3 per year.

We regret to say that the circulation has still not increased to a level to make the magazine fully self-supporting. Therefore the loss is met by a subsidy from the Sarva Seva Sangh.

'Sarvodaya' can pay its way with an increase in pages if the circulation substantially increases.

We would appeal to every reader who appreciates the object of the 'Sarvodaya' Magazine to help by securing two annual subscribers before June '53.

NON-VIOLENT ECONOMY

MAHATMA GANDHI



Strictly speaking, no activity and no industry is possible without a certain amount of violence, no matter how little. Even the very process of living is impossible without a certain

amount of violence. What we have to do is to minimize it to the greatest extent possible. Indeed the very word non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to abandon the violence that is inevitable in life. Therefore whoever believes in Ahimsa will engage himself in occupations that involve the least possible violence. Thus, for instance, one cannot conceive of a man believing in non-violence carrying on the occupation of a butcher. Not that a meat-eater cannot be non-violent, but even a meat-eater believing in non-violence will not go in for Shikar and he will not engage in war or war preparations. Thus there are many activities and occupations which necessarily involve violence and must be eschewed by a non-violent man. But there is agriculture without which life is impossible, and which does involve a certain amount of violence. The determining factor therefore is — is the occupation founded on violence? But since all activity involves some measure of violence all we have to do is to minimize the violence involved in it. This is not possible without a heart-belief in non-violence.

Suppose there is a man who does no actual violence, who labours for his bread, but who is always consumed with envy at

other people's wealth or prosperity. He is not non-violent. A non-violent occupation is thus that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others.

Now I have no historical proof, but I believe that there was a time in India when village economics were organised on the basis of such non-violent occupations, not on the basis of the rights of man but on the duties of man. Those who engaged themselves in such occupations did earn their living, but their labour contributed to the good of the community. A carpenter, for instance, ministered to the needs of the village farmer. He got no cash payment but was paid in kind by the villagers. There could be injustice even in this system, but it would be reduced to a minimum. I speak from personal knowledge of the life in Kathiawad of over sixty years ago. There was more lustre in people's eyes, and more life in their limbs, than you find today. It was a life founded on unconscious Ahimsa.

Body labour was at the core of these occupations and industries and there was no large scale machinery. For when a man is content to own only so much land as he can till with his own labour, he cannot exploit others. Handicrafts exclude exploitation and slavery. Large scale machinery concentrates wealth in the hands of one man who lords it over the rest who slave for him. For he may be trying to create ideal conditions for his workmen, but it is none the less exploitation which is a form of violence.

When I say that there was a time when society was based not on exploitation but on justice, I mean to suggest that truth and Ahimsa were not virtues confined to individuals but were practised by communities. To me virtue ceases to have any value if it is cloistered or possible only for individuals.

(From 'Rebuilding our Villages' — Latest Navajivan Publication. Price: Re 1-8-0)

Acharya Vinobaji's Opening Speech AT CHANDIL SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

On 7th March, 1953

Vinobaji's 190 minute speech on the 7th March is a highly intellectual and analytical exposition of the present day conflict in the world and the Sarvodaya approach for its solution. The following is a free rendering of the first part of the speech.

TRIBUTE TO LATE SHRI MASHRUWALA

Githa has stated: "There can be action in inaction and inaction in action." The very existence of persons who are free from malice and hatred and whose hearts are pure is found to be doing a lot of work in this world. Shri Kishorilal Mashruwala is one among them. He took all interest in the work we are doing now. As he was extremely weak in health, much of the work that he was doing, did not appear to us what is ordinarily known as physical work. All the 24 hours of the day he was working the magnitude of which we could not understand. After Bapu, he was our support. Such strength as was found in him is not present in any one of us. His departure from our midst is a heavy loss which we can make up only by developing such qualities of his in ourselves. He was kind and gentle by nature and a practical example for good conduct and behaviour. I wish we may develop such gentleness and good conduct in our mutual relationship so that our work may succeed in full.

We are a group of workers. We all assemble here after doing some work through out the year. We talk, exchange views and ideas and then go back with some programme of work for the next year. Today whatever be the work, in whichever corner it is done it casts its effect through out the whole world. Bearing this in mind we have to examine the scheme, the programme and the method of the work which we intend to do for the coming year.

THE TWO FORCES IN THE WORLD

Two new forces are now working in this world. Two new currents are there. Two

conceptions and sentiments are competing and conflicting. The whole situation is shaky. There are many danger spots ready to burst at any time. It may be that they may develop many phases. I am drawing this dreadful picture not with a view to frighten you. We have to bear this in mind when we take every step forward in our work. With an eye on it we have to shape our activities.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE HEART AND HEAD

One or two months back some wise and learned men met at Delhi and had some searching discussions to evaluate the technique and application of non-violence. It is reported that Shri Rajendra Babu stated there that no nation in the world had yet the courage to declare that it could function without the strength of military force and further he expressed regret that, inspite of the fact that the people of India heard with their own ears straight from Gandhiji's mouth his teachings and did attempt some work in that line, they could not do so. Our great leader Pandit Nehru said on many occasions that no problem of the world could be solved by the use of military force. He has no belief in violence. His heart believes in non-violence. Even then in this peculiar situation of the world he had to accept the responsibility to increase and strengthen the military strength of the country. In such a strange state of the world we are living now.

The heart believes in one thing but the brain directs action in a different way. We desire that non-violence should spread not only in India but in the whole world. We shall not fear each other. We shall love one another. The heart believes fully that love alone will win and bring success. It tells us

that no problem of the world can be solved by violence. It knows that if one problem is solved, ten other problems emerge out of it. The brain is a mixture of three qualities. Among them some is the power of thought, some of absorption and some of perception and some of non-perception. This brain tells us that we cannot give up military force.

This is the situation. In our heart we desire to do constructive work. But our brain tells us we may have to build up military strength. Those who had no faith in Charkha, gave it up. But those who place faith in Charkha, have begun now to ask themselves whether through Charkha, the machinery of war can be challenged. Their brain tells them 'No, through these small industries we cannot sustain the machinery of war.'

COMMUNITY PROJECT

The Government desires to introduce the Community Projects in the 5 to 7 lakhs of our villages. They are started in a few villages. They hope that when this work is extended to other villages also, unemployment will be wiped off and the country will become prosperous. But I doubt that if war breaks out tomorrow whether a single one of these projects will continue working. Even they who started it cannot say whether these projects will be continued or not. Their brain will begin to fret and fume and will say "Now the chief work of the day is the defense of the country." Even if we sit on those seats of responsibility it cannot be said that something different will be done, for they are the seats of glamour and whoever that ascends it will in turn be forced to think in a narrow limited and consciously helpless circle. Even the great nations of America and Russia get frightened. Then how can the less strong nations of Pakistan and Hindustan feel otherwise?



Vinobaji talking with villagers

Rajen Babu has told us that in such a situation of fear and mutual distrust among nations who pile up armaments more and more, the responsibility falls on the Sarvodaya Sevaks to create such an atmosphere that a new society may be built up on the basic principles for which the Sarvodaya Samaj stands. If the Samaj can do this it will be the greatest help to the Government. If any one among us were to accept a minister-ship and help the government to carry on administration, that service will not be as helpful to it as it would be if we were to remain outside and work to build up that society which would show how to govern without the strength of military force.

JANA SHAKTHI

People ask me on many occasions why I remain outside and why I don't take up the responsibility of state administration. My answer is this: If two bulls are already yoked to the cart, of what help will it be if a third bull is also fastened to it. If I remain outside, I can clear the path and give a better tract to proceed on. In our ancient culture an honoured place was given to bulls, and it was given the name of *Dhurendher* (that which carries load or responsibility). Those who have taken up administrative responsibility tell, 'please don't do the work which we are doing. What is lacking in us, please fill up.' They really desire our help. From this we have to understand that we have to work in creating that strength in the people which I call *Janasakti* which is the very foundation of the new order of society which we desire to usher in.

THE THIRD FORCE

What is this third force or *Jana Shakti*? It will be that force which is hostile to violent force. Yet it is different from the police force (*Dhanda shakti*) of the state. This police force has, of course, got a fraction of violence in it. But I don't desire to call it a violent

force because it is the whole society that has entrusted this power in the hands of the government. Hence it is not a mere violent force, but something apart from it and it is the State's power to punish only. The Sarvodaya Sevaks would be understanding their duty and fulfilling their responsibility if only they create such an atmosphere, which will counteract the forces of violence in war and will not give many occasions for the State to use even the police force. This is what the people expect us to do and if we do not fulfill this task we cannot but be *Dhurendher*.

THE TWO LIMBS OF WAR

I shall make it more clear by an example. The war breaks out. Soldiers are getting wounded and killed. Some go there to nurse them. There are full of human kindness. They make no distinction of friend or foe. Risking their own lives they serve the wounded just like the mother does in the case of her children. It is really valuable service. There is no doubt about it. But does this work help to stop war in any way? Their service and kindness is but a wing of that society which recognises war and believes in the force of military strength. All the wheels of a machine though working in different directions are but parts of the whole machine. Similarly in war to kill and wound soldiers is one service, to nurse the wounded soldiers is another service. One is a cruel work and the other is a kind job. The wicked heart of the cruel and the humane heart of the kind man join together and run the machinery of war. Both are the limbs that go to form the body of war. Both of them, the soldier, be it his profession to kill and wound, and the doctor, be it his service to tender the wounded, are criminals. The doctors who nurse the wounded in the battle field cannot create the Kingdom of kindness; they do not; in fact their acts help to create empires only.

SARVODAYA OBJECTIVE

Thus the humanitarian work of the doctors and nurses in war service makes war only palatable as salt makes food tasty.

The above example will enable the Sarvodaya Sevaks to realize that the constructive work which they do even though it may appear to them and to the world as benevolent and creative, will not be real work in effect, unless they have a full and entire view of the objective behind. Any humanitarian service, if it flows at the dictates of wickedness will not be real service.

LEGISLATION OR MENTAL TRANSFORMATION?

Many ask me why I don't make a demand on the government to bring in legislation and to distribute land without any compensation. My answer to them to this: Brother, I don't stand in the way of legislation. I have taken this one step and in this itself I have not yet fully succeeded. If I have succeeded in achieving 75% or even 50% result then I can claim that the favourable atmosphere is created for legislation. One thing is that I should see that no obstruction for legislation should come in and the second thing is that I must pave the clear way for it. Without attempting them, if I take another step and go on repeating that without legislation this work will not succeed, then it means I do not know my duty. Swadharma demands that without the aid of legislation I should inspire a transformation in their mental outlook so that the people themselves may distribute the land among themselves, may be, there be even a little of legislation. Is it because of any law or rule that the mothers are feeding their babies with milk? There is such a power as love in the hearts of men that makes life happy and full. Man has faith in love. He is born in love. He is nursed through love. When he leaves the world his eyes gaze with love and if loving persons then come across his gaze he leaves the body with comfort and joy. Having realized this force of love if I go on repeating legislation, I will not be rendering that service which the government expects from us i. e. the creation of *Jana shakti*,—the non-violent sanction of the masses.

The Sarvodaya Sevaks' real service is therefore to build up the strength and power of public consciousness. This force, I don't say, is the counter force the 'to police force' of the State. It is only the opposite force to violence.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

On The Bhoodan Movement

Prime Minister Nehru addressed a Conference of Congress, Praja-Socialists, and some independent members of the Parliament at Delhi on the 27th March '53 to popularise Vinobaji's Bhoodan Movement. The following report of Shri Nehru's speech and the resolutions of the Conference is from "The Hindu", Madras.

FOREMOST QUESTION

Mr. Nehru said it was clear that the biggest and foremost question before the country was the land question. The Congress and other parties had been deliberating over this question for nearly 30 years. Economic and financial experts had also given thought to this question. But there were certain things in the life of the people which remained outside the domain of these experts. One such thing was the movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave which had influenced the hearts and minds of the people. Not only that, it was bound to have its influence on many other things affecting the life of the people.

The Prime Minister said the Bhoodan Yagna had been appreciated and praised by the All-India Congress Committee. It had been accepted that this movement was a novel way of solving a country's problem, but all this should not make people feel that their responsibility in this matter had ended after they had praised the movement. It would be completely wrong for people to imagine that Acharya Vinoba Bhave alone was now responsible for making the movement a success. People should not consider their responsibility in any sense less than that of the sponsor of the movement.

A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

The Bhoodan movement, said Mr. Nehru, was without doubt being conducted on a high plane and it was growing. But more than that, it was creating a particular atmosphere in the country which was revolutionary. It was not a revolution which involved strife and violence, but it helped to change society in a non-violent peaceful manner. "The novel way in which this movement is being conducted is beyond the understand-

ing of our financial Pandits. It reaches the minds and hearts of the people," he said.

Mr. Nehru said that in the solution of the land problem in some other countries bloodshed was involved. But this Bhoodan Yagna had shown the way how this problem could be solved without bloodshed in a peaceful, non-violent and co-operative way.

RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVTS.

Referring to the role of the Government in tackling the land question, Mr. Nehru said: "There is no doubt that laws are needed to solve this problem. It is clear that however great a success Acharya Vinoba Bhave might achieve, he could not take the place of law. So the responsibility of the Central Government as also the State Governments in solving this problem remains and has to be fully discharged. The Government's responsibility in this matter is not reduced by one jot as a result of the Bhoodan movement. If anybody thought that the Governments' responsibility had lessened because of this movement, he would be only deceiving himself.

"The Bhoodan movement, however, creates a good atmosphere for the solution of the problem and makes it a little easier for all concerned to understand it and solve it. The movement creates an atmosphere which curbs internal strife and malice in its solution. In our country, completely original ways are found sometimes to solve intricate and difficult problems, which adds to our strength."

Mr. Nehru stressed that the Bhoodan movement should not be considered a party movement or a movement of the Congress. The Congress had accepted the movement and supported it. But there were other par-



Pandit Nehru and Vinobaji at Chandil

ties also supporting the movement. In certain places, they had done better work than Congressmen. Mr. J. P. Narain was devoting his whole time to the movement.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ON BHOODAN

The Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, who presided, said the movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave was preparing the "public mind for a drastic social and economic revolution — a revolution which will be brought about by consent and not by coercion."

RESOLUTION

The conference passed a resolution which placed on record its "sense of deep appreciation" for Acharya Vinoba Bhave's movement. The resolution said: "This conference of the members of both Houses of the Parliament of India places on record its sense of deep appreciation of Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna which has ushered in a new

chapter in the socio-economic reconstruction of India.

"The conference earnestly hopes that the public in general and members of Parliament and State Legislatures in particular will lend their active support and co-operation to this great and noble movement and help Acharya Vinoba Bhave in achieving the target of 25 lakhs acres of land by the end of March, 1954."

BHOODAN COMMITTEE

By another resolution, the conference appointed a committee to "further the objects of the resolution" with Dr. Radhakrishnan as Chairman. The members of the committee include Mr. Nehru, Mr. Kalelkar, Mr. P. D. Tandon, Mr. Kelappan, Mr. S. N. Agarwal and Mr. Krishnan Nair. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani and Mr. Radharaman were appointed conveners of the Committee.

BHOODAN ALL OVER INDIA

RECEIVED UP TO 7-3-1953

	Acres
1 Uttar Pradesh	4,74,529
2 Bengal	102
3 Bihar	1,96,956
4 Utkal	3,228
5 Assam	200
6 Tamil Nad	6,976
7 Andhra	7,021
8 Karnatak	99
9 Mysore	37
10 Kerala	5,800
11 Madhya Pradesh	14,000
12 Maharashtra	2,000
13 Hyderabad	38,286
14 Delhi	1,124
15 Punjab - Pepsu	230
16 Gujarat	5,501
17 Saurashtra	3,000
18 Bombay	—
19 Rajasthan	18,000
20 Madhya Pradesh	2,490
21 Vindhya Pradesh	2,074
22 Himachal	1,600
Total	7,83,253

* SAMPATH DHANPATRA *

This is the specimen form in which the money offering is to be made in the name of Vinobaji: Shri Vinobaji,

In accordance with the Indian traditions you have now, with a view to perfect the non-violent economic revolution, demanded from the people the sixth portion of wealth, besides land. You have thus opened the door even to those who having no lands could now significantly participate in Bhoodan Yagna.

At your call for Daridranarayan I offer you the portion of my earnings and I shall use it for public purposes in accordance with your instructions every year.

I will send regularly the annual accounts of my income to you or to your representative or to the committee empowered by you for the said purpose.

I assume the responsibility of preserving the whole amount of the portion written above and to spend it in accordance with your instructions.

As the Almighty who dwells within me I myself am witness for this vow. I have to be loyal to my inner soul.

May God grant me strength!

The particulars of my wealth are given below.

Full Name

Signature

Full Address

Date

ABOLITION OF YARN QUOTA FOR KHADI

A. I. S. A.'S TAMIL NAD & KERALA SANCHALAKS' DECISION

It was in 1944 that Gandhiji placed his proposal to give a total re-orientation to the Khadi movement before the Trustees of the A. I. S. A. This aimed in transforming khadi work towards the objective of creating a non-violent society free from exploitation of any kind. As a result of this a fundamental principle was accepted by the A. I. S. A. in the form of a dictum that "He who spins should wear khadi and that he who uses khadi should contribute some fixed quota of yarn as part of its price."

This rule was enforced from July 1945 in the Khadi Bhandars all over India. In the beginning, the yarn quota was half anna worth of yarn per every rupee of khadi bought. Later it was raised on a rational ground to one-eighth of the total quantity of yarn consumed for the khadi bought.

We need not go into the details of the principle or the various methods and policies of enforcement of this rule. Since 1945 sufficient propaganda has been made on this subject by Gandhiji himself and the A. I. S. A. that even the non-khadi users have become familiar with them.

This yarn rule has been in observance till now. Shri Gandhi Ashram, Meerut which is in charge of the whole khadi work in Uttar Pradesh lifted this rule even in 1947 when Gandhiji was alive. Later The Bihar Khadi Samiti which became an autonomous body in Bihar as a successor to the provincial branch of the A. I. S. A., suspended this rule. In 1948 April the Trustees of the Charkha Sangh resolved that the yarn quota rule be followed by the Charkha Sangh alone leaving the observance of the same to the option of the certified institutions. This concession was indirectly intended to help the Congressmen who had either difficulty or objection in satisfying the rule in getting khadi. The Charkha Sangh however felt convinced that the yarn quota should be followed as it is wedded to the policy of achieving self-sufficiency in khadi both individually and regionally.

The new concession of waiving the yarn quota in the case of certified institutions encouraged many institutions to come forward in almost all the provinces except in Tamil Nad and Kerala. Hence practically all activities of khadi in these two areas have been directly managed by the A. I. S. A.

The question of lifting the yarn quota has been under serious consideration of the Charkha Sangh since long owing to various obvious reasons which may not be examined here.

The Sanchalaks of the A. I. S. A. Vibhags in Tamil Nad and Kerala met at Madras on 22nd, 23rd March under the presidency of Shri Krishnadas Gandhi, Ex-Secretary of the Charkha Sangh. An important decision was taken then "to abolish the insistence of giving yarn hank on the khadi purchased by the public." This abolition came into effect immediately from the 26th March throughout the khadi bhandars in Tamil Nad and Kerala.

This policy has been adopted subject to certain conditions as insisted by the Charkha Sangh as per its resolution passed at Chandil on 11-3-'53. According to this the A. I. S. A. Sanchalaks are free to lift the yarn quota if they would enforce regional self-sufficiency as regards khadi with particular reference to the centres of khadi production. In accordance with this the A. I. S. A. will follow a procedure of paying only khadi, cotton implements etc. in kind against the value of yarn spun by the spinners in the region and withholding payment of cash under any condition. The surplus khadi after meeting the requirements of the spinners and their families in the production centres can be marketed through the sales bhandars in the regions without insisting yarn quota from khadi purchasers.

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At the meeting of the Sanchalaks at Madras, matters regarding the co-operation of the Charkha Sangh with the Khadi and Village Industries' Board of the Government of India and the consequential changes in the operation of khadi work after the merging of the Charkha Sangh in the Sarva Seva Sangh were also considered.

It was also suggested to hold a conference of the khadi workers of all the provinces to consider the future framework of khadi work after the Charkha Sangh has dissolved itself into the Sarva Seva Sangh. The conference was to be held in Wardha in April but it was recommended by the Sanchalaks to hold somewhere in the south as the major part of khadi activity is being carried on here:

SARVA SEVA SANGH'S RESOLUTIONS

The Sarvodaya Samaj does not pass any resolution at its annual gatherings. It is only the Sarva Seva Sangh which may be compared to a physical body of the spiritual concept of the Sarvodaya Samaj that manifests the inner urges of the Samaj in the form of resolutions. The following are the resolutions passed by the Sarva Seva Sangh on the occasion of the fifth annual meeting of Sarvodaya Sevaks at Chandil in Bihar State on the 7th, 8th and 9th March, 1953.

1. BHOODAN

RESPONSE OF THE LAND-OWNERS

Last year, at Sevapuri, the Sarva Seva Sangh pledged its support to the Bhoo-Dan-Movement and decided to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land within 2 years. One year is now over, and we have only been able to collect 7 to 8 lakh acres of land. Still, when we remember how deep man's attachment to land is and how little faith the people and the majority of workers had in the beginning, we will have to admit that securing 7 to 8 lakhs acres of land is indeed a surprising achievement.

We are glad that not only big land-owners but also a good number of small land-owners and poor peasant-proprietors have donated land in this Yagna. This has strengthened our faith. We congratulate them, and are grateful for the response we have received from them. They have purified themselves and have helped in creating an atmosphere conducive to the purity and enrichment of our society.

Various institutions and workers, and many from among the people, have extended their co-operation to us even in the face of difficulties. The Sarva Seva Sangh is grateful to them for this co-operation.

CORNER STONE FOR SARVODAYA SOCIETY

Today we pledge ourselves anew to this great task. We have to collect 17 to 18 lakh acres of land in the next 12 months. For this it is necessary for us to carry on our work with greater devotion and concentration during the coming year. We have to remember too that the objective of the Bhoo-Dan-Yagna is not merely to collect 25 lakh acres of land, but to prepare the background for a non-violent revolution and to lay the corner stone of the structure of a Sarvodaya society. A special responsibility, therefore, devolves on all those who believe in the Sarvodaya philosophy, and more especially,

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on institutions and workers carrying on constructive work. For, their object is to strive for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society, and it is evident that this object of theirs cannot be fulfilled without integrating their programmes with the effort to bring about a peaceful transformation of our society. The Bhoo-Dan-Movement is such a dynamic movement for a non-violent revolution, on the basis of which and in integration with which alone, can the constructive work institutions progress towards the fulfilment of their objectives. We therefore hope that these institutions and workers will give first place to the Bhoo-Dan-Yagna in their programmes of work, and see that they not only collect 25 lakh acres of land in the coming 12 months, but create the atmosphere necessary for the establishment of a non-exploitative and equalitarian society by collecting 5 crores of acres of land by 1957.

APPEAL TO YOUTHS

We also appeal to political and social workers to forget all their differences and to co-operate in the great work of this Yagna.

Our youths are today anxious for a revolution. They must realize that the revolution is already in their midst, and that what has to be done today is to ensure the success of this great revolution, by setting aside all other work and placing their services at the disposal of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Such dedication on the part of the youths of our country can certainly strengthen the revolution and make it take firm roots in the soil.

APPEAL TO LAND-OWNERS

In conclusion, we appeal to landowners, especially to big landowners, to realize that this Yagna will be beneficial to them too, since Sarvodaya which this Yagna wants to usher in, means the well-being of all. We appeal to them, therefore, to work in every possible way to ensure the success of this movement. Up to now, only Vinobaji and his co-workers have been going from village to village and house to house asking for

land-gifts. But the time has now come for landowners to come forward voluntarily and to donate land; for the new society we seek to build up can only be built up by those who have undergone a change of heart and realized the greatness of the ideals that prompt this Yagna.

REAL CHANGE OF HEART

Many want the work of redistribution of land to be completed through legislation. The Bhoo-Dan-Yagna does not stand in the way of legislation, but creates an atmosphere favourable to legislation. Still, we believe that the power that the people will acquire if we accomplish this task through a genuine change of heart will be the real basis of a Sarvodaya society.

We hope that all those who have received the message of the Bhoo-Dan-Yagna and realised the supreme and inescapable duty of our times will come forward, take part in this Yagna and co-operate in the fulfilment of our pledge, without waiting for anyone to go to them and appeal for land.

2. GRAM RAJYA

It is our firm conviction that Sarvodaya Samaj can only be brought into being through the establishment of 'Gram Rajya'. In order to attain this ideal every village must develop the capacity to be self-sufficient at least, with regard to the primary necessities of life, viz., food, clothing, shelter, health and education so that it may not have to depend on centralised production for the satisfaction of these primary needs. This will enable the people of the villages to establish 'Gram Rajya' by their own unaided efforts through the decentralisation of political as well as economic power. In the opinion of the Sangh unless power and wealth are decentralised the individual will not have the opportunity for the harmonious development of his personality through labour rather than by capital.

Therefore, with a view to give a country-wide impetus to the development of decentralised industries or in other words, village industries, the Sarva Seva Sangh had, in its Sevapuri resolution, appealed to the nation to begin with the boycott of such centralised industries as have been found to prove detrimental to the self-sufficiency of the villages in regard to food and clothing. The Sangh again calls the attention of the people to that resolution with all the earnestness at its command and earnestly hopes that the whole country will make a determined effort to

make the programme the success for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Yagna.

3. PROHIBITION

Prohibition has been an important part of our national movement. Under the leadership of Gandhiji, there was always insistence on prohibition, so much so that even when all the other programmes of the Civil Disobedience Movement were withdrawn after the Gandhi Irwin Pact, the right of peacefully picketing liquor shops was insisted upon. It was, therefore, hoped that with the attainment of Swaraj, the drink evil will be rooted out from the country. Even the Constitution of free India has accepted this as a duty of the Government. This insistence on prohibition has been due to the fact that alcoholism not only lowers the moral and ethical standards of the people but also destroys the lives of the poor and brings about their total ruin. The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore congratulates the Madras and Bombay Governments for the courage and idealism they have shown in legislating for prohibition.

But of late the well-being of the poor and the moral standards of the nation are being judged from the point of view of the revenues of the State and the Central Government seems almost to have made 'Go slow' a religious aphorism for the guidance of the State Governments. Central Ministers have even gone to the extent of implying that State Governments which have proceeded with legislation on prohibition have exhibited a kind of short-sightedness. The Sarva Seva Sangh rejects this point of view, as it is sure that an instruction to 'Go slow' in this respect can only mean an invitation to 'fall' fast.

The Sarva Seva Sangh also believes that the responsibility for eradicating alcoholism should not rest entirely with the Government and that social and political workers should also take up the responsibility for creating an atmosphere favourable to prohibition.

Friends interested in **SARVODAYA MAGAZINE** are requested to send us addresses of a few friends who may be prospective subscribers. Free specimen copies of **SARVODAYA** will be sent to them.

All India Spinners' Association's Decision to merge in Akhila Bharata Sarva Seva Sangh

Chandil will be ever remembered in the history of the All-India Spinners' Association. Immediately after the Sarvodaya Sammelan the A. I. S. A. took a momentous decision to dissolve itself and merge in the Akhila Bharata Sarva Seva Sangh.

This question had come on several occasions before the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Charkha Sangh during the past four years. But owing to several reasons no decision could be made.

The rapid development of the situation in the country, particularly after the great Bhoodan movement under the leadership of Vinobaji has created a favourable condition for all the leading constructive institutions in the country founded by Gandhiji to seriously think of jointly working towards the common objective under a single programme and a single leadership. Time could be never more propitious for the Charkha Sangh to resolve to unreservedly merge itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

It was in 1944 that Mahatma Gandhi placed the idea of Navasamskaran or re-orientation of the whole Khadi activity towards all-round work for the total uplift of the villages for a new social order free from exploitation of any kind. The Charkha Sangh has been since trying to transform itself and give a new turn to its work towards creating conditions for the non-violent social order.

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, the President of the Charkha Sangh, has been incessantly working hard during the last five years to bring about a thorough transformation in the working of the Charkha Sangh. His strenuous labour has now borne fruit.

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar took the initiative of addressing the Trustees of the A. I. S. A. in a well reasoned letter about the advisability of deciding now in favour of merging. This was the basis for discussion

at the meeting of the Trustees at Chandil on the 11th March '53. A resolution was passed unanimously by the Trustees present for merging the Sangh in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The Sarva Seva Sangh came into existence in 1948 by the joint decision of the various constructive institutions for co-ordinating their activities under an overall plan of work with the single objective and programme and guidance. The A. I. S. A., Talimi Sangh and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha were federated into the Sarva Seva Sangh while the All-India Village Industries' Association and Go-Seva Sangh became merged into the Sangh. Now the Charkha Sangh has taken the decision to merge itself in the Sangh giving a lead to other institutions.

The Sarva Seva Sangh met at Chandil on the 11th March, '53 and considered the resolution of the A. I. S. A. offering to merge. It heartily welcomed the offer of the A. I. S. A. and decided to circulate it to other members of the Sangh, who could not be present then. It was also decided to consider this matter in detail at the next meeting at Sevaqram on 25th, 26th and 27th April, '53. In the meanwhile the Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Secretary of the Charkha Sangh were authorised to present a scheme under which the merged organisation will work within the Sangh. ★

TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

I am ever trying to follow them in my life, I too am growing every moment. I see new implications about them, I see them in a newer light every day and read in them a new meaning. That is why I am constantly placing new proposals before the Spinners' Association, the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Village Industries Association. That does not mean that I am unsettled or unbalanced; that means that those are living organizations and must ever grow, even as a tree is ever growing. I want you also to grow with me. — GANDHIJI

Vinobaji's Appeal for Sampath-Dhan



It was on the 18th day of April, 1951, that the idea of launching the Bhoodan Movement flared into my mind. And it may now be safely said that it has drawn the attention of the people all over the country and won their approval. From *Bhoodan* to *Sampattidan* (i. e. from land-gift to gift of wealth) was a natural step and the idea that along with Bhoodan, I should also ask for *Sampattidan* did occur to me and held my mind. But the land-problem was a basic one and I saw that unless something was done to meet it, it might develop into a big danger detrimental to the security of the nation. I, therefore, thought it fit first to concentrate my energy only on that question. Besides in case of land, all could easily see that it was the direct gift of God. Again, it is the basic factor in the production of wealth. This was another reason, why, in the beginning, I preferred to limit myself to the land-problem alone. Moreover, to proceed step by step was also in keeping with the technique of Ahimsa.

But as the work of Bhoodan progressed, it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and ask for a portion of wealth and property. And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people. I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it; but it is upto the people to decide what they can and will give me. The idea behind the demand is that all wealth, even though we may acquire it with our individual effort and skill, is not for us alone, but has been granted to us by God for all of us. The energy and initiative which went into the making of this wealth are themselves a gift of God.

I have said again and again in the course of my walking tours that I do not want money. Now however I am asking for a portion of wealth. How are the two to be reconciled then? The answer is that I am not going to take charge of it; nor will I shoulder the responsibility of managing and spending it and keeping the accounts. I will remain as free as ever. I also do not contemplate creating trusts as it is often done in the case of funds collected for public good. There is another vital difference between these funds which are raised from time to time for various purposes and this *Sampattidan Yajna*: it is that a portion of the income will have to be donated to this Yajna recurrently year after year. I have, therefore, decided that the money will remain with the donor himself, but he will use it, as we want him to do, and render us the account annually. It means that the donor will not only donate a portion of his property, but also will give us the benefit of his skill and intelligence in the use of it. It is true that I want the donor to spend the money as we desire him to do, but he may also put forward his own suggestions in this regard.

Obviously I am placing the entire responsibility on the donor himself and am proceeding on full trust in his integrity. The critics may find fault with this procedure. But then righteousness cannot stand on anything other than trust. No legal safeguards can give us the protection which trust can. It is from this point of view that I have laid down this procedure.

Those who desire to take part in this movement should do so joyfully, after fully satisfying themselves and after consulting other members of their family. I believe that if men of faith and goodwill come forward and help the movement to grow, then this idea which opens out a new way of life will spread in our country and pave the way for *Samya Yoga*--social equity. And in that belief, I offer this for consideration by all the good and the virtuous.

THE VALUES OF THE SMALL COMMUNITY

WILFRED WELLOCK

Wilfred Wellock was born in 1879 in a Lancashire cotton town. Until he was 24 he worked in a cotton factory. He became under manager in a big concern when he was 19. But modern industrialisation became intolerable. Industrialisation for making money conflicted with the ideas of his young aspiring mind. So he left it at 24, although his employers wanted him to become a partner in the firm and offered to invest a sum of money in the firm, in his name, if he would stay. But he declined and instead went to the University of Edinburgh with the money he had saved from his salary. He was already a pacifist and preached pacifism on the platform and in writing. He refused to fight in the first world war, and to be conscripted. He was court-martialled 3 times for refusing to put on a military uniform and to obey orders and served between 2 and 3 years in prison. After many refusals he decided at last, to enter politics, and in 1927 he was elected to Parliament. There he became the chairman of the first India Committee of M. Ps. But he gave up politics, two years later in order to advocate the views he now holds and which were explained in Mr. S. M. Neaksakhan's Interview published in our Sarvodaya in July, '52. The Orchard Lea Papers are his latest venture in the field of propaganda of the third way which is Gandhian-Sarvodaya Ideology. The following is an extract from Orchard Lea Paper No. 5.

NO ONE who meditated upon the history of the last fifty years would conclude that Western civilisation had more than the remotest connection with the good life. Two world wars, long periods of mass unemployment, the merciless repressions of Right and Left Dictatorships, mass purgings and liquidations, mass migrations, mass concentration and forced labour camps, testify to a civilisation that has lost its bearings and is on its way to self-destruction.

To-day the West is gripped by a three-fold fear--of failing markets and economic breakdown, of communism and of the third world war. In consequence, increasing percentages of its substance are flowing into armaments. Yet none of these fears need exist, and they only do so because man has lost his grip on TRUTH and thus upon himself.

How is he to recover that grip? In Orchard Lea Paper No. 2 I argued that the first step towards a human, peaceful (or dare we say Christian?) civilisation was the adoption of a reasonably balanced agro-industrial economy in all countries, and especially in Britain whose population is so completely out of proportion with her food-producing acres.

I claimed that such a policy would gradually free Britain from the major stresses and strains which stimulate fear and lead to war, and that this would enable her to devote herself wholly to the problem of raising the quality of her life, to think less about markets

and spending power and more about the art of living and the achievement of abundant life.

Our age requires a new pattern of life which takes account of the whole man, the economic man who lives by bread, and the spiritual man who lives by truth, fellowship, service and self-giving, meditation, affection, religion, love.

That pattern must embrace three important rights or values: responsibility and creative opportunity in one's daily labour, and vital relationship with the community in which one has one's being. These rights the social system must provide, so that every man may live creatively and satisfyingly in the fullest use of all his powers.

Our age has lost sight of the fact that man is a social being whose life can be fulfilled only in vital, vocational relationship with his community. A man's vocation, the quality of his personality and of his labour, and the vitality of his community relationships all hang together; they flourish and decline together.

Our present need calls upon us to re-organise our way of life, our industrial techniques, our social and political institutions, the size and nature of our social units, in order to enrich personal life through the realisation of many values at present beyond the reach of the great majority. It is with the size of the desirable social unit that I shall mainly deal in this Paper.

Is it not a startling fact that from the dawn of the Industrial Revolution down to the last few years no attention has been paid to the important question of the size of the social unit that is compatible with the fullest development of the human person? Factories have been allowed to grow in size and number and towns to spread, without let or hindrance, with the result that the majority of people have been herded into social units of anything from 100,000 to 1,000,000 souls, where all but a few become social ciphers with little or no community consciousness or civic sense.

If we relate the process towards industrial and civic giantism with the process towards industrial specialisation which has attended it, we shall perceive that they have degraded workmanship to robotism, and citizenship to the paying of rates, and incidentally laid the foundations of the totalitarian state. This degradation, like so much else, was accepted in the name of progress.

To remedy this situation we must restore to society its functional character and to man his basic freedoms and rights. One of the means to this end is the establishment of small agro-industrial communities in which every person has the status of a responsible worker and citizen, and enjoys organic relationship with a community which controls its economic and political life by means of Guilds, Councils, and such other institutions as it deems advisable.

From time immemorial philosophers and social thinkers have pronounced firmly in favour of the small community. Aristotle declared: *"Experience shows that a populous city is seldom, if ever, properly governed. Well governed cities have a limited population."*

Plato thought the desirable size of a city was 5,000. Rousseau's condemnation is supported by Western conditions today: *"Cities are the abyss of the human species. At the end of a few generations in them, races perish or degenerate and it is necessary to renew them. This renewal always comes from the country."*

Thomas Jefferson, viewing Europe from the spacious American continent as it was in 1737, gave this warning to his country: *"When we get piled upon one another in large cities as in Europe, we shall become as corrupt as Europe."* A "Jefferson" Report on the United States in 1953 would be an interesting and probably valuable document.

A collection of pronouncements by modern British and American authors in

favour of the small community as the best medium in which to develop an enduring and thus high quality civilisation, would fill a sizeable book.

History proves abundantly that it is in small, largely self-governing communities that workmanship reaches its highest quality and citizenship its peak of culture and grandeur. To produce for a user, a neighbour is far more satisfying than to produce for a trader, in that it establishes a permanent relationship of esteem and goodwill. It is in these conditions that a man puts all he has into his labour, while to have something of one's soul in the homes and surroundings of one's habitations, is to be widely honoured and beloved—a reward which means more to a man than the cash return of his labour.

In this era of big-scale industrialism it is difficult to realise that during a period of many centuries Englishmen worked more responsibly, creatively and satisfyingly than they have done since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. In those centuries, when the population was about one-twentieth of what it is to-day, creative genius was more abounding and its work more manifest in intimate everyday features of the common life than has since been the case, as hundreds of villages and country towns and numerous museums still testify.

The communities in which our forefathers lived and laboured were small, but they were well integrated. Their foundation was agriculture, the source of their food, but in addition there were scores of crafts and skill by which all their needs were met. In the exercise of these skills, most of which had taken centuries to perfect, craftsmen increased their knowledge and gathered wisdom, rendered inestimable service to their neighbourhood, and earned their bread and a good name.

The master craftsman was the M. A. of the Middle Ages, and he received more honour and respect for his skill and knowledge which was a romantic lore, than does the M. A. of to-day. Moreover, his social instincts came into play in almost every job he did, as did also his religious instincts. What he saw around him in the fields, in the manifold activities of his neighbours, in nature, the sky and the seasons, and in the very raw materials he tried to fashion into things of utility and beauty, developed a sense of unity which he expressed and strengthened in the act of public worship and of participating

in numerous seasonal festivities. In the manifold diversity of their gifts those craftsmen surrounded themselves with a grandeur which no age since has equalled.

It is a fact of history that genius flourishes most abundantly in small neighbourly communities. An outburst of genius in a prophet, a poet, sculptor, painter or musician is followed by a number of his admiring and inspired neighbours becoming his imitators. Bertrand Russell pointed this out in his *Reith Lectures*:

"In the ages in which there were great poets, there were also large numbers of little poets, and when there were great painters there were large numbers of little painters. The great German composers arose in a milieu where music was valued, and where numbers of lesser men found opportunities. In those days poetry, painting and music were a vital part of the daily life of

ordinary men as only sport is now. The great prophets were men who stood out from a host of minor prophets. The inferiority of our age in such respects is an inevitable result of the fact that society is centralized and organized to such a degree that individual initiative is reduced to a minimum. Where art has flourished in the past it has flourished as a rule amongst rival small communities such as the Greek City States, the little Principalities of the Italian Renaissance and the petty Courts of German eighteenth-century rulers. Each of these rulers had to have his musician and once in a way he was Sebastian Bach but even if he was not he was still free to do his best."

It is now widely accepted that our Western civilisation has become top-heavy and financial, industrial and political power so highly centralised that in our giant towns and cities human personality has ceased to have significance.

BEE-KEEPING

— S. VISWANATHAN

The writer has been specialising in this subject since 1934 and has worked in the various State Governments as a research officer. He visited Australia, New Zealand and England in 1949 and '50 on a study tour. The Madras Government has secured his services as an adviser in the Rural Welfare Department.

India, the land of milk and honey, the land of many sacred rivers, lofty mountain ranges covered with magnificent forest, deep and rich valleys, extensive plains of food and other commercial crops, green fields, a long coastal strip fringed with cocoanut palms, endowed with rare sceneries, rich in wild games, exhibiting varied climatic conditions and different floral regions, has a unique geographical position and factors that favour the growth of Bee-Life. Swarms of bees of various kinds, from the largest to the tiniest in the world, from the most stinging and dreadful to the stingless and harmless, abound in the regions of ever blooming basins formed by the mighty Himalayas, the Western Ghats, the Vindhya and drained by the sacred mother Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmaputra, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Cauvery, the Narmada, the Tapi and other numerous streams. Large cities of bees that hum with life and activity all the year round are located at the sources of great rivers, and their civilization can be traced along the ever winding courses of such rivers. Mountains and rivers promote the growth of animal and plant life. Animal and plant life together

with the mineral world play an important role and contribute much to the advancement of human civilization based on Art, Science and Industry. A country's wealth is measured by the richness of animal and plant life. A country's prosperity is known by the flow of milk and honey in quality and quantity. In such a country health smiles and dances and civilization marches on its wings and wheels with peace and plenty. More number of cattle and bees a country has, better will be the health and prosperity of her people.

Nature is particularly kind towards India in providing her with immense possibilities for developing both Dairy and Bee Farms. It only requires a drive and a well planned organisation of economic development to introduce modern way of handling them, establish hundreds and thousands of cattle sheds, sheep yards, and bee hives in those fortunately situated villages and produce tons of milk and its products as well as honey—the combination of both serving mankind the sweetest and most nourishing article of diet. In these days of food shortage,

famine, sugar rationing etc., the popular Governments of the States should chalk out some bold plans for the conservation and increase of such valuable animal life for the betterment of those starving millions.

In many civilized countries Bee-keeping for profit or pleasure occupies part or whole of the time of millions of persons of both sexes. From the enormous amount of literature available on Bees, one could clearly see how the subject is being treated in foreign countries. It is well known that thousands of tons of honey are exported by Canada, United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. Whereas in India, "the home of the wild bees", where honey can be produced in such enormous quantity that would put other countries' production into insignificance, one finds very little progress in this direction. At present, with the exception of a few States honey collection in India is not carried on scientifically and systematically. Definite data on the quantity of honey and wax collected annually from various sources is difficult to obtain. Much propaganda and research will have to be undertaken before one can expect India to lead other countries in the matter of honey production. In the initial stage, a popular government alone can set up such research and propaganda Bureau for Bee Culture, train a number of candidates of the farmer class, encourage them to build up Apiaries, distribute or sell at concession rates bees and bee appliances, organise Bee-keepers' Co-operative Societies supervise their work, and make a countrywide bee-mindedness. "Back to the Land", "Grow More Food", are the latest slogans that greet one's ears. Let there be "keep more bees", "drink more honey" campaign also. Like cattle, fowls and other domestic animals, bees should also find a place in every home and garden particularly in thousands of huts of rural India. The hum of bees and the hum of charkha in every village must greet a visitor as both of them carry message of peace and plenty. Bee-keeping as a cottage industry has several advantages. It can give employment directly or indirectly to hundreds and thousands of our people of all castes and both sexes. It is a clean and fascinating as well as health giving open air occupation requiring little outlay, negligible running expense and no attention from day to day. Besides yielding honey and wax, bees help agriculture by cross pollination and the presence of a large number of bee colonies in fruit gardens and other areas of field crops assures

the owner a better yield of crops and this fact has been proved beyond doubt by experiments in other countries. The fear of bee stings is the disadvantage that prevents many to take to it. Perhaps it will be interesting to note that even the bee stings have medicinal value and it is a cure for rheumatism. By gentle handling and with a little experience and with the help of veil and a pair of gloves, it need be, one can overcome this fear and manipulate them.

A few hives, one honey extractor and a knife are the minimum required equipments for starting a bee farm. A hive (teak-wood) costs about Rs. 10 to 12, honey extractor Rs. 30 to 40 and the knife Rs. 2. In order to start a bee farm of 12 hives which can easily be managed by a farmer or other professionals in their leisure time may require about Rs. 250 as outlay and another Rs. 50 or so for obtaining bees and other running expenses. The return from the bees depends on the locality, weather conditions, the strain of bees, the presence or absence of their natural enemies and above all, the skill of the person who handles them and drives them to work harder and harder. If all the conditions go satisfactory, a colony yields in the course of an year, from 5 to 15 lbs. It has been reported that a maximum quantity of 100 lbs. of honey per hive was collected from a few hives at Mahabaleshwar, a hill station on the Western Ghats in Bombay State, 60 lbs. at Honavar in North Kanara, in Punjab Kulu Valley, 40 to 60 lbs. in Kashmir Assam, Darjeeling, Nainital, Almora in Uttar Pradesh, 15 to 20 lbs. in Cochin-Travancore Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, Rajapalayam Cumbum etc. in South India. These yields are very encouraging comparing to that of other countries. In Canada, the average yield per colony is reported to be about 60 lbs. In other honey producing countries it is either a little more or a little less where they have a bigger size bee, a better system and standard of agriculture and forestry and where other State aids for the promotion of such rural industries are available. There have been a few instances here and there in India where one high school or elementary school teacher in his leisure is able to get from bees over Rs. 500 every year, another farmer or a cow-boy from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600, a third shop-keeper Rs. 200 to 300 and so on, by keeping only a dozen bee colonies or so. Doctors, pleaders, engineers all find some time to take to bees and produce honey to meet their home-requirements.

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THE FIFTH SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

The constructive workers of the country met for their annual gathering, under the auspices of the Sarvodaya Samaj, at Chandil in the Manbhum district of South-east Bihar, on March 7, 8 and 9 last. Some 21 miles from Tatanagar and 74 miles from Ranchi, Chandil is a village in the Chota Nagpur plateau.

It is no easy task to set up a habitable colony for about two thousand persons in such a hilly locality as Chandil. But credit must be given to Shri Lakshminarain Babu, the doyen of Bihar constructive workers, and his numerous colleagues, for making the arrangements a success. No cots or takhts for our bed; we had simple straw called Pyal and the walls as also the roof of our tenements were made from palm-leaves. A chit of a stream from the adjoining hills, across which a temporary dam had been built by the local village people, served for bathing and cleaning purposes.

All items of food were either nature's own or hand-pounded and hand-ground; mill products—sugar Vanaspathi, rice or wheat—were conspicuous by their absence. The meeting ground or the pandal was the simplest conceivable, mats below and above and a small raised platform, with a white khadi sheet, serving as dais. No flag, no curtains, no pictures, no paintings or drawings, nothing ostentatious or glittering.

The Conference, sitting twice every day, was presided over by Shri Dharendra Majumdar, the President of the All-India Spinners' Association. It began at eight in the morning with an half-hour silent spinning and prayers. Then after a few words of welcome by Lakshmi Babu, the Sarvodaya exhibition was opened by the veteran and

indefatigable constructive worker of Orissa, Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhari, with a brief speech. The presidential address was briefer still. Sri Dhirendrabhai drew the attention of his audience to the high hope of the Indian mass and the demand of the times. If the former was not fulfilled, he declared, the time would swallow us all, and it was for the Conference, he concluded, to devise ways and means to realise that hope. Thereafter the report of work done since we met last was submitted by Shri Shankarrao Deo, the General Secretary of the Sarva Seva-Sangh.

The audience included no less a distinguished visitor than the highest political dignitary of the country, our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In a frank and touching speech lasting 20 minutes, he confessed that the expectations of the people were not realised since the advent of Swaraj and expressed inability to say when they would be realised at all. Those in office, he continued, had not the courage to attain

the dear and desired objective. Surrounded by glitter and pomp, they neither followed the cherished ideal nor believed in it. Rajendra Babu declared that he personally believed more strongly than ever in the loftiness of the Sarvodaya ideal but felt lost and could not act up to it. He was happy to see several old and familiar faces but happier still to see new ones—the sign of a new life. He was sure that the society or Satsang of the Sarvodaya people would profit him ever more.

Next came the main speech of the session. It was delivered by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, the apostle of Bhodan-Yagna and founder of the Sarvodaya Samaj. A fitting title to this hundred-minute address, perhaps the longest ever delivered by Vinobaji, may be "The spirit behind constructive work." Paying



VINOBAJI AND RAJENDRABU AT CHANDIL

a very heartfelt tribute to the late Acharya Kishorlal G. Mashruwala, he presented a lively and complete picture-cum-philosophy of constructive work — the objective, the technique and the programme. The objective was to generate an independent public force which ran counter to violent force and differed from legal force. As such, he added, he told Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when the latter saw him a few days ago, that he wanted the State to take upon itself the responsibility to teach spinning to everyone in the country as it did to impart literacy.

For about an hour in the noon women attending the Sammelan met under the Chairmanship of Shrimati Janakibai Bajaj. Vinobaji who was also present, asked them to do away with jewels. In fact, many of them actually came forward and parted with their rings or chains etc. and thus was initiated the Abhushan-Dan (Jewellery-gift) Movement as well.

The afternoon session opened with a vibrating speech by Sant Tukdoji Maharaj, the distinguished seer and saint-singer of Maharashtra. He was quite confident that Vinobaji's movement would be implemented by the people and would transform the country. Next came the well-known Shri J. C. Kumarappa. He stressed on a planned distribution of land not on individual but community basis. He exhorted the Sarvodaya workers to forget Vinobaji for the moment, treat themselves as trustees of land and solve the great problem themselves. He fervently hoped that everyone of them would

BEE-KEEPING

(Continued from page 232)

Of course, this may not be a tempting proposition to a person who wants to get rich quick. But it pays in its own way and would correspond to the person's skill and devotion put in the art. Many, in their first enthusiasm take to bee-keeping without gaining some practical experience required for the work and get discouraged often when the bees desert them. Given all that the bees want and freedom from frequent interference in their work, the bees would prove themselves to be an asset to the owner. More precious than the honey are the lessons he can learn by their company. To observe them inside the hive, on their wings and on flowers is like turning the leaves of the Book of Knowledge. Thought provoking truths will be revealed to a keen observer. Nature is most wonderful in little things, in the tiniest and least considered of her creatures.

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become a Vinoba and not rest content till this land problem was satisfactorily solved.

It was followed by a resolution placed by the General Secretary on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh (the executive body of the Sarvodaya Samaj). This resolution not only reiterated the decision taken last year — to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land by April 1954 — but also declared the aim to establish an exploitation-free and equity-full society and the acquisition of five crores of acres before 1957 and appealed to the young men and women of the country to join this silent revolution.

The proceedings on the third and last day began, as usual, with spinning. Then followed a speech of Vinobaji in which he placed his opinion about two main things: (i) the attitude towards Government schemes and political parties, and (ii) the shape of the organisation to carry out the Bhoo-dan Yagna work. As regards the former, he held that the essential difference was in approach and outlook, which implied a host of other differences. But, he said, mere criticism was a waste of energy which should be utilised in constructive channels like Bhoo-dan Yagna etc. Co-operation, he added, could be offered at good or useful points but one should not in any case get involved in it.

Vinobaji observed that democracy, as in the West, was based on two parties and majority-vote. But in our country, only the common voice of the "Panchayat" was regarded as God's voice. So all parties must work out the programmes on which they are unanimous and discuss those on which they differed.

Tracing the origin and growth of the Bhoo-dan-Yagna movement from Hyderabad to Bihar, Vinobaji remarked that work should be done both on extensive and intensive lines. Bihar workers, he said, had fixed a target of 32 lakhs of acres and they were going to concentrate in Gaya. Finally he called upon those present to abandon all other activities and work for the Bhoo-dan Yagna earnestly for one year.

This calm and stirring address was followed by a resolution for prohibition. It appealed to State Governments not to slacken their efforts and sincerely go ahead in the great mission. Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj, the treasurer of Sarva Seva Sangh, gave a short fitting speech while presenting the

resolution. Then there were other speeches notably from Acharya Dharm Deo Shastri of Himachal Pradesh and Shri Manmohan Chaudhri of Orissa.

In the afternoon session the General Secretary placed another resolution embodying the ideal of the Sarvodaya Samaj. It was village Swaraj or Gram Rajya implying true democracy and fulfilled development of the individual. An essential condition for it, the resolution states, is to boycott mill-manufactures of food and cloth.

Vinobaji remarked that the said objective could be achieved by following a two-phased method: Conversion or thought-administration and work-decentralisation. For this he had a four fold programme: (i) Organisation of Constructive work institutions into one well-knit body, (ii) Collection of five crores of acres of land in the Bhoo-Dan Yagna by 1957, (iii) Sampatti-Dan-Yagna or wealth-donation, and (iv) Sootanjali or Yarn-gift. The first sitting of the first day then came to a close.

The second sitting went on from three to six in the evening, the last half an hour being devoted to prayers. Workers from different parts of the country related their experiences and pointed out the difficulties they met in their activities. Mention may be made of Baba Raghavadas and Sri Karan-bhai of Uttar Pradesh and Professor Thakur-das Bang of Wardha. The speech of the day was delivered by the renowned Socialist leader, Shri Jaiprakash Narain. It was a pleasure to watch this revolutionary pleading for a non-violent technique. He confessed conversion. He appealed to all to come forward in Vinobaji's Bhoo-Dan-Yagna movement and asked the students specially to abandon their schools and colleges for one year for the sake of Bhoo-Dan.

The morning of the eighth also was taken by workers in general discussion. There were three notable speeches. Shri Arun Chandra Ghosh of Lok Sevak Sangh, Manbhum, explaining why he or his comrades did not yet join the Bhoo-Dan, said that the Government of the day as also the Congress Party did not act consistent with the fundamental rights of the people in the district. Janab Mohammad Shafi of Kashmir described how they had tackled the land problem in Kashmir. Shri Kaka Sahab Kalelkar, Presi-

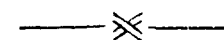
dent of the newly formed Backward Classes Commission of the Government of India, called upon the young men to come forward and help him in the work of ameliorating the lot of the down-trodden and the oppressed without which there could be no Sarvodaya. Another remarkable feature was the outpourings of the hearts of the young girl-workers in the Bhoo-Dan-Yagna movement in the Gaya district of Bihar. Their touching account testified to the great efficacy and wonderful potentialities of Vinobaji's movement.

The President of the Conference, Shri Dhirenbbhai then gave his closing speech which was as enviably short as the opening one. He was glad at the progress of the Conference and appealed to all to plunge into the Bhoo-Dan-Yagna campaign and those who had institutional responsibilities could do so by transferring their charge to youngers as they did in 1930. Dhirenbbhai warned that a mere decentralisation of land, without introducing decentralisation in the industrial production and other spheres, would take us to totalitarianism and, consequently, to ruin.

Then followed the valedictory address of Vinobaji. He dwelt upon the shortcomings of the workers. Firstly, he pleaded for tolerance and humanity. Secondly, he urged upon them to study and continue enhancing their knowledge thoughtfully together with work. Thirdly, they must see things as a whole and not confine themselves to one solitary aspect. Fourthly, they must vitalise their daily prayer which was more like good behaviour rather than an act inspired by real faith. Finally he asked those who could devote whole time to Bhoo-Dan-Yagna work to give him or the provincial conveners their names.

The Conference came to a close with the prayer.

The Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan will be remembered for giving a definite and bold shape to the Bhoo-Dan-Yagna movement — a movement which seeks to secure economic freedom and uphold the dignity of man and his labour. It enjoins a responsibility upon the people in general and constructive workers in particular to contribute their mite in this epoch-making campaign and prove true to themselves and to the nation.



Rural Reconstruction at the United Nations' Level

— RALPH R. KEITHAHN, GANDHI GRAM

We have just sent off three visitors from the United Nations, New York City. Dr. Grant, an American and Prof. Chang of China had several years of experience together in the Rural Reconstruction Movement of China some 30 years ago. Dr. Felshaw of New Zealand came with an equally interesting background. One of them said, "We have not seen such a clean village in all of India" (of a village near Tirumangalam). Another, "I have yet to meet such an interesting Adult Education Teacher as you" (one of the workers). At the Closing Meeting one of them said, "We would have missed something very important had we not come to these parts." We are grateful that such friends of broad experience should have found something worthwhile in the Government of Madras work, in the work of a private Gandhian institution.

Constructive Workers might well think of the three points these three challenging leaders gave at our closing meeting this evening. Dr. Grant stressed the importance of such workers as ourselves helping to build the pattern of village organization which might be copied throughout the nation, eventually to carry on the nation-building programme. I at once thought of the Panchayat, the Grama Seva Sangh, the Multi-Purpose Co-operative Society, etc., that might well in the future be the primary organizations to implement our Constructive Programme throughout India. Whatever that may be, this keen observer, with long experience in China, has reminded us of a very important part of our work: that of helping to build the new administration patterns of democracy in India.

Dr. Felshaw pointed out that it was also important that our foundations be firm; there must be no dogmatic positions as we face the great needs of the village. All must learn to co-operate together. The spiritual foundations must be sure and firm. There is no question that many of us who follow Gandhiji often tend to close our minds to further growth. We are so convinced of certain principles and positions that we refuse to listen to other points of view. We refuse to keep open minds. This is true in the field of economics, in the political field, as well as in the religious field.

Prof. Chang humorously told us that he would speak on the "last subject." He reminded us that over half the population are women; of the unique place of the mother in the home and in the development of the child. He pointed out the growing important place women are taking in our society. He said that he was glad that Gandhi Gram was stressing the importance of women and children's welfare. He cautioned us never to lessen that emphasis that if we did not take this aspect of our programme seriously all rural reconstruction would be jeopardised.

Our friends were not telling us anything new. But they were reminding us of some very important aspects of our work that any one may easily forget. We were also reminded that more than ever we are 'one world,' and that the sooner we learn how to work together the sooner will we solve our problem.

Another thought comes to my mind. Oftentimes we, the followers of Gandhiji, tend to be very critical of those who use other methods—who perhaps do not follow the same disciplines that we do. One is reminded of the tolerance of Gandhiji at this point. For example, these men smoked and yet as they spoke to us at the last meeting I felt that each one of us had much to learn from such earnest workers. And even if we have nothing to learn, unless we are ready to open our hearts and institution to such people how can we share the best that we have?

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- Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur.

The Gandhian Seminar at Delhi 237

The Gandhian Seminar held at Delhi for two weeks in January 1953 is the greatest event in India since the World's 'Pacifist' Conference in Shantiniketan and Sevagram in 1949 to evaluate and consider "Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Techniques to the solution of tensions between and within Nations." The following is a brief account of the Seminar taken from the Peace News, London dated 25-2-'53.

A striking indication of the resurgence of faith in the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi was given in New Delhi, India, in the past two weeks, when Prime Minister Nehru opened an international seminar on the "Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Techniques to the solution of tensions between and within Nations."

The Seminar, which ended with an address from the President, Dr. Prasad, on Jan. 17th, was attended by scholars from the East and West and was organised by the Indian National Committee for Co-operation with UNESCO.

Paster Niemoller, Lord Boyd Orr, President of the National Peace Council, Dr. Ralph Bunch, and Mrs. Alva Myrdal, representing UNESCO, were among those present.

Mr. Nehru told the seminar that wars had never solved any problems, they only left behind them a trail of bitterness.

"There is so much talk of peace everywhere," he said, "but very little of it is honest talk. I do not say that about the people." People in every country want peace. But I am referring to the people at the top—statesmen, politicians and all such folk—either through fear or something else they do not work for peace, though they talk about it. So we see the world going step by step toward some disaster."

The way of hatred was a bad way, continued the Prime Minister, "it produces distempers all round, especially on the person who employs it"

Whether the seminar yielded any practical results immediately or not it would have achieved much if it helped people to get out of that rut which made them think that there was no other way to solve a problem than to hit a man with a club and break his head. "That is a extraordinary way to think. That is the basis of war."

Mr Nehru said he was sure the Gandhian outlook and technique pointed out the right direction to a distracted world. He laid stress on one of the cardinal Gandhian principles of attaining the right end through the right means, for if the means

were not right, the end howsoever much right, got vitiated.

The first meeting of the Seminar, Jan. 6, was opened by Lord Boyd Orr.

Speaking of the application of Gandhian techniques to the solution of internal and international tensions he said there were four significant factors in the modern world which must be borne in mind: 1. The advance of science had created conditions which could eliminate hunger and disease, but which, if not properly used, could also eliminate mankind; 2. The concentration of power in the hands of a small minority; 3. The replacement of large number of states of more or less equal strength by two nations which could deploy overwhelming military power; and 4. The great development in ethical consciousness of the great masses, mainly as result of the progress of education.

"Victory is important but far more important is the way it is attained.

The first formal statement on the subject for discussion was made by Acharya Kripalani, who was for several years in close contact with Gandhi.

The first thing in his opinion, which distinguished Gandhi from many of the great leaders and thinkers of the past was the fact that he was not primarily concerned with the misery of the individual.

For his answer to human misery, whether individual or social, could be found only through social action and he was, therefore essentially a social reformer.

Referring to certain principles formulated by Gandhi to regulate individual conduct and thus achieve harmony between individual and society, Mr. Kripalani said that the first of these was that society as well as the individual must be wholly and unconditionally truthful.

Secondly, Gandhiji thought that inequality and injustice must be resisted at any cost. Thirdly, Gandhi always made a sharp distinction between systems and individuals: he condemned British imperialism but not Britishers.

The problem before the world today was whether Gandhi's principle of non-violent

resistance could be applied to conflicts between nations. Gandhi believed this possible. He tried to achieve peace by recognition of the importance of moral principles in international affairs. Explaining Gandhi's methods, Prof. L. Massignon, eminent French historian and orientalist, said they were particularly suited to action in small groups.

There were such small groups of men throughout the world, and in France one was preparing a manual on non-violence in that spirit.

Gandhi's life was an example of how such small cells could have an overwhelming impact on society.

He pleaded that true Gandhian followers should work to create centres of sanctuary where unconditional asylum to the wounded and to all refugees could be given. Establishment of such sanctuaries would restore the sense of sacredness of life.

Gandhi's programme, he concluded could be applied in family life; in community life by means of small units; in national life by creating zones of security for minorities; and lastly in international life.

If applied in the international sphere it would lead to the recognition that to force a people to fight is a sin against the spirit. It would also involve abolition of exclusive rights and privileges for particular social groups and would guarantee equal rights to all individuals on the basis of their common humanity.

Pastor Niemoller said that World War II had taught Germany that violence was now outmoded and that war could no longer be an effective instrument of policy.

"It is in this crisis of spirit that Europe is turning to Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence," he said, "while the majority of men throughout the world want to eliminate violence from society we do not know how to do so."

"If there is to be international authority to maintain peaceful relations," he continued "and there is no doubt on the point that we can achieve this objective either by establishment of a world organisation of law, or by Gandhian methods, there is, however, no immediate prospect of the establishment of world government and hence Gandhi's way of non-violence is the only alternative now."

"And even when world government has been established Gandhi's methods will be most effective to carry out its policies," he added.

Gandhi's life was described by Dr. Niemuller as "a challenge to Christians" for

"he was seeking to apply Christian principle on the international level."

"Those who do not have faith in God," he continued, "seek to revenge themselves on their enemies, while Christians and others who believe in God seek reconciliation with their enemies in their hour of triumph!"

Prof. Tsurumi of Japan, said that the Japanese sought to find from Gandhi the answer to three specific questions:

1. How to avert another war;
2. How to solve international difficulties arising out of war; and
3. How to fill the vacuum created by the destruction of ancient ideals. Paying tribute to the character of Gandhi, Prof. Tsurumi said: "Essentially a religious man, there was no divergence between his profession and his practice. That is why he influenced millions, for ideals may appeal to intellectuals but it is only personality that can move the masses."

Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice President of India, said that in working for the cause of Indian freedom Gandhi at the same time sought to demonstrate the validity of his non-violent methods.

"His nationalism is the means to true internationalism," he continued, "for he sought to show that national liberation can be achieved by methods of truth and non-violence."

"Gandhi always distinguished between evil and the evil doer. He therefore condemned the exploitation but not the exploiter. He had his differences with the British but he had nothing but friendship for the individual Britisher."

Dr. Radhakrishna continued: "What is needed today is slow transformation of society. We have marched far from the laws of the jungle and reached a state when we have justice of state."

We cannot, however, rest there, but must march on till we achieve a world state. Great souls who rise above national limitations may not need such a world order, but the common man cannot do without it.

"Gandhi, if he had lived would have sought to build a world state with executive authority and police as opposed to military force."

Closing the seminar, Dr. Prasad, President of India, said that unless some nation took its courage in its own hands and came out with a clear-cut programme of "no war under any circumstances, defensive or offensive, and no army of any kind," "the battle for non-violence would continue and would not end in its victory."

Sarvodaya Sammelan: From Sivarampalli to Chandil A RETROSPECT

The third Sammelan was at Sivarampalli village near Hyderabad in April 1951. Vinobaji attended it by walking 300 miles from Wardha. The Sivarampalli Sammelan had created an expectation of an impending movement.

After Sivarampalli the fourth Sammelan was held at Sevapuri Ashram near Kashi on the banks of the Ganges in April 1952.

By that time the Bhoodan movement born on 18th April at the village Poochampalli in Telengana had progressed at rapid strides in Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Vinobaji had covered about 1500 miles by walk to reach Delhi on special invitation from the Prime Minister Nehru.

At Delhi he sat at Rajghat and discussed the Five Year Plan for a fortnight with every member of the Planning Commission. He was appealing to the reason and conscience of the members simply to provide and plan for work for the millions in the villages.

The members of the commission heard patiently and could not do much in substantially adopting Vinobaji's suggestions in the revised, 'Five Year Plan'.

Vinobaji was till then single-handedly carrying on the Bhoodan movement with no help or approbation from any organisation.

The Sevapuri-Kashi Sammelan adopted the Bhoodan movement as its own and commended it as a national programme for Sarvodaya Sevaks with a target of 25 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan before 1954 April.

Vinobaji toured in the villages of Uttar Pradesh in 1952 and moved on to Bihar which had then promised to obtain 4 lakhs of acres of land.

Vinobaji continued his walking tour in the hilly district of Bihar. On Jan. 14th. 1953, he got malignant malaria and completely collapsed as he reached Chandil, about 20 miles from Jamshedpur.

Vinobaji's refusal to take medicine and the anxious persuasions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad and the ministers of the Central Govt. and the Bihar State have attracted the attention of the daily newspapers which have given suffi-

cient publicity to the progress of Vinobaji's health to satisfy the anxious public.

All lost hope of recovery of Vinobaji who was perhaps preparing for his end. But moving appeals from all those near and far made him accept the dosage of medicine and he was ultimately saved and restored to the nation by the grace of God.

Vinobaji in sick-bed could not have mental peace unless all his followers toiled to take the message of the Bhoodan to all nooks and corners of the Gaya District in which Chandil is situated. Constructive workers from all places including the Mahila Ashram consisting of girl students and teachers rushed to and concentrated in Gaya District. All those who were attending on Vinobaji including Shri Damodardas Mundada walked to villages carrying the message in the name of God and Babaji as Vinobaji is lovingly called.

As Vinobaji was lying in bed incessantly praying for Bhoodan, a tremendous awakening had taken place. Girls and children were going round the villages and got hundreds of acres as bhoodan, more from the poor and the middle class with songs, village dialogues and a prayerful appeal. What a wonderful response?

The Uttar Pradesh had just then completed its quota of 5 lakhs of acres. The workers decided to get again another six lakhs of acres in the coming year.

Vinobaji in convalescence at Chandil had already attracted about 200 workers from outside to collect at least one lakh of acres before the Sammelan. The Gaya District had reached the target. On the eve of the Sammelan there was an offer of one lakh of acres from the Rajah of Ramgarh, of course, subject to the approval of the Government.

Chandil, an unknown village in Bihar has come to enjoy an importance in the newspapers and memories of the people.

Chandil was immediately brought on the telegraphic track. There was phone put up to answer frequent enquiries and calls from Delhi, Patna and other places. Pandit Nehru called on Vinobaji in February and discussed with him for about an hour. The President of the Republic was often anxiously enquiring about his health.

Chandil was throbbing with life. Gaya District was all humming with activity.

Teekapatty, a village, was previously selected as the venue of the Sammelan. Shri Dharendra Mazumdar who was the organiser of the Kashi Sammelan in 1952 was aware of its defects from the ideal and practical point of view. All went against his plan as he was laid up then with some kind of paralytic attack. He was even then thinking of having the next Sammelan as per his own plan and technique of decentralised village conference. All was going according to his plan and the sevaks were given directions to proceed there.

But destiny ordained differently. Vinobaji could not go to Teekapatti as his health was still bad. The Sarvodaya Sammelan could not be conceived of without Vinobaji. He is the soul and body of the Sarvodaya Samaj and the Bhoodan movement which has electrified the nation. Therefore the Sammelan had to be shifted to Chandil, the place where Vinobaji was convalescing.

What a remarkable achievement in the year 1952! Sri Shanker Rao Deo as the General Secretary had thrown his heart and soul in the movement. With his great organizing capacity the provincial machinery for the Bhoodan Committee with the conveners and sanchalaks has been set up in each province. Some of the committee members were already moving in walking yatras in all provinces. The poor peasant and the prince began to respond with his quota of land offering everywhere. Shri Shankarrao Deo did not spare a day's rest for himself. He initiated the Yatras in the various provinces by walking hundreds of miles. In all he would have walked more than 1500 miles upto April '53.

The Bhoodan movement has reached its height of publicity in the international press. Foreign tourists were now and then touring with Vinobaji observing the tremendous mass reactions.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain had already become a bhakta of Vinobaji. He moved in the district of Gaya and received Bhoodan of about 5000 acres.

The nation has made a gesture of its acceptance of the Bhoodan with all its implications. Even those in the seats of power in States and in the organisations were watching the progress of the movement from day

to day. Even pandits of economics and land problem who were viewing the movement with academic interest began to recognise the practical non-violent solution of the land problem. Youths burning with passion began to slowly discover the revolutionary aspect of the movement.

Out of the target of 25 lakhs of acres about 8 lakhs of acres have already come in the form of thousands of Dhanapatras from all corners of the country.

The followers of the Russian technique who were ridiculing this Bhoodan movement gradually found in it a great challenge to themselves and their creed. Their opposition grew louder to which Vinobaji was giving fitting answer in his various speeches.

The Bhoodan movement naturally had to tackle the question of monetary wealth indispensable for the development of land distributed to the poor landless. Though the Bhoodan movement was the outcome of the ideology of kanchan-mukti or freedom from money it had to deal with the money problem at some stage or other. Vinobaji obviously solved the issue and logically included Sampath dan or money offering also in his Bhoodan Yagna.

Vinobaji's speeches during the last two years have contributed a unique literature of its own on the ethical, economic and philosophic aspects of the Bhoodan movement.

Who can deny that the greatest movement of the modern times has gained a marvelous momentum in a short span of two years?

It is in this background that the fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan gathered on the 7th, 8th and 9th April '53 at Chandil.

The high lights of the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan were the visit of the President of the Republic on the opening day, Vinobaji's 100 minute speech before the President comparable to a Sarvodaya Manifesto in clarity and dignity, Shri Jaiprakash Narain's total conversion to Bhoodan Movement, and the Sarva Seva Sangh's resolution emphasising on Gram Rajya as the political goal for decentralisation of political power along with the demand for decentralisation of industries.

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2 The All-India Village Industries Association and Go-Seva Sangh have merged in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

3 The All-India Spinners' Association which was a member federated to the Sarva Seva Sangh has decided to merge itself in the Sangh.

4 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is the Dakshina Prakashan Vibhag (Southern Publication Section) of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram.

5 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is now running two monthly Digest magazines, **SARVODAYA** in English and in Tamil.

6 It has also published so far about sixty books in Tamil on Khadi and other items of Constructive Programme, translations of Gandhiji's writings, and some of the latest books on Gandhiji during the last few years.

7 The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has been recently entrusted with the publication of Gandhian literature in Tamil on behalf of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Tamil Nad).

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MACHINERY

I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery, but limitation.

Machinery has its place; it has come to stay.

I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because, like the body, they are inevitable.

Machinery to be well used has to help and ease human comfort.

What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such.

Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions.

Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes.

I would categorically state my conviction that the mania for mass production is responsible for the world crises.

If mass production were in itself a virtue it should be capable of indefinite multiplication.

The movement for the spinning wheel is an organized attempt to displace machinery from the state of exclusiveness and exploitation.

— MAHATMA GANDHI

Acharya Vinobaji's Opening Speech (2) AT CHANDIL SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

On 7th March, 1953.

This is the second instalment of Shri. Vinobaji's hundred-minute Hindi Speech at the opening session of the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan. The prior portion has already appeared in our previous number — 'Sarvodaya', (April '53.)

OUR REAL WORK AND ITS OBJECTIVE

Let me give another example. Now the Government desires to give help to khadi and it has formed the Khadi Board. Pandit Nehru said that he was himself surprised why this work which his Government ought to have taken up even four years back was done so late. He is a great man with a big heart and it is natural he made such remarks. Now as a citizen we should give help to the Government in its khadi production. The Charkha Sangh also should give help because it has got experience in the work and it should necessarily give the benefit of it to the Government. Yet I think that if our khadi work stops there and ends with it, then it will not be the real khadi service that is expected. We should have a clean and clear view of the khadi ideal and should work to achieve it. In doing so, help should also reach that khadi production which the Government desires to encourage and increase. We have to find out the ways to blot out war. If, in spite of our attempts, war breaks out, and there arises the necessity to nurse the wounded soldiers, of course, we have to do it. Then we cannot object and afford to stand back and say that that is war-service. But we have to remember always that such services are not real services. The real khadi work is the one that enables us to establish Village Raj.

LIMIT OF STATE'S HELP IN KHADI WORK

This time Pandit Nehru came to meet us. He was all affection and I listened in all humility to his talk. But when he desired

for counsel I said, "If I desire the State to do anything for khadi—for cottage industries too—then it is this that the Government should teach every citizen and every villager to spin in the same way as it decided that everyone in the country should be taught to read and write. The Government has undertaken the responsibility to make everybody literate, because literacy is considered by the people and the State as an unavoidable qualification for citizenship. In the



Vinobaji talking with villagers

same way, let the State consider him also who does not learn to spin as illiterate. It is enough the State agrees to do this much for khadi. Let it leave the rest for the people to do. We will never ask the Government for any financial help at all as this help itself will be the greatest of all help to khadi." He listened to all these and for certain he will think over them. But at that time he humorously remarked, "If everyone is taught spinning, then the question of its use will come in." I replied that when everybody was taught to read and write then also the question of its use would come in. I had seen many friends who having studied for two to four years had forgotten everything. Prosperity succeeds practice.

Thus I have asked the Government to do only this much for khadi. When the Government is of the people, it has to do that which is asked on behalf of the people. If I were to ask the Government something more than this for khadi, that is, ask the Government to enforce khadi through legislation, then it means that I do not know my

duty and I forget the maxim that it is the "people's force" as distinct from the "police force" that has to be created.

"INDEPENDENT PEOPLE'S FORCE"

These two instances of Bhoodan and Khadi are placed before you. If we desire to solve the land problem by ourselves, then our method should be distinct from that of the State which would do it if it is desired to do with the aid of its "police force." If we get it done through the help of the State then we will not be creating the "people's force." Of course, wealth may increase. Our goal is not the production of wealth alone.

These are the ideals behind our work. If we stick on to this principle, then there does not arise the necessity to give special definition to the nature of our programme and method of work. Everyone will understand that behind everyone of our constructive work there will be a special technique. The final result of our work will be the evolution of the people's society which will be non-dependent on the "police force" of the State.

TWO ASPECTS OF OUR PROGRAMME

Viewed in this perspective, it will be seen that there will be two aspects to the plan of our work. The one is our effort to develop the power of thinking in the people's brain and the other to enable the people to manage their own affairs i. e. decentralisation and distribution of the power of administration and management.

PROPAGATION OF IDEAS AND SARVODAYA SAMAJ

Power of thinking means and includes that power to understand oneself and make others understand the principles and objectives behind every act. Without understanding we should not blindly do anything; if we do so we will be put to grief. We should not make others accept our ideas without their understanding them. On no account we should impose our ideas on others. We should only discuss things and give counsel.

Our Samaj is only a sevaks' association which stands on the foundation of ideas and thoughts. The sevaks' basic function is to propagate the ideas by consultation and advice. In 'Koran' the true devotees are described as those who do work by discussion, counsel and persuasion. I will be happy if our sevaks carry on our work in a similar manner. In this method lies our real strength. It is the Siva Sakti that we should develop and create. So like the ever flowing mountain streams, let the sevaks wander from place to place and constantly mix and move with the people with firm faith in the ideals. Let them do propaganda with never-failing enthusiasm, patience and persuasion. Let them understand that this is the weapon in their hands.

DECENTRALISATION OF POWER AND MANAGEMENT

Our second work is the distribution of power and decentralisation of administration and management. All administrative power and strength should not remain centralised at one place. They should be developed in each and every village, so that each village can say and decide which things should come in there and which should not. If any village desires that no mill-pressed oil should be brought within its limits and wants to ban it, then it should have the authority and power to order and enforce a ban. To this demand the State authority says that it cannot allow small units within it to function as separate entities, i. e. a State within a State. I may tell them that they should realize that, if power is not distributed and administration decentralised, military strength is indispensable. If it is not possible to govern today without military strength, I say, that it will not be possible to do so in future also under these conditions and they should decide to maintain the army and keep it strong and ready. Let them stop saying without sense that they desire to dispense with military power. On the other hand if they sincerely desire to dispense with the army in future, let them act as the Lord of All has done. The Lord distributed brain to all. He blessed every being—the man, the lion,

the serpent, scorpion, etc.—with brain. May be it is less in some and more in others. Still everyone has received it. And He said, "Make use of it and do your life's work." From that time onwards the whole world began to work in a superior way that He could take absolute rest—that sleep which makes the people to doubt even whether He exists or not.

NON-VIOLENT STATE

We desire our State to function in like manner. The entire machinery of the Government should be so decentralized—each village empowered and capable to look after its own affairs—that it will make an outsider even to doubt whether the State Government is functioning at all and whether there actually exists a governing power in India. If this is achieved, then we can say that our State has become a non-violent State.

VILLAGE PLANNING INSTEAD OF NATIONAL PLANNING

With this objective clear before us we should proceed to work in the villages and establish village Raj. We should make the village people strong enough to stand on their own legs so that they could decide what they shall grow and produce within their area, what all things only should be allowed entry within and what all should be prohibited to come in and could demand the State to consent to it. If the State does not agree to concede i. e. unable to act even if it desires to do so, the villagers should then have the courage to desist and the strength to prove their self-sufficiency. Such strength and power of the people will certainly bring help to the Government and will disarm the military power. Nothing else other than this can make the army cease to function. It is impossible that there can function in Delhi a brain, such a big and mighty one, be it even that of Brahma with four heads which can watch and see at one and the same time all the four directions, which could manage and administer all the affairs of all the villages throughout the land and see that every of its acts is for the benefit of all. It is for this that we desire that there should be Vill-

age planning instead of National planning. National planning should mean Village planning. To assist this Village planning what all help that could be extended, let the authorities in Delhi do. This in short is the second programme of our work. So we must always bear in mind that all our activities should proceed in this line to bring about decentralisation. It is for this reason we desire the distribution of land in the villages.

WE CANNOT LOSE THE GREAT WEALTH OF THE NATION

In these days people have begun to talk about the 'maximum extent of individual holdings', and about 'ceiling' whenever questions of land are discussed. Of course the advent of Bhoodan movement has created the atmosphere. But what I say is that we have to agree first to give some land to everyone—the minimum, at least. Why I am repeating this again and again is because I want decentralisation of management. All the wage-earners of today are labourers under others' supervision. Of course they do work, but they have no right or power in its management. The cart is moving, and we don't say it is the moving force, as it is an inanimate thing. In like lifeless manner, our labour population is working with the hands and legs. They have got brains, and they have hearts. Let them use them when they work. This is the thing we desire them to do. It is said, "The Indian labourer has not got enough of brains and so it is better he works under the management of another." Is this the way to non-violence? Certainly not. Suppose, that much intelligence as is in them is abandoned, tell me, what other treasure have we got with us in the country. We have nothing else. And if we do not make use of it, it will be a great loss to our nation. Hence we have to make the best use of what intelligence is there. If we give them education, certainly their brain will sharpen. So we have to educate them and draw a scheme to that effect. In any such scheme distribution of land to them is the basic principle.

(From Hindi

To be continued

Gandhiji's Life in South Africa

DR. P. J. MEHTA



It will not be out of place to mention here the sort of life that Mr. Gandhi usually leads in South Africa. His life is really very simple, and he manages to live on 15 rupees a month in the Transvaal where everything is expensive. He prefers country life to city life. He has a positive dislike for city life on account of its environments and its vices. In such a cold climate as that of Johannesburg, he takes two purely vegetarian meals, and takes no other beverage than pure water or milk. He usually takes his first meal at about one or half past one in the afternoon. It consists mostly of fruits and nuts. The second meal comes off at about seven in the evening, and as a rule it is of his own cooking. He has given up taking tea, coffee, cocoa, etc., as these articles are mostly prepared with the help of indentured labour. He generally performs his own domestic services, such as cleaning cooking utensils, sweeping the house and making up his bed, etc. In these matters also he acts on the principle of equality for all and would not allow anyone to render him such services as could be rendered for him by himself. His dietary is very simple as a rule, consisting only of bread, vegetables and fruits, and he never allows himself anything that is not absolutely required for health. In his younger days he made various experiments on his person to find out the bare minimum required to keep his body and soul together, and ultimately he has hit upon this dietary. He believes that by meeting the bare necessities of life, the soul is better purified. Writing to me lately from the Tolatoy Farm, where he is now living with a number of passive resisters' families, he says:

"I prepare the bread that is required on the farm. The general opinion about it is that it is well made. Manilal and a few others have learnt how to prepare it. We put in no yeast and no baking powder. We grind our own wheat. We have just prepared some marmalade from the oranges grown on the farm. I have also learnt how to prepare

ceramel coffee. It can be given as a beverage even to babies. The passive resisters on the farm have given up the use of tea and coffee, and taken to ceramel coffee prepared on the farm. It is made from wheat which is first baked in a certain way and then ground. We intend to sell our surplus production of the above three articles to the public later on. Just at present, we are working as labourers on the construction work that is going on on the farm, and have not time to produce more of the articles above mentioned than we need for ourselves."

In the bitterest cold, he bathes in cold water and sleeps in the open verandah. When he goes out, he is obliged to dress in European style, but at home his is mostly of Indian style. When he was last in India, he used to dress mostly in pure Indian style, wearing clothes made by hand. While practising as a Barrister in Kathiawad, he used to appear in the local courts in his Indian costume, with Indian-made sandals to his feet, and, according to the time immemorial custom in India, would leave his sandals outside the court before presenting himself to the judge. He has, in fact, gone through such a long course of training in the methods of living a life according to nature, that to do so has become quite a second nature with him now. That is how life in the Transvaal jails was by no means irksome to him. On the contrary, he considered it a blessing to be in jail, when his duty to his country demanded it of him.

What a vast change there is in his present life, and that of twelve years ago, when I put up with him, as his guest in his house situated not far from the Durban beach! The late Mr. Escombe, for a long time Attorney-General of Natal, was almost his next door neighbour. Even then, so far as he himself was concerned, his life was simple enough; but now it is much nearer the natural life than ever.

I have known Mr. Gandhi for over twenty-two years very intimately. During all that time I have found that the one great difference between him and others is that once he is convinced that a particular line of conduct, as tested by the highest canons of morality and the strictest doctrines of

religion is correct, it will not be long before he adopts it for himself as his daily practice, if he has not already been observing it. He says that, if you wish the good of those you come in contact with, the only way to achieve the end is to be good yourself. Self-improvement and self-culture are his ideals. He always acts upon the proverb "Example is better than precept"; and that is how all

his theories and practice are blended so harmoniously one with another in his daily life. No earthly temptations are too strong for him and none of them can make him swerve from the noble path that he has chalked out for himself. It is no exaggeration to say that in this age of materialism it is not possible to come across another man who lives the ideal life he preaches. (1912)

Reproduced from the author's book, *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem*, by courtesy of the publishers, Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

BEE - KEEPING

How to Make a Start With Bees — H. VISWANATHAN

(BEE-KEEPING ADVISER IN MADRAS STATE)

BEE-KEEPING brings man closer to Nature and her wonders. It links him with the plant kingdom and reveals to him the important role the bees play in the work of cross-pollination of flowers for better fruit and seed setting apart from the honey and wax they yield him for his care bestowed on them. It assists him tremendously in his food production undertakings. It draws his attention to gather more and more honey even from the flora of the wild growth of forests and waste lands by employing the busy bees to enrich his food which would otherwise go waste. It is a clean and fascinating as well as health giving open air occupation fit for both sexes of all castes. It is essentially a cottage industry based on decentralised system, requiring little outlay, no huge machineries, negligible running expenses and no attention from day to day. It helps man to learn valuable lessons in the Science of Social Life and Nature Study and fits in well with the aims of Basic Education for imparting sound training to head, heart and hand and developing personality in man.

Of the different types of bees that exist in the Madras State from which honey and wax are obtained, only one type is fit for domestication, and it is known as *Adukku Theni* or *Ponthan Theni* in Tamil. The scientific name for it is *Apis mellifica indica* and is found distributed in all the districts of the State. The bee is smaller in size than the

Rock-bee (*Malai Theni* in Tamil). The worker bee of this kind has stripes of dark and brown across its abdomen. It lives in dark cavities with several layers of parallel combs built side by side. Generally it is found in tree holes, crevices in walls, inside ant-hills, in discarded pots etc. Comb constructed by this bee has 36 cells to a square inch. The queen bee of the type found in the State has long and distended copper coloured abdomen, silken legs and short wings. A darker variety of the bee is also found on the hills at high elevations. Other bees that are found in the State are: (1) The Rock-bee (*Apis dorsata*; *Malai Theni*); (2) The Little bee (*Apis florea*; *Kombu Theni*); (3) The Dammar bee (*Melipona*; *Kosu Theni*). These are unfit for domestication either because of their wild nature and migratory habits or peculiarities in comb construction or poor honey yield.

For keeping bees, we require a wooden bee hive, a smoker to subjugate the bees, veil and gloves to protect against stings, knife, queen excluder sheets, comb foundation sheets, honey extractor, feeding bottles or cans etc.

A preliminary study of the suitability of a place is essential before one actually starts keeping bees. The suitability of a place for the starting of an apiary should be ascertained by the presence of a large number of

natural colonies of bees as well as the abundance of pasturage found within a radius of about half to one mile. The bees thrive best in rich forest clad slopes and agricultural districts preferably well wooded with heavy nectar and pollen yielding plants. The following trees and plants are observed to be of good source for bees either for pollen or nectar:—

Fruit Trees

Apple, Citrus varieties (Orange, Lemon etc.), Guava, Jambul, Mango, Sapota, Wood apple, Coconut, Tamarind, Embelica officinalis (*Nellikai*), Zizyphus jujuba (*Elandai*), Mimosa elengi (*Makizham*) etc.

Other useful Trees

Soapnut (*Sapindus trifolia*), Pongamia (*Pongamia glabra*), Neem or Vep, Arjuna or Vella Marudu, Kari Marudu, Vahai, Alingie, Bilvam, Nochi, Karuvil, Vellvel, Mullu Murungai, Kadukkai, Thanikkai, Elavam, Iluppai, Panai, Punnai, Eucalyptus, Wattle etc.

Field Crops

Kambu, Chulam, Makka Chulam, Cotton (Uganda, Cambodia, Karunqanni), Ellu, Kothamalli, Kadugu, Kadalai etc. and Coffee and Tea in plantation areas on the hills.

Vegetable Garden Plants

Plantain, Beans, Cucumber, Carrots, Brinjal, Peas, Radish, Lady's finger, Bitter gourd, Moringa etc., etc.

Hedge Plants

Prosopis juliflora (*Seemai Karuvil*), Durenta plumeri, Leucaena glauca, Cactus, Lawsonia alba (*Maruthani*), Adathoda vasaka, Queen of the Night, Lantana, Justicia etc.

Ornamental Garden Plants

Rose, Zinnia, Phlox, Balsam, Salvia, Poppies, Portulacca, Honey suckle, Sun flower, Canterbury bell (blue) etc.

Creepers

Antigonon, Jacquemontia, Passion flower, Ipomea staphylina, Legendrea molisina, the wild and thorny Indam Kodi etc.

Weeds

Thumbai, Nerunji, Kolinji, Kattu Thulasi, Crotonis passiflora, Neermulli etc.

Among forest flora, a bewildering and endless list of trees, plants, shrubs and creepers are observed to be of good source for bees.

Any place where farming or fruit raising can be successfully followed is suitable for the profitable keeping of bees in a limited way at least. Having chosen the location of a suitable tract, the next consideration will be about the site of the apiary. It should be situated away from public thoroughfares providing safety from annoyance to and by neighbours. It is desirable to have the ground of the apiary fairly dry and not liable to become overgrown with grass and weeds. The hives should be placed on ant-proof stands with a space of six to eight feet between, preferably facing the morning sun and sheltered from the mid-day sun, rain and heavy winds. It is advantageous to keep the hives in a distributed manner rather than to keep them in a congested place. By the latter arrangement bees will be having a limited range of pasturage. There should be some permanent source of water supply within a short distance of the apiary.

(To be continued)

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Talimi Sangh's Bold Decision and Revolutionary Step

The Basic Education Institution of Sevagram has taken the bold and revolutionary step to close down the Teachers' Training classes for a year and send all the students and teachers for Bhoodan Work. The staff and the students will be devoting their entire time for Bhoodan propaganda in villages.

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NAI TALIM

The monthly journal of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha.
The authoritative interpreter of the principles and practice of Basic Education
Editor: Sri Asha Devi Aryanayakam
Annual Subs: Rs. 3

Vinobaji's Appeal To Rajas and Maharajas



I appeal to all Rajas and Maharajas to come forward and take up this Bhoodan work. They will find that this work is for their good. The Raja of Ramghat has offered one lakh of acres of his land to this yagna. In addition he has offered himself as a worker and promised to persuade his friends to offer lands. The Rajas of Palkeet, Patkum and Gadjayapur also are giving their co-operation in this work. In our country there were many Rajas and Maharajas in ancient days. Then it was on their wisdom that the welfare of the people depended. But now times have changed. Today people have got the right of franchise and it has made them the rulers. Now a Minister to the Government is but a servant of the people and he can be so only as long as the people who chose him desire him to be there. Under this altered situation what should the Rajas and Maharajas of ancient origin do? I wish to advise them to mix and move freely with the people and do service to them. Even today our people have respect for Rajas. So it is possible for them to win their great affection. I appeal to them to offer their entire land to this Bhoodan yagna, of course, keeping a small portion to

Vishnu Sahasranam of Hazaribagh District — Bihar

Hazaribagh is a district in Bihar. To solve the land problem in Bihar, Vinobaji fixed 32 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan as its quota. The quota for the district of Hazaribagh was 3 lakhs of acres. Vinobaji toured for 3 weeks ending 13th April, '53 in this district. He received 3½ lakhs of acres from over 1000 donors. He said, "In the history of Bhoodan Yagna, Hazaribagh chanted first the hymn of Vishnu Sahasranam". (The thousand sacred names of 'Vishnu', the Lord Protector). To Vinobaji the names of these 1000 and more donors are the 'Vishnu Sahasranama.'

themselves. I receive the 1/6 share from the middle class people only. But the Rajas should give the major portion, keeping a little to themselves. In our ancient Bharat, very often, the Rajas gave away their entire possession and chose to wander about with beggar's bowls in their hands. Such is the tradition our ancient kings had set up in our country."

(From a Hindi speech in the prayer meeting on 22-3-'53 at Chalda in Bihar)

Provincewar Statement of the Work of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Province.	Total Acres of Land-gifts received up- to 10th April, 1953	Total No. Yarn hanks received
Assam	256	Nil
Andhra	7,097	2,932
Utkal	5,102	2,101
Uttar Pradesh	4,76,218	35,658
Karnataka	595	2,479
Kerala	5,800	Nil
Gujarath	5,501	40,000
Tamil Nad	6,976	5,339
Delhi	1,124	1,000
Punjab - Pepsu	1,045	6,500
Benqal	102	1,064
Bombay City		1,541
Bihar	5,50,027	15,619
Madhya Pradesh (Naga Vidharba (Mahakosal	15,042	5,213
Madhya Bharat	2,491	381
Maharashtra	5,000	382
Mysore	343	19,335
Rajasthan	22,072	1,118
Vindhya Pradesh	2,382	4,221
Saurashtra (Kutch)	3,000	218
Himachal Pradesh	1,006	236
Hyderabad — Deccan	42,177	110
Kashmir		
Others		
Foreign		
Total	11,53,356	1,45,447

2119 Sevaks from all the above provinces participated in the Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Chandil, Bihar.

A POSER TO THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

[In pursuance of Shri C. Rajagopalachariar's suggestion in his broadcast speech on 11-6-1952 to support handlooms, the Madras Government has decided to manufacture a kind of mixed cloth with mill-yarn and hand-spun yarn in a certain proportion. The tragic irony is that one of its best Khadi centres given by the Charkha Sangh to the Govt. to work the Madras Govt. Khadi Scheme for self-sufficiency in 1947 is selected now for this purpose. Shri Jajuji has struck a timely note of warning about the danger to Khadi as a result of this mixed cloth and has argued to prove that this would neither have sentimental appeal as khadi nor any comparative advantage over other cloth.]

RAJAJI'S RADIO TALK TO SUPPORT HANDLOOM

The readers would recall that a few months ago the Madras Chief Minister, Shri Rajaji, had made an appeal over the radio pleading for support to the handloom cloth, in which among other things he had hinted at the advisability for this purpose of mixing mill-yarn with hand-spun yarn and thus producing a composite type of mixed-yarn cloth. He then got samples made of this type and now the Madras Government has come to the decision that such cloth be manufactured for the use of the chaprasis in various departments of the Government. According to its previous decision, Khadi was prescribed for such use. That goes now and henceforward instead of Khadi this mixed cloth passes into vogue for use in Government offices.

THE NEW MIXED CLOTH

This new cloth will use, as laid down in the decision, a double-thread twine made up of one mill-made thread of 20 counts and one hand-spun thread of 18 counts in the warp and two hand-spun threads of 18 counts in weft. Thus there will be three hand-spun threads for every mill-made thread. This slight admixture of mill-yarn will certainly make for some economy, but the question is whether it will be appreciable enough to sacrifice the long-established tradition of the purity of Khadi by going in for this mixed variety of cloth.

It is true that the use of a single-thread hand-spun yarn in the warp makes weaving difficult which therefore takes a longer time with the consequent rise in the weaving charges. But if the yarn is double-twisted, then, in spite of both the threads being hand-spun, it becomes sufficiently strong and may be woven quite easily without any higher charges being paid for it. In case of double-

twisted hand-spun yarn, it would not be necessary to mix any mill-yarn for reducing the cost of weaving. It may be that this mixed type of cloth will have a neater texture. But the point can be decided only after sufficient quantities of this cloth manufactured by ordinary weaver are examined and found to be so.

MIXED CLOTH TO BE MANUFACTURED AT THE OLD A. I. S. A.'S CENTRE

Of the two centres, where this mixed variety is proposed to be manufactured, one is Avinashi which the Madras Government took over from the Charkha Sangh for working their cloth self-sufficiency scheme, but which they did not care to return to the latter even after the scheme was abandoned.

The spinners at this centre are skilled workers and the yarn produced at this centre will also therefore be of sufficiently neat texture. Why then mix a thread of mill-yarn? Will it make that cloth more durable? To this it may be said that the double-twisted hand-spun-yarn cloth — being of the same quality as at the Avinashi centre — will be equally durable. The experts are of the opinion that there cannot be much difference in respect of durability. On the contrary, some of them fear that the twisting together of a hand-spun thread and a mill-made thread will result in the latter biting the former which will render the yarn used in the warp weaker.

COMPARATIVE PRICE OF THE MIXED CLOTH

The price of this mixed cloth has been estimated at Re 1-14-0 per yard of 28 inches width. The Charkha Sangh offers its pure Do-suti Khadi used in the dress for the chaprasis at Rs. 2/- per yard, which will now sell at the reduced price of Re 1-10-0 per yard as a result of the decision of the Khadi Gramodyog Board to grant subsidy at the

rate of three annas per rupee. Its yarn is a bit thicker, but in the opinion of the experts it is not less durable than this mixed cloth.

Unfortunately people in the South have begun to call this cloth by the name of Rajaji Khadi. This is patently unfair to Rajaji because he regards it as belonging to the class of handloom or mill-cloth and has made it clear that it should not pass under the name of Khadi. But who can restrain the people?

A MIXED KHADI

It is likely that it may become known as mixed Khadi, because three out of every four threads in it are hand-spun. But it would be an offence to call this mixed cloth Khadi according to a Government of India Act.

NOT POSSIBLE TO RESTRICT ABUSE

For the present this cloth is being produced for use in the Government offices only and there is no intention to put it in the market. But in case the production outstrips the needs of the Government, it may find its way into the market and sell there under the name of mixed Khadi. Then others may also manufacture it and sell it by whatever name and those who have no genuine regard for Khadi but use it under the compulsion of rules and who may therefore go in for any cloth resembling Khadi, will gladly purchase it.

Of course, the Madras Government has made it clear that this cloth will be produced only at the appointed centres and has warned that other weavers must not produce this special variety. The warning says that if they do so and indulge in mixing mill-yarn in Khadi, they will be strongly dealt with. But it is not clear how they will implement this warning. When some weavers are allowed to manufacture it, others will be naturally tempted to follow suit and this will give a serious setback to pure Khadi.

HOW TO NAME THIS CLOTH?

The naming of this mixed cloth raises a difficult problem. It will be said that in the event of this cloth going into the market it should go under the name of the handloom cloth. But by what name actually will it be called?

ADULTERATED OR ASUDDHA KHADI

It cannot be called mill-cloth, because there will be three-fourths of hand-spun yarn in it. The term, 'mixed cloth' is inadequate

because it is necessary to show that it has a greater quantity of hand-spun yarn. The name mixed Khadi is likely to gain currency and though it looks very incongruous to put the adjective 'mixed' before Khadi, it seems it will be difficult to prevent the word 'Khadi' from being used as a part of its name. The use of the word Khadi, however, even though qualified by 'mixed' may still be against law. It is therefore suggested that if the use of the word Khadi for this type of cloth is unavoidable, the proper thing to do would be to call it adulterated or Asuddha Khadi.

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Charkha Sangh has always insisted that the Centre and State Governments should make use of Khadi for their need of cloth in all their departments. The Khadi Gramodyog Board recently constituted by the Union Government has also placed the same demand. People expect that the Board will give a great fillip to the production of Khadi. Khadi will be produced in great quantities and since the Khadi scheme of the Board aims at providing relief from unemployment, all hand-spun yarn wherever produced and in whatever quantity, should be used. The spinning should not be curtailed on the plea that there is no corresponding consumption of Khadi.

NEITHER SENTIMENTAL VALUE NOR ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE

It is expected — there is also some assurance in this regard — that barring the needs of the Police and Military for their uniforms, every other need of cloth in all the departments of the Central and State Governments would be met with Khadi. It is the duty of the Governments to give at least this much support to Khadi.

When Government want that the people should use Khadi and thus encourage hand-spinning with a view to providing relief in unemployment, how can they themselves refuse to use it? This being so, it is not clear how the Madras or any other Government can reasonably use the mixed cloth for their needs.

The mixed cloth is bound to cost more than the mill or the handloom cloth because it uses hand-spun yarn — even though in part only — which is much costlier than the mill-yarn. How then can it sell in the market against the inevitable competition? People cherish a feeling of regard for Khadi and agree to pay more for it which they will not do in case of the mixed cloth. Under the situation the mixed cloth cannot hope to get a market. It is evident that Governments

whose duty it is to encourage pure Khadi can be the only customers for it.

CAN THE GOVT. GUARANTEE THE USE OF ALL HANDSPUN YARN?

If it is argued that the use of the mill-yarn in warp will facilitate weaving and make for cheapness, then may we ask the Government whether they will be prepared to accept the responsibility to make use in this way of all the hand-spun yarn produced in the country so that the problem of the hand-spun yarn may be solved once for all? As things are at present I cannot think of Government agreeing to do so. If however they are prepared for it, they should give an express promise in this regard. And if this is not possible why is this mixed Khadi being used?

WHY THIS MUDDLE IN KHADI FIELD?

The Madras Government owes it to the people to explain why they are bent on introducing this disturbing innovation and creating the consequent muddle in the field of Khadi. They should come out with a clear explanation of their stand. If they do not do so people will be justified in blaming them. One can understand that if the output of the hand-spun yarn goes beyond the point where it becomes impossible to sell all the Khadi thus produced, then the price of the hand-spun yarn itself will go down under the competitive condition of the market. But one cannot understand how the Government itself can undertake to promote the manufacture of this mixed cloth and use it for their needs or be instrumental in bringing it into the market.

(From "Harijan," 11-4-33; Para heads are our own)

A NEW FORCE FOR REMAKING THE WORLD

DR. PAUL S. CAMPBELL

There are many questions that need answering today—questions of peace and war, of capitalism and communism, questions of food and population. But the most important question facing every one of us is, how can I begin to play my part in remaking the world?

Only the very blind and the very selfish are content to leave the world as it is. Many think they have the answer, but they always want to begin with someone else. Many strive to bring a cure, but they have the wrong diagnosis. The way I see the mistakes of other men and other nations and turn a blind eye on my own is not due to communism or capitalism, to my race or class. It is due to pride and ambition and self-righteousness. It is due to my nature.

Moral Re-Armament is demonstrating on a world scale that human nature can be changed and changed quickly. To change I need to do two things: take a look at the world, and take a look at myself.

Division is the hallmark of our age. More and more conferences decide less and less. Millions live in the dread of a third world war. Half the world has been brought under the iron-clad materialistic dictatorship which can encircle the globe. Historically

there can be only one answer—the development of a new society superior to that of capitalism and communism, which brings men and nations the freedom they desire and the inner discipline they need. It must be a society which unites all nations in those great tasks; to make the work and wealth of the world available for all and for the exploitation of none; to keep the peace and making it permanent; and to give birth to a world-wide renaissance.

The world is the way it is because of the way I and millions like me live. Many of us know where we need to change. We are decidedly clear on where other people need to change and other nations. But the secret of remaking the world is to begin with ourselves and our own nation. As I am so is my nation.

The way to change is to begin putting right what is wrong. The question is where to start.

Take pencil and paper and write down the places where change is needed. Start with honesty. Absolute. What about money? I think of a friend of mine who was always complaining about dishonesty in the Government while he was avoiding the customs'

tax himself. His change meant paying back what he owed. Now instead of criticising the politicians he tells them how he became honest.

What about the person from whom I feel most divided? Is it all his fault? I may be 10 per cent wrong, but it is easier for me to put right 10 per cent than for him to put right 90 per cent. So why not start there? Honest apology works between men wherever they are—in an industry, a cabinet, an international conference.

Then, take purity. Am I out for myself or for what I can give? Am I governed by what I want or by what is right? Do I exploit others for my satisfaction or do I live clean as a whistle? Absolute purity includes thoughts as well. It's a stiff test, but we can be different and it is necessary. We cannot build a new society on broken homes.

Think of unselfishness. Most of our political, economic and social schemes are created to curb our selfishness. What would happen if we begin thinking of the other fellow more than ourselves? What would happen if each of us were to make a simple decision never to be concerned about ourselves again? Selfishness is deadly in society. It binds and blinds; it deadens and deafens; it divides and multiplies.

What about absolute love? Real care means that I live to make the other person great. It means I behave the way I would like the other person and the other nation to behave. To do that I must find an answer for ambition and jealousy in my own life. It takes a miracle. The miracle starts when we begin to listen twice as much as we talk. That is the normal way for men to live—after all we have been given two ears and one mouth.

Take time to listen—ten minutes will do for a start. Write down every thought that comes. Check those thoughts against the four standards of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute

TO OUR READERS

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love. Obey the thoughts you get. You will always get something you can do, and it will always be something that needs to be done. Start every day with this discipline.

The first time I listened I had ideas about restitution to make for things that I had borrowed and kept. I had the thought to apologise to a man of whom I had been very critical, because I was ambitious for his position. I had direction to be honest with my family.

The universal experience is this, that as we begin to put right what we can, a new power is released in us which cuts through the pride, greed and bitterness which rules us so much of the time. The formula is simple. Listen honestly. Write it down. Carry it out. The results are undeniable. For everyone, everywhere, whether with faith or no faith, it works. It is tried, tested and true. It has never been known to fail. You can try to argue yourself out of it—I did. You can try to laugh it off—I did—not because it was laughable, but because I had the uncomfortable thought that I was going to have to put right a difficult situation. Laughter was my smoke-screen. But when you actually try it you will step into a new life. You will live and create unity. You will rebuild men and their relationships. You will become an effective force for remaking the world. ★

— From "Indian Express," 1st March, 1953

"Gandhi As A Social Revolutionary"

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

This is an interesting brochure written by Mr. Wellock immediately after attending the World Pacifists' Conference and visiting several Gandhian constructive institutions in India in 1949-50.

This being out of print now, we are thankful to Mr. Wellock for permitting us to publish its second edition. This is available at:—

**Sarvodaya Prachuralayam,
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MAN AND THE MACHINE

— WILFRED WELLOCK

Our readers are already familiar with the thought-provoking articles of the Orchard Lea Papers from which extracts are being published in Sarvodaya. The Sixth Paper entitled "THE VALUE OF WORK: MAN AND THE MACHINE" is fully reproduced here. As Mr. Wellock says in his letter to us "this is specially intended for young people, students and others to stimulate them to undertake Creative Work."

WORK: A HUMAN NECESSITY

Work is a human necessity. From the moment of his emergence on this planet man has lived and developed by hard work, by ingenuity and invention, and when these have declined he and his life have declined. To yield to ease and luxury is usually the prelude to the fall of man.

Thought and action, or ideas and their application are the means whereby civilisations come into being and thrive. Science, art, religion, philosophy, all appear in due order to play their part in man's evolution. The totality of this evolution is work made manifest.

Life as mere breathing, eating and sleeping is not enough. There is that in man which forever aspires after a plus, a more perfect and abundant life, whence he travels by wider visions through new inventions into broader expanses of experience.

In making the evolutions not only does human experience become enriched and more significant, but man himself grows in intellectual and spiritual stature, becomes a new person, and thus is forever being reborn.

To produce a more perfect thing, be it a tool, a utensil, a piece of furniture, a poem, a picture or a scientific theory, is at the same time to produce a more capable, significant and valuable man. A man's work is himself, his personality, objectified, but in the process of objectifying itself, the self is magnified by the acquisition of new skill, insight, power of understanding and of self-expression. Man is and becomes what he does.

CREATIVE SELF-EXPRESSION

The mind and soul cannot grow except by means of creative self-expression. The

reason why man's powers of perception and understanding, the keenness of his senses and the skill of his hands are developed most completely in vocational labour, is that in such labour his entire being is keyed up to its maximum power. Nothing cultures the mind or refines the spirit like the effort to produce useful and beautiful things. Moreover one learns more about nature, life, and even about oneself in trying to make such things out of crude raw material, be it soil, clay, fibre, paint or words, than by any other means.

We thus see that work is a fundamental human function. A man's integrity and wholeness depend more upon the nature and quality of his work than upon anything else, although of course the quality of his work depends upon his outlook, his culture and sense of values. Men give their best hours and their finest energy to the tasks performed in their daily labour, and if those tasks do not develop the whole man and satisfy mind and spirit, it is improbable that these ends will be achieved at other times. They may by chance, and in a few cases they are, but in general a man's work determines the nature of his play, his values, his attitude to religion and life and develops or destroys his wholeness.

THE PROCESS OF SELF-REALISATION

At root, therefore, work is a process of self-realisation through self-outpouring for worth while ends. And worth while ends are for the most part social ends. The human relationships developed by such labour constitute a volume of personal and social wealth that is beyond computation. In this process of self-outpouring the self is constantly being realised at higher levels.

It follows that the primary aim of every community, of every Government, should be to provide the conditions wherein all its

(All the six papers are available at Sarvodaya, Tirupur at 2 As. per copy with postage extra)

members may express themselves to the utmost in their daily labour, and of every religious and cultural institution to teach the rising generation the art of doing that.

We thus arrive at a basic law, that they who lose, or give, their lives shall find them; and to labour with the whole soul for worthy social ends is to beautify the earth, magnify the soul, and glorify God.

Self-giving is LIFE, self-withholding, DEATH. All birth is self-giving, and all self-giving is birth. That profound law is proved every day in small things and is what, in fact, keeps the world going; yet we distrust it in the big things, and a decaying civilisation is the outcome.

FIVE PRIMARY FUNCTIONS

We may sum this up by saying that work has five primary functions: to earn one's bread and the wherewithal to a full life; to develop all one's powers — of perception and understanding, of skill, creation, achievement, including personal wholeness; to discover the laws of nature and the art of living; to make one's maximum contribution to the wellbeing of the community and thereby win the right to enjoy the fruits of others' labour, and a rich harvest of fellowship; to learn the art, and the values of co-operation.

WORKMANSHIP - A SOCIAL UNIFIER

Work in its fullest content therefore acts like social cement in the cultivation of a rich matrix of community relationships. A man who contributes high quality workmanship to society is a social unifier and at the same time the inheritor of immense spiritual wealth. A community of such people would constitute a civilisation of high quality. There is no limit to the volume of LIFE a man may inherit who has learned the art of self-giving in his labour.

When in English history work was responsible and creative, the people were proud of their personal and collective achievements and contemplated them with deep satisfaction, from the village church on the hill or nestling in the trees to the cottage gardens, the cultivated fields, the ricks and the hedges. The quality of every man's work was known, and by it his standing in the community was determined. It was an age in which the common man had honour.

On the farm, in the workshop and in any job whatsoever, men experienced the joys of creative, social living, while the unity of their social life was expressed in worship, in songs, dances and games, and in the great seasonal festivals. That was a satisfying life,

and with it went the habit of meditation. In those days there was time in which to meditate upon the things that mattered, temporal and eternal.

"WE ARE WORKERS TOGETHER WITH GOD"

Such a life developed the whole man, body, mind, heart and spirit, and produced a high level of family and village integration. The esteem of one's neighbours helped to make the good craftsman a good citizen and neighbour. His social instincts came into play in almost every job he did, while his soul left its mark in the homes or on the farms within his social orbit. Nature and the village existed in his mind as a significant, satisfying unity.

The rise and fall of civilisations can be related to the degree that they stimulated the exercise of man's creative instincts and powers. That concept of man appears, for example, in the earliest Hebrew Scriptures: "And God created man in his own image." Jesus upheld it in the words: "Greater things than these shall ye do," and St. Paul in the words: "We are workers together with God."

Those passages sum up the Hebrew conception of man and his function in the world, and our own in so far as we have one. They imply that man possesses God-like qualities, some spark of the divine by which he can probe and understand the created world and fulfil its purposes in building what we are pleased to call civilisation.

Moreover every great religion embodies that concept in one form or another and lays down principles and rules of conduct whereby man may fulfil the creative purpose, some inkling of which lies hidden in every human soul.

From time to time, however, man wanders from the path of truth and self-fulfilment and ends his life in disasters. Occasionally this happens on such a scale that a civilisation comes to an end. The worship of false Gods is easy, because it is the way of the flesh, of self-indulgence, of ease and luxury.

ABUNDANT LIFE OR ABUNDANT POSSESSIONS?

We are in one of those periods to-day. Our age has made the tragic mistake of equating abundant life with abundant possessions or what it calls high standards of living. In consequence it has sacrificed with scarcely a qualm the values of creative living for those of mechanical living and quantitative production. The latter values depend chiefly upon cash, the former upon the quality of a man's mind, the breadth of his vision, the

ripeness of his understanding, the plenitude of his spiritual storehouse, including his wealth of social relationships.

ECONOMY OF THE SPIRIT

The latter is an economy of the spirit and calls for the culture of the whole man, whereas the former is a cash economy which demands a high percentage of fragmented workers. Take a glance at our industrial practices to-day!

MAN'S FALL IN MODERN INDUSTRIALISM

What, in effect, the majority of industrialists now say to the boys and girls whom the Education Authorities hand over to them every year is this: "It is really very little we ask of you. This is the machine age, and machinery makes work light and easy. All we ask of you is the use of one or two tiny bits of your organism. With the rest you can do what you like. You may dream while you work, or sing, or talk, or just chew gum. We want you to be happy. Music will be on tap if you want it. We shall pay you well so that you may go to the pictures, dress well, or what you will. Keep the machines going, avoid hold-ups, and all will be well."

Thus the descent of man in the great human betrayal of modern industrialism proceeds apace. But how sad to reflect that after parents and teachers have trained and encouraged children to do and make things, and tried to stir their imaginations with the idea of accomplishing something worthy of their powers, most of them must go into offices and factories to work like automata day in day out! Their jobs interest them for a few weeks, then they tire of them and begin to wonder when they will be given a chance to do something which pulls the best out of them. But to the great majority the chance never comes. Ennui sets in and eventually despair. The sparkle leaves their eyes and dullness begins to cloud once shining faces. Within two years they have shed the inspiration of whatever education they ever received. They look around and discover that thousands of others are in a like plight, when they come to the conclusion that the only thing to do is to accept their fate. Thereafter their interests and conversation fall to the level of their work. They learn about love and sex, about film and sports stars, and give themselves up to that wide range of mass excitements which to-day serve the function of making a colourless robot existence tolerable. Hence the things of the spirit quietly pass beyond their ken. At twenty they have become fully conditioned

to a fickle existence while their creative powers which, normally developed would have produced boundless riches of the spirit, lie dormant, rejected by a soulless industrialism. In such an existence religion has no meaning.

MAN, AN AUTOMATON IN INDUSTRY

Recently a worker in a repetition factory told me that he ran in his department a weekly half-crown football sweep in which the great majority of the workers participated, including girls of eighteen and boys of fifteen. The foreman allowed the sweep because the work was very monotonous and needed the stimulus of a little excitement. In the fore part of the week the contributors discuss teams and their prospect and afterwards how they would spend the sweep money if they won it.

But what can we expect when our experts — Mr. Taylor, e. g., an authority on the Managerial State, can write: —

"All possible brain work should be removed from the shop and centred in the planning department, leaving for the foreman and gang bosses work strictly executive in its nature... Each man must grow accustomed to receiving and obeying instructions covering details, large and small, which in the past have been left to his judgment."

During the recent war Sir Stafford Cripps, who then had charge of aircraft production, claimed as a triumph of labour dilution the fact that certain aircraft factories were running with no more than 2% of skilled labour, which meant that 98% of the workers were being transformed into industrial robots.

WHAT A COST OF HUMAN DEGRADATION!

Who can count the cost of this degradation in frustration, in crime, in the spread of self-indulgence, of narcotics and other forms of dope, or estimate the loss in beauty, in the character of our towns and villages, in the quality of human personality and in vital human relationships?

No wonder employers are having great difficulty in holding the workers' attention to their jobs, and that many of them are calling in psychologists to help them in this inglorious task. What in fact the latter are doing is to degrade science by using it to condition human beings to function at a sub-human level. That the method "succeeds" is to our shame.

EMOTIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STARVATION

Criminologists are increasingly coming to the conclusion that repetitive industrial processes are one of the chief causes of crime to-day. Two Swiss Professors in criminology and Mental Hygiene stated in an article which appeared in the first issue of the British Journal of Delinquency, that a:

"serious source of aggression is the mental state of many who are caught up by modern techniques of production, particularly workers stationed along conveyor lines, where it is almost impossible for any human being to sublimate and satisfy his affections, his love and aggressiveness by work. This emotional starvation, the desire for real life, cannot be fed with substitutes, with Hollywood films, mass-meetings and crime stories."

Experiments have proved that one of the best means of rehabilitating mind-warped and mind-wrecked human beings is creative occupation such as handicrafts.

WASTE OF HUMAN GENIUS

Nothing can compensate or atone for this colossal waste of humangenius. After a long experience among people of all classes and colours I have come to the conclusion that there is a spark of genius in almost every person, and that lack of opportunity and encouragement is the chief preventive of its development and blossoming. This immense reservoir of potential spiritual power, which is encouraged and developed up to a point in the home and the school, is finally rejected in the interest of a shoddy, uninspiring, ersatz civilisation. Yet what a paradise of creative splendour it might produce if given its chance in an understanding world!

THE PLAY OF MASS POWER AND MONEY

The non-use of the higher faculties leads to their atrophy in due course and thus to the degradation of the human species. Modern industry may make profits and quantity of goods, but it unmakes men, dwarfs their minds and cramps their spirits, while people who do not work creatively usually end by getting their pleasures on tap. On the other hand, men who work creatively almost invariably use their leisure creatively. Every modern Dictator knows that when life is reduced to mechanistic and monetary terms, mass power and money and not the

"freedoms of democracy" determine the politics of the mass-man.

THE NEEDS OF CREATIVE SOCIETY

Vocationalism is the supreme means of developing the genius of a community, of raising the quality of its life and developing a valid democracy. Under vocationalism creative genius reaches its greatest perfection and society its maximum stability. The glories of Florence and of hundreds of mediaeval towns throughout Europe and Britain were the achievements of common men, village and small-town craftsmen who were trained and encouraged to express their exuberant spirits, craftsman inspiring craftsman until genius became as the breath of life and placed its mark on everything to which men put their hands, and not least on themselves.

It should therefore be the primary aim of every state to make it possible for all its members to embark upon a self-chosen vocation, and to train its youth to labour gloriously. The right to a vocation is basic, and gives meaning to all the other freedoms. Moreover the hope of peace finally lies in the balanced lives of whole men and women, of societies in which material demands are conditioned by spiritual values. This is the creative revolution which our age awaits. Some of its demands will be considered in O. L. P. No. 7: *The Creative Society*.



BY WILFRED WELLOCK

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WORKING OF PROHIBITION

Mr. W. A. Scharffenberg, Executive Secretary of the International Temperance Association, addressed the Madras Legislators on 24.3.53 in the Congress Legislative Hall at Madras and Shri C. Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister, presided. The States that plead loss of revenue as a result of Prohibition may well consider the cost of the drink policy to the States. According to Mr. Scharffenberg "for every rupee the Government collect on liquor they would have to spend Rs. 14 on prevention of crimes, of accidents etc. the causes for which could be traced to drink." This report is from The Hindu dated 26th March, '53.

Sri Rajagopalachari introduced Mr. Scharffenberg and Mr. Pierson to the audience. He said they were office-bearers of the International Temperance Association and added that they should not be misled by the term "Temperance Association." He explained that the word temperance meant total abstinence and prohibition and not temperance as they knew, as distinguished from Prohibition. The word temperance was used in England, America and throughout Europe to mean total Prohibition and there should be no mistake about it. The visitors had come to survey the conditions in the world. They were moving from place to place and "Madras being in the world map of Prohibition they have made it a point to come here and meet us all." Sri Rajagopalachari said he took advantage of the visit and arranged a meeting. "I must tell him", he said, "that he (Mr. Scharffenberg) is speaking to an audience completely convinced on the subject and whose only interest is how to get it across to other people."

Mr. Scharffenberg quoted, at the outset, Gladstone's words that "it is the duty of Government to make it easy for the people to do well and difficult to do ill" and said that whenever he asked people why they drank, they replied that drink was available and so they drank. He expressed the view that if they could not get liquor they would not drink. He said he belonged to a place in the U. S. where there was beer all round and yet he had not had a drink so far. His stand on total abstinence and prohibition was due to his mother who had brought him up on that line.

EXPERIENCE IN U. S.

Mr. Scharffenberg narrated how total Prohibition came into force in U. S. formerly and said that in a certain place a person who had taken alcohol from a liquor shop committed a murder. The people around, coming to know that the man committed the murder while in a drunken state, demanded that the

shop should not be allowed to operate in that area. So, the shop shifted from that district. When the shopman tried to open a shop in another district, the people there came to know under what circumstances he came to that place and in turn demanded that the liquor shop should not be allowed to open in that district. Thus each district began to spurn liquor shops and 27 States had thus declared Prohibition. A Prohibition Bill was then taken up by the Congress and 75 per cent of the States endorsed it. Prohibition thus became a Federal Law. The liquor interests—dealers and manufacturers—were disappointed and they organised what was called the Association for the Repeal of the 18th Amendment (Prohibition Law). They in America had Prohibition for 13 years and Mr. Scharffenberg said it could not be said to have failed.

Reviewing how Prohibition ceased to be a Federal Law, Mr. Scharffenberg said that two circumstances arose. Firstly, there was a sort of indifference on the part of the temperance forces in the country. Once Prohibition had become a Federal Law they stopped their work and many societies closed. They failed to launch a continuous education programme. Secondly, the liquor interests tried to permeate among the people the idea that Prohibition could never work; that it was a failure; and that there was illicit drinking. They influenced big officers and made them fight for the repeal. "This was a Federal Law and I am very happy that India did not make that same mistake, and the responsibility of enforcing Prohibition is not vested in the Federal Government. How would your State police officers like the Delhi police officials coming down here and enforcing Prohibition laws? It does not work and could not work. These men, belonging to the Federal Government in U. S. thought they were big men and, not caring to enforce the law, they leaned more and more towards the men who appointed them—politicians who were endeavouring to develop an

opinion against Prohibition. "Finally, he said, one party came to the front and promised a national referendum on the issue of Prohibition. Only a minority exercised their votes. A majority of them, like the poor peasants, did not vote. They never believed that Prohibition would be repealed in U. S. And yet Prohibition was repealed. But it was not correct to say that it was repealed by the votes of a majority.

RECENT TRENDS

At present, Mr. Scharffenberg said, an interesting development was taking place in U. S. The liquor interests did all they could to promote drinking in all sections of society. They were advertising through all mediums. They went too far and a reaction had now set in that something should be done about it. A Bill was introduced in the Congress last year that advertising of liquor over radio and other such media should be banned. It was lost by one vote. Another Bill of the kind was now being introduced and he would not be surprised if it was carried through this time. He said that more women were drinking today in U. S. than ever before and there was a feeling among the public that something should be done about it. There was the drinking habit among the student population also. It was also stated that about 75 per cent of road accidents happened when the car drivers were in a drunken state and also public feeling was aroused against them. The feeling was again growing against the liquor industry. Whereas previously about 75 per cent of liquor was purchased and consumed at the bar and 25 per cent taken home, the ratio had now reversed. Trade interests said that liquor had food value and it was also repudiated. Civic organisations had been started to educate the people on the evils of drink and to do propaganda for introduction of Prohibition. At the annual conferences of such functions no liquor was served and they took only orange juice. "I merely mention this," he said, "to show that a feeling is developed in U. S. against drink and I wish to put that idea across. We must take courage in this matter of Prohibition and India will set an example for the entire world to follow in this regard with her religious conviction, cultural ideals and realistic outlook in life."

"I believe," Mr. Scharffenberg said in conclusion, "that you in Madras and the people in Bombay will set an example for the nation. Let every one of you here

take a positive line and permeate the spirit that you are cent per cent for Prohibition and make an immense success of it."

Mr. Scharffenberg said that for every rupee the Government collected on liquor, they would have to spend Rs. 14 on prevention of crimes, of accidents, etc., the causes for which could be traced to drink.

SRI RAJAGOPLACHARI'S ADVICE

Sri Rajagopalachari thanked Mr. Scharffenberg for the interesting and instructive talk he had given and for the manner in which he had answered all the questions

ALCOHOLISM IN FRANCE

The cost to the State through alcoholic poisoning was estimated in 1950 at over 3,000 m. francs. This includes hospital charges, the upkeep of prisoners serving sentences for crimes directly and indirectly due to alcohol, and education of children of alcoholics. It does not include the bill for road accidents, labour injuries, burials, social security and the loss of working time involved.

— LONDON TIMES Weekly, 12th Dec., '51

which were worrying their minds in the State of Madras where they had taken up the responsibility of enforcing Prohibition. "Let me tell you," he said, "all the people here want Prohibition, want it to continue and want it to succeed. Their one feeling is that we have not got cent per cent success. A little stain on the clothes makes the whole thing look bad. Want of enforcement here and there is worrying their mind. All of them wonder whether you have given any tips." Sri Rajagopalachari added: "Though in the course of this generation it (Prohibition) may fail, we must go on without yielding ground and ultimately we are bound to succeed. Do we not know that in India itself, without any Prohibition law, we had so many communities—they may be small in comparison with the whole population of India but very large in number in absolute terms—which observe total Prohibition?" He said that if Prohibition was enforced, the young boys and girls would be kept away from the temptation of drink and they would become full-blooded abstainers, and that would happen in the whole country if they did not give up. But if they threw up their hands and said that Government revenues were lost, the thing would be delayed. The greatest concern of the legislators was to make money to run the Government and they would be collecting money from the man who drank if there was no Prohibition. ★

STANDARD OF LIVING

T. R. NARAYANAN NAMBIAR B. A., B. L.

There are many words and phrases that have been imported into our land through the spread of English education and Western civilisation. Most of them, if not all, are very difficult to be properly understood and appreciated. The real essential principles underlying them and their implications, however, appear to be purely materialistic and based on a quest for sensual pleasure. "Standard of Living" is one such phrase.

Western authors and especially economists freely use this phrase in their dissertations. The English-educated people of India and the leaders including our great Prime Minister, in imitation of the Westerners use it when they speak about the advancement of the Indian nation and the betterment of the masses, meaning thereby the villages of India.

Each time I come across this phrase in books and newspapers I spend some time to comprehend its real meaning and significance. I have to confess with shame that I have not succeeded fully in my venture up till now.

BASIC NEEDS FOR EXISTENCE

Man as a physical being has only a very few needs in this world; these are fundamental and inevitable. The creator has made ample arrangements in the physical nature for the proper satisfaction of these needs in due accordance with their importance in rank. Air, water, food, land and sex are primary and basic needs in order. Air, without which a man cannot live ordinarily for more than a few minutes, is supplied by nature in bountiful plenty. Water, next in importance, is provided enough, though not as plentiful as air. Food in various forms is freely available and land for rest. The sexual need, if it is considered fundamental at all, can be satisfied in nature.

Suppose a human being lives in wild forests breathing fresh, pure air, drinking heavenly water, eating leaves, nuts and fruits provided by nature, taking rest on mother earth under the canopy of the sky and mating with a companion. He will be called by us probably by the name of a beast. Himself and his companion may be the Biblical Adam and Eve enjoying an unsophisticated life in their Paradise or they may be a Maharishi and his wife leading an austere and self-controlled life and practising *sadhana*s for self-realisation. What is the nature of the standard of living of this couple?

Now let us suppose that the above described couple advance a little bit in their mode of living and by the exercise of their mind and intellect breathe only air made purer(?) by artificial means, drink and bathe in only hot water, eat boiled and cooked vegetables etc., lie on cots or pieces of planks placed inside the huts, thus multiplying their physical necessities to an extent. Can we say that they have raised their standard of living? Probably we may, but more probably it can be said that their inner beings as man and wife are not happier in their life on account of the rise in the number of their necessities. The quest for peace and happiness in human beings is perfectly natural and eternal.

SIMPLE LIVING AND HIGH THINKING

It may be the view of the Western thinkers and the leaders of the Western civilisation that the standard of living of a person depends on the number of necessities he has created for his worldly life, in spite of their usual saying that simple living and high thinking are the basis of a perfect and moral human being. Eastern thought and especially Indian view philosophically, are directly opposed to this. They disregard almost completely the physical life of man and look mainly to his inner condition and developments. It can, therefore, be safely said that in regard to the principles underlying the phrase 'standard of living' the outlooks of the West and the East are like the poles.

We, Indians, do not at all consider that by increasing the number of needs in physical life and thus raising the standard of living, man can be brought nearer to the ideal of perfection and bliss. Eastern thought insists upon man's proper performance of his duties and the necessity to do work giving up lethargy and idleness, no doubt, but it attaches to it an important injunction that this work should be done regardless of its fruits. Westerners on the other hand appear to have a careful eye on the fruits of it.

work and do not much value the means of achieving the results of their work.

GANDHIJI'S ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Readers may wonder why I have taken upon myself the duty of writing an article for the 'Sarvodaya' on such a subject which appears to be purely philosophical or religious. There is an object which is directly relevant and basic in the constructive activities of Gandhiji's economic programme for the advancement of the Indian villagers. I do not say at all that Gandhiji intended to take our villagers back to the state of the primitive forest life, but it is sufficiently clear that he did not want them to follow the life of Western civilization multiplying infinitely the necessities of life and thus running after the physical pleasure and happiness which are considered to flow from a luxurious and expensive high standards of life. The economics of the Gandhian way of life are entirely different from those of the Western civilized life. In the scheme of Mahatmaji we have to go back to the pristine glory of an austere life as far as practicable by individuals giving little importance to the sensual pleasures resulting from raising the number of necessities of our physical life. Just consider his objection to the use of machines for industrial and agricultural enterprises, his insistence on resorting to naturopathy for the cure of human diseases, his advocacy for all people doing manual labour, so on and so forth. His programme is a happy via media between the luxurious high civilized material life of the West and the severely austere and completely spiritual life of an Indian forest ascetic.

PRECEPT WITHOUT PRACTICE

A clear comprehension of the fundamentals of life as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi is unavoidably necessary to the constructive workers for the success of their mission. In the hot conflict between the civilization of the East and the West, especially in this age, a complete success of Gandhiji's constructive scheme involves a huge sacrifice on the part of our people which in my humble view they are yet to make. We have still to place before them by propaganda and example meticulously followed in personal life the whole picture of the Gandhian mode of living. Our workers have to be strictly careful to adopt in their personal all the principles preached by the Mahatma.

★ ★ ★

"PEACE PILGRIM" Is Walking Across U. S. A.

A young American woman is walking 3000 miles across U. S. A. carrying a peace message to every town and village through which she passes.

Perferring to remain anonymous, she has called herself "Peace Pilgrim" because she feels it imperative that the journey be a movement of the spirit of peace across the U. S. A.

In addition to handing out copies of her peace message she is distributing three petition forms.

One calls for an immediate stopping of the war in Korea, another for the establishment of a Peace Department of the U. S. Government, with a Secretary of Peace who accepts the belief that the evil must be overcome with good, falsehood with truth, and hatred with love.

The third petition form addressed to the United Nations and world leaders asks them to free the peoples of the world from the "crushing burden of armaments."

The press and the radio are giving wide publicity to her activities. The head San-Diego council of churches has approved her message and her petitions are being widely circulated in the churches.

In order to remain an impersonal instrument she has undertaken a very stern personal discipline.

The following is her message:
"My friends, the world situation is grave. Humanity, with fearful, faltering steps, walks a knife-edge between abysmal chaos and a new renaissance, while strong forces push toward chaos. Unless we, the people of the world, awake from our lethargy and push firmly and quickly away from chaos, all that we cherish will be destroyed in the holocaust which will descend.

"This is the way to peace; overcome evil with good, and falsehood with truth, and hatred with love. The Golden Rule would do as well. Please don't say lightly that these are just religious concepts and not practical. These are laws governing human conduct, which apply as rigidly as the law of gravity. When we disregard these laws in any walk of life, chaos results. Through obedience to these laws this frightened, war-weary world of ours could enter into a period of peace and richness of life beyond our fondest dreams."

"Peace News", March 18th, '53

ALL INDIA KHADI & VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

Shri Pranlal S. Kapadia, Secretary of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board formed by the Central Government, has sent the following report of the Board's work during the last two months.

At the second meeting of the All-India Khadi & Village Industries Board which was held in New Delhi in the last week of March 1953, the Board approved of the budget for Khadi work and development of other village industries for the year 1953-54. Expenditure amounting to Rs. 1,08,12,600 was approved for Khadi work and Rs. 86,20,250 for work in respect of other village industries. The Board budgeted for a provision of Rs. 1,75,00,000 for Khadi work and Rs. 25,00,000 for other village industries by way of loans and advances. The detailed programme of work in both the sections was also sanctioned. The village industries selected for development during the current year are the following:

Village Oil Industry
Hand-pounding of Rice
Soap-making with Neem Oil
Hand-made paper
Bee-keeping
Palm Gur
Gur and Khandsari
Leather
Cottage Matches
Miscellaneous Industries

2. The Board has placed itself in contact with Governments of various States with a view to examining how its activities can be carried on in different parts of the country and co-ordinated with similar activities being carried on at present, either through departmental agency or non-official bodies. The Board has deputed some of its members to visit States as indicated against their names and to discuss with the Minister in-charge of Village Industries in States, the lines on which its activities can be extended and developed in the near future.

Benqal and Assam
— Dr. Satish Chandra Das Gupta
Bihar and Orissa
— Shri Laxmi Narayan

6

Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Kashmir
— Shri V. N. Sharma
Rajasthan, Pepsu and Madhya Bharat
— Shri Siddharaj Dhadda
Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Andhra
and Travancore-Cochin
— Shri A. W. Sahaasrabudhe
Saurashtra and Bombay
— Shri V. V. Jerajani
Hyderabad and Mysore
— Shri Dwarakanath Lele

3. Proposals were discussed about the common production programme for the oil-pressing and rice-pounding on the basis of interim suggestions received from a Common Production Programme Committee, which was appointed at the first meeting of the Board. The Board expects to submit certain proposals to the Planning Commission in respect of these two industries in the near future.

4. The Board noted the response that was evoked by the grant of rebate of 3 annas in the rupee on sales of Khadi between the period from 12th February to 31st March, '53. It has been decided to continue the arrangements for grant of rebate for the next year also.

5. The question of setting up a research institute specialising in village industries was discussed and it is expected that a scheme will be drawn up for the purpose during the next quarter.

6. Arrangements were made for establishing liaison with the All-India Handloom Board and the All-India Handicraft Board.

7. Members of the Board had a discussion with the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues on the subject of the place of Khadi in India's national economy and the scope for planned development in the next five years. Detailed proposals in this respect are being forwarded to the Central Government.

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NOTES AND NEWS

LONDON TIMES'S TRIBUTE TO BHOODAN

"It is attempting to help the 30 million to 40 million landless cultivators of India by launching the kind of appeal to the principles of common humanity which Mr. Gandhi always invoked to redress social evils.

"A campaign of this magnitude needs to be fitted carefully into the planned economy which has been officially laid down for the country.

"As Mr. Nehru has pointed out, the Bhoodan movement can neither displace the law of the land nor relieve Central and local Governments of their responsibility for agrarians' reform.

"If not wisely used, it may create as many difficulties as it solves. Yet it has great potentialities.

"Apart altogether from its practical achievements, which look like being impressive, it can do much to allay the bitter feelings that are causing dangerous unrest among the landless.

"The poorer among this class, who are the great majority, have benefited little from the existing land reforms.

"Capital compensation to former owners weighs so heavily on new peasant proprietors that the price of land has soared above the reach of many who need it most. Many of the landless have lost faith in official promises.

"Bitterness is growing among them. To them the Bhoodan movement brings new hope because it harmonizes with instincts deep-rooted in the Indian mind."

(April, 15)

THE SERVICE CIVIL INTERNATIONAL WORK IN HYDERABAD (DN.)

Ten foreign volunteers of the Service Civil International and 19 graduate students of the Agricultural College, Osmania University cleared about 80 acres of jungle land at Gachi Bawli where the Agricultural Co-operative Association of Hyderabad has proposed to establish an agricultural farm. The work was completed in 52 days from February 3 to March 28.

This information was disclosed at an "At Home" given to the volunteers by the president of the Agriculture Co-operative Association, Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung.

These foreign Service Civil International volunteers, who had earlier assisted the State Government in their project to rehabilitate Chenchus (aboriginal tribes, at Vatterlapalli, also planted over 1000 banana suckers over an area of 1.50 acres at Gachi Bawli.

Giving a resume of their experience at Gachi Bawli, the volunteers said that the people of nearby villages evinced great interest in their work and assisted them. Their greater pleasure, they said, was in the development of real fellowship with the villagers who joined them frequently in their "sing songs" and "musical evenings."

The volunteers disclosed that this was their 20th works camp in India since their arrival here in 1934.

The Service Civil International was started immediately after the first World War by a Swiss engineer with the object of creating a spirit of friendship between people of different nationalities by mutual help. It hoped that military service will eventually be replaced by civilian service for peaceful ends.

BHOODAN WORK IN HYDERABAD (DN.)

Hyderabad, where the Bhoodan Yagna was first started by Vinobaji, has so far collected 42,000 acres in the State. The quota fixed for Hyderabad for the year ending '53 is one and a half lakhs of acres. The Government of Hyderabad had already introduced Bhoodan Yagna special rules to regularise land-gifts and also their distribution without any cost of stamp and registration fees. So far 9000 acres had been distributed.

In order to reach the target by the end of the year a committee of M. L. As was constituted on 13th April with Shri Kasinath Rao Vaidya, Speaker, as the chairman. The committee consists of one member from each district, as also from Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities. The Chief minister, the Home minister, the Social Service minister and all the Congress women M. L. As are members of the committee.

The Chairman, Shri Kasinath Vaidya, announced an offer of 30 acres and Rs. 100 on his behalf; the Supply minister, Dr. Chenna Reddy a donation of six acres. Some

of the other ministers offered each a pair of bulls. Other members also promised to give donations.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist Leader, will tour Telengana for ten days from May 10 in connection with Bhoodan movement.

BHOODAN YAGNA BILL IN MADHYA PRADESH ASSEMBLY

The Madhya Pradesh Assembly unanimously passed the Bhoodan Yagna Bill to simplify the mode of transfer of land donated under the Bhoodan movement, on April 9th, '53.

The Bill provides for a Bhoodan Yagna Board, the members of which would be nominated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Board will have the power to grant leases of land vesting in it to landless persons. The lessee will have heritable right and must cultivate the land properly and comply with other conditions imposed by the Board. A Bhoodan lessee who has held the land continuously for ten years, in accordance with the prescribed conditions, will secure full title to the land.

Exemption from payment of stamp-duty or registration fee in the deeds is also provided for in the Bill.

COST OF MODERN WAY OF LIFE

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

"This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

"The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

"It is: two electric power plants each serving a town of 60,000 population.

"It is: two fine, fully equipped hospitals.

"It is: some 50 miles of concrete highway.

"We pay for a single fighter plane with 500,000 bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8000 people.

"This is the best way of life on the road the world has been taking - - It is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

The above are not the words of the Pacifists but of the Statesman - President Eisenhower of the Republic of U. S. - the veteran war commander of the World War II.

VISVA BHARATI UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Dr. Rajendra Prasad delivered the Visva Bharati University Convocation Address at Santiniketan on 23rd Dec, 1952. In the course of his speech he said, "Gurudev considered no education to be true education unless it is complete in all respects—that is to say, unless it does seek to realise the truth in all its aspects — whether it manifested in human society or in individual personality or in the phenomena of Nature or in the devoted pursuit of Beauty and Truth. It was a matter of regret for him that persons receiving education in universities did not even think of the great human mass silently moving forward in an invisible manner.' He was also of the view that, if out of our indifference we pay no attention to the people the latter would not wait for attracting our attention but would move forward, for the new life of the new age was unceasingly working within them to make them forge ahead. Our life would acquire great significance if we become familiar with the tendencies and urges that are influencing the masses in whatever country they may be. Education is thus another aspect of Truth itself. So, his vision was not circumscribed by any narrow walls of religion, region, colour, caste or sex." It will profit greatly both the teachers and the taught if they read these wise words.

U. P. UNIVERSITIES' SCHEME FOR STUDENTS

The Vice Chancellors' conference of the Uttar Pradesh Universities held on Apr. 22nd at Lucknow has arrived at a decision that every student studying in the Universities in U. P. should put in at least 50 hours of manual labour in an academic year of 32 weeks. The conference has also decided to examine the possibility of reducing the present high cost of University education.

NEW SCHEME OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MADRAS STATE

The Madras Government has proposed to introduce a new scheme of elementary education in all lower elementary schools in the rural areas in the State. The scheme is proposed to be put into effect from the academic year, 1953-54. Schools in municipalities and major panchayats may not be included in the scheme at present.

The total number of elementary schools in the state at present is over 38,000. Out of this 600 to 700 schools are Basic schools and they are not included in the scheme.

According to the scheme a school day for the students will be only 3 hours instead of 6 hours at present. The working week will be extended to six days. Every school will be divided into two batches. One batch will have to work for 3 hours alternately in the forenoon and the afternoon. The second batch will come to the school during the other part of the day. The same teacher will handle both the batches.

This scheme of work will free the children from school for one half-a-day so as to enable them to join their families to do whatever the occupational work the family does. This will apply to all persons belonging to occupational families, i.e. agricultural labourers, land owning peasants, artisans such as the village potter, blacksmith, carpenter, etc., etc. All girls, irrespective of the occupation of their parents will fall under the category.

Students whose parents do not belong to occupational classes will be sent to the village craftsman to learn work during the half day. They will for all purposes work like apprentices under this craftsman. This craftsman will have to maintain an attendance register indicating that the boys are present during the allotted time. Where a school has sufficient compound a craft-shed will be erected inside the compound to make provision for more than one type of craft-industries to the students. Arrangements will also be made with the farmers in the village and the pupils will be attached to a farmer so that they could learn the methods of cultivation.

In addition to the regular learning of the craft and cultivation all the students are to be organised to render service to the village as building sheds, digging wells, improving village roads, etc., etc.

To make the local village people take an interest in the school and guide their extra activities a village council will be constituted in each village.

GANDHI GRAM STUDY CIRCLE

The following is the summary of the reports sent by Sri G. Ramachandran, Director of Gandhi Gram, Chinnalapati, (Madurai District):—

On the 25th Jan., '53, "Rajaji's proposals to help hand-loom weavers—whether it will adversely affect the growth of Khadi movement?" was discussed. Sri N. Ramaswami, Ex-Secretary of the Tamil Nad Charkha

Sangh (Editor, 'Sarvodaya' Tamil & English), expressed the view that the reservation of production of sarees and dhoties exclusively to handloom weavers would certainly bring help to the weavers, but the proposal for mixing hand-spun yarn and mill-spun yarn for hand-loom weaving would certainly harm the growth of Khadi movement and even ultimately destroy it. "Khadi is not a mere economic proposition but also a symbol of a way of life shown by Gandhiji and any compromise even partly with mill-yarn will weaken people's loyalty to the ideology behind it." Sri G. Ramachandran said that people should not confuse Rajaji, the Chief Minister, as Rajaji the old leader of Khadi movement. Rajaji's proposal should be viewed as that of a head of the Government dealing not only with a small number of Khadi wearers but a very large number of mill-cloth wearers. Rajaji's proposals to mix mill-spun yarn with hand-spun yarn would help to persuade the wearers of mill-cloth to come to hand-loom cloth containing hand-spun yarn and it would ultimately bring them to Khadi.

On 5th April, '53 "Communism or Sarvodaya, which is better suited to India?" was debated. Sri Jagannathan, Convenor of the Tamil Nad Bhodan Committee, opened the discussion. He said, "Besides economic welfare man aspires also for moral and spiritual uplift. Sarvodaya is working for equal economic justice and at the same time for the development of the individual. The Sarvodaya method fitted the genius of Indian culture, history and tradition. The non-violent technique which liquidated British Imperialism is now being attempted by Vinobaji to solve the land and money imperialism within the country." Sri K. T. K. Thangamani, Bar-at-law and the well-known Communist leader of Madurai, said that the history of the world was an open chapter and it was the present social order based on violence provoking counter-violence from the oppressed people. The Communists simply recognised this fact without living in a dreamland of non-violence. The Sarvodaya people, though good, are not realists and their method is too slow and the economic liberation of the people cannot wait till all people become saints. Conditions of land and money oppression in India are the same as in other countries. So the remedies have also to be the same.

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(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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No. 12



GANDHI IN NAOKHALLI YATRA

Part 1 - Gandhi's Journey, Part 2

THE MONTHLY DIGEST MAGAZINE OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH

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Bound Volume of Sarvodaya

Bound Volumes of Sarvodaya for the Second year are available at Rs. 5,- each inclusive of postage.

Copies of some of the back numbers of Sarvodaya are available at 4 As. each including postage.

SARVODAYA, Devji Colony, TIRUPUR

To Our Readers

With this number **Sarvodaya** completes its second year and the third year commences from July '53.

An index of the articles of the **Sarvodaya** from July '52 to June 1953 is appended to this number. This will give an idea of the general principles which have guided us in the selection of articles and subjects within the limited size of the magazine.

We are aware of the possibility of improving the get-up and printing. We have the pleasure to inform our readers that arrangements have been made to bring out 'Sarvodaya' from the next July number in bigger types.

All efforts are being made to publish the next issue on the 1st July. But we would ask the readers to bear with us for any unavoidable delay of a few days on account of the change over to new types.

We thank all the subscribers and readers for their kind encouragement.

We would like to mention that the scope and features of the **Sarvodaya** magazine can be enlarged if there is substantial increase in the circulation.



A PORTRAIT UNVEILED BY SRI. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

CHIEF MINISTER, MADRAS.

(His speech was published in our 'Sarvodaya' Jan. '53)



By Courtesy: Government Arts College, Madras.

SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



Vol. 2

June 1953

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The Ideal of Real Village Swaraj

MAHATMA GANDHI

Nine years ago on 2nd September '44 Gandhiji addressed the Trustees of the All India Spinners' Association at Sevagram, after deeply pondering over the part played by the Charkha in his movement for national freedom. In a moving speech he advised the Charkha Sangh to decentralise itself and its activities so that the charkha may take root in the lakhs of villages for achieving real Swaraj. Nine years later, it is the same object that has inspired the Charkha Sangh to totally merge itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh for collectively working for the total decentralisation of political power and for realising economic equality for the masses in the villages. Gandhiji's message given to the Charkha Sangh nine years ago will be the ideal for the Sarva Seva Sangh to strive for. Mr. Tendulkar has included this historic speech in the Sixth Volume of his MAHATMA, from which this extract is taken.

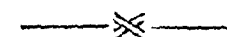
In the first week of September, trustees of the All India Spinners' Association conferred at Sevagram. Gandhi addressing them remarked that the knowledge that the Government could crush the Charkha Sangh, if it wanted to, had affected him deeply. He did not wish to exist at the mercy of the Government. Mercy he would have none except God's. Under the circumstances, would it not be better that he should break up the Charkha Sangh himself and distribute the property of the Charkha Sangh among the villagers? If it had penetrated every home in the 700,000 villages of India, who could crush it? The Government could not imprison forty crores of men and women, nor could they shoot down all of them. Even if one crore out of the forty crores were shot dead that would not retard, but on the contrary would hasten the attainment of their goal. He had told them often enough that they should forget politics and concentrate on the spinning wheel with all its

implications. That and that alone he considered to be true politics, Satvic politics. Every village that assimilated the message of the wheel would begin to feel the glow of independence. If the Charkha Sangh was to fulfil his expectations, its members should be the living examples of non-violence. Their whole life should be a demonstration of ahimsa in action and they should have healthy bodies and healthy minds. If they had been what they should be, the villagers would have taken to the charkha most enthusiastically. The problems of communal disharmony and of untouchability, etc., would have vanished like dew before the morning sun. It was in order to enable the Charkha Sangh to attain what it had failed to attain so far that he had suggested breaking it up into its component parts. He would suggest distributing the money that the Charkha Sangh possessed among the able workers who should go to the villages with the determination of devoting their lives to the

spread of the wheel. Today charkha Sangh was a highly centralised institution. Tomorrow it would become completely decentralised. All the workers who go to villages would run their independent centres. The central office would inspect their work and give them necessary guidance, so that the principles for which the Charkha Sangh stood did not suffer neglect. A joint board of the Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh and Talimi Sangh should be formed and it should issue the necessary directions from time to time for giving effect to the new policy. They should consider themselves jointly responsible for the full evolution of non-violence. Its full evolution would mean complete independence. The independence which could bring relief and happiness to the lowliest and the lost could only come through non-violence, that is to say through the wheel. Therefore, if they could make the Charkha Sangh serve that purpose, they would have all his co-operation. If not, they could continue as a mere philanthropic organisation, but that would not be enough

for him. In that case, they must leave him to plough his lonely furrow.

"The Constructive Worker," he said, "must have a wide knowledge and broad vision to be able to give some guidance, even in the sphere of all India politics. Today, we think that our activities can get strength only if Rajaji, that is the congress ministry, returns to power. If this is the situation, it is far from satisfactory. Why should we look to the Viceroy's palace for finding a solution of the present political deadlock? If we begin to do our work with confidence and faith, the Viceroy will have to come to us. Our work shall be such that the Viceroy will realise that it is impossible for him to rule over us. He will realise that it is impossible to keep us in bondage any more. When 700,000 of our villages will begin work with this faith and energy, our slavery will disappear of its own accord. Every village shall have become self-reliant and free. This is the real swaraj and this alone will bring true democracy."



BHOODAN YAGNA: AN INSPIRED MOVEMENT

VINOBA BHAVE

Acharya Vinoba Bhave addressing a prayer meeting on 4-4-'53, said that if the Bhoodan movement failed, a violent revolution would be inevitable. He believed, however, that God wanted a non-violent revolution in this country.

Acharya Bhave said: "I was asked by a friend as to what I would do in case my movement fails. Usually, such a question never troubles me, because I regard the Bhoodan Yagna as a movement inspired by God. A feeble man that I am, I have no abilities to lead such a movement. But I replied that if my movement fails, a violent revolution was inevitable.

"Nothing can happen against the wishes of God, and so if He desires our total annihila-

tion, He will make our reason fail and make us do acts leading to deluge. His wishes are to-day as clear as daylight. When the children and youth of this nation are singing Bhoodan songs and poor people are donating their lands, it creates an atmosphere for the rich to realise that it is necessary to part with their lands. We cannot but conclude that God wants non-violent revolution alone to take place in this country. That is why He is making me wander from place to place to spread his message.

"Let us realise that God wants this blessed land to make a successful experiment in bringing social and economic revolution by peaceful means. Let us realise this and be worthy of the tasks He has assigned us." ★

(Report of a speech in Giridih in Bihar on 4-4-'53)

Acharya Vinobaji's Opening Speech (3) At Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan

On 7th March, 1953

This is the concluding part of Shri Vinobaji's opening speech at the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan. The first two portions had appeared in the April and May issues of our 'Sarvodaya'.



SARVODAYA SAMAJ AND SARVA SEVA SANGH

Now I shall say a few words about the organisational aspect of our work. We have the two bodies, the Sarvodaya Samaj and the Sarva Seva Sangh. The former will continue to function in name expressing the force of idea and the latter will do the concrete work. Under the combined strength of both we will proceed. The Sarva Seva Sangh will not be a loose organisation, but will be a well-knit one with strong organisational control. The Sarvodaya Samaj will have neither of the above characteristics. It will be a spiritual entity—a free association of individuals whose guiding force in life is the Sarvodaya concept. Now we have to consider how the Samaj will have to carry on its mission. There is no need for us to labour on the administrative aspect. Our work is to stimulate the thinking faculty in the people and make them mould their life under its influence. All the sevaks of the Samaj, whether their names are in the register or not, whether they are present here or not, all of them, should decide to do this work. I have already suggested the village to village and door to door propaganda. Besides, study classes should be organised in all places for the propagation of our literature. Let people study and understand our ideas and ideals and compare them with other ideologies. These will be the activities of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

UNIFICATION OF CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS

The Sarva Seva Sangh, should be made an all-inclusive body of all our different con-

structive work institutions. Of course, I have to admit that we could not achieve much in this line till today even though there was the desire. I feel that unless we do this, we won't be able to fulfil what the people expect of us. The different institutions, working in the old rut, will not be able to generate power in the people. I shall cite an example to illustrate my point. It is not with the idea to find fault. We should realize the defects in us. There is the Hindusthani Prachar Sabha in Wardha. What happens there? Some students, not so many as before, are coming there to study the prescribed courses. The Sabha has made it compulsory that every student should learn both the Hindi and Urdu languages, and also the Nagari and the Urdu scripts even though the existing atmosphere is not in favour of it. I do not think that this constructive work of the sabha will really help to increase the strength of the nation. I wish that the students coming there would learn not only their main subjects of languages and scripts but also would get some training in agriculture, spinning, cooking etc. There should be homogeneity in every activity.

WORKERS' ILLUSION AND FEAR

The boys who come there to learn the two scripts only, can never contribute to make the nation strong. I am now talking and you are hearing. If your ears are cut and separated from you and my tongue is pulled and kept apart, neither will you be able to hear nor can I talk. You hear as your ears are one with you. I talk because my tongue is one with me. This is only

an example. Our workers, engaged in the different constructive activities do not develop the real strength to bring about the necessary revolution in society which we desire. They do not succeed because they work in water-tight compartments. Of course they do good work but they are under the illusion that they are all separate, working and specialising in a particular ideal. Further they feel that they will not be able to concentrate as much on their particular ideal as at present, if all merge into one institution. They also fear that many other activities will come in which will slaken their drive. Of course, I do admit that in every plan there are some advantages as well as some disadvantages. But considering the sum total of the effect, it will be seen that we will not be able to develop real strength and power which we desire to create in our people unless these different institutions merge in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

FIVE CRORES OF ACRES OF BHOODAN

At least 5 crores of acres of land should be transferred to the landless labourers before 1957. If all of us concentrate our full attention and energy on this, it can be achieved. By 'us' I mean not the Sarvodaya Samaj sevaks alone, but the Congress men, the Praja Socialists and every one else who accepts the ideal behind the mission. We should achieve success in solving the land problem mainly through *Jana-sakti*—the strength and initiative of the general public. If it materializes 75% or even 50% by the initiative of the people and the rest by legislative measures, I will be happy. If it takes place with cent per cent consent by the will of the people without the interference of State, of course, I will dance with joy.

WE WANT RAMA-RAVANA FIGHT AND NOT BISHMA-ARJUNA FIGHT

Success in Bhoodan will make the future election, not a fight between parties who have good men on either side. We do not want the Bishma-Arjuna fight, but we want the Rama-Ravana fight. Today there are good people in every party. Could it

not be possible to bring all the good people to one side? A common programme which will bring all the good men together to agree on the fundamentals, will dissolve all the differences. Now the Socialists tell me that I have seized up their programme. I admit and so ask them to help me. The Congress men say that this programme is very good. I would like them also to help me. The Jana Sangh people claim that this work is consistent with Indian culture. If these various parties accept this programme and work for it, there will not be much conflict in the coming election and the best will be elected. If this would happen it would ensure a very strong government. Such hopes I have in Bhoodan. We should not feel content with anything less than 5 crores of acres of land.

SAMPATH-DAN YAGNA

Along with Bhoodan I have initiated another programme—the Sampath-Dan Yagna. Without it, Bhoodan Yagna will not be fully successful. Without its aid the objective behind our programme of economic independence and equality will not be achieved. Even from the very beginning I knew it but I chose to do one thing at a time. Land problem was then the basic problem. The problem of money was only secondary. So I took up the land problem in Telengana when I got the hint and direction from God. Therefore in the beginning I took up only Bhoodan work but later I found that Sampath-Dan also would work along with Bhoodan when I reached Bihar where the land problem has to be decisively solved now. Here I don't desire to deal in full with Sampath-Dan. I would like to mention only this much that we won't take the money (wealth) in our custody. Through it we desire to bring about the decentralization in its utility—*Karthruthwa-vibhagen*. In other words, our plan is to leave the money in the hands of the donor himself with the instruction to use it as per our guidance. It is not desired to have this movement on a mass scale like Bhoodan. In a restricted way, it will be on individual scale. Through

personal approach, by love we should touch and move the hearts of the individual and his family dependents to take part in the yagna. Those who have offered have promised to give it every month for life. After sufficient investigation and testing alone, I accepted their gifts. I exercised a little control instead of encouraging it. I have with me the names of 40 to 45 such donors. I appeal to you all to release the hoarded wealth and to do propaganda amongst friends through love. Both these movements, Bhoodan and Sampath-dan, are interdependent and complementary.

SUTHANJALI - YARN OFFERING

In addition to these two programmes, there is the *Suthanjali* — yarn offering. It is a thing of great potentiality which we could not recognise yet. Let yarn be offered in memory of Bapu, as a symbol of the recognition of the dignity of physical labour, and with the realization of one's own duty to increase the wealth of the nation. I consider it as a vote for Sarvodaya.

This *Suthanjali* work gives stimulus to our work as it gives us the chance to go from village to village and house to house. It has to be encouraged and if possible we should collect lakhs and lakhs of yarn hanks. It will help us to develop the sense of the dignity of labour among the people.

INSTITUTIONS FREE FROM MONETARY AID

Till now we have been running our institutions with the help of money donations from our sincere, good and sympathising rich friends. But times have changed now. We are living now in the days when the power of labour rules. We must try to start one or two institutions in every province which will run solely with labour contribution and without the need of money. In the early stage we can help them to supplement their need with the yarn offerings we collect. Such institutions will train up real and energetic workers who will engage themselves in the work of our mission. These, in short, are the different aspects of our programme and work. I hope you would bestow

sufficient thought on them and would be guided by them in your future work.

SARVODAYA WORKERS AND "THIRD FORCE"

In conclusion let me give you one word of caution. Our work is not on party lines or on sectarian principles. The word 'Sarvodaya-wala' is a misnomer. You should not use it. We are nothing more than mere human beings as anybody else. The Sarvodaya Samaj is not an organisation in the ordinary sense and we should not allow it to degenerate into a sectarian or party group. We should avoid the use of such terms that such and such a person is a Socialist, such and such an individual is a Congressite and such and such a worker is a Sarvodaya-wala. Others may think in terms of party labels and let them call themselves so, as it may be advantageous to them. Ours is not a party. We belong to the 'Third Force'. By 'Third Force' I mean not that 'force' which international politics calls as that power which stands aloof from both the American Bloc and the Russian Bloc. By 'Third Force' I mean that 'Force' which is opposed to *Himsa Sakthi* (Force of Violence) and which is distinct and different from *Dhanda Sakthi* or State-Force. The first is the 'Violent Force', the second is the 'Government Force' and the third is the '*Jana Sakthi*' (People's Force). We should make this 'third force' strong and keep it free from party politics and sectarianism. To achieve it we should mix and move with the people and identify ourselves entirely one with them. We should always bear in mind that we are simply human beings as any one else. ★

TO FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS

We are thankful to many friends in foreign countries who are interested in *Sarvodaya Magazine*. Some of them are sending their currency notes in envelopes as subscription. We are sorry that they have to be returned as they cannot be cashed here unless they are sent through post-office or through regular banking channels. We request friends to send us money equivalent to Rs. 4 in Indian currency for each annual subscription.

SARVODAYA,

DEVJI COLONY, TIRUPUR, S. INDIA

THE NEXT STEP OF BHOODAN MOVEMENT

SHANKARRAO DEO

Not only did we reiterate at Chandil the great vow of collecting 25 lakhs acres of land for Bhoodan Yagna to which we had pledged ourselves at Sevapuri in 1952, but we also further solemnly pledged that we shall not feel content with collecting only 25 lakhs acres of land in the next 12 months but shall collect 5 crores acres of land before 1957 with a view to prepare a ground for the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj free from exploitation and based on equality.

An expeditionist climbing a peak of a mountain like the Himalayas has a happy experience of having the sight of a peak still higher and is even more inspired to capture that also. Shri Vinobaji secured the first gift of 100 acres in April, 1951. By the time of Sevapuri Conference the people had offered him one lakh acres of land. At Sevapuri the Sarvodaya workers fixed the target of collecting 25 lakhs acres of land for the Bhoodan Yagna in two years. 7 to 8 lakhs out of these 25 lakhs were collected by the time of Chandil Conference. The Uttar Pradesh had nearly finished the quota of 5 lakhs by collecting 4.75 lakhs.

The fact that thousands of land owners big and small donated 7 to 8 lakhs acres of land for the Bhoodan Yagna within a period of one year though a part of that year was spent in creating the necessary faith and right insight regarding the idea in the workers and people at large and in building an organisation for the attainment of the target, itself amply proves that the flame of the Bhoodan Yagna is aglow in the hearts of the public and the Bhoodan Yagna has assumed the form of a national movement.

But for enthusing the movement with vehemence and speed workers making it a life-mission should offer themselves in large numbers. With this end in view the Chandil

Conference called upon those having faith in the idea of ... Sarvodaya and specially the constructive workers to give priority Bhoodan Yagna.

During the last two years there was an incessant propaganda for Bhoodan Yagna through out the country. But it is a common experience that the propaganda is always short of the need. There is a certain stage and time in propaganda when the actual work invigorates. The workers should therefore utilise all their energy and the propaganda and the time for the actual collection of land. We must remember that a great pledge is crowned with success by the combination of an alert body, a concentrated mind and a tranquil heart.

All crop ready for harvest must be reaped this year. Though Chandil Conference has specially called upon the constructive workers believing in the idea of Sarvodaya and youths of the country to devote all their time for the movement, an all embracing policy will have to be followed as the task is to be accomplished through non-violence and change of heart. There are thousands of workers who have sacrificed in this movement and the number is ever increasing. All these donors small or big are all our active workers. The organisers of the regional Bhoodan Yagna Committees should skillfully prepare schemes by which each worker will get work according to his capacity and in his own sphere of work. Each worker should be allotted a definite sphere. He should visit each village in the sphere and should aim at spreading the message of Sarvodaya and getting at least 5 acres of land from each village after the Sevapuri resolution. If each worker works with the firm determination, we can surely believe that the target of 25 lakhs shall be fulfilled before April 1954. ★

The Significance of Bhoodan Yagna

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

Vinobaji has been advising the Bhoodan committees to concentrate on the completion of collection of quota fixed for each province before distribution. Though Tamilnad has collected only about 8500 acres out of its target of one and a half lakhs of acres of land, for special reasons and under exceptional circumstances Vinobaji approved the distribution of about 250 acres of Bhoodan to 55 landless families in Arachalur village. The distribution was done by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar on 17th May '53 under a grand function attended by thousands of villagers.

The Bhoodan Yagna has been accepted and commended as a unique and marvellous non-violent revolution by all leaders and parties. It has drawn the attention and admiration of the leading press of the world. But Rajaji has been studiously reticent on this great yagna. This function presented an opportunity to hear Rajaji's views and have his blessings. His speech is therefore specially important. A brief press-report of the Tamil speech is given below from *The Hindu*.

Speaking at the Bhoo-dan function at Arachalur village, 12 miles from Erode, on 17th May, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, said that the Bhoodan Yagna helped to strengthen society and hoped that the recipients of land would endeavour to increase production.

The Chief Minister said many good persons had given lands and many good people received lands and bulls but in between them he and Mr. Subramaniam got the honour of distributing them. Persons, who received land, he hoped, would till it hard and peacefully and without quarrelling with neighbouring landlords. It was a well known fact that for one inch of land the people of this district would go to the courts and if they failed in the litigation, they would resort even to action by themselves. Perhaps for this reason, the Bhoodan function was arranged first in this district bearing in mind the frequent land disputes here. He thought that this movement would help in the creation of the proper approach in dealing with such questions. If the people got joy in getting land, there would be an incentive to greater production.

The former Pattayaqar, the Chief Minister said, used to look after cattle and the present Pattayaqar had gone a step further in having at heart the welfare of the cultivators themselves. They should all pray that such an attitude continued in their family.

The Chief Minister added that he felt somewhat sorry to hear that gifts from even small landowners had been accepted by the committee.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the agriculturists of Coimbatore district knew the science of agriculture and the usefulness of green manuring well. In fact, he thought there was no need for agricultural demonstrators for this district. It was also due to the scarcity of rainfall in that area that the people had become more industrious and strong. The Chief Minister expressed fear at the idea of the Bhoodan Committee to enlist volunteers because it would give rise to friction and trouble. Volunteers might resort to bullying tactics to get gifts of land and even go on hunger strike if they did not succeed. They might become a nuisance in the sense beggars had been called such in the cities. They should not forget the principles and objectives underlying the movement. One would not easily part with land because it was a highly valued thing. The Bhoodan Yagna was intended for the prosperity of the country and it had attracted world attention because of the non-violent and voluntary way, land was distributed to achieve the principles of Communism.

The Chief Minister blessed all the recipients of land and hoped that they would endeavour to double the production in this land.

Rajaji appealed to the people to become charitable-minded and compassionate which are the basic virtues in human beings and said that the Bhoodan Yagna helped to promote these virtues to strengthen society just as mortar and chunam added strength to layers of bricks used in the construction of buildings. ★

An American's Discourse with Vinobaji

— Mrs. GYANVATI DARBAR

Shri Gyanvati of Rashtrapathi Bhavan, Delhi, was with Vinobaji in the anxious months of his health in Chandil and the following interview is a leaf from her yatra diary.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave is busy translating into action a revolutionary idea. He is seeking to apply the concept of non-violence which Gandhiji tried in the sphere of politics, to the field of economics. His "Bhoodan Yajna" movement which in the beginning was pooh-poohed by some and ridiculed by others, is now attaining the status of a tangible move to remedy unequal distribution of land in India. Walking on foot from village to village for voluntary gift of land, Vinobaji's efforts have started bearing fruit. If the effect of this peaceful way of solving the land problem is being felt today in India the credit goes as much to Vinobaji's firm conviction and perseverance as to the intrinsic merit of non-violence.

Vinobaji's non-violent revolution has also caught the imagination of the outside world. Foreigners who visit India are getting interested in this novel experiment. If it succeeds, and it is bound to succeed—it will be yet another miracle after her non-violent struggle for political liberation to which India will be attracting the world.

Recently, Mr. Ray Magee, an American on tour in India, came to Vinobaji at Chandil to have a first hand impression of his Mission and discuss with him the implications of this Movement. He saw the work practically going on in Bihar and was impressed very much. He got an opportunity to do so during a morning walk with Vinobaji and the following lines reproducing the questions of Mr. Ray Magee and Vinobaji's answers, reveal

how much the foreigners are interested in this and how the method, according to its propagator, can be followed by other countries...

Mr. Magee asked Vinobaji, "Do the people give land to the other people also?"

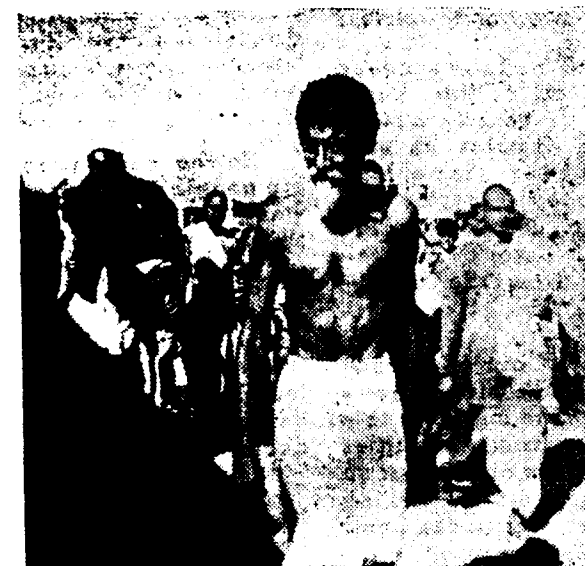
Vinobaji said, "Yes, I have created the atmosphere. I was working alone for two years. Now the people can go and get the land but the people must have faith that one who approached them for the purpose is a right man."

Mr. Magee, "It is really a wonder that the people give their land without any force or pressure."

Vinobaji, "Yes, this is something genuine to India. We have never seen such a thing in any other country. We never take land by pressure and still we get land. Taking on an average that there are 5 members in one family, I say to the people to take me as the 6th member. I

ask the landholders to regard me as an additional heir born to them and give me my share for the benefit of the poor and thus first I want to change the people's heart, then I want a change in their lives and in this way the whole social structure will be changed. This is the decentralization of industry and also decentralization of administration. I won't be satisfied with the redistribution of land, there should be decentralization of administration and industries also.

Mr. Magee, "Do you hope at some point, the Government to express it in Legislation? What do you want from the Government?"



Vinobaji, "The Government is very much interested in it and we have got full support of the Government. Non-violence does not rule out legislation. But it should be legislation backed by public opinion. My plan also envisages legislation at the end. When a proper understanding of the situation is brought about, the legislation can come in at the end. But we must create public opinion and the Government will follow that opinion. A Democratic Government always stands on public opinion."

Mr. Magee, "Why do you take land gift from the poor people also?"

Vinobaji, "Yes, the Communists also ask me the same question. I always say that the big Zamindars and landowners will take a lesson and an inspiration from them. An atmosphere will be created and these people will be our army."

Mr. Magee, "Is there any indication of this movement spreading in other countries?"

Vinobaji, "Of course, if we fully succeed here, the other countries will follow, particularly Egypt and middle East who are much interested. Referring to America he said to this young man, "I think there is no land problem in America. Today America is in the position that she can succeed in her efforts to bring peace to the world but she has got 'Fear-complex.' Now the masses want peace and not war."

By the time we reached our residence after the usual morning walk Mr. Magee's talk has also ended here. The next day this enthusiastic young tourist was again with us in the morning walk and he could get an opportunity to satisfy himself by asking some questions regarding 'Bhoodan' and Sarvodaya from the religious point of view as he was very much interested in Hindu Religion as a religious minded man. He asked Vinobaji, "The highly ethical nature of Bhoodan and the interest in helping people to solve their earthly problems seems to contradict the Hindu idea that all is Maya and Karma should be performed without bothering for the results."

Vinobaji, "Our teaching of non-attachment is based upon the belief on Maya, that all possession is unimportant."

Mr. Magee, "If you use the idea of Maya to support the programme in this way, one cannot then also say that we must help the people because of their physical needs."

Vinobaji, "We don't help them because they are in need but because we are in need."

Mr. Magee, "Do you believe that God is not only in man but it is also transcendental?"

Vinobaji, "Yes, I believe so, that is my belief."

Mr. Magee, "Does Sarvodaya emphasize the importance of silent meditation for their workers?"

Vinobaji, "We keep silence for one or two minutes before prayer. We keep silence in spinning, even the children also keep silence and we say it is sacrificial spinning. I keep silence from 8 p. m. to 4 a. m. and I finish all duties and work before sunset, then no talk and lecture. It is the custom in our country to give talks after 8 p. m. but I resist this temptation. For the last 25 years I have been doing so and hence I get often dreamless sleep. Even when it is sleeping time, many passions and temptations worry our mind and we can control them in this way. This is my experience."

In the end he asked Vinobaji, "There are people in America specially youths who want to do sacrificial work in India. Do you think I can be useful in Bhoodan?"

Vinobaji, "Yes, certainly," and then Vinobaji suggested to him to go to Gaya where Shri Jai Prakash Narainji and his (Vinobaji's) Secretary, Shri Damodardas Mundada were carrying on this work of Bhoodan Yajna. Mr. Ray Magee agreed to it and decided to go there.

After our morning walk I talked to Mr. Magee and could know that he was very much impressed. He got a new spirit and new light from this great Saint.

"Gandhi As a Social Revolutionary"

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

An interesting brochure published immediately after attending the World Pacifists' Conference and visiting several Gandhian Constructive institutions in India in 1949-50.

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SARVODAYA AND MARXISM

S. N. AGARWAL

"Sarvodaya" generally avoids articles of controversial nature. But during the recent past Marxism and Sarvodaya have been considered by many almost as synonyms with very little difference. Shri Kishorelal and Vinobaji had lucidly presented the fundamental difference between both not only in the means but in the basic concept, outlook and values, and the way of life in their book "Gandhi and Marx." Sri Agarwal's article being a further elucidation on the subject is republished from the "Economic Review" of the A. I. C. C. dated April 15, 1953

At a recent meeting in Madura, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa is stated to have observed that "Gandhiji's ideals were already in practice in Russia to a certain extent" and that "though the Russian ideal was not Sarvodaya in the fullest sense of the term, the social order in Russia today very much approximated in certain respects to Gandhian ideals." We are sorry to find that during the last few months the learned Professor, consciously or unconsciously, has been instrumental in creating great confusion of thought in the public mind about the twin ideologies of Gandhism and Communism. It is, therefore, no longer desirable to allow his statements and utterances to go unchallenged.

It is, undoubtedly, true that we are all dissatisfied with the Capitalist way of thinking; Capitalism as a creed and economic philosophy is now dead as dodo. We are also fully conscious of the fact that the prevailing economic conditions in India are far from satisfactory and that the problems of poverty, unemployment and economic inequalities need be tackled with a sense of urgency. Leaders of different political parties are gradually realising the inevitability of Gandhian approach to most of our economic maladies and the dynamic philosophy of Sarvodaya is being increasingly appreciated with a sense of realism and practical commonsense. But to suggest even vaguely that Sarvodaya and Marxism are similar in certain respects and that Gandhism is being followed in Russia is to render great disservice both to Sarvodaya and Marxism. The two ideologies are, indeed, poles asunder and their basic principles are almost diametrically opposed to each other. Shri K. G. Mashruwala, the well-known authority on Gandhian thought, took special pains to write a series of articles in the "Harijan" to strongly repudiate that suggestion that "Gandhism is communism minus violence." These articles have since been published in

the form of a booklet entitled "Gandhi and Marx." "Gandhism and Marxism", observes Shri Mashruwala, "are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike." It is, certainly, a matter for regret that Prof. Kumarappa appears to be, of late, suffering from such a colour-blindness.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has also been repeatedly telling us that the "two ideologies are irreconcilable and the differences between them are fundamental." On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, Vinobaji remarked: "The persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference; one breathed, the other did not." Acharya Vinoba Bhave has stated several times that "ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength." According to him, there is greater similarity between Marxism and Capitalism because both attach great importance to material needs and physical welfare rather than to moral standards and spiritual well-being. Mahatma Gandhi also regarded Bolshevism as "the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization" and stated: "In so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me." Gandhiji always detested this "mad race after money and material goods" and laid great stress on a higher 'Standard of Life' rather than merely a high standard of living.

The fact of the matter is that Sarvodaya and Marxism are basically dissimilar and any attempt to reconcile them is bound to prove futile and even hazardous. To Gandhiji spiritual values were of the essence in all aspects of human existence; to the Marxists, religion and philosophy are the "opium of the poor." The first word of religion, said

Engels, "is a lie." Lenin regarded it as "one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." The Marxists regard Mind as "a derivative of matter." To them the conception of a Soul and spiritual values are, more or less, fantastic non-sense and betray bourgeois mentality. Moreover, Gandhiji attached great importance to the means and methods and never believed in the theory of ends justifying the means. While the Mahatma insisted on Truth and Non-violence even for the achievement of Indian Swaraj, Lenin thought it necessary "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth" for the achievement of his objectives. "Even though Russia has many achievements to her credit", wrote Gandhiji in 1942, "her work will not endure unless her methods are clean." Mahatmaji was convinced that permanent good could never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Writing in the "Harijan" as late as 1946, Gandhiji observed:

"The Communists seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on an outside power."

While Gandhiji firmly believed in "the essential goodness of human nature" and preached the change of hearts rather than the breaking of heads, Stalin was of the definite view that you cannot conquer the enemy without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul.

There is one more essential difference between Sarvodaya and Marxism. To

Gandhiji, democracy was the very basis of a non-violent and Sarvodaya society. Even centralisation of political and economic power was detrimental to the healthy growth of a Sarvodaya State. But to the Marxists, democracy is "a bourgeois conception which the revolutionary proletariat must overthrow" (Lenin). Trotsky also endorsed this view by naming democracy "as a wretched and worthless masquerade." In his book, "The State and Revolution", Lenin made it quite clear that the Communists seek "an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery, even its republican variety. While Gandhiji advocated the establishment of a decentralised socio-economic order based on cottage industrialism and village community life, the Marxists visualise a "dictatorship of the proletariat founded on a highly centralised state and a mechanised, industrialised society. The ultimate aim of Marxism is said to be the establishment of a classless society in which the State shall "wither away." But, as Prof. Aldous Huxley observes in his "Ends and Means", such a highly centralised State "may be smashed by war or overturned by revolution from below; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will wither away."

It is no use labouring the point further. It is clear as day light that the two ideologies of Sarvodaya and Marxism are fundamentally different from each other. Any attempt to create confusion of thought at a time when the two modes of thinking are engaged in a Titanic struggle for survival in India and outside is, to say the least, un-Gandhian. We would therefore, earnestly appeal to Prof. Kumarappa not to allow his personality to be misused by any political group for its own ulterior motives.

MY SOCIALISM

"My socialism means 'even unto this last.' I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their socialism, probably these have no place. Their one aim is material progress. For instance, America aims at having a car for every citizen. I do not. I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to. That does not mean that I want to do any such thing. Under the other socialism, there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body."

"Yes, but there are variations. My socialism in its modified form means that the State does not own everything. It does in Russia. There you certainly do not own your own body even. You may be arrested at any time, though you may have committed no crime. They may send you wherever they like."

GANDHIJI — (From 'Gandhi and Marx' - page 109)

Gandhian Organizations in America

DOUGLAS KELLEY

Our readers would like to know about the organizations in America interested in Gandhian philosophy and work. One of them is The International Development Placement Association which Mr. Kelley and his wife represent. They are now at Sevagram, preparatory to their work in East Africa. We are thankful to Mr. Kelley for his special contribution to 'Sarvodaya.'

It takes the newcomer to India quite some time to learn the purposes and functions of each of the various constructive organizations here. Judging from the questions my wife and I have been asked since we came to India in January, many Indians have even more difficulty — and understandably so — in making sense out of the great collection of American organizations they occasionally hear about.

I have been asked, therefore, to briefly explain the various U. S. organizations of most interest to Gandhians in India.

It should be made clear that since Gandhiji never visited America, and since various aspects of the Gandhian program appeal to interested Americans in varying degrees, there is no single "Gandhian" organization in the U. S. The organization which comes closest to being so, in the writer's opinion, is the Quaker service agency, the American Friends Service Committee. For its varied program (including peace education, excellent work to promote better race relations and to end discriminations, international youth workcamps and overseas reconstruction) A. F. S. C. is winning more and more recognition and support among thoughtful Americans.

Let us divide the American organizations working on but one or two aspects of the Gandhian program into four categories those concerned with: (1) non-violence, (2) decentralization, (3) abolition of caste discrimination, and (4) rural constructive work.

1. NON-VIOLENCE

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, which is organized in other countries as well as the U. S. is the backbone of the U. S. pacifist movement. Its pacifist education, conducted largely by the Christian ministers who make up a large proportion of its membership, keeps the pacifist ideal alive in America.

4

The War Resisters League, also organized in both Europe and the U. S., is less religious than the F. O. R. in the nature of its opposition to war. Each of these groups has a few thousand members. The Peacemakers are a smaller group of "100%" pacifists who counsel even refusing to register with the authorities for possible military service. The Women International League for Peace and Freedom, founded by the famous social worker, Jane Addams, is especially strong among Quaker women, and carries on educational work of an internationalist and pacifist nature.

2. DECENTRALIZATION

Unfortunately, even though conservative politicians did much agitation against "centralization in Washington" during the New Deal era of Roosevelt and Truman, few Americans take an active interest in practical measures to encourage decentralization of economic and political power. The co-operative movement is an outstanding exception. The farmers marketing co-operatives are not especially socially conscious, but the farm supply purchasing associations and the city consumers co-operatives, both of which belong to the Co-operative League of the U. S. A., are a real force for decentralization. They also take considerable interest in the co-operative movement in Asia. Dr. Arthur Morgan, the former head of T. V. A. whom readers will remember as a member of the Commission on Higher Education in India, is now in charge of Community Service, Inc., which attempts to stimulate a revival of rural communities in America, and publishes literature expressing the decentralist point of view. The Federation of International Communities, a new organization of persons living in various experimental "co-operative communities" in America and elsewhere, is interested in contacting co-operative communities and ashrams in India. Ashadevi Aryanayakam addressed the annual meetings of these two organizations while in the U. S. on U. N. business in 1952.

3. ABOLITION OF CASTE DISCRIMINATION

India's caste problem has a close parallel in America's problem of racial discrimination. Much more work against discrimination is being done than most friends overseas realize, and progress is being made. The largest of the many anti-discrimination organizations is the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, with over a million members of all races. Its technique is largely resort to the courts, however, whereas the much smaller but very active *Congress of Racial Equality* is doing an excellent job of using Satyagraha in eliminating discrimination, and in its statements and literature clearly characterizes itself as Gandhian. C. O. R. E. has active local groups in several major cities and among university students. One example of the technique it uses: if a restaurant refuses to serve Negroes and the manager refuses, in negotiations, to change his policy, a group of C. O. R. E. members of both races enter the restaurant and occupy seats as they become vacant. They quietly wait for service, even for hours, and in literature distributed to onlookers explain what they are doing. Victories are being won in this manner.

4. RURAL CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

America's problems of rural development are rather different from India's. For although educational and health services in rural areas of the U. S. tend to lag behind those of the cities, neither mass illiteracy nor serious underemployment are problems. There are a number of organizations concerned in one way or another with some phase of what might be termed "constructive work" in rural America, but no general organization of rural constructive workers such as the *Sarva Seva Sangh* exists in the U. S.

An increasing number of idealistic young Americans, however, are becoming interested in the possibility of joining in rural constructive work in other countries. They are coming to feel, many of them, that the most important and exciting work in the world today is being done in the villages of Asia, Africa and South America.

The *International Development Placement Association* has been established for the purpose of selecting the best qualified of these young people and sending them out (many as volunteers, some as modestly paid employees) to work with constructive organizations overseas. They will expect to live

simply, learn the local customs and language and get their hands dirty in hard work. In most cases they will stay for two years or more. Many are trained as teachers, social workers, agriculturalists, doctors and nurses mechanics and engineers.

Arrangements are now being made for a number of these young volunteers to come to work with Gandhian organizations in India. Many readers of this article will have met Miss Pat McMahon, the I. D. P. A.'s first volunteer in India, in the course of her walking with Vinobaji. Two others, social workers Bill and Eloise Rowe, have arrived at Sevagram, and a young medical doctor and his wife, a medical technician are expected at Sevagram in the fall. (The writer of this article and his wife, though representing the I. D. P. A., are at Sevagram only for a short time, in preparation for work in East Africa.)

Gandhian institutions interested in receiving young American volunteer workers are invited to write to the International Development Placement Association, 1841 Broadway, New York City, or to E. W. and Ashadevi Aryanayakam, at Sevagram. ★

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MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

JOHN CAULFIELD

It is said that the recent visit of Dr. Buchman with his team of Moral Re-armament created a wave of moral awakening and enthusiasm among the various sections of the city people in India who saw their play and heard their speeches. The characteristic feature of the MRA is that 'it is not an institution, it is not a point of view, it starts a revolution by starting one in you.' The MRA seems to have certain points of similarity with the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Moral Re-Armament came into being in the first quarter of the present century as the answer to a deep need in the life of our times. It came as the answer to division, to the conflicts of plans, parties and personalities, to the failure in moral standards which undercuts our best efforts to improve the lot of mankind. It began when one man, sick of preaching reform to others without result, decided to begin in earnest the reform of his own life by the acceptance of an absolute standard of conduct. His name was Frank Buchman. Thirteen years later, after much travel in different parts of the world (including India and China) and much experience in dealing with men's deepest needs, he began in Oxford to train the men who were to constitute his first travelling team.

When, in 1938, in a speech delivered in the working-class East End of London, he launched his first appeal for the Moral Re-Armament of the nations, Frank Buchman was already a world figure with a growing reputation and, at his back, an experienced force of men and women at work in many countries.

We can, we must and we will (he said) generate a moral and spiritual force that is powerful enough to remake the world.

Thousands responded to his call, and from that time the training of the world force of Moral Re-Armament has gone steadily forward.

MRA has membership, no president or general secretary, no subscription dues. It is a world force with a world answer. In the words of its founder, "Moral Re-Armament is the good road of an ideology inspired by God upon which all can unite." It is an idea that grips and transforms the lives of men and gives them the promise of a new and better world. The promise of MRA is realistic: it goes to the root of the problem and begins world-change with a change in human nature.

"MRA means personal and national moral rearmament," says Frank Buchman.

It stands for a prejudice-free level of thinking. It stands for a common denominator of immediate constructive action for everyone, above party, race, class, creed, point of view or personal advantage. It means honesty, purity, unselfishness and love absolutely, personally, nationally.....MRA means power to change people—our enemies as well as our friends—the other fellow and the other nation. It is good for everyone, but necessary for us.

Frank Buchman's aim has never changed. In 1934 he described it as a new social order under the directorship of the spirit of God, making for better human relationships, for unselfish co-operation, for cleaner business, cleaner politics, for the elimination of political, industrial and racial antagonisms.

In 1949 he said:

Moral Re-Armament has the tremendous unit power that comes from change in both East and West. It gives the full dimension of change; economic change, social change, national change, international change—all based on personal change. It creates the personal opinion that can change the fate of nations. It presents a force adequate to remake the world. It shows how to unite nation and nation, and creates inspired democracy in families, industries, cabinets and nations. It is the inspired living that makes nations think and live.

India's Minister of planning, Gulzarilal Nanda, adds:

MRA will not have done its job until the ideology it represents becomes the most significant and the most powerful factor in political, economic and social thought and action in very part of the world.

And speaking of the next five years in India he says:

We shall be defeated unless we can unite internally to tackle unemployment, poverty and want.

MRA, he says, provides:

A visual education in a way that will unite our people.

The reader is referred to Peter Howard's "The World Rebuilt" for a comprehensive picture. Meanwhile here are a few points:—

It has brought healing to the age-old bitterness between France and Germany. Both these countries have decorated Frank Buchman in recognition of this fact. In December 1952 in New Delhi he was invested by the German, *Charge d'affaires* with the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit.

It has brought peace and understanding to the strike-ridden British docks. In Oct. '51 the London Shipping Trade Journal Fair-play stated:

It was reported that several former active members of the self-styled London Port Workers' Committee—the body which instigated and 'directed' the dock strike in 1949 which cost Britain losses estimated at well over £200,000,000 had since enlisted in MRA and had been instrumental, in that capacity, in averting a similar strike this year.

It is bringing an answer to racial bitterness and injustice in Africa. Last year, for the first time in African history, an interracial conference was held under the auspices of MRA. B. O. N. Eluwa, Under-Secretary of the Ibo States Union (four million members) in Nigeria, a man who has made every possible sacrifice in the struggle for national freedom, proclaims:

"When I met MRA my whole conception of the world was flooded with new light. It is the highest form of patriotism. It is a new civilisation in the making."

Manilal Gandhi publicly stated that he had seen MRA "beginning to unite people and bring peace, unite men above race, class and points of view," and he adds: "It has given us new hope and strength in our dark days."

It has answered many of the problems of industry and between management and labour in the coalfields, steel plants, airlines, textiles and other industries. Where MRA is applied, grievances vanish, conditions improve, and a new atmosphere is created which quickly affects production and wages. A labour leader, on seeing the effect of Moral Re-Armament on the conduct of management in industry, exclaimed:

This goes far beyond what I had hoped to see happen long after the success of the Socialist revolution.

MRA ends class-war by removing its causes. It is the next great advance in the historic progress of the workers of the world.

Anyone who wants to can contribute to the cost of carrying the work of Moral Re-Armament forward. For those who have reason to be grateful for it is natural to contribute materially. For the growing number throughout the world who regard MRA as the best security against atomic war and bloodshed, it is the soundest of all investments. For everyone it is a chance to have a part, great or small according to his possibilities, in securing a better world for future generations of every class and every race. As a matter of historical fact, Moral Re-Armament has always been sustained by sacrifice and self-giving. The full-time workers of MRA receive no pay of any kind; most of them have poured into it every material resource they possessed. Thousands of others make regular gifts to keep them at work.

The basis of MRA in individual life is obedience to God. A time of quiet—half an hour or an hour—every morning before the day begins, and the discipline of writing down the thoughts which come during that time so as to keep a record of the correction and direction received—such are the means by which the men and women of MRA keep their lives as far as they can in tune with the will of God. This implies an unconditional decision on the part of each one to do all that may be asked of him. Nothing is too great or too small. MRA does not ask you to give time or money. It does ask you to put all your time and all your money at God's disposal to be used the way He wants it used.

The world is passing through a period of revolutionary change. New nations are coming to birth or growing to maturity, new forces are at work to mould the future of mankind. Technical discoveries and improvements in communications have transformed the character of society. The sliding scale of moral values to which we have accustomed ourselves betrays us at every turn. Division and confusion weaken and blind us.

MRA means matching the way we live to our highest ideals. It is based on the simple truths that all men accept, and brings with it the climate of freedom and discipline which all men long for. It is for everyone everywhere. No man and no group have proprietary rights in MRA: it belongs to God.

May it not be that this simple but dynamic way of life is destined to provide the missing key to unity for our tormented human race? ★

Abridged from "The Indian Review" February 1953

B. B. C. TRIBUTE TO VINOBA BHAVE

Sometime ago the London Times paid its tribute to Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement. The British Broadcasting Corporation had a special programme of 15 minutes' morning talk on 26th April '53 by Mr. Hallam Tennyson. He had met Vinobaji six years ago and found him reserved and an austere recluse. He described in his speech Shri Bhare as an emaciated and reluctant Caesar through whom India was achieving 'the greatest peaceful revolution in History.'

"India always honours one who believes in renunciation of worldly possessions. That ideal finds its echo in every heart. Even industrial tycoons will sometimes throw up everything and be prepared to live in a mud hut. It was Gandhi who first demonstrated the powerful effect of renunciation of wealth for human service.

"Hundreds of people offer Bhare their cars so that he can get more work done, but he refuses their offers. Peasants cannot afford cars and Bhare knows better than to break the magic which binds him to the peasants. It is not only the poor who regard Bhare as a man of God but the rich as well.

"But he is not unduly tender to the susceptibilities of the rich. From each landlord he refuses to accept anything but one-sixth of his best property.

"To the Communists he says: If you give up class hatred and work for the good of all, I would be the first to join you.

"Leading Communists have also given up land. He has put quite literally in practice his ideals of reaching the divine spark which he believes all people possess.

"He has taught himself sixteen languages so that he can better talk with the people. Like India's ancient sages, he has acquired his strength through renunciation."

After describing Bhare's early life, Mr. Tennyson recalled how at his mother's death he had refused to attend the funeral because the fire would be lit by a Brahmin.

Gandhi told him to simplify his life and he vowed to wear only one article of clothing at a time and forego salt. "He has avoided pride of poverty. He hasn't asked anyone else to follow him. He retains his striking serenity.

"On his mission fellow pilgrims share his strict regime. Scenes at villages when after prayers Bhare discusses land redistribution with landlords arouse an atmosphere of evangelical fervour."

Mr. Tennyson concluded: "Bhare shuns publicity. He will almost certainly tick me off for talking like this about him. He is no mere imitator of Gandhi. He rarely speaks of Gandhiji in public. He burns with a steady and separate light. He believes in the future of humanity. He once said: People call this an age of sin and degradation, but how can that be? I, a mere humble devotee of God, have been entrusted with thousands of acres as a free gift.

"Bhare is the embodiment of India. When I first met him I thought him reserved, almost remote. His simple, unsophisticated words fall oddly on the jaded ears of Europe. My last glimpse of him was the same as the first—he was squatting outside his mud-hut with a group of peasants around him accepting his guidance and help. He was talking to them in his usual courteous way. I thought it will be the same day after day until he dies. I thought his message is not limited to the country where he was born.

"The Twentieth Century is rich in jet aircraft, but poor in saints."

From 'Indian Express' dated 30th April, 1953

EDUCATION FOR A NEW LIFE

MARJORIE SYKES

This is a brief note received from Shrimati Marjorie Sykes of Talimi Sangh, Sevagram Wardha, who attended the Annual meeting of the Conference of Educational Associations held in London in December last.

The Annual meeting of the Conference of Educational Associations held in London in December brought together about 4000 people from 40 different associations, and concentrated their attention on a matter of basic importance to every teacher in every kind of school—how far is education helping or hindering the attainment of true well-being? The theme chosen for the Conference was "Moral Values and Social Problems", and the presidential address was given by the distinguished medical psychologist Dr. J. A. Hadfield. His main contention was that "freedom" does not mean moral laxity, that on the contrary an adequate standard of moral values is essential to the development of a fully integrated and stable personality. This standard must be achieved by self-discipline based on character training; it cannot be soundly based on fear. The Conference spent most of its time in discussion of practical ways of raising moral standards; every school activity was covered including hand-writing as an index of character and values.

In some ways even more interesting and fundamental issues were raised a few days later at the North of England Education Conference at Newcastle. Dr. C. I. C. Bosanquet, Rector of King's College Newcastle, spoke of the relevance of education in the present situation of the English people. He made three points of special interest to workers in Basic Education:-

1 If the English, a trading nation, are to survive, they must themselves set the new fashion of plain living and hard work.

2 Education must enable the new generation to understand the nation's plight and also equip them with the technique and the character to dominate its difficulties.

3 Education should be more closely allied to paid employment; the factory, floor and lecture room should be extensively combined.

From Switzerland comes another report reminding us that all over the world people

are awake to the true meaning of work and seeking to organise it for human betterment and not merely for mechanical efficiency. The following record of a speech at Zurich by M. Jean Fourastier appeared in the French-Swiss Journal "L'Essor" :-

"What must a business undertaking give to those who work in it? We believed for long that the workman hired out his services or sold his labour as one hires a room or sells goods that the workman comes to the factory to earn his living. As life had two parts, a time for living, and a time for earning it. In reality I am living even while I am earning my living. Men do not come to our workshops and offices only to produce what is needful for the life of the nation; they are not there only to earn their living, they are there to live.

"The true hope of the twentieth century is not that technical progress shall continually increase the volume of production: the true objective of the scientific organisation of work is not merely to overcome the material obstacles to human action. No, the fundamental problem is that of man's life in society. In insisting on the primacy of human relationships, the science of labour organisation, of all the sciences of this era offers us the greatest field of hope." ★

'Sarvodaya' for Schools

The Director of Public Instruction, Madras
in his R. C. No. 78. N/53 dated 11-3-'53

has been pleased "to notify to the Officers of the Educational Department that the journal 'KHADDAR MALAR' is now being published under the revised name SARVODAYA (both in English and Tamil versions) and that it may be intimated to all Secondary and Training Schools."

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THE CREATIVE SOCIETY

WILFRED WELLOCK

Mr. Wellock has argued to prove that the civilization born of the Industrial Revolution has debased humanity morally and spiritually in his six Orchard Lea Papers. In the seventh he concludes that small Agro-Industrial Communities of about 3,000 with decentralised political and economic freedom, completely self-sufficient and self-contained will form the basis of the new social order assuring all cultural and spiritual freedom for the development of the human personality and a creative society. This is akin to our ideal of Gram-Raj or Village-Raj. The following is a part of the 7th Orchard Lea Paper.

To-day, a civilisation burdened with permanent war from which it can find no way of escape, with colossal military expenditures which increase its destructive power but destroy its vision, with ideological conflicts which its growing materialism cannot resolve, and with a mechanistic way of life that is gnawing the moral fibre of the people and transforming them into inert totalitarian masses, cries aloud for deliverance.

This civilisation, born of the Industrial Revolution, is nearing its end; its enthusiasms and impulses are weakening, and as it wilts, despair grows, for there is no obvious alternative to it. Until recently no one dreamed that the new prosperity could require an alternative. It is now only too evident that events have moved too fast for reflection and rational action. Before a sane judgment could be passed on one invention, another had captured the public imagination and outpaced the prophets, whose warnings thus fell on deaf ears. In consequence, the Western colossus of a mis-guided science is heading for destruction.

Once man's inventive genius was directed to the exploitation of steam power, events moved with a momentum which swept society off its feet and countless institutions and values into oblivion. The way of life of entire nations, their industrial techniques, their social relationships, their economic and political structures, their social and religious outlook and also their values, changed with bewildering rapidity.

No wonder, then, that this era of unparalleled prosperity has produced bigger problems than it can solve by its present social philosophy. In the problem of permanent war we pass from prosperity into the adversities of power politics and the tragedies of moral decay.

To-day the pace of events is quicker than ever. In the space of twenty years, under the pressures of "necessity" the West

has broken down its moral defences in shameless fashion. It now supports obliteration bombing of civilian populations, even by napalm and atomic bombs. And worse weapons are in preparation. The mass migration of innocent people in war, and the "liquidation" of undesirable people in peace are further evidences of our Western decline. Forty years ago such things were unthinkable.

Why are they now possible? A little reflection reveals that they are the logical outcome of a cash economy and a materialistic way of life. Our age is suffering from a wide variety of spiritual deficiencies which mainly arise from the non-use and mis-use of man's creative genius.

The Industrial Revolution is often described as a great creative era, but it is true in a very limited sense only. Throughout its history, and never more so than to-day, the creative functions of the Industrial Revolution have been performed by small groups of experts and technicians, the "back room boys," etc., while the great body of workers have been condemned to varying degrees of repetitive labour. The farther the "division of labour" principle was carried, the more completely repetitive became the labour of the masses. This is the antithesis of the creative society.

A second qualification of that claim arises from the fact that the primary aim of most creative achievements was maximum saleability and profitability of what was produced, and thus the capture of markets. In other words, the making of money and the creation of social and political power had precedence over all such spiritual aims as the making of a beautiful world, or country, a cultured, sensitive humanity, and a satisfying life.

In such a civilisation the only reward of labour is money, whence the executive classes aspire to live in affluence, with top-grade education for their children, while the

repetitive workers naturally organise themselves to secure maximum economic security, the assurances of the Western State and some degree of luxury and excitement as a set-off against the dreary monotony of their work-a-day existence.

Strange to relate, there has been only one outstanding creative era in the history of Western Europe. It lasted from the tenth to the sixteenth century, after which it waned and eventually petered out under the impact of the Industrial Revolution. The civilisation produced by the latter is already in decay. When it began to break up in the first world war, there were promises of a new world. But no new world appeared, for the obvious reason that no one realised what a new world implied. We now know that it implies a new man, the creative man, of a creative society, who must supersede the mechanised mass man of our time.

Our age must therefore devote itself to the task of evolving a creative society. It will be slow work because it involves supporting spiritual ideals and values with appropriate cultural, social, political and industrial form, organisations and techniques.

We have already seen that small agro-industrial communities of varying sizes, averaging, say, 3,000 inhabitants, are an essential condition of a creative society. The industries would as far as possible be small-scale. Many can be small-scale even now, but the demand for qualitative production would stimulate invention to that end and bring back many handicrafts which cheap, shoddy production forced out of existence. In the United States one hears many stories of inventions suitable for the small workshop which the big combines bought up in order to prevent their use.

The cultural basis of the new order would insure that the aim of all production was high quality. Each industry would be run by a co-operative group who would share the responsibility for the design and quality of whatever was produced, and decide the kind and amount of machinery they would use. As the level of taste in the community rose, techniques would change and new forms of skill be evolved.

All production would strictly conform to the demands of health as in the production and preparation of food, or in the making of such things as shoes, chairs, e.g., which should take account of the human

anatomy and so enable people to perform their functions with ease and pleasure.

In due course these communities might achieve forty or fifty per cent of self-sufficiency. They would also think about limiting their growth, and of encouraging the development of similar communities in their areas.

Having found the reasonable size for a fully integrated, largely self-governing community, the next step would be to form a region consisting of some fifteen or twenty similar communities. In this area a much higher percentage of self-sufficiency would be achieved by the dove-tailing of industries, etc. The formation of a Regional Council would greatly enrich the life of the entire area. The organisation of the local economic life would constitute the core of community and regional politics, which consequently would be vital and absorbing.

Obviously a new system of local Government would be called for. At first, *ad hoc* Committees would work in consultation with the existing local Councils, but later on quite new bodies would be needed, the functions of which would be determined by the need.

These changes, so simple in appearance would constitute a revolution in the disposition of power. Both political and economic power would pass from the central Government to the localities, that is, directly to the people, which is where it should be in a true democracy. Moreover, as in the new economy the tendency would be for the local communities and the regions to be as self-sufficient as was reasonably possible, centralised power would tend to decline. This would be all to the good, as it would restrict the volume of world trade and so reduce the tensions which lead to war.

These conditions would afford maximum political and economic responsibility and creative opportunity to every member of the community. They would thus make possible the creative society we seek which would overflow with ideals, aspirations and enthusiasms. These it would naturally attempt to express in every form of production and in every art. Each Regional Council would found a cultural centre where various regional Festivals would take place and where special training would be available. Every village would also have its cultural centre. Boundless opportunities would thus exist for the fullest expression of the human spirit while the religious and cultural institutions would expound the doctrine and the values of self-giving. ★

EDUCATION FOR REVOLUTION

KAKA KALELKAR

The following is the message in the form of a letter to Shri Jugatram Dave on the occasion of the Fourth Sammelan of the Gujarat Nayi Talim Sangh held in Gundi in Ahmedabad District at the end of February. This is a timely emphasis on the revolutionary object of Nayi Talim and reminds the workers in the field of the great task that lies ahead.

The agriculturists tilled the land. They were getting training by working on the land. The same was true of craftsmen, artisans and traders. Those who liked languages learnt them. The astrologers, vaidyar, musicians themselves made arrangements for their respective studies. No national plan was thought of in this regard. None the less, the whole country was educated and enlightened.

The lure of government service in our country is very old. The ambitious always looked out for government service. Their aim was more for acquisition of power than wealth. There was no assurance for the safe continuation of the office. Hence there was a tendency to earn as much as possible during the tenure of one's office, to put one's relatives and castemen into the posts and do some acts of public benefit or the like.

The fabric of society has now entirely changed. We had become used to the changes that have come in the wake of foreign rule because we are used to it for long. We do not care to find out their advantages and disadvantages. Everyone seeks his own advancement and further his prospects through education. We have not cultivated in full our ability to do service. Those who learn for the sake of knowledge or service are very few. Pursuit of knowledge, perfection of proficiency and ability to increase the happiness and health of mankind have been upto now rather a monopoly of the foreigners.

In such a state of affairs the leaders who thought of the wellbeing of the nation put the ideal of service before the people. Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji tried to give practical shape to it. Nai Talim was born out of this. Not the vocation of self-interest but the avocation of general good. That was the basis of the new system. What we have to think now is as to how it can become nation-wide. The three-fold objective of the new education is (1) all round development of individuals (2) all round progress of

society and creation of a new social order which would facilitate all round development of human virtues. We have also to devise ways and means to attract the youths in large numbers to this kind of education, bearing in mind that in doing so we do not lower our ideals.

We cannot forget that majority of people go after that system of education which secures the sanction of the government. Even when there was foreign rule and we were successful in arousing the popular feeling against government, even then people were hankering after government sponsored education. Now there is no more foreign rule. There is today no inconsistency between the service of the country and government service. Even in such a situation, it is clear, people will be running after state-patronised education. So, the necessity has arisen for the people who think of public good to see that the Government should be influenced by the system of education they advocate.

Surely we have attained self-rule in the sense that there is no foreign rule now. In spite of this, real rule of the people is not yet established here, though the reins of power have come into the hands of our popular leaders. The reason is that our education is still in the hands of such people who believe in seats of authority and today in charge of the old system of education. That system was primarily meant for the advantage of middle classes and upper classes. They have been successful in defeating idealistic forces by their pet argument that they cannot shut their eyes to realities. Taking advantage of the intellectual lethargy of the educated class they are strengthening the old system.

Naïve and blinded populace say that they would give their children that education which has the Government's sanction. In this regard the Government is in the hands of the officials who swear by the old system.

These people were a bit frightened at the advent of Swaraj. They had begun to speak in favour of the system propounded and worked out by Gandhiji and accepted by Congress. If they did not do that there was the danger of losing their jobs, position and prestige. But they soon found out that the political leaders had no faith in that system. Hence they soon rectified their error and reverted back to their old game.

In a situation like this our main task is to make experiments with a system of education designed for the common good, to create good individuals, to convince the people about its importance and to influence the government without in any way being obliged by it. The task today is more difficult than it was in the days of British rule. Hence we must proceed with intelligent experiments independently, and explain to the people wherein lies their real interest and mould public opinion. If the congress leaders of today have no interest in the system we should prepare independently for bringing about the revolutionary change.

The principles of Basic Education have been much discussed. As the teachers gain experience in the field and do social work, there will be improvements in the system.

With that, I have thought it more important to draw attention to the fact that we have to prepare for a revolution. "Revolution through education and education for revolution", should be our motto today.

This is my message. Now I give some practical suggestions. In the old system importance was given to books. After that Bapuji started the tradition of work, and education for work. Both the systems were one-sided. On finding this defect Bapuji started Nai Talim, for developing intelligence through work. In spite of this our people do not keep in mind our ideal of developing intelligence. We have not cultivated even such intelligence as needed for discussing the ideals for the reconstruction of new society. We have not understood the differences between Sarvodaya, Communism and other ideologies; Sciences, arts and philosophy we have not at all touched. There is no leadership in us. We have to find answers to these and we should train our children in such a way that such doubts may not arise. We must have a thirst for general knowledge and philosophy. By such means we shall learn better the art of doing public work and we shall be better qualified to lead the people. (Translation from Hindi)

Jaiprakash Narain on Constructive Work and Bhoodan

(The following is a press report of his speech at Sevapuri Ashram, Banaras)

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, the Praja-Socialist leader, said at Sevapuri Ashram on 3-4-'53 that the time had now come when he must take to constructive work in right earnest and try to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth as a step towards building a self-sufficient and prosperous rural India.

Addressing a meeting at the Ashram, about 25 miles from Banaras, Mr. Narain said that the party, to which he belonged had been so far organising political activities and agitations. But recently their belief in constructive work had been strengthened. Their constructive work would instill confidence and that would lead to the establishment of a new society, he added.

Mr. Narain said that even after the attainment of independence, no concrete progress by way of making the lives of people happy could be made. Still there were people who said that it was not desirable to make changes and the progress of gradual reform

should not be obstructed. The emancipation of the masses, he said, could not be achieved without distributing the national wealth on a just and equitable basis. He warned that, if they missed the present opportunity, the future might not give them another chance.

He advocated the way of truth and non-violence for bringing about a change in the society and said that no amount of violence or corruption of political power could help to reach the goal. A new order in society could be brought about not by political activities, but by real constructive work in villages.

Mr. Narain pleaded that the Bhoodan Yagna of Acharya Bhave could be of great help in building a new society. He appealed for offerings of one crore acres of land towards the Bhoodan Yagna which, he said, were required to make the Yagna a success. He requested the land-owners to part with their lands willingly.

Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolution

The following is an important resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh at its meeting in Sevagram from 25th to 29th April '53 on the general policy and programme of the Sangh immediately after the merging of the All India Spinners' Association in the Sangh.

Shri Dharendra Majumdar, the President of the Charkha Sangh placed before the Sarva Seva Sangh a statement embodying his proposals of a scheme and programme for the future set-up of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj also placed a detailed scheme for the form and function of the organisation. Discussions continued for two days and the following are the decisions.

1. KHADI CENTRES TO BE DEVELOPED INTO SAMAGRA SEVA CENTRES

Among the numerous khadi centres that are now functioning in the country, as many centres as possible, should be converted and developed into Samagra Grama Seva (all round village service) centres with the object of establishing village raj.

2. GO-SEVA AND TRAINING CENTRES

Similarly all Go-Seva (Cow-protection) centres and educational training centres that are now working separately, be developed on the same line with the outlook of all round village development.

3. PRIMARY VILLAGE UNITS

Primary village units shall be established and developed wherever competent workers are available. The question of constituting district, provincial and zonal regions is deferred for the time being. The village units for Samagra Seva shall be for the present directly responsible to the Head Office of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

4. PROGRAMME OF WORK

All priority and importance will be given to the programme of Bhoodan Yagna work. All other activities can be even restricted a little in favour of the Bhoodan work.

5. NAMES OF CENTRES

All the present centres under the Sarva Seva Sangh shall be called as SARVA SEVA SANGH CENTRES. So also all Kathaji Mandals and similar independent centres managed by local people be called SARVODAYA MANDALS.

6. JANA KENDRA OR PEOPLE'S CENTRES

Excepting Vidyalayas and institutions run for research and experiments, all centres that will be established in future shall be managed by and under the direct initiative and responsibility of the local people and not directly by the Sarva Seva Sangh. In other words, let those centres that will be organized through the Sarva Seva Sangh in future be run by workers and worked under the responsibility and leadership of the people of the locality.

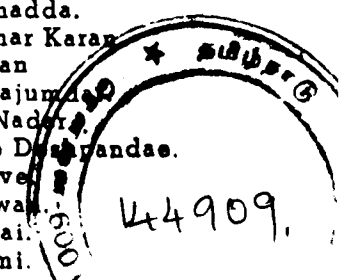
7. OUTLOOK AND OBJECTIVE OF THE WORK

The objective behind establishing the peoples' centres shall be to impart education to the people. Therefore all the existing centres directly under the Sarva Seva Sangh shall carry on their activities with the same objective. This is also the view of the Basic Education.

The following are the members of the Executive Board and the different Sub-Committees.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH

- 1 Sri Srikrishnadas Jaju.
- 2 " R. R. Keithan.
- 3 " Vallabawami.
- 4 " Reghunath Rao Dhothre.
- 5 " Dr. Profulla Chandra Gosh.
- 6 " Shankarrao Deo.
- 7 " J. C. Kumarappa.
- 8 " Radhakrishna Bajaj.
- 9 " Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe.
- 10 " Jugathrambhai Dhawe.
- 11 Srimathi Ramadevi Choudhary.
- 12 Sri Shiddaraj Dhadde.
- 13 " Akshaya Kumar Karan.
- 14 " Laxmi Narayan.
- 15 " Dharendra Majumdar.
- 16 " Guruswami Nader.
- 17 " Balavanthrao D. Pandao.
- 18 " Balkoba Bhave.
- 19 " Manohar Diwan.
- 20 " Narayan Desai.
- 21 " N. Ramaswami.



- 22 Srimathi Sushila Pai.
23 Sri Syamalalji.
24 " Marjorie Sykes.
25 " Kaka Sahib Kalelkar.
26 " E. W. Aryanaykamji.
27 " Amritlal Nanavati.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS

- 1 Sri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary.
2 " Vallabhswami, Joint Secretary.
3 " Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe, Joint Secretary.
4 " Reghunath Rao Dhothre, Trustee.
5 " J. C. Kumarappa, " Treasurer.
6 " Radhakrishna Bajaj, " Member.
7 " Srikrishnadas Jaju, " Member.
8 " Dharendra Majumdar, " "
9 " E. W. Aryanaykam, " "
10 " Siddharaj Dhadde, " "
11 " Guruswami Nadar, " "
12 " Akshaya Kumar Karan, " "
13 " Narayan Desai, " "

VIDYALAYA COMMITTEE

- 1 Sri Dharendra Majumdar.
2 " Bajavanthrao Deshpande.
3 " E. W. Aryanaykam.
4 " Devendra Kumar Gupta.
5 " Narayan Desai.
6 " Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe, Convener.

BUDGET COMMITTEE

- 1 Sri Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe.
2 " Radhakrishna Bajaj.
3 " Narayana Rao Sowani.
4 " N. Ramaswami.
5 " Akshaya Kumar Karan.
6 " Krishnadas Gandhi, Convener.

KHADI CERTIFICATION COMMITTEE

- (1) Sri Vichithra Narain Sharma. (2) Sri Kalka Bhai. (3) Sri Laxmi Babu. (4) Sri Dwarakanath Lele. (5) Sri Narayana Rao, (Tiruchengode). (6) Sri Krishnadas Gandhi. (7) Narayana Rao Sowani (Convener).

BHOODAN DISTRIBUTION IN TAMILNAD

S. JAGANNATHAN Convener, Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee

About 250 acres of Bhoodan land were distributed to fifty-five landless peasants in Arachalur village in Coimbatore District in Madras. The procedure followed in the distribution of the land is given by Sri S. Jagannathan below.

(1) The distribution committee approved by Vinobaji and consisting of the following members Shri N. M. R. Subbaraman, Shri Vedaratnam, Shri K. P. V. Giri, Shri R. T. P. Subramania Nadar and Shri S. Jagannathan has been authorised to arrange distribution work.

Shri K. P. V. Giri, Shri R. T. P. Subramania Nadar and Shri S. Jagannathan inspected the lands a fortnight ago and had noted the nature of the soil and different categories of land. The land consisted of the following three categories (a) the land which will come under Lower Bhavani Project (b) Black-cotton soil with rich fertility (c) Red soil.

(2) The village where the land is situated was informed about the selection of landless workers by tomtom a week before and important leaders of the village were also specially invited.

(3) First preference was given to the villagers living in the villages near about the land.

(4) The advice of the local leaders was taken in deciding to whom the land should be given taking into consideration the follow-

ing general conditions (a) the land should be given only to landless agricultural labourer (b) such cases of professional men without land as weavers, carpenters, barbers etc., need not be granted land. Only those absolutely landless men without any other profession were considered. Amongst this section hard working and experienced landless agricultural labourer was given the choice and the local village leadership was helpful in giving its opinion in this matter.

The condition laid down by Vinobaji that generally one-third should be set apart for Harijans was fulfilled. The committee assigned 100 acres out of the 652-92 acres donated to Bhoodan by Palayakottai Pattagarar and marked out at 5 acres per family. 7 Harijan families and 13 from the other castes were chosen for the above 100 acres of land. 107-39 and 50-07 acres donated by Shri Kolandaiwamy Gounder and Shri Kotravel respectively were distributed among 9 Harijans and 26 other landless caste Hindus. Three Harijans were also selected for the distribution of three pairs of bulls and ploughs

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