

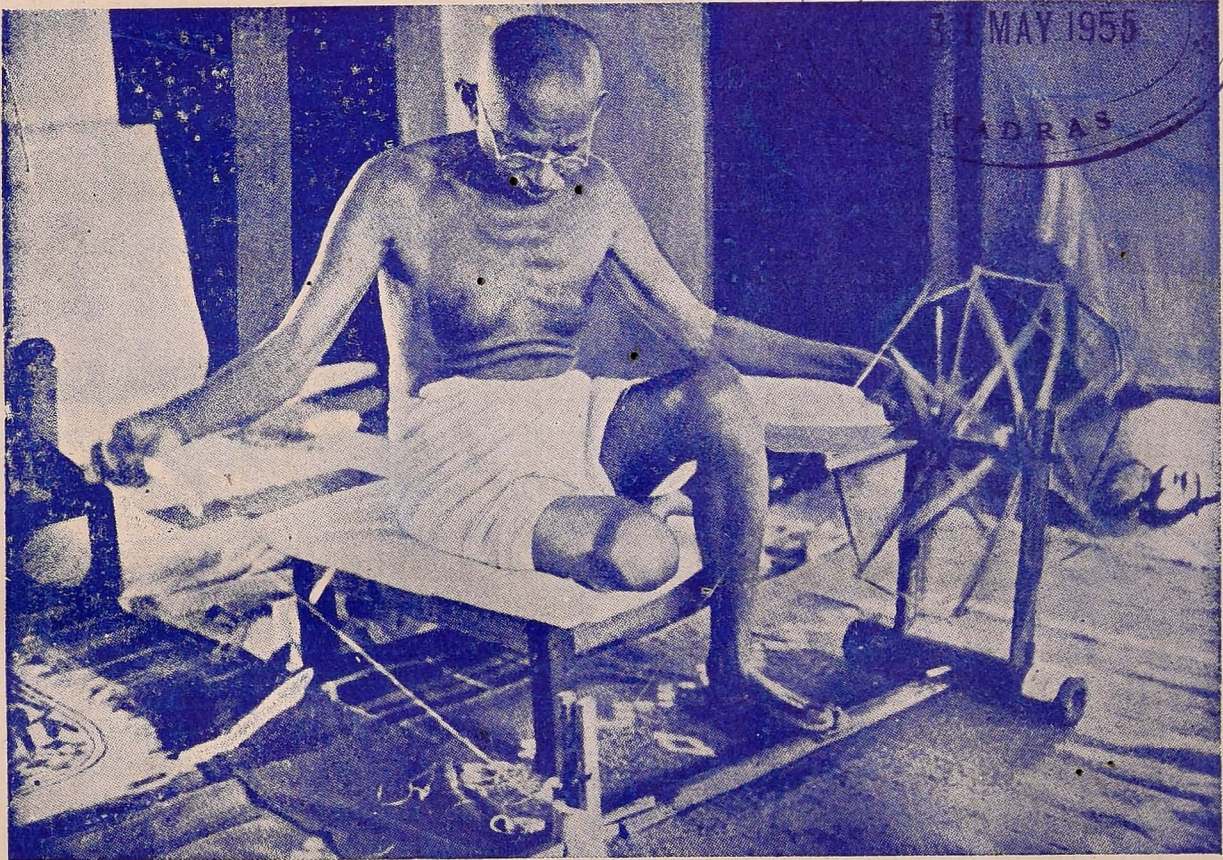
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The Khadi World

Vol. 1

AUGUST 1951.

No. 2



GANDHIJI TRYING ON THE NEW BAMBOO CHARKHA.

A Monthly Magazine of the
All India Spinners' Association.

Annual Subs: Rs. 3.

Price Annas 4.

A. I. S. A., SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM,
Veerapandy, - TIRUPUR. (S. India.)

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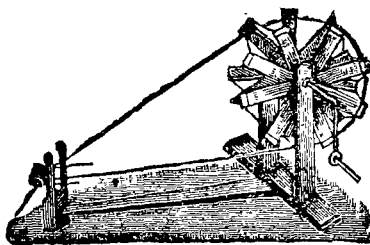
Let us not forget the fundamentals.

Mahatma Gandhi.

If we do not understand well the principles underlying khadi, however much of khadi we may produce, our work will deteriorate. Formerly, not only the whole of India wore khadi but also used to export it to many big cities of the world. But today we cannot take such pride. At that time khadi was not connected with politics. During those days, kings and administrators exploited the poor by producing khadi while traders amassed wealth by selling it. Therefore even today we find it difficult to convince the people about the utility of khadi. Now we believe that khadi is the means of our salvation. Originally I conceived this in the year 1908. We should proceed in the belief that what was formerly the cause of our slavery, will now be the means of our salvation. We have therefore taken khadi to be rooted in truth and non-violence. If we forget this fundamental and go on producing khadi in any way, a time will come when we shall ourselves be destroying it. People do not so much ridicule and despise other constructive activities as they do khadi. The presence of the mills is an additional reason for their doing so. From their point of view it is excusable. They say, "Khadi was there already. How then did we happen to become slaves? How can we accept it as the means of Swaraj?" It is the duty of the Spinners' Association to answer this. If we do not hold on to our fundamentals it will result also in our degeneration. It is the duty of the workers to see that there is purity in every part of the khadi work. I do not expect today that our spinners will be all devotees of truth and non-violence; but I certainly expect this of our three thousand khadi workers. If they be not so our work will not progress and we shall perish.

The

KHADI



WORLD

Vol. 1

August 1951

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

SHRI VINOBAJI'S SPEECH AT SHIVARAMPALLI, MADR

(On the 10th April 1951, the third day of the Sarvodaya Conference.)

Shri. Jawaharlal's Message.

"I send my best wishes to the Sarvodaya Conference. Darkness seems to have pervaded all the world over at present. In our country, too, the old light has gone dim, and there is darkness, more or less. Gigantic problems besiege us on all sides. At such a critical time every one of us should endeavour to seek for light. In this attempt, Sarvodaya can help a great deal and naturally our eyes turn towards it."

"In that brief message Jawaharlalji had poured the whole of his heart with characteristic courtesy and humility. We can understand what he hints at when he refers to the old light. He also states that at the present critical time the country looks to Sarvodaya, that is, to this Sarvodaya Samaj. From my brief contact with Jawaharlalji, I have been impressed with his earnest endeavour to walk along the path shown by Bapu. Even when Bapu was alive he did not accept all his ideas. And, perhaps, it is so till this day. But I have always felt that Jawaharlalji's pole star is what stands as the core of Bapu's teaching, namely, that all nations should live in harmony; there should be no enmity between them; they should work for the common good in mutual co-operation; there should be no feeling of racial hierarchy or hatred. Jawaharlalji strives to put these principles into practice. And I feel that in this task he feels perhaps a sense of loneliness."

Vinoba explained that the reason why Jawaharlalji had expressed hope in Sarvodaya was that they were actually engaged in carrying out Bapu's constructive pro-

gramme. Hence, if there was no light elsewhere there should surely be a little of it with them, and they must be always seeking it and succeeding in getting some at least. Vinoba assured him that they were with him in his efforts to establish peace in the world and harmony and amity among nations. His message was a reminder to the Sarvodaya Samaj to be watchful and vigilant in their task. Without professing so much he had pointed to them the direction in which they should proceed. The direction was, "Seek light, search after Truth".

Development of Kindness.

He had been asked, Vinoba said, to express his views on the subject of economic equality. It was a wide topic, but he would try to place it in brief before them. The recorded history of man did not extend to more than ten thousand years at the most, although more than a million years had elapsed since human life had emerged on the earth. During that period man had recorded a continuous progress and had developed several virtues one after another in each age. The development took place first in individuals, and gradually they became a heritage of the whole society. After one virtue had developed to a sufficient intensity, aspiration for another virtue took root in the heart of man. And there began the work for its development. Vinoba's survey of the history of man of the last three thousand years or so led him to conclude that in every activity which man pursued, whether in the sphere of politics, sociology, education, family or any other, he had perceived all through the

need of developing the quality of kindness. "All our great workers were very kind. All our *Mahatmas* like Buddha and others, were kindness personified. All our great saints taught that kindness was the root of all *dharma* (duty and religious act). Thus we have all along been after the development of kindness. Even in the various empires that emerged, the necessity of developing kindness was recognized. Vinoba had viewed history from the standpoint of the development of various qualities; and he held that the history of man of the last three thousand years showed that humanity, amidst a multitude of good and bad qualities, had been all along evolving the quality of kindness in the end.

Economic Equality - The Need of the Age.

Gradually man had to come to believe that the development of equality was the next need of the age. This idea had begun some two thousand years ago. Not that the word *equality* was altogether new. "The truth is that, as I said earlier, no saint, however great in the whole recorded history of man, had given any word (conception) which was altogether new and unknown before. Man has been evolving for a million years, and all our conceptions are older than the history of man known to us".

The Eternal Dharma of man.

In the course of a discussion, Vinoba related, Shri Pyarelalji once drew a comparison between Prophet Mohammed and Gandhiji. He said that just as Mohammed had transformed the beastly and depraved Arabs into "men" so had Gandhiji done in the case of the Indians. Vinoba did not agree with either of the propositions. Neither the Indians nor the Arabs were beast-like. Both were "men" and knew what the true *dharma* of man was; but both had become slack in its practice. The Prophet awakened the Arabs and inspired them to put this *dharma* into practice. Gandhiji also awakened the Indians and inspired them to act in accordance with it. But neither Gandhiji nor Mohammed had made men out of beasts, nor given a new conception. 'Kindness', 'Truth', 'Allah' all these conceptions were as old as the mountains. Even the word *Satyagraha*, which might be regarded as a new word given to the world by Gandhiji, was made of two old words *satya* and *agraha*. Had Indian been sub-human, Gandhiji would have been obliged to coin a number of new

words. What he wanted to convey to the audience was that Gandhiji practised some of the eternal principles discovered in the course of man's progress in civilization during millions of years, and inspired India to do the same.

Equality and Kindness.

Vinoba said he only wanted to bring home to the workers the truth that though the idea of equality was very old, it had attracted their attention only recently. The idea was not new, but the difference lay in this that the ancients regarded equality as an ideal - ultimate end of *Brahma*, while they laid stress on the development of kindness as the *dharma* to be practised in life. But now they felt that the time had come when they had to practise equality in actual life. It should, however, be remembered that it had taken hundreds of years to develop kindness. In the meanwhile empires had risen and vanished, society had undergone innumerable changes, and even bloody revolutions entailing the rise and fall of numberless ideologies and institutions had taken place. Even so, the development of equality would take thousands of years.

Don't destroy the tradition of Kindness.

There was also one more aspect of the question which they were apt to forget. They were prone to aver off hand that they were not interested in kindness, which old poets, religions and ancient teachers had eulogized. They wanted equality and not kindness, which bred egoism. But, Vinoba warned, if they wanted to bring about equality along with a decrial of kindness, they deprived themselves of a great spiritual force and created an unnecessary antagonism. They should realize that there was antagonism between equality and inequality, and not between equality and kindness. Their approach to equality, therefore, should be so devised that they might get for its furtherance the benefit of all the moral and spiritual power of those who had developed kindness. It was not necessary to set one's face against kindness; but to regard that through kindness, which they had practised hitherto, they had discovered that real kindness consisted in the establishment of equality. The practice of a little kindness was good in an order of inequality; it gave some consolation to the soul. But it was not enough and it fell short of true kindness, which could be built only on the establishment

of equality. If this approach was adopted, it would enable them to inherit the benefits of the assiduous efforts of their forefathers for the development of kindness, and utilize them for building up the new effort for equality. They should not, therefore, commit the mistake of destroying the old tradition of the development of kindness and plant the idea of equality as though it were quite new and opposed to the old one.

Equality with right discrimination.

Cautioning against another illusion, Vinoba said, they should also not fall into the error of thinking that though their ancestors had taken ages for the development of kindness they could create equality within a short period of five or ten years. They had not done anything beyond taking up for practice on the social level one more ideal. The ancients had accepted it as a remote aim, and practicable only by individuals. They believed that it was possible for an individual to realize perfect equality; he could even attain to the equality of the undifferentiated existence which is *Brahma*. They believed also that at some time equality would be established even socially, but the time was too remote. The people of the present age were taking a step forward to realize equality in actual life. In doing so, they should muster on their side the cumulative effort of their forefathers who had meditated on it with great patience. They too should ceaselessly meditate on that ideal. They had commenced a new stage on the path of evolution. It was like beginning a new chapter of a book. Hence they should bestow on it the same careful attention as a writer would do on the book. They knew how kindness could be illusory and gave rise on the one side to vaingloriousness, and on the other to poverty and piteous conditions. If they were not watchful, the same might happen to equality and deprive them of the faculty of right discrimination. If equality destroyed the faculty of discrimination, it itself could not last long, and would prove to be an illusion. Again, if equality was brought about at the cost of discrimination, it would be necessary to recover the latter, entailing for the purpose, an effort extending to several centuries more. They, therefore, had to evolve an equality accompanied with right discrimination and partaking of the fully developed kindness. That would require constant self-examination and rejection of all the dross which tended to

obscure the mind. Every trace of egoism that made for inequality and the sense of high and low would have to be hunted to its source and driven out. If they set about it humbly and sincerely, they would find to their surprise that each had a lot to do to approximate to the ideal. Even, he, Vinoba said, who being a non-possessor of private property, might be supposed to have not much to do in the field of equality so far as economic equality was concerned, would find a lot remaining to be done. A close examination of his mind would reveal that even he had so much leeway to make up. Then there were inequalities which arose from physical differences. They too would have to be resolved.

The Sevak's responsibility.

There was still another consideration, which was important for the success of an idea. They had to achieve a hundred times more equality in their individual lives than what they wanted to bring about in society. There could be no prospect for success until this was done. The human body was able to maintain a temperature of 98° F., only because the source of all heat, namely the Sun, was hot to an infinite degree. They could well imagine what would happen to their bodies if the sun too were no warmer than the human body, i. e. 98° F. The *sevak*s therefore owed to themselves to be far ahead of the society in this respect. Then only would their noble aspirations and actions be successful. If they looked at the problem that way Prof. Bang would not be surprised that man like Kishorlalbhai should express his readiness to allow as the present target Rs. 2,000/- as the maximum income of an individual and Rs. 10 lakhs as private property. When an idea was clothed in concrete terms, there were bound to be differences of opinion. Kishorlalbhai was not going to insist on the acceptance of his maxima. He would not be least disturbed, if they could fix the limit of private property at Rs. 10,000/- only and bring it about, say, within two or three years. On the contrary, he would be delighted to find that he was wrong in his estimate and that the situation after all was not as bad as he thought it to be and he would congratulate them for their achievement. But the development of moral qualities was not an easy matter. It was a programme for ages. Hence, the need to go about the work patiently, cautiously and discriminately.

(Abridged from *Harijan*, June 30, '51).

A Basic Plan for Khadi Work.

A MESSAGE FOR "THE KHADI WORLD."

SHRI. K. S. VENKATRAMANI.

[Shri. K. S. Venkatramani, the well-known writer had recently his Shashtiabdashanti celebrated in his home village of Kavripoompattinam on the 9th June. He was the recipient of encomium from all over the country, from the President of the Republic down to the humble worker. Though he has been ill for the last three years we could not resist the temptation of requesting him for a message for the KHADI WORLD. Being a lover of khadi and a doughty champion of the village autonomy based on economic self-sufficiency he could not naturally refuse our request and wrote it from his sickbed. His message is specially important for us since he has referred to Gandhiji's greetings to him with the words:

"I am now a full convert to your view of the village as a whole as the major problem for us first to solve".

We hope that Shri. Venkatramani will give us more information in his subsequent contributions about his talk and correspondence with Gandhiji referred to in his message.]

I heartily welcome the publication of the "Khadi World" by my esteemed friend Sri N. Ramaswami and wish it all prosperity and success, even in these troubled times of food and newsprint shortage. This conflict-ridden and an agonised world, on the tiptoe of a third world war, due to an utter confusion of primary values, since the Industrial age, badly needs for its welfare and peace, the Gandhian philosophy, worked out in concrete action that underlies the Charkha. This alone will lead the world to prosperity and contentment, peace and progress.

Throwing away 800 crores of rupees !

In economic matter, the intuition of Gandhiji is, in my humble judgement, one of the marvels of the world, none quite like Gandhiji in his vital perception of life's Economics and its proper arrangement without competition and conflict especially in the plethora of confused production under the gains of Industrial science as the root-source of world peace. We are throwing away 800 crores of rupees every year for the sterile joy of over-government through a vast army of a million clerks, etc.

Decentralized Politics & Economics.

Gandhiji's profound devotion to Ahimsa as an evolved ethical and compassionate soul, full of the glimmer of spiritual consciousness is the root cause of his intuitive perception of the fundamentals of economics, to nourish life on healthy lines.

If man wants to survive as a species—the Atom bomb is the truest child of urban clothing and urban civilisation—his economic life should be wholly revised on the basis of complete decentralization in politics and economics inspired by our ancient ideals of Dharma worked out in the way suited to modern conditions with a new courage, discipline and sacrifice. This is the only solution to all the woes and conflict of our modern life.

Decentralized politics and economics, how is it to be worked out in our daily life? What are the basic ideas and ideals that should inspire the decentralized structure? It is well worth a detailed enquiry and a final plan on Gandhian lines and according to our ancient traditions. But one conception is clear. The rural life should be preserved and nourished with autonomy in politics and self-sufficiency in our economic needs, especially with five basic primaris, food, clothing, shelter, education and sanitation. This could be achieved by (1) A creation of compact rural units on some recognised homogeneous basis, more or less on the lines of my "Ashram Plan" for rural uplift and (2) The creation of a state without disturbing the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the rural unit, equalising the inevitable surpluses and deficiencies for common welfare on the basis of historical and recognised geopolitics based on our river valley civilization and our own culture. The state must bless the rural units with a virile, selfless and factionless local

administration with jurisdiction on all essentials under the guidance and control of a rural officer, helped by the local Panchayats. This rural unit machinery is the vital basis not only for individual happiness and growth but also for world peace and world welfare. Without this basic machinery, India will never be able to solve any one of our complicated major problems, even by copying Western ideals of civilization and modes of administration.

Money & Power, two predatory ghosts.

The basic ideas that should inspire this decentralized life should be through the evolution of a new code of values based on *Dharma* (1) Money and power have become two predatory ghosts in modern life - the slave has become the master like the machine. Therefore both money and power must be restored to their normal and healthy values of obedient and non-predatory service. (2) The intense misery of modern life is entirely due to the colossal difference in wages between skilled and unskilled labour. The lawyer and the speculative merchant get thousand rupees a day while the honest agricultural labourer gets a rupee a day! The real producer is famished and the urban parasite is pampered! Unhealthy finger dexterity has totally ruined the dignity and beneficance of all honest manual labour, alas. The wages must be equal to all kinds of workers in an ideal rural unit - for the stomach is an equal span for all.

Gandhiji's greeting and call.

But, then, where is the plan for Khadi production? This rural unit is the basic plan for all necessary production. Without this rural unit machinery I have outlined above based on decentralisation, you cannot at all achieve khadi production on any stable and organised basis, no more than you could achieve khadi without Charkha or Handloom. Mere intensive mass propa-

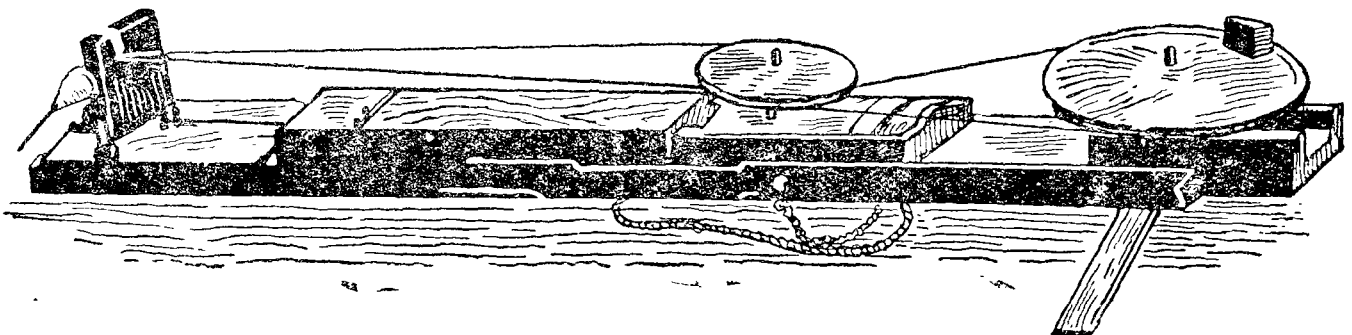
ganda will never stabilise Khadi production as a permanent industry.

That was why when Gandhiji was doing intensive propaganda for the Charkha from 1922 onwards, I used to say in my writings speeches and letters now and then to Gandhiji that the real major problem of the country was reconstruction of the villages taken as a whole and treated as a whole which would then solve automatically the problem of the charkha which is only a major industry among our village industries. The unit must be charged with the primary duties of production of food and khadi to the maximum self-sufficiency basis possible, allotting land and labour on a scientific replanning of the same required for the purpose. Charkha could never be stabilised into a profitable or useful system unless life is reordered on an efficient basis with definite ends and aims in a village. So, in 1933, I think, when I had the honour of an interview with Gandhiji at Mylapore he greeted me with his usual affectionate and illuminating smile with the words:

"Venkatramani, I am now a full convert to your view of the village as a whole as the major problem for us first to solve. Give up the bar and join us".

Mission of Service.

Congress Raj has forgotten Gandhiji and his ideas and work of 30 years, ever since our leaders now in power ignored his sovereign advice. From that ill-luck is the fate of our country and it will continue till this Gandhian ideology true to our tradition and culture is restored in our daily life by the re-organization of our villages on a planned and healthy basis. Therefore, The "KHADI WORLD" which my friend has started has the greatest mission of service in many ways to the world. I wish him all success. But, pray, work for Khadi through the new Charkha and hand-loom of a reorganized village life based on decentralization".



★ Gandhiji's Mantra of Khadi. ★

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE.

No alternative to Khadi.

My faith in khadi has become stronger than ever from what I saw in the Hyderabad State. There is somewhere an idea lurking in the mind of even some tried workers that though khadi has not lost its importance, yet it is perhaps necessary to lay more stress on matters other than khadi and it is possible that khadi may even become impracticable. I found this idea to be erroneous. I enquired of villagers, I asked also the workers if they could suggest some occupation other than khadi which could give the villagers some relief, some additional income, some self-confidence that they had something sure to rely upon. But none could point to anything. And the reason is obvious. A thing which man uses for all the 24 hours, which he does not go without even if he has nothing to eat, having become an indispensable emblem of civilisation and the raw material whereof is spread in his own village is the only article to give him the best and the surest occupation. Instead of that occupation being reserved to him, it has been and is being snatched away from his hands. So too other industries for which he has abundant raw materials. Under these circumstances, what else is there, except village industries in general and khadi in particular, which it is possible to provide to him? I have given deep thought to this and found none. No doubt, manure-making and the utilization of human night-soil and urine can also give him some occupation, but even that can never take the place of khadi. This truth became clear to me almost as an axiom and whoever cares to study villages will discover it for himself.

Message of Khadi for every tiller.

But it is not sufficient merely to realize this and sleep over it. The workers must make up their minds to deliver the message of Khadi to every tiller in every village and do so with relentless perseverance. If they have a feeling that it is perhaps unnecessary to insist on khadi as there are other village

industries also, I ask them to go to the villages and investigate the matter and decide for themselves. I believe they will find nothing to take the place of khadi. I have talked with the Socialists and other young men also. I asked them whether, even after an equitable distribution of land which, of course, is necessary—they expected that agriculture alone could give the agriculturist sufficient occupation and income. Also, whether they expected to provide to every village within ten or fifteen years sufficient mechanical energy and machinery to give work to millions. They had to confess that it was not possible. But the inference which these friends drew from these facts was that they should take power into their hands and start their Socialist programme so that after some years they might be able to give the villagers better conditions. I regard this attitude of neglecting what is immediately possible for them to carry out as that of sitting inactive in the present in the hope of being able to achieve something ten or fifteen years after.

Gandhiji's Khadi-Mantra.

My exhortation to you, therefore, is to realize that the khadi-mantra or message of khadi which Gandhiji gave us has not become less important now than what it was before Swaraj, but rather the other way. The mills, which produced 17 yards per capita have come down to 12 yards and they have declared that they would not be able to produce even that much now because of strikes and other difficulties. It is thus clear that the mills cannot be relied on for the production of sufficient cloth. And nothing has happened since Gandhiji's death to make us feel that we can solve our various problems if we kept khadi apart. I would like to discuss with any one who has a scheme to show that we can manage better without khadi. But if there is no such scheme, I urge you to renew your faith in khadi, and co-operate with us in developing the science, and technique of khadi.

[Part of the speech delivered on the occasion of opening the Sarvodaya Exhibition at Shivarampalli on 7th April '51.]

— "Harijan" July 14, 1951.

The First Five Year Plan. MAY 1951

SHRI J. C. KUMARAPPA.

(Being remarks on the Draft outline of the Planning Commission.) A D R A

Agriculture.

The Agricultural sector should be divided into two parts: One dealing with the production of mill raw materials, such as long-staple cotton, jute, tobacco and sugar-cane and the other section dealing with the production of food material. Even the expenditure indicated in the schedule does not give any idea as to the amount of finances which go to help these mills as against finances available for strictly pure agriculture. It should be remembered that the help rendered in Research, connected with production of raw material for mills is in a way, an unseen subsidy to the mills. No account is taken of this help which is hidden away from public notice. Nevertheless, it is a real help and to that extent pure agriculture connected with food production is deprived of Government help.

Similarly also a good deal of the expenditures on communications, power, housing etc. are indirect aids to Big Business. And these do not appear on the surface.

No notice has been taken of the deprecations caused by wild animals. This is a serious handicap of the farmers. Monkeys, Nilgai, and wild pigs cause a tremendous loss to food production. No plan can be complete without suggesting ways and means of dealing with this problem.

It has been suggested that the Village Councils may be made responsible for crop planning. It is not clear what will be the sanction to enable them to implement the plan. There will always be Vested Interests who may not be controllable. Some farmers would want to take to commercial crops which do not come under procurement and which will be better paying propositions. It seems to me there must be some guiding principle which should make it possible to lay down a definite rule. For instance, if we aim at Regional Self-sufficiency, it would be possible to arrive at what are needed for the locality and distribute that production amongst the farmers rateably.

Any surplus should be an ascertained surplus before the procurement officers can lay claim to them. Before arriving at a

surplus, it would be necessary to allow for at least one year's reserve of food grain. At the present state of affairs, this may appear rather high. But unless we make such a definite provision, it would never be possible to ward off famines.

Land utilisation must take into consideration certain priorities. Production for export should stand down yielding place to local needs. Similarly, when the needed gur and sugar can be produced from palm trees, there should be no sugar-cane cultivated on good soil. Even at the present time, there is a case for transferring sugar-cane crops from U-P. and Bihar on the question of efficiency. Sugar Industry has become the spoilt child of the Government. If Rationalisation is to be applied to Agriculture, this industry will have to be dealt with strictly on its merits. Sugar is not a poor man's food and sugar that is taken in tea and such drinks is not fully assimilated and therefore, it is a national waste. This tea drinking habit has created a demand for sugar also. In the interests of National Economy many such questions will have to be dealt with from a wholly detached point of view.

As regards Procurement, it must be accompanied by certain conditions:— (1) Receiving of Revenue in kind; (2) The Farmers should obtain the value of the grain taken in consumer goods, otherwise the Government take the grain at their own fixed prices and leave the farmer in the lurch to fend for himself in the black market which lands him in a loss.

It is not clear what will be the incentive for the farmers to produce good crops, when they are all the time attracted by commercial crops which pay heavy dividends.

The Draft Plan does not harness the Military towards Food production during their off-duty periods. In India our agricultural seasons are mainly limited to certain months and during those months the men of the forces who largely come from agricultural families can be made to produce their requirements. To some extent this is being done even now. But it requires intensification. Incidentally this will lessen the

Government's Military budget, and if the forces are stationed at remote places and the Army Equipment is used to bring marginal land under cultivation, it will also help in the production of more food.

Landless Labour.

A considerable amount of thought and space has been devoted to the question of Industrial Labour, which is barely 1/10th in strength of Landless Labour. Comparatively landless labour has received hardly any help from the public and therefore there is all the more reason that its problems should receive much greater attention. Some of the agricultural labour still live under near-serf near-slave conditions and their housing is very insecure.

Irrigation.

While grandiose schemes have been put forward for raising big dams and river control, hardly anything has been suggested to meet the ever present problem of small erosion, top-soil washing off and other local problems connected with wasting of our land resources. Though each item is small, yet the aggregate will be bigger than all the big schemes put together. There should be innumerable schemes for bunding *nallas* and hill streams at short intervals. This will not only break the speed of the current but will also gather the silt at short intervals and conserve water and raise the water table.

The plan has not taken into consideration the effect of spending the large amount on the different schemes which will be for a long time unproductive. These huge expenditures without corresponding productions will intensify inflation and create maldistribution of wealth.

When irrigation is made available water rates should be taken not at the time of watering, but at the time of the harvest as a share of the produce.

Transport.

An elaborate scheme for laying down roads has been provided. But it would be interesting to note whom these roads benefit. The hard metal road is a menace to the unshod bullock. If the motorist needs that road, it should be provided for out of funds collected from the motorists. Besides for a distance of about four furlongs on either side of the village, the roads should be tarred or provided with some other hard surface to keep down the dust and this expensive surfacing should also be met from the

motorists' fund. Where there are no such hard surfaced roads near the village or through the village, the speed limit must not exceed five miles an hour. One would welcome such a speed limit also in small towns which have not got such hard surface roads. Such rules if made should be strictly enforced in the interests of public health. As it has been already pointed out earlier, the road programmes are also heavily weighted in favour of Big Industry.

Civil Aviation.

Keen interest is evinced in the development of Civil Aviation. We must remember while we are opening up the country to international air-routes by providing elaborate aerodromes etc., there is also the lurking danger of foreign air attacks. There appears to be no adequate provisions against this danger. Of course a Defence Plan may not be made public in a document of this kind. But this important factor should not be overlooked. While we make our schemes it is necessary for us to keep in mind the resources available here: Aviation needs large supplies of petrol which our country does not possess; therefore, an over-development of aviation may land us in great complications and leave us in the lurch at the critical moment.

Forests.

The Forest Development has been influenced hitherto by a Revenue Policy. In future we should look upon forests as a Service Department. From this point of view many things that have hitherto been done and which were accepted as axiomatic will have to be reversed. It is necessary in the interests of the public that all timber that leaves the forest should be properly seasoned. There should be a well considered Forest Plan which will take adequate notice of the minor forest products which form an important source of raw material for many industries of importance.

Industries.

As regards large-scale Industries, Private Enterprise is given practically, a blank cheque. Even foreign undertakings are welcome under this plan. This is a dangerous policy. Once Foreign Vested Interests get a footing into our country it will be a superhuman task to get them out. The encouragement of foreign loans is opening the door wide to foreign Imperialism to step in. Even the concession shown to Foreign Capital to enter into partnership

with local effort is brimful of danger. It is stated that we are more or less well advanced in our supply of matches. It is evidently forgotten that a lion's share of this trade is with Wimco which is essentially a foreign monopoly using various financial means to strangle local effort.

We would also view with dissatisfaction the support given by the Government to promote fertiliser factories. The condition precedent for using chemical manure is the availability of a large number of land chemists who will prescribe the proper dosage for every particular piece of land. Applying fertilisers without such precautions will land us in a tremendous catastrophe by ruining our soil.

The commission has soft-pedalled sugar, rice and Vanaspathi Mills. These are destroyers of food product. Hence especially under present day circumstances one would have expected a strong condemnation and if necessary banning of these mills. Considerations of health and nutrition would also have made them advocate a different course. But evidently they were not prepared to face the Vested Interests. All food and drug advertisements should be subject to approval and licensing.

In advocating Cottage Industries, the Commission does not think it necessary to create any barriers on local import. One would have thought that creating local demand would have necessarily argued the prevention of intrusion from outside. It will be necessary to husband the resources of the villagers also to enable them to spend such income as they have on local production, and they should be guarded from temptation from outside. A strong feeling of the Swadeshi Spirit should be inculcated if we desire to resuscitate village industries.

The Commission rightly advocates an adequate Purchase Policy of the Government to patronise and encourage village production.

One of the difficulties met with by the artisans arises out of auctioning of raw materials. For instance, reeds from river beds needed for mats are auctioned out by the Government in consideration of a paltry revenue, leading ultimately to the death of the local mat industry and to the flourishing of the Japanese Mat Trade. Similarly, mud for the potter is often available from a lessee who makes a charge to supply the potter's needs. This also is an obstruction in the

way of potteries. Again Petty Taxes and Octroi Duties create impediments in the movement of goods. These kinds of obstructions in the way of cottage industries have not received adequate attention.

In dealing with the Housing Problem, the Report confines itself more or less to industrial Centres. Such housing should be a legitimate charge on the industries themselves and should be controlled by the Government. This is another of the unseen aids provided by the Government to Big Business.

Education.

The Report blows hot and cold in the same breath where a system of education is considered. It has no definite policy or Philosophy in recommending a method of education. Education, of all things, must follow a definite course indicating the line of development which the Nation should take up. This chapter deals with Basic Education of the Gandhian type and secondary education of the notorious Macaulayan type and advocates an imperialistic type of University Education. All these are recommended without any definite preference. This is how great many of the suggested schemes lack unity of thought.

Political set up.

Every nation evolves its own political set up from its national life. Great Britain being an Imperialistic nation depending for its prime necessities on its colonies and distant countries has found it essential to place "Defence", Finance and Foreign affairs in its Cabinet and we have also followed this form blindly. It is a dangerous practice. It may lead our country into imperialistic ways. History is replete with instances of nations that had come to grief by granting too great an importance to the Military which have invariably converted themselves into a ruling caste. We must beware of this danger lurking in our present system. Ours is an agricultural country and its Cabinet should disclose in its composition our peaceful intentions. This does not mean there need be no Defence. All that is meant is that Defence should be a subordinate department, like say the Police, without cabinet rank. So should also be Finance and Foreign affairs. The plan should include in itself an indication of priorities in the political set up also.

(Continued on page 11)

★ GANDHIJI'S ART OF THRIFT. ★

APPASAHEB PATWARDHAN.

Will not a card do ?

In the dining-shed in the Ashram at Sevagram there hangs a board with this exhortation in Babu's name:

"I hope all will regard the property of the Ashram as belonging to themselves and to the poorest of the poor. Even salt should not be allowed to be served in excess of one's needs. Water too may not be wasted".

I have been a witness to this thrift ever since I joined Gandhiji for the first time in June 1919 at "Mani Bhavan" in Bombay. One of my duties then was to write letters as dictated or directed by him. Once after receiving his directions I took up note-paper and was about to begin a letter. But Babu, who had been observing my movements, promptly reprimanded me with, "will not a card do?". And so it did.

Don't want shabby things.

I took the hint and wanted to please my taskmaster by an essay in thrift. Office files for filing letters and other purposes were too few and fresh ones were required. I got hold of two pieces of a cardboard that had been lying about, punched them, stuck them together with a string and placed the improvised file before Babu. I expected to be patted on the back for my thrift and ingenuity, but to my utter discomfiture he refused to touch my handiwork saying, "I don't want such shabby things".

Harmony in prayer chorus.

Later I went to stay at the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. At the evening prayers the closing verses of the second chapter of the Gita were recited by all the Ashramites together. Once it happened that the voices did not harmonise and the pace of recital was not uniform. At the end of the prayers, Babu drew our attention to this defect. Maganlalbai, the manager of the Ashram, said, "Some go too fast. I think Appa was one of them". Gandhiji promptly put in, "I myself went fast. We could thereby save a few minutes". I was not quite sure whether he was really anxious to save time or to shield me.

Cheap device against mosquito.

Sabarmati Ashram was malarious and Gandhiji himself once caught the infection.

Doctors advised the use of a mosquito curtain. But it was no good for the poor millions in the villages of India, thought Gandhiji. They must be shown such a means of protecting themselves from mosquito-bites as would cost them next to nothing. So Gandhiji used to go to bed carefully wrapped up in a sheet, a few drops of kerosene rubbed on the face.

Multiply the pice by crores.

Before the invention, by Gandhiji himself, of the "Yerwada Charkha," which has now mostly replaced the old single-wheeled upright pattern, I had designed some minor innovations and economies in the wheel. I approached Gandhiji with my model. He scrutinized the charkha and took exception to the leather *Chamarkhas* (spindle-bearings). "I prefer Laxmidasbai's rag *Chamarkhas* which cost nothing," he remarked. "The leather pieces will hardly cost a pice," I demonstrated. "But you have to multiply the pice by crores," came the prompt retort. He wanted crores of charkhas for every home in India and an additional pice per charkha meant a total expenditure of lakhs of rupees.

Picking salt at Dandi.

But the miser excelled himself on April 11, 1930 during the days of the memorable Salt Satyagraha. Gandhiji camped at Dandi and each day visited different villages round about exhorting people to infringe the Salt Act *en masse*. I forget the name of the village which was the scene of mass Satyagraha on that particular day. A mammoth meeting was held by a marshy land which was encrusted with a thin layer of salt. Gandhiji addressed the immense crowd from a bullock-cart with a roof of matting which protected him from the scorching sun. At the end of the meeting the whole gathering proceeded to the marsh and each one, after Gandhiji, picked up a handful of the salty mud—mostly mud and only a little of salt. Gandhiji then motored back to the village a distance of about two miles, all the way holding the muddy treasure in his hand. After reaching the house where he was to rest he washed his hand into a small tumbler and asked the attendant volunteers to let the mud settle down and then pour out the brine and boil it into salt.

The idea was to procure and conserve every available grain of salt. In those days it was a fashion in Bombay to sell publicly packets of illicit salt at fabulous prices and give the proceeds to the Satyagraha Fund. But Gandhiji wanted to procure large quantities of salt and make the commodity available to the poor villagers at a very cheap rate.

Over a cup of water spilt.

On the way back to Dandi we passed through Mahadevbhai's village. Gandhiji halted to visit Mahadevbhai's house and see his mother. When we returned to the car some one from the party asked for water to drink. A villager brought a *lota* of water with a brass cup to drink from. In the meanwhile villagers had gathered round the car and offered money to Gandhiji. I was standing by the car with the *lota* of water in one hand and the cup in the other, about to pour out water for the thirsty friend. Just at that moment I noticed a woman vainly trying to reach out a rupee coin to Gandhiji. My hands were engaged, so I picked up the coin in the empty cup in my right hand and immediately pouring it out into a handkerchief spread out in the car for the coins, filled the cup with water for the friend to drink. It was a hot afternoon and Gandhiji, as is his wont, had been holding a wet napkin on his head. Before I could pass off the water to

the thirsty friend, Gandhiji put forward his napkin and asked me to pour the water on it. In the bustle I could not hear him. I only caught his further remark, "The cup held the coin, so, the water is not fit for drinking." I realised the uncleanliness of my procedure, shook the cup, threw off the water and refilled it for the thirsty friend. Gandhiji was so sorry that a cupful of water was spilt and wasted! It was unfit for drinking but he could very well use it for wetting the napkin on his head.

Using tiny waste paper.

Even before the war began, while paper was neither dear nor scarce, Bapu would not allow paper written only on one side to be thrown into the waste-paper basket. All such wastes are carefully sifted out from his voluminous incoming correspondence. He utilizes the blank side for writing out drafts and other purposes. He cuts up one note-paper into half a dozen tiny pieces and writes out as many separate personal letters to the several *ashramites* despatching them all in one cover.

Indeed the Bapu, not only of the *Ashramites* but of the famished millions of India, the votary of *Daridranarayan*, can ill afford to waste even a particle of food or a drop of water.

[We are indebted to Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, for this article, taken out of their book "GANDHIJI - HIS LIFE AND WORK" Published on Gandhiji's 75th Birthday, Oct. 2, 1944; para heads are our own.]

(Continued from 9th page)

When this is done the various portfolios will fall in line according to the role they play and the corresponding departments will be so organised as to make for efficient working under a functional alignment without coming into conflict with each other and standing in the way of progress and getting into a tangle while working.

Weightage for Big Business.

The early part of the draft outline is rather academic and verbose in the presentation of the subject. One would expect an

official document to be terse and concise. The Plan itself suffers from a lack of a Philosophy of Life. The result is there is no definite policy running through the whole scheme. In many places, it appears like a patch-work quilt. But it lacks also a pattern to make it conform with the art of life. Taking all in all, the weightage appears to be on Big Business run by private enterprise. On the whole, we may say, like the well known Curate's egg, this plan is good in parts!



Why Yarn Quota for Khadi Sales?

MAHATMA GANDHI.

[The rule of yarn quota for khadi sales, introduced in July 1945, was a revolutionary change in the working of the A. I. S. A. towards economic self-sufficiency among the masses in the villages. It is still our basic principle. The quota of yarn was first half anna in every rupee worth of khadi bought from July 1945. Later it was increased to one anna in the rupee. In 1947 it was raised on the rational basis of one-eighth of the yarn actually consumed in khadi bought. It is now further increased in some places where conditions are favourable.]

Doubts and scepticism still persist in the minds of some of the urban people. Gandhiji's own words, written six years ago, reproduced here, will clear the doubts of the khadi wearers and also convince and convert the non-khadi wearers to take to khadi through spinning.

Readers are requested to refer to the following three valuable books 1. *Nava Samskaran (Hindi)* 2. *Swaraj Through Charkha (English)* 3. *Charkhavum Ahimsa Samudayamum (Tamil)*, for Gandhiji's fuller discourses and writings on the rationale behind the rule of yarn quota for khadi.]

The Weapon of Non-violence.

Bharatan Kumarappa writes to me: "People are asking what Gandhiji has done. He will kill Khadi by insisting on yarn being given in exchange for it. What are we, who because of his teaching have vowed to wear only khadi, to do? Are we to go without khadi? The rule only shows Gandhiji's obduracy".

People who have understood that Swaraj hangs on a thread of handspun yarn will not consider me obdurate. If they do, it will mean that they have not grasped how non-violence works. Since my return to India I have been crying myself hoarse that if we are to win Swaraj through non-violence, spinning must be an essential part of our activities. The late Maulana Mahomed Ali used to say that the Charkha was our rifle and the spindles of yarn our bullets and it was through these that we were going to achieve our goal. This is as true today as when he uttered it.

Khadi through yarn currency.

My experience tells me that in order to make Khadi universal both in cities and villages, it should be made available only in exchange for yarn. Today a mere one anna's worth in the rupee is being demanded. But this must be for the initial stages only. When people have understood the meaning of the new rule and learnt how to spin, then Khadi should be procurable only in full exchange for hand-spun yarn. As time passes I hope, people will themselves insist on buying Khadi through yarn currency. If,

however, this does not happen and they produce yarn grudgingly, I fear Swaraj through non-violence will be impossible. Swaraj is not going to be had for the asking. It requires effort. Freedom of a kind may be attained through machine-guns but it will not be the real article and I, for one, can take no interest in it. The very idea of obtaining Swaraj through violent means makes my head reel and a mountain of horrible suffering appears before my eyes. This article is not meant for those who desire a violent revolution. Why should such wear Khadi? From their point of view Khadi may be proved to be a futile thing. But understanding readers should realize that if Khadi is to be produced by villagers merely or chiefly for sale in cities and the mass of villagers themselves are to use mill cloth, then Khadi becomes a thing of little value. We cannot afford to rest content merely by putting a few coppers into the pockets of the poor.

Some say that the new rule will in fact kill the Khadi which the poor are now producing and that only a few fashionable town dwellers will spin and have cloth woven for themselves. This thought displays great ignorance.

Charkha Clubs.

The masses do not eat for show but only in order that they may live. They wear clothes to cover their nakedness, not to be fashionable. Therefore the spinning wheel, like the oven, should find a place in every village home and every able-bodied person should spin. Thereby alone can all wear

Khadi and bring Swaraj: Able-bodied persons can, indeed, spin even for those who are unable for any legitimate reason to ply the wheel. If games clubs demanding both energy and money can be run, as they are, why cannot Swaraj or Charkha clubs be run where people can make slivers and spin and obtain Khadi in exchange for yarn? The truth of the matter is that only where there is a will there is a way—otherwise all kinds of arguments are brought up in opposition. If the will to spin is in our hearts nothing will prevent us from doing so. Cannot what is done for mere amusement be turned into something that will bring us Swaraj?

Mills and Cities against millions.

One of the strongest arguments advanced against the new system is that if city folk produce their own yarn even the little that is being done by the Sangh for the poor will vanish and the hope of seeing villagers clad in home-spun will remain a dream. Suppose, for argument's sake, that city people give up wearing Khadi either through anger or laziness and villagers, for consequent lack of wages, cease to spin and weave, what great loss accrues? The poor will seek out some other occupation and somehow or other eke out a living. Indeed lakhs are doing so today but the analogy cannot affect crores. Those engaged in "beedi" making today earn four times as much as, or even more than, the spinners. Many mill labourers have become rich. It follows then that those who are starving today will starve unto death and the few who are able to make money will exploit the rest. An increase in the number of mills and cities will certainly not contribute to the prosperity of India's millions. On the contrary it will bring further poverty to the unemployed and all the diseases that follow in the wake of starvation. If town dwellers can look upon such a spectacle with equanimity there is nothing more to be said. In such an event it will be a reign of violence in India, not a reign of truth and ahimsa. And we shall be forced to admit that there is naturally no room there for Khadi. Military training will then have to be compulsory for all. But we must only

think in terms of the starving crores. If they are to be restored, if they are to live, then the Charkha must be made the central activity and people must spin voluntarily. The weapon of non-violence may not, however, be taken up because there is no alternative to it. There must be faith in it.

**The rule of yarn for the purchase of Khadi must not only come into force but must increase in its application. If, on account of it, the existing 'bhandars' have to close down and Khadi wearers give up khadi, it will be clear that people had no real faith in non-violence and that they wore Khadi out of ignorance and deceived themselves into thinking that thereby they would obtain Swaraj.*

Duty of City people.

When I know that such Khadi will never obtain Swaraj and that even if Swaraj is attained it will immediately be discarded, how can I allow people to continue to deceive themselves? In that case the prophecy of the late Shri Chintamani will come true that on Gandhiji's death people will dislike him and his spinning wheel to such an extent that they will throw out Charkhas from their homes to make his funeral pyre. If handspun yarn is not in fact a symbol of non-violence then I should retrieve my error during my lifetime and save, at any rate, the wood of the Charkhas. But I do not believe in the truth of that prophecy. People have understood that the crores of India cannot win freedom through violence. India occupies a very great position in the world. She can become still greater. But she can only do so through non-violence. If India's crores wish to demonstrate the workability of non-violence they can only do so by making the Charkha their central activity. And as the desire for freedom is even stronger amongst city people, it becomes their bounden duty to understand this truth and take to spinning and khadi wearing in earnest for the attainment of non-violent Swaraj.

(From "Swaraj through Charkha," Compiled by Kanu Gandhi.)

* Italics is ours.

"The essence of lying is in self-deception, not in words: A lie may be told by silence, by equivocation, by the accent on a syllable, by a glance of the eye attaching a peculiar significance to a sentence; and all these lies are worse and baser by many degrees than a lie plainly worded'.....John Ruskin.

[The above words are prominently exhibited in Gandhiji's hut in Sevagram Ashram.]

The Kathayi Mandal Movement.

SHRI DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR, President, A. I. S. A.,

The Kathayi Mandal movement.

The idea of spinning clubs has caught the imagination of constructive workers since the Charkha Sangh started the Kathayi Mandal movement in 1949. This is really encouraging. But we must not be blind to the risks in a sudden rise of popular enthusiasm. We have seen such tides of popular enthusiasm for the charkha in the course of the last thirty years.

During my tour through various provinces, I noticed the people evincing great interest in the spinning clubs for various considerations. For instance, they think that they would be able to get khadi easily from the Charkha Sangh. They also hope that in course of time the spinning clubs would develop into a political party to capture power.

Thus there is the danger of the spinning clubs being used for purposes other than what is actually aimed at. So we must be on our guard from the very beginning. We must always keep our eye on the original objectives of the clubs and proceed in the right direction. The spinning clubs have a heavy responsibility to shoulder. They have started an activity in the name of Bapu.

Failure of Revolutions.

We should carefully analyse the trend of the growth and fall of institutions in history and the root cause for the same. We have seen ebb and flow of revolutions in history, and that each of them failed to achieve its particular object. It was given to Gandhiji alone to discover the root cause of the failures of the revolutions and to show us the unique way in organizing non-violent revolution which would ultimately solve the eternal problem of humanity. We should realize that the world is now passing through a critical situation leading even to the destruction of human society. Under various names and forms powerful classes or parties arise which establish their control over the people, and exploit and crush them.

In every age, people have fought battles in the name of freedom. But after victory the victorious party began exploiting and crushing the people through the political

power captured by it. The pages of history bear testimony to this.

The organizers of the Kathayi Mandal movement have to carefully examine the root cause for the repeated failure of popular efforts for winning real freedom. We find that the battles for freedom aimed only in defeating a ruling authority and not the evil system on which that authority rested. In the first stage, the fighters for freedom could only dethrone a ruling monarch but not the monarchical system. The system was made even stronger than before; and the very persons who led the fight for freedom earlier became the real rulers and oppressors.

Capitalist and Capitalism.

Thus they could destroy the capitalist, but not capitalism. The essence of capitalism consists in the system, which makes capital, or centralized control over the sources of wealth indispensably necessary for daily life. Under that way of life it was essential to create alternative centralized organizations in place of the old capitalist class. Thus those very people who had once destroyed the old capitalists having organized themselves into a party, became controllers of the very people, whom they had inspired to wage the war for freedom. This, in the end, resulted in the transfer of power from the hands of a class into those of a party. The new political party being better organized than the class, could succeed in keeping the people under its clutches through dictatorship in absolute submission.

Gandhiji's non-violent revolution.

Gandhiji, through his new revolutionary programme, made an attempt to find a solution to this conflicting problem. He used to declare from the very beginning that an individual, or a class or a political party is simply an instrument of a system which is either good or bad. Therefore if people desire to enjoy real freedom they should not aim at simply overthrowing the wielder of power for the time being, whether an individual, or a class or a party but should bring about a basic revolution in the system itself. The political leaders of India could not fully follow Gandhiji's ideas with the result that people seem to be now depressed

and frustrated. We could not follow Gandhiji's advice of radically altering the British administrative system. But we simply took over the whole administration in its existing form. Therefore we find in our country a situation analogous to the conditions which existed in the west whenever a king was overthrown retaining the kingship and when capitalists were destroyed maintaining the capitalism in another form.

Leadership from within the masses.

This happened because the leaders of such revolutions made the people remain simply as their followers. They neither could make them self-reliant nor create the leadership from amongst them. It is difficult indeed to create leadership from amongst the masses. During the struggle people remained as mere followers and after the victory they had also to naturally depend upon their leaders to manage the State machinery and to solve the day-to-day problems of life on their behalf. They could not receive the training to apply their minds and take the initiative. Therefore absolute and arbitrary rule over such people becomes easy and natural.

Indeed the problem before us is not to change the individuals who run the system but to awaken the talents and create the initiative among the masses to protect and enjoy their freedom. This is really the revolution that Gandhiji aimed at.

The task before Kathayi Mandals.

Gandhiji advised us that the way of revitalizing the people lay in creating a sense of responsibility in them through the constructive programme. But instead of following his teaching, we put up the people to simply fight the personnel in the administration arousing their passions through attractive and exciting slogans. After the end of the campaign when the passions subside the people become even more dispirited and docile. It is for the spinning clubs to end the beaten way of arousing fleeting passions and create a real awakening true to Gandhiji's ideals, so that people may learn to stand by themselves and assert against the domination of any individual, class or party in the social, economic and political life.



The Place of Khadi & Village Industries in our National Economy.

Shri SIDDARAJ DHADDA,
Ex-Minister, Rajasthan.

A Basic Social Problem.

The development of khadi and other village industries is more a basic social problem than a merely economic one. It should not be looked upon only as an isolated problem of the development of a particular industry or industries, or of increasing production or providing employment to some persons. It is all this no doubt, but it is also something more, something important and something different. Encouragement to khadi and other village industries is neither a fad nor an ideal about which there should be any controversy. Taking the objective circumstances of our country into consideration it appears to be the only practical way of dealing with the gigantic social problems which face us and which threaten our very existence as a Nation. We must, therefore, view Khadi and village industries in this social context and not merely as a problem of isolated economics.

It is important to bear this fact about the nature of khadi and village industry work, and this emphasis on its social aspect, in mind, in order to avoid any misunderstanding regarding the extent to which we have to go to protect village industries. For example, whenever there is some talk of Government assisting khadi and village industries, it is often said that the State cannot take a permanent obligation to subsidize a particular cottage industry, and that ultimately cottage industries would be expected to stand on their own legs and to face competition from large-scale industries. Such arguments are based on an inadequate appreciation and realisation of the place of village industries in our national economy. If it is a permanent obligation of the State to protect the Nation from outside aggression, it is as much its obligation to protect the Nation's life from being shattered by the aggression of the economically strong against the weak within the community

itself. We cannot adopt such a *laissez faire* attitude towards the essentials of our social structure. Such attitude is particularly surprising when in other matters we begin to think of controls and checks on the slightest provocation. We must try to understand that when we talk of khadi and village industries, we are not talking merely about certain industries which may or may not flourish but about something which is fundamental to our social order and without which our national life may fall into jeopardy.

Social structure on village economy.

Although it is a common say that more than 80% of our population lives and works in villages, we have not yet sufficiently realised that villages and village economy are the very foundation on which our national structure stands. Whatever amount of "industrialisation", in the current sense of the word, we may visualise, we should remember that we can never give employment to even a fraction of our vast population by that method. On the contrary we would render millions workless. Villages, therefore, are bound to remain as the base of our whole social structure and in any plan of national development we must see to it that our village economy is not only kept on a sound footing but is also duly protected. Obviously, such protection must be a permanent obligation of the State if national life is to subsist.

Agriculture and subsidiary occupation.

Agriculture is the main-stay of the village population. It is also the only source of satisfying our most urgent and primary needs namely food and clothing. But it is also an established fact that agriculture also cannot give full employment to our rural population nor can it be economical without subsidiary occupations. We must, therefore, build up our national economy in a manner so that the rural population is able to engage itself unhampered in certain subsidiary occupations.

Leave the Subsidiary Industries of food and cloth to villages.

The most natural of such subsidiary occupations would no doubt be those related to food and clothing. The villager produces the raw material for food and clothing and the processing of these raw materials into finished articles would not only be the most natural subsidiary occupations for him but would be the most advantageous from

other points of view also. Food and clothing are the primary needs of man and it would make national life stable, secure and peaceful if the vast majority of its population living in villages becomes self-sufficient in these essential articles of daily consumption. It is most unwise to allow such conditions or such economy to emerge that would compel or lure the agriculturist to sell and send his raw produce to the cities and buy back the necessities of life made out of that very produce. But this is exactly what we are doing today. We allow *Dal Mills*, *Rice Mills* and *Flour Mills* to spring up unchecked in the mofussil, with the result that the *Hand-chakki*, the hand pounding of rice and other cereals and *dal* making, which used to be universal occupations in our homes, are dying out. This means that on the one hand, hands are becoming idle and on the other the villager has to pay for all these services which formerly cost him nothing. Not only this, but in the bargain our people get definitely less nutritious and that too, adulterated food. Similarly by allowing power-driven oil mills and sugar mills we are killing the *Ghani* and the *Gur* industries with all the results outlined above. By allowing cotton spinning and weaving mills to grow up we have not only succeeded in killing hand-spinning and hand-weaving industries but have also left the population naked and helpless.

State's Paramount obligation.

It is, therefore, essential that the State must reserve a certain sphere for village industries and should not allow large scale enterprise to invade that sphere. Apart from all food processing and spinning and weaving occupations there are certain other village occupations also which are intimately connected with agriculture and agricultural economy and which should, therefore, be similarly protected; for example, the leather industry, the wool industry, the cow keeping or dairy industry and the village smithy for making and repairing agricultural tools and implements. Outside this protected sector of village economy there would be ample scope for mechanisation and large-scale enterprise if we want it, but we should always keep it in mind that the preservation of village economy as outlined above should be our primary charge and responsibility. Any large-scale industry, or for that matter, anything which goes counter to the interests of this village economy should be curbed and checked. It is obvious that if our

SARVODAYA

★ MAHATMA GANDHI

During the days of my education I had read practically nothing outside text-books, and after I launched into active life I had very little time for reading, I cannot, therefore, claim much book knowledge. However, I believe I have not lost much because of this enforced restraint. On the contrary, the limited reading may be said to have enabled me thoroughly to digest what I did read. Of these books, the one that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life was "Unto This Last." I translated it later into Gujarati, entitling it "SARVODAYA" (the welfare of all.)

I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life. A poet is one who can call forth the good latent in the human breast. Poets do not influence all alike, for every one is not evolved in an equal measure.

The teaching of Unto This Last I understood to be:-

1: That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.

2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

3. That a life of labour, i. e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living. The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. UNTO THIS LAST made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and the third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice.

—From Autobiography.

THE PLACE OF KHADI & VILLAGE INDUSTRIES...

national economy is not regulated in this manner and village industries not protected in their legitimate and natural sphere, the whole economic, and hence social life of the nation would fall into chaos which is unfortunately being borne out by our present experience.

It will thus be seen that the plea for the encouragement and protection of village industries is neither a fad nor an ideal, but

★ ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE.

Some words are so powerful that when uttered at the proper time they electrify the whole nation and place a goal before it. Thus in 1907 Dadabhai Naoroji gave to the nation the word Swaraj, and it gave a new spirit, a new source of energy to all India. It gave the people a goal to work for and for 40 years the word gave them service. It had served its purpose when India reached that goal in 1947, and so it retired in a natural way. Gandhiji, too, who had worked for that word and carried the people to that goal, completed his earthly career shortly thereafter.

Sarvodaya - The New Word.

Thereupon a new word, a new goal was needed for the nation. Unless the people had it, it seemed as if they had nothing left to work for. Indeed, for a time they actually felt so. Gandhiji had already pronounced it even when he had been working for Swaraj. But its significance was not realized then, because the nation's mind was concentrated upon Swaraj. That new word was SARVODAYA.

Moral Degeneration.

Sarvodaya has placed a clear goal before the people. It extends to all the people. In my opinion, there is no need now for the various political parties which have arisen, because the problems which have arisen after Swaraj are all of a moral nature. The fall in the moral standards of the people is a common and universal experience. I do not blame the people for this. A whole nation cannot become morally depraved. And still, if such is the universal experience the reason must be found in the environment. But whether it is the people or the environment which is responsible if

Continued from page 16.

the most practical, and also practicable way of preventing our whole economic structure from going to pieces. It is not a question to be judged merely by a reference to rupees, annas and pies, or one towards which we may adopt any complacent or *laissez faire* attitude. It is a question of life and death for the nation and hence not only the permanent, but also the paramount obligation of the State.

has to be remedied. The most important thing which is necessary to be done after the attainment of Swaraj, is to stabilize the people's character, foster mutual goodwill in them and do such other fundamental work. There is no scope for setting up different political objectives in such circumstances. They can have their due place and scope when the moral level of the society is high and there is mutual goodwill. Accordingly, I, for one, always ask the politicians, whenever I get an occasion to meet them, to remove the different political labels and be simple human beings.

The Ideal of Sarvodaya.

I am trying to propagate the Sarvodaya ideal, and exhort you to contemplate on the

power of that word. It connotes strength in every part of the body politic. Not a single limb should remain weak. If you do not think in terms of Sarvodaya but talk of classes and class-struggle, and consider only class-interest, India cannot be happy.

At present the Government, the trader, the townspeople and the village people all strike discordant notes and nullify the attempts of one another. If all worked for the prosperity of the villages, they would find themselves working for a common goal and mutual benefit. This is the aim of Sarvodaya. It is not the slogan of a political party, but a word which would dissolve all party factions. Its aim is to unite all hearts and to create united strength.

(Abridged from "Harijan" 22 May, 1951.)

All India Spinners' Association

SOME DECISIONS.

[The following is the substance of some of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Trustees of the A. I. S. A., at Shivarampalli on the 6th and 7th April 1951.]

1. Congress and Khadi

When the Constitution of the Congress was changed some years ago, the 'qualified member' was enjoined to put on khadi. It did not stipulate that it must be 'certified khadi.' Later on the article was amended and the word 'certified' was inserted; but at the same time the Congress working Committee recognized a few organizations other than the A. I. S. A., as competent bodies to certify khadi. This extension was bound to have an adverse effect on preserving the genuineness of khadi. Now again, the latest Congress Constitution has once more removed the word 'certified' from the relevant article. It was to be presumed that this decision had been taken after full deliberation. However, the Secretary of the Charkha Sangh requested the Congress President, to clarify the Congress policy in this regard. He specifically asked the latter whether this change allowed the qualified member to use any khadi bought from anywhere. There has been no response to this enquiry from the Congress. This matter was fully discussed by the Trustees and it was unanimously agreed that the omission of the word 'certified' has injured and would injure the cause of genuine khadi. To ensure genuine khadi it must be made to mean only

'certified' khadi, with A. I. S. A., as the certifying agency. The step taken by the Congress is against the best interests of khadi, and therefore the A. I. S. A., has requested the Congress to affix the definition of khadi as 'certified' by the A. I. S. A.,

2. Provincial Agents.

Since the early days of the Charkha Sangh, Honorary Agents were functioning in the various provinces. Subsequently when full-time Secretaries were appointed they shouldered the responsibility of the khadi work in the province. Though some of the agents resigned later on only a few vacancies were filled up leaving most of them vacant. There are only two agents at present. Appointment of agents is only a conventional arrangement though there is no provision in the constitution. It was decided that this convention may be stopped in future and that the Trustees of the Sangh may themselves individually undertake responsibility of giving general guidance in the various regions of the A. I. S. A., in Khadi work.

3. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

The Nidhi has referred to the Charkha Sangh in what way it could help for the promotion of self-sufficiency in khadi. Since the weaving is the chief difficulty in self-sufficiency the Charkha Sangh would advise the Nidhi to give all its possible help in meeting various items of the expenses necessary for tackling this problem of weaving.

4. Khadi Vidyalayas.

Formerly almost every province had a Khadi Vidyalaya. But only two Vidyalayas could be conducted at present, for want of qualified staff. It is now decided that every province should have a Khadi Vidyalaya in future and that the syllabus should be so revised as to include other items of constructive work conducive to Samagra Seva in the local areas.

5. Capital for Certified institutions.

Some of the certified institutions find it difficult to expand their khadi work for want of sufficient capital. It is difficult to raise capital by donations. Borrowed capital also has to be paid at some stage or other by curtailing the work. The Charkha Sangh's rules also do not allow surplus margin which can build up the additional capital. Under these circumstances the A. I. S. A., has suggested two ways for raising additional capital. The first is that the consumer can be made to bear the part of the burden for contributing additional capital. Secondly the State Governments can also help by way of subsidy. It was decided that the certified institutions may be permitted hereafter

to charge an extra margin of half-anna per rupee on its retail khadi price, in addition to the usual margin for meeting the management cost. Further, some of the State Governments seem to be interested in khadi work with the aim of providing some work to the unemployed and under-employed villagers. As work and relief are being given by the certified institutions such States can easily grant a subsidy of 4% of the amount disbursed as wages to the carders, spinners, and weavers and other artisans. Further, instead of paying the subsidy year after year a consolidated loan can be advanced to the certified institutions as recommended by the Charkha Sangh. This loan advance may be adjusted against the subsidies that may accrue to the institution year after year.

6. Assistant Secretaries.

It was decided to create new posts of Asst. Secretaries to help the Secretary of the Charkha Sangh and lighten the burden of his work. Shri. R. Srinivasan, whose period of Secretaryship of the Kerala Branch will shortly expire is now appointed to one of such posts of Asst. Secretary. More Asst. Secretaries will be appointed in course of time when qualified men are available.

CHARKHA JAYANTI.

Shri NARANDAS K. GANDHI,
(Rajkot, Saurashtra.)

According to the Hindu Calendar, Bhadrapad Vadya 12th (which falls this year on 27th September next), the birth day of Gandhiji, is observed as the *Charkha Dwadashi* or the *Charkha Jayanti*. Although Gandhiji is no longer with us, he has left us his precious legacy of the *Charkha* or the spinning wheel. Shortly after his death I had made an appeal to create one crore of spinners in the country to preserve the legacy he left us, as that would be the most fitting memorial to him.

The *Charkha Dwadashi* is the fittest occasion for working in the direction of this ideal. In this plan of creating one crore spinners in the country, the share of Saurashtra would come to one lakh.

With this object in view the whole country, would celebrate the *Charkha Dwadashi*

and constructive workers should see that their surroundings resound with the humming of the spinning wheel.

It was in 1935 the National School (of Rajkot) first proposed and carried out a sixty-six-day programme in connection with the *Charkha Jayanti*. Every subsequent year, a day was added to this period and the programme has thus gone on advancing. This programme has been adopted by the Charkha Sangh also. It is now observed every year through all the various provinces in the country. Bapuji used to give inspiration from year to year to make this programme a success. Now that he is no longer with us, it is incumbent on us to keep the legacy intact and discharge our duty by the wheel. I may give below what Gandhiji wrote in connection with the *Charkha Jayanti* in 1947:

"The Charkha is the royal road to political, economic and social freedom. But it is clear that the masses have not adopted it. If the people had adopted it as a symbol of non-violence, the tragic condition which prevails today would never have come. What shall the believer in the Charkha do in this atmosphere? Dharma teaches that when the surrounding atmosphere is adverse, the faith of the devotee becomes brighter. How many of such may there be? My spinning continues. I do not miss my daily half an hour."

This year's programme has commenced on the 10th of July at 7-30 a. m. with prayers. Every one should, with full understanding and taking into consideration all its implications, resolve to spin these eighty days with his full energy.

Those who subscribe to this fund for *Daridranarayana* every year are requested to send eighty coins this year. It is now well known that the Saurashtra Khadi Mandal owes its existence to this fund and the development of Khadi work there is also due to it.

This fund has been utilized during the last three years in the work of the Saurashtra Constructive Committee, which co-ordinates all the constructive institutions and activities in Saurashtra. The work under the Committee has made good progress during the above period.

Rs. 90,242—12—0 in 1948-'49 and Rs. 1,27,177—15—3 in 1949-50 were received in this *Gandhi Jayanthi* fund for *Daridranarayana*. Besides this Rs. 1,15,000 in 1948-49 and Rs. 80,000 in 1949-50 were received from the Saurashtra Government. Last year, the sum of Rs. 80,000 was also received from the Gandhi Memorial Trust.

The Saurashtra Constructive Committee has an annual budget of three lakhs of rupees. The understanding is that the Saurashtra Government will contribute a third of the sum, the Gandhi Memorial Trust will give a grant of another third and the remaining third to be realized through the collections during the period of the *Charkha Jayanti* Celebrations.

Condensed from "Harijan" 14 July, 1951.

SARVA SEVA SANGH.

SOME DECISIONS.

A meeting of the members of the Sarva Seva Sangh was held at Wardha on 6th and 7th July 1951. The following are a few important points that were decided:

1. **Shanti Sena:** Shri Kaka Kalelkar was requested to draw up a scheme for an All-India Shanti Sena Organization for consideration at the next meeting.

2. **Gandhi Smarak Nidhi Grant:** General Policy was laid down about the commencement of the financial year of the various departments and *Sanghs*, and for submission of budgets, accounts, payments of grants, etc.

3. **Exemption from Income-Tax:** Attempts should be made to obtain exemption from income-tax to donors on their donations to the Sarva Seva Sangh.

4. **Shuddha Vyavahar (Honest Life) Movement:** This subject was discussed at the Sarva Seva Sangh meeting on 15-7-51, and also at Shivarampalli in the Sarvodaya Samaj Conference. This meeting took note of the beginnings made at Bombay, Wardha and a few other places.

The Sarva Seva Sangh approved of this movement and appealed to the public in general, and the constructive institutions, their workers, and the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj in particular, to adhere to Shuddha Vyavahara (honest life) and ask others to do so both individually and collectively.

The Sarva Seva Sangh was of opinion that it was difficult for this movement to succeed without the co-operation of public servants. The honesty of the general public depended a good deal on the integrity and honesty of public officers. At this particular and critical period of our life, the purity of public servants was of utmost importance. Hence, it was the duty of all Government Cabinets to give particular attention to the maintenance of a high standard of purity and duty in their services.

5. Sarva Seva Sangh and Politics:

The question was discussed and Shri. Kaka Kalelkar and Kishorelal Mashruwala were requested to draw up a draft resolution for being circulated among the members, who were to meet again on 29th July 1951.

GANDHI MEMORIAL TRUST — SHRI G. V. MAVLANKAR.

Twenty Provincial Advisory Committees have been formed out of a total of 24 (25?) units and the remaining four (five?) are yet in the process of being formed. The formation is not also by the arbitrary will of the Trustees but from among the names suggested by the collectors and constructive workers.

The general scheme of the formation of an Advisory Committee is that a committee ordinarily consists of 12 members, out of whom 5 are representatives of the collecting agencies. Six are representatives of bodies, whether of an all-India character or a provincial character, carrying on constructive activities in the province and the industrialists - through whom a contribution of nearly 45 per cent of the funds came - are given a representation of only one.

2. Grants.

I give below the amounts paid till the end of 1950 to some of the important institutions working in the constructive field and for allied causes:

1. Hindustani Talimi Sangh	Rs. 1,60,000
2. All India Village Industries Association, Wardha	„ 70,000
3. Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi	„ 1,06,169
4. Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi	„ 56,250
5. The World Peace Conference	„ 1,50,000
6. Miscellaneous help	„ 89,040
Total	„ 6,31,459

The above are exclusive of the following grants:

- (i) Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad Rs. 1,35,000
 - (ii) Nature Cure Institute, Uruli Kanchan, (Dist. Poona), „ 38,346
- and some other minor donations.

All the above making a total of Rs. 8,04,805 were paid from the Central quota of the Funds.

3. Aids.

The allotment from the Provincial quota of the funds, on the recommendation of the Provincial Advisory Committees, or otherwise, comes to Rs. 6,02,631—9—9 upto the end of 1950. The activities covered through the various institutions can be generally classed as work among aboriginal and tribal areas, Basic education, medical relief, maternity homes, village industries, Go-seva, Work among women and Harijans, etc.,

4. Schemes.

The Trustees have also on hand other schemes which are at present not come to working in full swing, as many details are to be supplemented and some plans to be finalized. Prominent among these are:

(i) Museums, consisting of collections of Gandhiji's writings etc. at Delhi, Sevagram, Ahmedabad and one more place;

(ii) The work of micro-filming and photo-stating the voluminous record has already been taken in hand and is progressing;

(iii) Some memorial at each place, made important by the visit of Gandhiji and some historical event having taken place as a result of his visit. This is a work of an all-India nature and the matter is well under progress;

(iv) Documentary films of Gandhiji's life;

(v) The scheme of Gandhi-ghars, by which is meant the establishment of centres in villages for the gram-sevaks to stay is to carry on as many constructive activities as possible, bearing in mind the Sarvodaya principles. This involves the question of training the personnel, and that matter is also on hand.

(vi) Leprosy work: The Trust has decided to make this a main plank of the memorial and preliminary work has been started by the Leprosy Medical Board.

General Difficulties.

The public should appreciate that our chief problem is to get proper and sufficient personnel to carry on the constructive work on lines visualised by Gandhiji. An All-India work of this nature requires preliminary investigations and planning, unless funds are to be wasted, or spent in mere routine work. The Smarak Nidhi should be expected to work in the spirit of and with a vision (as far as possible, for the Trustees, with their limitations), given by Gandhiji.

Publicity.

The work being of a constructive character and mostly in the rural areas, does not attract publicity in the Press, which is mostly urban. Again, there is not that glamour in the work, which politics has, and that is also one of the reasons why the Press generally does not feel interested in giving publicity to the work under both the Trusts.

(Condensed from "Harijan," May 5th, 1951)

Khadi Work in India in 1948-'49 & 1949-'50.

Production of Self-sufficiency & Commercial Khadi-and Sale of Khadi.

	Name of Province.	Self-sufficiency Khadi for Spinners' own use.		Production of Khadi for Sale.		Khadi Sales.	
		July 1948 - June '49	July 1949 - June '50	July 1948 - June '49	July 1949 - June '50	July 1948 - June '49	July 1949 - June '50
		Square yards.	Square yards.	Square yards.	Square yards.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Andhra	27,383	29,326	2,07,886	3,28,437	3,67,178	3,79,738
2	Utkal	—	—	3,451	7,240	15,147	47,550
3	Bombay	10,194	11,778	6,471	1,702	2,82,649	2,17,017
4	Gujarath	1,92,580	1,88,867	1,79,668	2,26,387	5,96,946	9,49,681
5	Hyderabad (Deccan)	625	1,168	1,16,243	2,74,222	90,180	1,09,169
6	Karnatak	53,568	43,811	2,52,332	2,06,131	4,56,756	4,10,117
7	Kashmir	—	—	30,744	50,251	2,59,991	2,83,632
8	Kerala	5,019	39,318	2,61,982	2,18,950	4,04,444	3,48,838
9	Khadi Vidyalaya, Sevagram...	1,408	2,719	5,845	6,696	11,193	14,657.
10	Maharashtra	17,607	29,269	1,55,522	1,24,187	3,66,030	3,59,657
11	Mahakosal	5,898	3,646	30,853	40,406	93,368	1,62,114
12	Punjab	9,954	14,556	3,20,132	8,33,923	3,39,205	3,18,299
13	Rajasthan	14,897	19,224	3,06,521	4,67,599	4,24,871	6,28,942
14	Tamilnad	1,09,275	1,41,739	20,20,195	20,49,220	31,25,746	29,71,879
15	Uttar Pradesh	15,132	10,359	18,89,882	13,69,695*	36,10,675	35,76,591
16	Bihar	7,211	9,991	9,70,201	9,24,482	12,02,233	19,53,187
17	Bengal	2,501	2,255	27,980	24,879	1,89,888	1,85,804
	Total	4,73,252	5,48,026	67,85,908	71,54,407	1,18,36,500	1,29,16,872

The Handloom Problem

In his statement published in *Harijan* of 2nd June, Shri Hare Krishna Mahtab, "congratulates the weavers of India on the success they have achieved by their agitation in drawing the attention and sympathy of even those who were committed to the theory that problem of hand-loom cannot be solved unless there is universal hand-spinning." It is indeed a tragic irony of a situation that the *khadi* lover even in the face of this sarcasm has to plead for the supply of mill-yarn to the handloom weaver as the *charkha* has yet to develop its full strength to come to the immediate relief of over two million looms. It is now more for the mills and those who swear by them to prove their claim as the protectors and guardians of the hand-loom.

To Shri Jajuji's logical suggestion to reduce weaving in the mills to release more yarn to the handlooms, Shri Mahtab says that "it is not the question of profit of the mill-owner that matters much, but the question of retrenchment of labour and of the continuance of mill as an economic unit has to be borne in mind....."

This is a fundamental and vital question of values to be settled once for all by the State as it arises in all policies affecting the welfare of the masses. Does the State consider the retrenchment of a few thousand workers operating in the looms in the mills and the risk of mills temporarily becoming uneconomical units more serious than the sufferings of about a crore of people solely depending on handlooms? When the use of machinery results in vast unemployment and human suffering, simple humanity requires suspension of such machines. The following extract from Gandhiji's article in *Harijan* dated 27-10-'33 will give a hint to the Government as to their duties.

"My very simple mind cannot go beyond the little spindle of the little wheel which I can carry about with me from place to place and which I can manufacture without difficulty. In this connection a friend sends me the following paragraph which is going round the Press:

"To relieve unemployment in certain industries the Nazis have ordered the stoppage of the use of machine which were displacing human labour. Com-

menting on this interdiction the *Manchester Guardian* remarks: "There has been a great deal of discussion about the effects of machinery in aggravating the unemployment crisis, but it has been left to the Nazis to do the logical thing and stop using it. It is only a little while since the world was asked to admire the miraculous triumph of labour-saving rationalization in Germany. Now the Government is bent on fighting the machine, either by prohibiting its use or by compelling employers to work shorter hours and employ more men. Mr. Gandhi's efforts to replace the spinning frame by the hand-wheel and the mechanical loom by the handloom are being paralleled closely in the German cigar and glass industries."

"The *Guardian* concludes its remarks by observing that if Germany's ethics become mediaeval, there is no reason why her economics should not become mediaeval also. Replying to these comments, a correspondent writes in the *Guardian*:

'Hitler, Gandhi and others who in different ways are endeavouring to slow production to a point at which all goods are consumed may be reverting to mediaeval methods, but handicrafts are neither retrograde nor barbaric. They are taught in every progressive elementary and secondary school...Unless unemployment is abolished within a reasonable time, even by means that appear novel and unorthodox, then the machinery age will disappear in revolutions and wars that will destroy us all. So long as machinery promotes the happiness and the prosperity of the masses as well as the classes it is a beneficent agent. But when it leads to the unemployment and starvation of millions, as is happening in the highly industrialized countries of the West, it becomes a curse. Machinery exists for man, and not vice versa, and must be made subservient to the well-being of the people and should not be allowed to become their master.'"

After all it is a question of choice between moral—Sarvodaya economics and materialistic—Utilitarian economics.

N. Ramaswami.

(*"Harijan"*, 4th August, 1951.)

MESSAGES FOR 'THE KHADI WORLD.'

Shri. Kishorelal Mashruwala,

Wardha, 15-7-51.

I see that the Khadi World has made its appearance. I cast my eyes over it. I am glad that you have intended to bring out an English journal for the propagation of the Constructive Programme..... I wish your venture every success. If you have sought my opinion earlier I would have said, "Don't take the risk. Publishing of journals is a costly affair. But now you have done it, you must render the best of it."

Honble. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja,

Chief Minister of Madras.

25th July, 1951.

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of the first issue of "The Khadi World" July 1951, which I read with great interest. I wish your journal every success.

I am sending separately Rs. 3 being my subscription for the supply of your journal.

Honble. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan,

Minister for Health,

Government of Madras, 24th July, 1951.

Thank you for the copy of the first issue of the "Khadi World" of July 1951 which you were kind enough to send. I shall take some time to go through the journal. In the meantime, I wish your venture all success and Divine blessings.

Honble. R. R. Diwakar,

Minister of Information and Broadcasting,

Government of India,

New Delhi, 31 July '51.

I welcome the first issue of "Khadi World." It will serve as a useful link for all those who think alike on this subject and will be a forum for expression of the principles and policies involved.

I wish it every success.

Honble. K. Santhanam,

Minister of State, Transport & Railways.

Government of India, New Delhi, 31st July '51.

I have gone through "The Khadi World" of July, 1951 and found it very interesting.

The cover page is particularly attractive. I wish the best of success to your persistent efforts to promote khadi.

Honble. M. Bhaktavatsalam,

Minister for Public Works,

Government of Madras.

3rd August, 1951.

I thank you for your letter dated the 23rd July. I have perused the first issue of the "Khadi World." I should congratulate the All India Spinners' Association, on this production of theirs. This magazine seeks to enable the people to understand the significance of khadi and this, I hope will, in turn, help them to act up to the spirit of khadi.

Shri. E. W. Aryanayakam,

Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh,

Wardha, 23rd June 1951.

I am happy to know that an English monthly magazine "Khadi World" is to be published by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam from 15th July. There has been the need for a magazine in English which will give publicity to the 'Khadi' movement.

I hope the "Khadi World" will serve this purpose.

With best wishes for the success of your undertaking.....

Shri. Kaka Kalelkar,

New Delhi,

11-5-'51.

Herewith I send my greetings to your new venture - The "Khadi World". It is a good idea to give a digest of news and views connected with the constructive programme all over the country.

Constructive activities throughout the country, badly need to be co-ordinated and integrated. Let us hope your magazine will be helpful in that direction.

Edited by N. Ramaswami.

Published by Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, (A. I. S. A.) Veerapandy, Tirupur.

Printed by S. Subramaniam at the Kamala Printing Press, Tirupur.

The Ideology of the Charkha.

R. R. KEITHAHN, Gandhi Gram.

A REVIEW.

We seem to forget the message of the Charkha all too easily. Therefore, this small collection of Gandhiji's sayings and writings in English by the Charkha Sangh should be warmly welcomed.

Gandhiji was never opposed to the machine; rather he considered the spinning wheel one of the most potential machines in India. It is available to all. It helps to produce one of the universal and important needs of man. It was one of the main tools for Swaraj. Now it can be the tool for economic freedom, especially in the village.

Khadi cannot be viewed as a mere economic product; for it symbolises a revolution of mind and society. Yet, it might be largely ineffective unless there is understanding of its significance and implications. Therefore, the wheel will be used by an active mind. Only then can all the human values be realised.

Thus spinning not only helps to clothe naked bodies; it is a means of universal education; it is a tool of social revolution; it helps to raise moral standards; it promotes co-operation, a necessity in democratic society; it promotes the dignity of manual labour; it helps to solve the difficult problem of economic distribution

Therefore, if the reader desires to understand the profound meaning of the spinning wheel he—especially if he is a constructive worker or khadi wearer—might well read this little book and remind himself of fundamental values which we all hold dear. Even the industrialist may read with profit although his solution of the problem will be different. This booklet costs only 14 Annas and should be made available to all thoughtful citizens.

[This book is published by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam A. I. S. A., Veerapandy Tirupur. Copies are available here and at all Khadi Bhandars of the A. I. S. A., in all the provinces.]

Honest Life Movement.

Under the Honest Life Movement mentioned in the last issue of the Khadi World, regular work was organized in Wardha under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Samithi. A Sub-Committee was formed with Shri. Shrikrishnadas Jaju as the Chairman. In Wardha, the centre of different constructive institutions, so far about 24 signatures were obtained for the pledge given below. It may serve as a model form which may be adopted with alterations considered necessary by the committees. It is hoped that similar local committees may come forward to start the movement in all places and to get signatures for the pledge from all class of people who may be reasonably relied upon for acting up to the pledge.

Honest Life Pledge.

- I,..... pledge that
- (1) I shall not purchase articles which are scarce in the market in a larger quantity than I reasonably need, nor shall I lend a helping hand to forces creating artificial scarcity;
 - (2) I shall purchase controlled articles as far as possible at controlled rates, i. e. I shall not purchase them from the black-market;
 - (3) I shall not purchase things secretly and in evasion of laws for leading a life of comfort and luxury, or for holding "social functions;"
 - (4) I shall not be a party to a bribe;
 - (5) I shall always endeavour to lead my life honestly and justly; and shall try to induce as many people as I can to become *Shuddha Vyavaharis* (honest citizens.)

Place Signature

Date Address

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES—A CORRECTION.

In page 19 of this issue, under Asst. Secretaries, it is stated that new posts of Assistant Secretaries are created to help the Secretary in his multifarious activities. Though the idea behind this is to lighten the work of the Secretary, the designation of Assistant to Secretary, which is meant by the Hindi word '*Mantri Sahayak*,' is likely to be misunderstood; these posts mean only such workers who will work under the direction and guidance of the Secretary as assistants. From the above, it is hoped, it will be clear that these new posts are not those of Asst. Secretaries.

KRISHNADAS GANDHI, Secretary, A. I. S. A.,

Correction: In the 1st line in 2nd para of our note in page 12, read *Scepticism* as *Scepticism*.

83rd CHARKHA JAYANTI.

We appeal to every devotee of Charkha to spin atleast 83 hanks of yarn before the 2nd October, 1951, the 83rd birthday of Mahatma Gandhi.

Weaving is found to be the chief difficulty for self-spinners. Therefore, the A. I. S. A., has decided to demonstrate the actual weaving process at a hundred places, all over India, during the last week of the Jayanti, from 25th September to 2nd October, 1951. Trained Weaving Sevaks will be deputed by the Charkha Sangh for conducting such demonstrations, and free service will be given to those who apply to the Secretary A. I. S. A., Sevagram, in time.

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