

The

Khadi World

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No. 3

Gandhiji's Message in Hindi.

कातने, धन्यवशकव कातने,
कातने के खदू पडने, पडने के
जखल कातने.

Free Translation.

Spin, spin consciously. Let those who spin wear khadi, let those who wear khadi regularly spin.

खदू धन्यवशकव' के मानी है.
विश्व चरक या नि कताई अहिंसा
का प्रतीक है. गहरे कपड़े प्रत्यक्ष
होना.

1. Conscious spinning means the realisation that the Charkha or spinning is a symbol of *ahimsa*. Contemplate and it will become manifest.

यु कातने के मानी है. कपास
खेत से चुनना, बिनो लो के लो लो
निका लना, खई चुनना, पुनी
बनाना, खूब धन माना अकष
निका लना अथि दुबल खद
परे लना.

2. Spinning means picking of kappas from the field, removing the seeds by ginning, carding, slivering, spinning yarn of required count and doubling it.

२२-३-४५ म. क. गंधी
सेवाग्राम

23-3-'45.

Sevagram.

M. K. GANDHI.

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Implications of the Spinning Wheel.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

I feel that as long as we are not able to carry the message of the spinning wheel to every home, our work is imperfect. This is the reason why we are still far away from our objective. There must be a large number of people amongst the seven lakhs of our villages who do not know what our khadi movement is. This is our shortcoming.

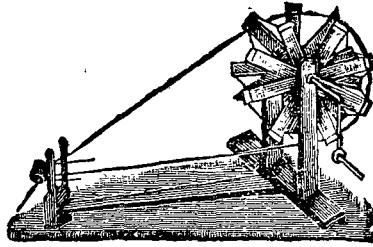
We have plied the wheel, but have plied it mechanically, without understanding its implications. If you have made your own, all that is meant by the spinning wheel, you would also have drawn from it as much content as I have done. People attribute intellectual inertia to the workers of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., and those who are called Gandhites. People have regard for these workers but the latter are not able to give a clear exposition of the national situation.

We profess to be devotees of non-violence, and if we are not able to demonstrate its power, how are we Gandhites? Really speaking there is no such thing as Gandhism. If anything really exists it is the principle of non-violence. Each worker of the A. I. S. A., should be a living embodiment of non-violence. Call them Gandhites, or *ahimsavadi* (devotees of non-violence) as you like, but they should be *tejasvi* (men of mettle).

(From a speech to Khadi Workers, September 1944.)
— 'The Ideology of the Charkha' page 82.

The

KHADI



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CHARKHA JAYANTI.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

The Charkha of Slavery.

What is known as Charkha Jayanti is not Gandhi Jayanti even though the date always coincides with the day of my birth. The reason for this is clear. In ancient times the Charkha had nothing to do with Independence. If anything, it had a background of slavery. Poor women used perforce to have to spin in order to get even a piece of dry bread. They used to get such *cowrie* shells as the Government of the day chose to throw at them. I remember in my childhood, watching the then Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, literally throw money to the poor on a particular day. I used to enjoy the fun which it was to me. I can picture in my imagination, how in olden times the poor spinners would have a few shells thrown at them which they would pick up greedily.

The New Charkha of Freedom.

In 1908, in South Africa, I conceived the idea that if poverty-stricken India were to be freed from the alien yoke, India must learn to look upon the spinning wheel and hand-spun yarn as the symbol, not of slavery but of freedom. It should also mean butter to bread. It took very little to bring home this truth to Shri Narandas Gandhi and he has, therefore, understood the true significance of Charkha Jayanti. My birthday, so far as I know, was never celebrated before the date got connected with Charkha Jayanti. In South Africa where I had become fairly known, no one ever took any notice of it. It was here that it was joined with Charkha Jayanti. The English day of my birthday has also been included. Therefore, the

Jayanti week this year, is being celebrated from 22—9—'46 to 2—10—'46. Narandas Gandhi has played the chief role in this and as I write these lines, the days of celebration come to mind.

Symbol of Non-violent order.

** In my opinion, however, the real celebration will come only when the music of the wheel which is the symbol of independence and non-violence will be heard in every home. If a few or even a crore of poor women spin in order to earn a pittance, what can the celebration mean to them and what achievement can that be? This can well happen even under a despotic rule and is today visible, wherever capital holds sway. Millionaires are sustained by the charity, they dole out to the poor, may be even in the form of wages.*

The celebration will only be truly worth-while when the rich and the poor alike understand that all are equal in the eyes of God that each one, in his own place, must earn his bread by labour, and that the independence of all will be protected, not by guns and ammunition but by the bullets, in the shape of cones of hand-spun yarn, i. e. not by violence but by non-violence.

If we consider the atmosphere in the world today, this may sound ludicrous. But if we look within, this is the truth and the eternal truth. For the moment, it is Narandas Gandhi and other devotees of the Charkha, who are trying to demonstrate it through their faith. Let all understand and celebrate the Jayanti in the same spirit as fires these devoted workers.

(*"Harijan"* 22nd Sept. 1946.)

* *Italics is ours.*

IMPERIALISTIC TRENDS.

Shri. Vinoba Bhave.

(Summary of the speech delivered at Shivarampalli on the 11th April, 1951 the fourth day of the Sarvodaya Conference.)



Community Life.

The experience of community life we had for the last four days at the Conference was an exchange of mutual love. It was a unique benefit in life. The seven hundred workers from all over India who participated in the Conference had expected no material benefit from the meeting here. In an age held to be mad after power, the presence of such a large number of men who did not care for power, was no common phenomenon.

Within the three minutes allotted to each speaker, each had spoken on a problem on which he himself had worked. The speeches were not discursive, but related experiences and problems arising out of them. Almost all the speeches were heard with close attention and they had received much material for reflection.

A Unique Feature.

A unique feature of the Conference was that they discussed a problem, and left it there without passing any resolution thereon. This was quite unlike other gatherings of this nature. Some might feel that there was no meaning in the discussions if they did not lead to any decisions. There is an anecdote of Alexander the Great, who had a historical museum, which he showed to his guests. The museum had statues of several great men with their names inscribed on them. It did not, however, contain an effigy of Alexander himself. If a guest asked Alexander the reason for the omission he used to say that if his statue were to be placed there, the visitor might look for the name of the person whom the statue was supposed to represent and upon reading the title might ask him the perplexing question, who that Alexander was. Hence, it was better that people asked why his statue was not there than they should see the statue and wonder who it was! Similarly it was better, to leave the discussions as they were without passing resolutions and straightway begin to work according to one's understanding in the light of the discussions than

pass resolutions and then not implement them. The new practice adopted left no room for dissatisfaction to any one. Every one felt free to take what light he could.

Name better than Form; And Love better than Name.

The several meetings with workers of various provinces gave me an opportunity to focus my attention on the special problems of the individual provinces and suggest solutions and talk on subjects unreservedly. It is hoped that the workers on their return from the Conference would try to put the suggestions into practice. The particular benefit of such group meetings of provincial workers was that I come nearer to each group. There is much importance in direct contact. The name is better than the Form. Love is better than the Name. But so long as the body lasts and particularly when we desire to serve India in some special manner and transform not only India but the entire world, the necessity of direct contact remains. Hence this step. I have much benefited by it.

Tour in Communist area.

God willing, I shall tour the Communist-infected area for about a month or two and I request the Government to help me in this task. I want the Government to allow Communists to meet me unhindered and without fear. If Government did this much, I hope that my tour would benefit not only me but the whole country.

Freedom and Imperialism.

Throughout human history one noticed the rise and fall of nations following the same pattern. A nation declined here and another rose there on its ruins. People extended their sympathy to the one that was vanquished, and when it struggled for freedom and its labour was rewarded, they admired and applauded it. But curiously enough, the very same country, which was so loud in singing the praises of freedom, within a few years of its success, was found

to cast covetous eyes on other countries. When I was young the people of India acclaimed Italy for its struggle for freedom and praised Japan for successfully resisting foreign aggression and enhancing the glory of Asia. But within a few years they saw that that very Japan had turned imperialist, and soon they had to condemn those whom they had praised for so long and sympathize with the victims of their aggressions. This was how they came to cherish sympathy for China. Now one did not know how long China would continue to merit their esteem. This metamorphosis of human behaviour was strange indeed. How could a country which yearned for freedom and knew the humiliation of slavery think of invading another? What did it mean? It meant that what appeared to be a struggle for freedom was not really so. It was only an ambition for power and pelf. And there was no limit to such ambition. It tended to grow every moment, and ceased only when it was knocked down and broken. Until then it carried on its campaign of rapine. During the period of its struggle against the victors, the ambition for power and prosperity assumed the form of struggle for freedom and thereafter asserted itself in its true form. They had to see if they too were going to tread the same way. If they were not careful they might witness ere long that the very people who had sung the praises of freedom, and eulogized non-violence, first took arms in self-defence and then embarked on world conquest.

Don't Impose your will on others.

It would be wrong to feel complacently that such ambition would take long to materialize. It might make its appearance sooner than most people imagined. Things which previously took a whole period of history now materialized in a few years, and India might turn into a Fascist regime, if they were not very watchful. This then was a matter with which we should be seriously concerned. I am not suggesting that there was anything wrong with the way the Government were acting at present, or that it was tending in that direction. But the seeds of trouble lay imbedded in the human mind, and reveal themselves in their education and social organization. When a father imposed his will on his child and chided or punished it, if it did not comply with it; when a mother who could not possibly have any ill-will for her child, and chided or punished even

though, as it might appear, for its own good, it was clear that he or she trained the child to ways of imperialism, capitalism and whatever other evil *isms* there might be. For it meant that they taught their child to identify itself with its body, to feel pleased if the body was fondled, and to fear if it was tortured. Whatever might be the appearances, they insisted upon assuring themselves that the child would act as they wanted it to do. So, the right thing to do for every one, is to pray to God that he should have strength to exercise his will only upon himself, and never impose it on others. If others approve of this idea, let them take it up by their own free choice of it. That should be a matter of satisfaction to me, but my prayer should be that I might never impose my will upon others by force, even for the good of those people. So long as they insisted on imposing their ideas on the people without any regard to whether they had understood or accepted them, the seeds of violence, imperialism and world-wars would not be rooted out.

Impatience would not help.

Some of them tended to grow impatient at times and said they could not wait until all people were trained to do the right thing of their own accord with understanding. The better and more effective way is to set up an appropriately ordered system and compel the people to adapt themselves to it. Training would gradually follow. They felt a sense of frustration in labouring at educating and showed more zeal in piling arms. They would quote the Sanskrit adage, "The wise upheld that it was incumbent (*dharma*) on a State, to restrain people from doing wrong things and enforce right action", and justify themselves as having the support of the wise.

Need of intelligent consent.

This reminds me of an incident of my childhood. My mother was proud of my memory, and she used to proclaim to every visitor that "Vinya" had such sharp memory that he learnt the *Sandhya* (the Vedic prayer) in three days only. I suffered the praise a number of times but could contain myself no longer and asked her if she knew the other half of the truth. It was true that her Vinya had learnt that *Sandhya* in three days but he had unlearnt it even sooner, in two days only! The point was that a system

might appear to succeed for sometime, but if it lacked foundation in education, dissatisfaction would follow and once again there would arise the demand for a new type of organization. Thus a rapid cycle of organization, disorganization and demand for a new type of organization continue endlessly because no organization was set up with the intelligent consent of the people.

Educating the people, the shortest road.

They, therefore, had to steer clear of the illusion that they could achieve anything merely by substituting a new organization for the old one. On the other hand, they must pin their faith on educating the people and carry on with courage and bide their time patiently till it was achieved. This would be found to be the shortest road to their goal, though it might take even fifty years or more, — seemingly quite a long time. Problems like those could not be solved otherwise or sooner. No one therefore should do anything without fully understanding it, nor should any one feel pleased if people did anything even when it was good, merely out of respect or consideration for any or from a sense of fear or submission to the order. Lord Shrikrishna tendered his best advice to Arjuna but at the end asked him to do as he liked: That should be their ideal. There should be no compulsion. Then only could they bring about a society based on *ahimsa*, and hope for a lasting peace. Recourse to other means might give the appearance that they were earnest about freedom, but it would also bring forth, the next moment, the impulse towards imperialism.

This is my view of the reconstruction of society. It is there before you for what it is worth. I am grateful to all for all the love you have showed me. I knew well that I am selfish and could not lay any claim to the love of the country, though at times and quite unconsciously I might have been the instrument of some service. But my primary aim is my own self-interest, though it was true that I had always tried to purify it. Nevertheless, I cannot make a pretension of service of the people. Hence, though I cannot promise that I would do anything particular for them, yet I could say that in whatever I did, even when it was for my own good, they would always have a place in my heart.

(Condensed from "Harijan" 7th July, 1951.)

The Arc of Village Life.

SHRI. K. S. VENKATARAMANI.

The potter's wheel kneads no more the wet clay from the field of Life. It is all mass-moulded to order from baked dust. The Rhythm of Life is gone. Creative art gives no joy. Mere production for commerce and gold strides us. The great art of Weaving is lost. Tailoring has won. But how long?

The world wars have broken up the Arc of Life at many points. United Nations are struggling to piece together the fragments with paste and twine that won't keep together even printed pages. But even then how long?

World needs today a new song of life, new Values, a new Code of action, a new Way of life, a simple life lived close to Nature. Pillowed on Mother Earth you listen to the true song, the rhythm of joy fills you with peace and Plenty.

Decentralise your Politics and Economics. Centralisation has knotted the web of life with knots of anger, passion, greed and sorrow. Work now breeds friction and conflict where it should yield Bliss.

Decentralise your Politics and Economics. The Indian village is the sovereign unit of life, the ideal, political, economic and social pattern for the needs of both individual and collective life. It is the most beautiful expression of an immortal unit of planned life that pleases God. India should re-discover this lost centre of gravity and vitality and then offer it to the world for the Commonweal. We are now truly on the threshold of a New Era. Deeds and not words will count in shaping our Destiny and our place among the nations. We need today a real army of disciplined workers, over three million young men working with fervour and sacrifice in our seven lakhs of villages.

The Indian village is a veritable goldmine that will bring a harvest of joy to millions yielding the highest dividend in human welfare. May our rich and poor alike pour joyously their plenty into this real stream of national life to speed it on its fertilising mission of universal peace and plenty to all created beings.

—From the book 'My Ashram Plan'

★ The Need for Boycott Movement. ★

SHRI. DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR,

President, All India Spinners' Association, Wardha.

I have been touring in the various provinces during the last nine months to explain the basic principle behind the Kathayi Mandal organization so that the workers may have a clear conception of the work ahead. I was able to contact all kinds of constructive workers and could discuss with them the implications of the constructive work. In the course of such discussion what struck me most was a similarity in outlook among almost all of them. There seemed to be also a feeling of frustration and it looked as if they could see nothing but darkness as they proceed. Some cannot even see what is obviously before them. They are, of course, busy in their own daily activity, some working at the *ghani*, some in khadi and some others in Basic Schools. But there is a cloud of intellectual lethargy as it were. If any one asks them as to why and what for they are engaged in such activity, they are not able to give an answer. Some are at this work because of their own charitable disposition. Some say that they are working for a new order of society but they have no clear conception as to the nature of the new order and how they could achieve it. Some others have no hope that the khadi and cottage industries can ever solve the problems of society and have naturally given up this work. Others, on being asked why they are still in this work, say that they have been in it for the last 25 years and that they are unable to proceed in any new way. Somehow or other they would like to pull on for the rest of their lives in the same activity as before as long as the Government and people would permit them. However, they derive some satisfaction from the same work they are doing in the service of the poor. Their vision has become dim. Therefore it is high time for us to consider as to what should be done in future.

Lethargy will lead to self-destruction.

We have to examine the why and what for of the constructive programme. We have to decide this from the point of view of the individual as well as that of institutions. The main object which generally inspired us to carry on the constructive programme

when we were under the British Raj was that we could have mass contact through some ameliorative work among the masses and arouse their political consciousness in our fight for freedom. Though we could give some relief to the poor people in this way, our goal was to win freedom. Now that the problem of political freedom has been solved, the question would naturally arise as to the purpose of continuing the constructive programme even after Swaraj. Therefore when we talk about charkha to the people they raise the doubt, why then ply charkha even after Swaraj? The same is repeated by many workers in the constructive institutions, and by many of those in the Charkha Sangh even. And thus we find that the atmosphere and mode of life among the workers there are not generally conducive to the realisation of the objective of the constructive programme. If we do not seriously think and clarify the issues that we are faced with a view to get a correct outlook, plan and technique, we will become totally inert and static, ultimately leading to self-destruction.

The producer of all wealth and still, Daridra Narayana.

There are two chief objects underlying the constructive programme. The first is to do some philanthropic work among the masses to give them some kind of relief. The second is a revolutionary object of destroying the present order of a degenerate society and to create a new order of a welfare society. Even before the birth of Bapuji, eminent people were doing some kind of philanthropic work or other to give relief to the poor. In fact they did sacrifice and had suffered for the cause. This relief work is not a new thing. Bapu also was engaged in this. But he was asking us to go to the villages because he realised that the villages are the real abode of Daridra Narayanas. We know that all the world's wealth comes from mother earth and with the labour of man. All our land is in villages and it is the villagers who work hard on it. Still we find the villagers are Daridra Narayanas. How is this possible? It is a paradox. On the other hand we see

that the city people possess all the wealth. There we see mansions and sky-scrappers. Thus the cities are the abodes of "Sreeman Bhagavans." How this could be possible? This looks rather strange.

. Not for Relief, but for Revolution.

In fact the urban people appropriate everything from the village and the villager's labour through the intermediaries. They are not doing any manual work but they simply make use of their brain. The urban people have organized the trade and commerce and social order in such a complicated way that they could easily exploit the wealth of the villages through their brain. When they find that the villagers are impoverished they offer to give something in the form of charity back to the village from their hoarded wealth. We also make the villagers produce some khadi and some cottage-industry articles and we sell them to the monied urban people with the idea to give some relief to the villages. Some donation also is collected from the urban people for work among the villages. In this way small bits of their wealth return to the villages. We have to dig a pit to make a mound elsewhere. In course of time, water stagnates in the pit and stinks. We feel annoyed and we try to fill up the pit by throwing one or two bucketfuls of earth from the mound. How can this fill up the pit? Similarly we have created huge gaps in the wealth of the villages by transfer of it to cities. By throwing some relief work to the village now and then how we can help their revival to their original condition? By such relief work the starved and naked villagers can get on for some time but it cannot solve their real problem. Philanthropic work in this way has been going on in the world since the beginning.

Gandhiji desired to create a new order of society free from exploitation by serving the poor through constructive programme. He never wanted that the non-producers should become owners of the wealth simply by exploiting the producers. It is only by putting an end to this exploitation by non-producers that the real relief could be given to the villagers.

He therefore decided that the centralized form of production and distribution which the non-producing urban people have organized should be ended and that constructive workers should engage themselves

in creating a decentralized system on the basis of economic self-sufficiency. Gandhiji on his return from Jail realized that the time for revolution had come since it was certain that the British were quitting the country. From that time onwards he had been reminding the constructive institutions to take up the new step towards this revolution. He advised in clear words that the Charkha Sangh should change the old method of work and think of creating a non-exploiting society with this new idea. He said clearly that the old epoch of simply doing relief work was over and that our attention should be directed towards this revolutionary aspect of the constructive programme.

Time for Decision has come.

It is time now for the constructive workers to deliberate and decide which of the objects they would pursue. The moment there is clear understanding of the objective all frustration and inactivity will disappear. Let those who are inclined for the relief aspect of the work decide once for all and take to that, but let them not confuse themselves and others in imagining that they are working to create a new order of society.

But those who choose the latter will have to shape their life and way of thinking and create a healthy activity all round for revolutionizing the existing order of society. Their programme is two-fold—creative as well as destructive. They should by their persistent efforts, remove the exploitation going on in society between the producer and the non-producer and simultaneously strive to create a new order in which there can never be exploitation of any kind. Khadi workers will have to wholeheartedly work for self-sufficiency in cloth and at the same time create an atmosphere for the boycott of mill-cloth. Workers in cottage industries will have to tell the people to boycott machine-made articles. Teachers engaged in Basic education will have to do propaganda among students and parents to boycott the existing schools and Universities of the old British masters.

The Call to Revolution.

Revolution is possible in two ways—through Government and through the public workers and organizations. If the Government desire it they have to necessarily ban the machinery, the buffalo-breeding and the old system of education. If they do not

have the strength and means for it, all their attempts will go to waste. On the other hand, if the public workers and institutions desire to create it they have necessarily to carry on a movement of boycott of all the above three that are opposed to all our work of khadi, Go-seva, cottage industries and Basic Education. Let them take a vow individually and in the name of the institution to boycott all such items. It is possible that some may go ahead in the programme and some may go slowly. But anyhow let them start the movement of boycott even now. When the movement spreads it can be organized effectively on a mass scale. Thus we have to replan our constructive work with this object. Otherwise, whatever little work we do is doomed to failure.

A State of Self-delusion.

When I first expressed this programme among the Sanchalaks of various institutions, there was no difference of opinion. They accepted the logic of it but they mentioned the difficulty in immediately carrying out under the existing unfavourable conditions. But these very workers and institutions are dissatisfied and complain, when the Government give the same excuse when we suggest to them to ban the machinery and to discard the old education on the same ground that the conditions are not favourable. If the workers wait till conditions become favourable, then what is the use of thinking and talking about the revolution at all? If our workers and institutions are serious about the boycott programme what is it

that stands in their way? It is only a sense of helplessness and a refusal to think for themselves. Because we have been carrying on the work without any conscious purpose and objective we are not able to push ahead. But right understanding of the principles and the real objective will enable them to replan their programme and work towards our goal. In their onward march they would themselves create the circumstance that would be favourable to the work.

Clear understanding and determination.

Even after a clear understanding it may not be possible for us to jump at one stretch because we happen to be weaklings at present. Yet clear understanding will strengthen our firm determination and give us the necessary strength to move forward. Let us first confine ourselves to the boycott movement in respect of machine-made commodities in the field of food and clothing. Along with creative constructive work we have to do propaganda for boycott of machine-made articles. In those days when we preached Swadeshi we preached also the boycott of foreign goods. If now we believe in the Cottage Industries and the Basic Education we have also to work for the boycott of the machine-made goods atleast with regard to food and clothing. I appeal to our workers and the constructive institutions to seriously bestow thought on this situation and on the boycott movement which is but a logical necessity for the constructive work that we do, so that it may grow into a mass movement at some stage or other in the immediate future.

(Condensed from Hindi — "Sarvodaya", August '51)



MILLS CANNOT SOLVE.

When the war was raging, all available hands in America and England were utilized in the naval yards for building ships, and they built them too at an amazing pace. If I would have my way, I would make every available Indian learn spinning or weaving and make him or her do that work for a certain fixed portion of every day. I would start with schools and colleges, presenting as they do ready-made organized units.

Multiplication of mills cannot solve the problem. They will take too long to overtake the drain, and they cannot distribute the sixty crores in our homes. They can only cause concentration of money and labour and thus make confusion worse confounded.

Mahatma Gandhi:— ("Young India" 10—12—1919.)

OUR GREATEST NEED.

SHRI. BHARATAN KUMARAPPA.

If I were asked, after my three years of travel abroad, and looking now at our country with eyes used to foreign conditions, to put my finger on the major problem that requires to be tackled by us, my answer will not be food, cloth, population increase, capital goods, labour, agrarian reform, education, health, housing or Indo-Pakistan relations. These problems are urgent and tremendously important undoubtedly. But the basis of all of them is to be found elsewhere, and unless that basis is sound all our efforts to tackle these problems will, I am convinced, not take us very far.

The countries that have achieved most material success, like Britain and the United States, may not be morally and spiritually better than we. In some respects their morals may be even lower than ours. But one finds in those countries a certain general standard of public behaviour which we need still to acquire.

What I mean will be clear from my illustrations.

1. Take for example cleanliness. We may be personally very clean and may keep our houses clean. But we have hardly any sense of public cleanliness. I have seen even educated people in Bombay eating mangoes and throwing the skin and the seed on the road. They do the same with waste paper. In the villages the filthy condition of roads is notorious. We seem to think that public places belong to nobody, and so the rules that we apply to our persons or our homes do not apply to public places. We do not think of the harm to health and inconvenience to the public we cause thereby.

2. Or take honesty. Shopkeepers promise to have things ready on a particular day, but often they do not keep to their word. Even educated people hardly think anything of not fulfilling an engagement or being late for one. We forget that in both cases we put others into inconvenience. Westerners are inclined, for whatever reason, to be much more scrupulous than we in this respect, and regard it their duty to give notice if they are unable to keep an engagement or to arrive in time.

Or consider another type of public honesty. I am reminded of a motorist in a

lonely part of New York City at 10-30 P. M. As he came to the cross-roads the traffic light became red but there was not a car or a soul in sight, and I thought he would just drive on. But no, he stopped, though there was no policeman anywhere around, waited for the automatic green light before he proceeded.

3. Or take administrative efficiency. So far as our human material goes, it is intelligent and able as any. And yet what takes five minutes to do in a New York bank or post office takes easily half an hour with us. Very few people seem to be needed to do the work there, while we have so many officers and clerks that it takes time for papers to go from one to another till the whole process becomes unbearably slow and unwieldy. Think of the time our people have to spend in ration shops and offices. It is a phenomenal waste of man-hours to make the public spend a whole morning just getting one matter attended to, if even then. Very little consideration seems to be shown to the public.

4. Or take united action. We seem to put personal ambition or the interests of self, family, party, caste, religion, language and province above the interests of the nation, and so pull apart. We presented a united front against foreign rule and thus won independence. We have still to learn to lay aside our narrow allegiances, look upon ourselves merely as Indians, whatever our caste, creed or language, and join hands in tackling our national problems. Western people are much more nation-minded and united than we.

5. Or take justice and fair-play in the dispensing of jobs and services. In our country there appears to be too much favouritism, nepotism and conferring of benefits for personal reasons.

6. Or take bribery and corruption which one understands is on the increase. Where the Executive is corrupt, nothing but ruin faces the country, for all plans for economic improvement will come to naught. Vast sums will go into the pockets of officials, contractors, traders and others, with very little material result for the people.

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Gandhiji on Journalistic Ethics.

Shri. R. K. PRABHU.

Gandhiji taking up "Young India".

A combination of unforeseen circumstances had placed me towards the close of the year 1918, in editorial charge of *Young India* - the weekly journal, which soon after and for years to come was destined to exercise the profoundest influence on the course of Indian history. Jamnadas Dwarakadas, who was the declared editor of the journal, then being printed at the *Bombay Chronicle Press*, had proposed to me that I should look after the editorial affairs of the journal and I had consented. Hardly had three months passed since I took charge of the journal when Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, was suddenly whisked away to England from his sick-bed in Bombay and the *Bombay Chronicle* and its press were placed under official censorship. In consequence, the Board of Directors of *Young India* were obliged to suspend the publication of the journal.

This was in February 1919. When, a couple of weeks later, the censorship was ended and the *Chronicle Press* began to function again in a normal manner, offers were made to Gandhiji by the Directors of both the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Young India* to place the journals in his hands. Gandhiji declined the offer of the *Chronicle* but accepted that of *Young India*, provided he was free to change the venue of the publication of the journal from Bombay to Ahmedabad. When the negotiations for the transfer of the control of *Young India* were completed, I was asked to see Gandhiji with a view to handing over my charge and giving him whatever information he might need regarding the editorial conduct of the journal.

"Tell in a straightforward way"

At this time, Gandhiji was putting up at "Mani Bhavan", Gamdevi, as the guest of Revashankarbai Jhaveri, and I proceeded there, accompanied by a journalist colleague of mine who was a regular contributor to the columns of *Young India*. I had always a feeling that this colleague of mine had a better command of the English vocabulary and idiom than I could claim and I had

envied his gift. Arriving at "Mani Bhavan", we introduced ourselves to Gandhiji. Scanning the editorial columns of the last issue of *Young India*, of which I handed over to him a copy, Gandhiji wanted to know who the writer of a particular article in it was. It was, I recollect, some sharp criticism of one of Lloyd George's dubious utterances about India. I told Gandhiji that I had written the article. Pointing his finger to another article, Gandhiji asked who had written it. "I wrote it", said my colleague.

After a brief pause, Gandhiji remarked: "I like this first article, whereas I don't at all like the second. In the first, you have said all that you wanted to say in a direct manner, while the writer of the second article indulges in all sorts of innuendos and says things which he does not really mean". "For instance, you write," said Gandhiji looking at my colleague, 'we are afraid.....' and so on. I don't like the phrase at all. Here, you don't really want the reader to believe that you are afraid - you mean just the contrary, don't you? When you want to say a thing, don't beat about the bush, don't indulge in euphemisms and pin-pricks, but tell it in a straightforward way".

Responsibility of Editorship.

These might not be the very words uttered by Gandhiji but they were to that effect as far as my memory goes. Of course, both my colleague and myself held out peace while this brief homily on the ethics of journalism was delivered to us. My colleague having left shortly after, Gandhiji looking at the page of *Young India* which was made up of news in brief, asked me who gathered those news items. Being told that I was responsible for them, he asked me whence I culled the news. I said I made the clippings from the latest issues of the various Indian journals which were received in exchange for *Young India* and the *Bombay Chronicle*.

"How much time do you spend in gathering these items?" he asked.

I replied that it took me hardly more than half an hour to clip and paste the news items required to make up the page.

"You spend only half an hour over them" he remarked in surprise. "Do you know", he added, "when I edited *Indian Opinion* in South Africa, we received some 200 papers in exchange and I used to go through all of them carefully throughout the week and I culled each news item only after I was fully satisfied that it would be of real service to the readers. When one takes up the responsibility of editorship, one must discharge it with a full sense of one's duty. That is the only way journalism should be practised—don't you agree with me?"

Shamefacedly I said, "I do". I went on to explain to Gandhiji that having a very busy time throughout the week as a member of the editorial staff of the *Chronicle*, I had to do things hurriedly for *Young India*. Practically the major portion of my work for the journal, including the writing of editorials, did not occupy me more than an afternoon.

A New Lesson in Ethics.

"And how much are you paid for all this?", he next asked, somewhat abruptly.

I replied that I was paid at the rate of ten rupees per column—a column, by the way, which was hardly a dozen inches long and that too in fat 10-point type!—and that my earnings from *Young India* varied between one hundred and one hundred and fifty rupees a month.

"How much are you paid as a member of the *Chronicle* staff?" was the question next shot at me by the inexorable inquisitor.

"Four hundred rupees per month", I answered.

[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.]

The Unitary Basis for a Non-violent Democracy.

Shri. J. C. KUMARAPPA.

On all sides we hear that we are a democracy. This is given out even as an argument for all kinds of maladministration. For example, if controls are bad we are told that there must be controls in every democracy! It is necessary, therefore, to have a clear idea of what a non-violent democracy is.

In our view there can be no true democracy wedded to violence as violence is a sign that might prevail over right, while a

After a brief pause, which appeared to me like eternity, Gandhiji remarked: "Do you think you are justified in taking from *Young India* the amount that is paid to you? You know the journal is not a mercenary concern. It is a patriotic undertaking and I don't think it is even self-supporting. Are you justified in adding to the burdens of its conductors?"

I replied that I did not compel the proprietors of the journal to pay me what they did. Jamnadas Dwarakadas, I said, paid all contributors to *Young India* on a generous scale as he did to me. It was all voluntary on his part. I made no stipulation whatsoever regarding my remuneration.

"Still, if I were in your position, I would not take a pie from *Young India*," put in Gandhiji, and added, "You are handsomely paid at the *Chronicle* office for your full-time work and what you do for *Young India* is in your leisure hours. A person who gets paid adequately for his full-time work should not expect payment for what he does elsewhere during the same period. Don't you think so?"

Though he uttered these pointed remarks gently and half-smilingly, I could see that he made them in all seriousness. I was somewhat dazed by the new lesson in ethics which he sought to drive home to me. I could respond to his query only by a nod of humble acquiescence.

democracy should guarantee equality and justice to the weakest.

Equality and justice must reign not merely in the social sector but, in fact should prevail in the economic field as that is of the most universal interest. We must have food, clothing and shelter. In these primary needs, as in the claims to pure air and water, all humanity must be on a level. Hence democracy cannot exist where is starvation, nakedness and poverty alongside of glut and glamorous living which condition indicates exploitation of the weak by the strong.

If our country aims at true democracy it should be made up of self-sufficient

units which are capable of looking after their own primary needs. We may start with villages. These should realise, their salvation lies in their standing together as a unit. Each village should strive to produce all the commodities needed for civilized existence - a balanced diet, adequate clothing and satisfactory shelter. Nothing should be allowed to leave the village even if one individual is in want of these. Any trade should only be in surpluses. Unless we get to this fundamental basis of democracy we cannot be said to have any democratic Government at the top.

For a description of how this may be attained the reader is referred to another article (in "Gram Udyog Patrika" of April, 1951.) indicating a programme of village work. If that plan is followed it will minimise money economy which is the main instrument to drain the villages of

their production and also to misguide production into wrong channels.

Each should have the opportunity to contribute to production to the best of his ability and each should receive enough to satisfy his need and that of his family. The villagers should treat everyone in the locality as members of the family and see that they all get sufficient nutrition in their food. The components of the diet may vary to some extent according to differing tastes but in the ultimate result there should be no difference between one individual and another. This will have the result of producing a stalwart rural population on which alone a real democracy can rest. We hope all who are devoted to the cause of promoting a non-violent democracy will take to village work of that type and contribute not only towards the welfare of our country but to the peace of the world at large.

The Relation Between Man and Man.

Shri J. B. KRIPALANI.

What I appreciate in Gandhiji's political and economic philosophy is that he does not think in terms of things and their relation to man but in terms of relation of man and man. The central figure is the free individual. For instance, Gandhiji's advocacy of decentralised industry frees the worker from the adverse conditions created by centralised industry in big cities. The worker in his village home is free from the temptations of city life. In his village home he has a certain position in society which he has to maintain. He is not a mere member of the proletariat. It is quite possible that in centralised industry there is quicker and greater production of *things* (though with the use of electricity this need not be true only of centralised industry.) but in this mode of production man and man are related not to one another but to things. What quantities of *things* does the labourer produce? How much does the raw material cost the capitalist? How much does labour cost him? Human labour itself thus becomes a saleable commodity. It is held that it is right to have domination over things and not over persons. It is forgotten that ultimately domination over things as in the case of capitalist society becomes domination over men which destroys human relations. Labourer in a factory is a thing which must be

purchased, as any other commodity, at the cheapest price and when it is no more useful it may be thrown on the dung-heap. This means that an individual human being is thrown on the dung-hill regardless of any other consideration. Such an arrangement did not exist even at the time of slavery. However cruel the relation between the slave-owner and the slave, it was a human relation. It was a relation between man and man. However bad the master, he could not afford to starve the slave and his family. He came into close contact with him. In centralised industry for all its technological perfection the labourer as an individual is of no concern to the capitalist. He is nobody's concern. After he has finished his contracted job and sweated for his wages he may go to hell.

But however much centralised industry may substitute human relations by relations between men and things, human relations must ultimately creep in. The capitalist may think that he is merely concerned with the production and distribution of things but his mode of production and distribution of goods does create human relations. Only, human relations so created are not consciously ordered or arranged since they are created by a force beyond the control of the individual. This reproduces a worse slavery for labour than the old slavery which in spite of all its evils was a relation between man and man. As relation between

Call to Serve the Cause of Leprosy.

SHRI. T. N. JAGADISAN,

Hon. Secretary, Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh, Madras.

MAHATMA GANDHI once said, "A case of leprosy is also a cause, he or she belongs to oppressed class." He felt that the prejudice and fear which leprosy evoked in most people betrayed a failure in fellowship with brother-man. That is why he regarded service in the cause of leprosy as one of the noblest and the most constructive of social services.

It takes a little thought to understand why Gandhiji assigned a place in the Constructive Programme to leprosy relief. From the medical point of view diseases like malaria and tuberculosis merit as great attention as leprosy. But Gandhiji saw that from the human and spiritual stand-point leprosy deserved not only deeper attention but also assumed the significance of a challenge that a civilized society cannot refuse to meet, for how can man be afraid of his brother to the extent of throwing him out most callously to destitution and degradation? Gandhiji saw also the possibilities of the immense moral gain to our society when once we took up the neglected subject and brought hope and endeavour into a sphere in which pessimism and apathy were up-till now the order of the day. Let us therefore rise to that deeply spiritual challenge that Gandhiji threw by including leprosy in the Constructive Programme and come forward in large numbers—men and women, doctors, nurses, and social workers—to find joy in serving the neglected and forlorn and to infuse joy and hope in the hearts of people whose life has so far been regarded as one long death. The man or woman who now comes forward to do leprosy work may have the ardour and courage of

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persons is, under all circumstances unavoidable, Gandhiji wants this relationship to be consciously established. When so established it can be humanised. Gandhiji felt this can be done most effectively through decentralised industry. It is not necessary for a politician to be specially moral and spiritual to understand these

the Father Damien, but he need not undergo the risk which the good Father ran. Experience all over the Sanatoria of the world has shown that almost no one with the exception of the Father Damien can be proved beyond doubt to have acquired leprosy through infection in work. Moreover from the vast army of ex-patients and even patients many may come forward to serve the cause. If the worker comes forward the money will come forth easily. Among other sources is the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund which has leprosy work as the main plank in the memorial work. It is open to the servants of the cause to come forward in large numbers and present schemes worthy of approval to the Gandhi Trust.

Gandhiji meant his Constructive Programme as not only a means of regenerating society but also as an instrument with which to make every man self-reliant. For him, the various items of the Constructive Programme formed an integral whole. For instance, he envisaged the possibilities of the leprosy patient rehabilitating himself physically, economically, psychologically and socially by carrying out as many of the items of the Constructive Programme as he could according to his facilities and limitations. For instance, spinning and cottage industries can go very far to supply the leprosy patient with congenial occupation and the means of self-support which in its turn leads to self-respect. For the greatest need of the leprosy patient is not food or medicine associated with charity but a true understanding of the facts of the disease by the public and the right and the opportunity to pursue a trade or trades and to earn a living. Gandhiji's Constructive Programme meets this need and confers upon him this right and opportunity. Those who would do leprosy work in the name of Gandhiji should not fail to understand this aspect of the problem.

basic ideas of Gandhiji and direct governmental policies to that end. Yet this is not being done. Rather, there is drift which is bound to produce harmful relation between man and man. Therein lies the present danger.

A portion from a recent Speech at the Sabarmati Ashram.

— "VIGIL" 18th August, '51.

Khadi in Peril and the Way Out.

Shri. G. RAMACHANDRAN.

Secretary, All India Village Industries' Association, Wardha.

Let us face reality.

We must face the truth about khadi to-day. It may be very unpleasant to do so. But that is the least that we owe to Bapu in the present crisis in the khadi movement. Few of us are really willing to face the truth about khadi to-day. We are afraid to do so knowing what is in store for us if we do so. We do not want to tell the truth about our own great leaders and how they have now practically repudiated khadi except as a symbol of personal consistency. We are unwilling to admit the failure of our own policies and programmes in khadi work. We insist on illusions and are horrified when the people refuse to accept our illusions. There is more confusion about khadi to-day in the minds of the people than ever before. We are unable to clear the confusion. We have become more and more a self-righteous group of believers unable to deal with the reality of the fact that most people have no interest or need for khadi.

Let me explain. The khadi movement is not only not growing but is declining. The mass of the people do not care for it. Even among those who continue to wear khadi more and more people are less and less believers in it. Many of them would give it up as soon as it is politically safe to do so. We are also to blame in isolating khadi more and more as the exclusive symbol of cent per cent Gandhism. The compulsory payment for khadi in a certain quantity of self-spun yarn has really failed. Spinning on the basis of individual, group or regional self-sufficiency is not making appreciable progress. The Charkha Sangh's endeavour to withdraw from direct production and sale of khadi by throwing that burden on other agencies and bodies has also not succeeded. In the result khadi has become rarer. Khadi workers are unwilling or unable to openly challenge either the people or the various Governments on the issue of the economics of khadi as the Communists and Socialists are daily doing on behalf of their economic programmes. Hardly does any great Congress Leader make a sustained appeal

for khadi these days. The Planning Commission have reported and produced a Five Year Plan in which they have pushed khadi into a small corner. Recently at a meeting of the Cottage Industries' Board set up by the Government of one of the Major States the minister in charge of Industries, himself fully clad in khadi, said quite frankly that the Central and State Governments have come to the conclusion that hand-spinning has no future though hand-loom weaving might still be supported. Recently again one of the Members of the Planning Commission made it clear to leading Constructive Workers that khadi can at best have only a temporary value for giving employment in rural areas till general industrialisation takes place. The idea that hand-spinning has no future, has originated in New Delhi and is now spreading to the Provinces. Some Provincial Governments are here and there giving some little support to khadi. But even they have no declared policy or programme for khadi. Moreover all of them at the same time encourage textile mills. This is like supporting prohibition by encouraging liquor traffic. It is a contradiction in substance and in form.

Charkha as a Centre of National Reconstruction.

While these are the facts to-day, is there the remotest doubt in the mind of anybody that Gandhiji took the view that the charkha should be placed at the very centre of village reconstruction i. e., national reconstruction. If 80% of our people are in the villages and a vast majority of them will continue to be in the villages for a long time to come, national reconstruction will essentially be village reconstruction. It is absolutely unnecessary to-day to give numerous quotations from Gandhiji to show that for him the Charkha and Village Industries were not merely temporary expedients in India's rural economy. When he fully deliberately laid it down that charkha is the basis of the whole of his Constructive Programme including Basic Education he made it absolutely clear that the charkha movement was of fundamental validity

in national reconstruction as he conceived it. But what chance has the charkha and khadi movement in the long run when our own Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces use all the tremendous resources available to them in men and in money to build up a social economy completely opposed to the economy inherent in the charkha? I have no doubt that the faithful few will stick to khadi whatever happens. Even if the Central and Provincial Governments suppress khadi for a hundred years to come there will still be the faithful votaries of the charkha scattered over the length and breadth of India in small groups. That is how we have in the world fanatic and mystical cults and creeds which have persisted through centuries in a totally contradictory environment. But is that the idea in front of us? Do we or do we not want to build up India, as much as possible, in the Gandhian pattern and if so, can it ever be done by letting the charkha disappear except as a symbol here and there? *What then must we do?*

What then must we do?

I do not claim that I can give a full or satisfactory answer. There are the leaders of the charkha movement who are more competent to do so. But I wish to place two ideas before all those who are working to promote the charkha movement. The first idea is that if not to-day then to-morrow the inescapable position will be reached that for the growth of khadi we shall have to create khadi-minded Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces. We, Constructive Workers might run away from this challenge for some time but if we run away from it for good, then I have not the slightest doubt that khadi as the basis of Village Reconstruction will disappear also. As to how and when it will be possible for us to create khadi-minded Governments, it is for Constructive Workers all over India to confer together in groups and later as a united representative body to come to conclusions. Constructive work to-day is going on with little funds and only a limited number of full-time workers and so we can only produce the right patterns of work. We have neither the power, the resources nor the ability to reproduce the patterns on a nation-wide scale. That is possible only with the active support and participation of Central and Provincial Governments in such a programme. In my little booklet "*Whither Constructive Work*"

published by the A. I. V. I. A., I have dealt with this matter at some length and I do not hesitate to draw the attention of interested readers to it.

Charkha or Khadi Nai Talim.

But in this note I wish to deal with my second idea as briefly and clearly as I can. This second idea has come to me as the result of more than 2 years' experience as the Secretary of the All India Village Industries' Association. In regard to the Village Industries I have come to feel that Village Industries merely as an economic programme may not succeed as much as we wish it to. Village Industries or Gram Udyog can survive best as Gram Udyog Nai Talim. We define Gram Udyog Nai Talim in Maganwadi as Basic Adult Education in and through Village Industries. We have tried to convert all Gram Udyog in Maganwadi into Gram Udyog Nai Talim. The result, though in a limited sphere, has been startling. We have found that whereas Gram Udyog or Village Industries as such cannot easily attract intelligent and aspiring young men and young women, Gram Udyog Nai Talim can do so without difficulty. I have found that whereas the *Thakli* and the charkha fail to attract young people, Basic Education which is largely education in and through the *Thakli* and the charkha can attract the best of young people. Basic Education is simply *Thakli and Charkha Nai Talim*. I therefore think that charkha or khadi must today become charkha or khadi Nai Talim or the complete education, of the citizen in the rural areas in and through the charkha and khadi. Khadi is a multi-process production work and will therefore lend itself splendidly as the medium of the education of adults in the villages. At one end khadi is agriculture, because you have to grow cotton successfully. At the other end it is finished cloth of every pattern and type including coloured, printed and artistically made cloth of every kind. In between you have ginning, carding, spinning and weaving. How many subjects of study necessary for the citizen of a free country in rural areas can be correlated to every process in khadi production! Today khadi production appears to most intelligent and aspiring young men and women as too slow and as manual drudgery. But the moment it is shown that full mental growth can be correlated to productive work in and through khadi, then what is slow and

Constructive Workers and Elections.

A meeting of The Sarva Seva Sangh held on 29th July 1951 at Wardha, adopted the following resolution regarding its views and policy on the subject of the forthcoming elections:

Whereas the ultimate aim of all constructive activities is *Sarvodaya*, i.e. the establishment of a non-violent, non-exploiting order of society, based on truth, non-violence and universal well-being; and

whereas, in view of the forthcoming elections, programmes and manifestos, which are not very dissimilar from one another, and to a certain extent speak the language of *Sarvodaya*, are being issued by various political parties; and

whereas many constructive workers are desirous of clear guidance from the Sarva Seva Sangh,

The Sarva Seva Sangh takes this opportunity of stating its views and policy on these matters as follows:

1. The Sarva Seva Sangh does not find any of these programmes and manifestos of the various political parties adequate for the establishment of *Sarvodaya*. Neither does it feel confident that even these programmes will be adequately and effectively implemented by them on the attainment of

power. Hence, the Sangh cannot adopt any of the running political parties as its own.

2. The Sangh believes that by abjuring power and devoting itself to the pure selfless service of the voters, it would be possible to generate political power and so guide and influence the voters as to ensure that men of the right type are voted to power.

3. The question of the constructive workers taking up direct responsibility of running the Government would arise only when the people themselves feel and say that they want constructive workers—and no one else—to wield power. But this is a thing for the future.

4. All the same, it is necessary to bear in mind that in the modern set-up, Legislatures and Governments touch the life of the people on every side, and shape national reconstruction at every stage and level; and that Governments composed of parties believing in a set-up of political, social and economic order, not conducive to the

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appears to be drudgery will be lit up with a light so splendid that all the hesitations of the youth of India to come to khadi work will largely vanish. Gandhiji once stated in a meeting of the Adult Education Committee of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh that the function of Nai Talim is to put the soul into the mechanical production work in all Constructive work. The challenge today therefore to Khadi Work is to convert it into Khadi Nai Talim and thus fire the whole body of Khadi Work with the soul of Nai Talim.

Merely to add some theory teaching to khadi production work will only be the mockery of Khadi Nai Talim. Khadi Nai Talim must become the full education of every rural adult in and through khadi production. This is not easy work. But it

can be done. Has it not been rightly said that the history of civilisation is the history of cotton? The Charkha Sangh is the eldest brother in the family of Constructive Work and it has the largest and best organization and resources and man power. If all this can be turned in the direction of Khadi Nai Talim there will be a revolutionary change, in the situation for the good of khadi. It will not do to say, let us wait till there is a Basic School in every village. We have to deal with boys and girls about 14 or 15 years of age and with adults who number many millions today. Will the Charkha Sangh and Khadi Workers everywhere take up this challenge so that khadi can live, and through it there will take place the birth of a great Adult Education Movement which in turn will strengthen Khadi as nothing else can?.



Sarvodaya ideal, present and set up a great hindrance to the working of the constructive programme. Hence, while constructive workers must carry on their activities without a break, they must regard them as a part of their all-round constructive service — *Samagra Seva* — to take an intelligent interest in politics and in the right governance of the country; and to this end, they must undertake the duty of educating the voters so that they may be conscious of the sanctity and power of their vote, and learn to exercise it in an intelligent and disinterested manner, for the good of the people and the purity of public life. This does not mean that every constructive worker need necessarily be a member of any political party. In fact, it would be better if the majority of them were not.

5. On the question whether members of the Sarva Seva Sangh should take active part in politics, elections etc. or stand as candidates, the Sangh reaffirms its resolution of 11th and 12th October 1950, namely,

"Office-bearers and full-time workers, whether salaried or not, of the Sarva Seva Sangh, shall not stand as candidates for any elective post in any political organization or Government or Local Government; neither shall they accept such a place even if returned unopposed. They shall not take an active part in an election campaign."

It is clear that the above ban does not apply to members who do not fall in the category mentioned above. They are free to take part in politics as they deem fit, in their individual capacities, subject of course to the rules of the particular constructive

institution, if any, to which they might happen to belong. They are expected to further the cause of the constructive programme to the best of their ability; and yet they may not claim to represent the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Indeed, the participation by a few efficient constructive workers in politics, either as 'independants' or as members of a political party, may be desirable in the interest of the constructive programme itself. Occasions may also arise when every constructive worker may have to plunge into a political movement in defence of the fundamental faith in the constructive work. But this question does not arise at present.

6. Under the circumstances, it is not desirable for the Sarva Seva Sangh to function as a political party. But the Sangh desires that those constructive workers who are members of any political organization, should exert their influence on their parties for getting such people alone to be set up as are incorruptible, unselfish and capable. Thus alone can we raise the moral height of our legislators and those who are responsible for good government; and its advice to the voter generally is that they should refuse to vote for a candidate, who does not in their opinion come up to the required standard of purity in public life, even when he is set up by a party for which the voter has a personal predilection. They should also remember that voting for a candidate who is communally minded or believes in the use of violent methods to secure his ends is out of the question being antagonistic to the principles of *Sarvodaya*.



KHADI BHANDARS SHOULD BE CONVERTED INTO SCHOOLS.

GANDHIJI.

That Sale Bhandars may disappear under the New Scheme, only means that they should be converted into schools for teaching all the processes of khadi. Therefore cotton, charkhas, spindles and all other accessories of spinning, carding and ginning should certainly be available there. Above all the Khadi Worker should be polite and obliging at all times. If he does not, it will be a tragedy if Khadi Workers themselves were to be the cause of its death.

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Corruption has no doubt increased with controls, and controls have also led to blackmarketing. It is all a case of everyone piling up what he can, whatever the loss to the public. Actually, corruption and blackmarketing only reflect the general morality of the people. If the public do not stoop to bribing and buying in the blackmarket such malpractices cannot exist. They in their turn adopt these methods only because they are bent on satisfying their own needs irrespective of the harm they cause thereby to society.

It is obvious that all the evils enumerated above spring from a common source, namely selfishness, and lack of consideration for the public. What then is to be done to improve matters? Two things, it seems to me, are essential. Firstly, self-discipline. Our ancestors had put high value on self-control. They placed several restrictions on the individual—for example, in regard to diet, drink, fasts, marriage, occupation and such like—to teach him self-control.

They had thus tried to nurture us from the cradle to the grave in self-restraint. We have only to re-interpret centuries of teaching in regard to *tyag* (renunciation), *tapas* (penance), *yagna* (sacrifice) and overcoming of *ahamkara* (egoism), and apply it to our social and public life. This is just what Gandhiji did and with what amazing results we know.

Besides, we who had the supreme privilege of a pure selfless individual like him living amongst us would prove altogether unworthy of him if we did not try to learn from his example. Let us, instead of throwing blame on others, control our own selfish desires and cultivate a public con-

science, i. e., become sensitive to the public good. This is not a thing which can be achieved over-night, of course. It will have to be systematically taught and practised in the home, school and in social life. It will be a slow process. We cannot solve our problems by rough and ready methods which do not touch the basis of our national life.

Secondly, it is absolutely essential for us to take up the fight against demoralisation in public life. There appears to be too much apathy and inactivity in this regard. One hears endless complaints, but very little attempt is made to tackle the evils complained about. If Gandhiji merely complained of foreign rule and did nothing to end it, we could not have attained our independence.

It is gratifying, however, to know that the beginnings of such organized effort are appearing in *Shuddha Vyavaharak* (Clean Behaviour) Movement started recently in Wardha, Bombay, and a few other places. Such a movement consisting of people, banded together, first to purify and discipline themselves, and then fearlessly to wage war against corruption, dishonesty and selfishness in our political, social and economic life, seems to me our greatest need today. Without it we can achieve but little.

Abroad, people expect that India may still prove the efficacy of moral and spiritual force over material and brute might. A great responsibility therefore rests on our shoulders. But we cannot rise up to it unless by self-discipline and organized effort we do all we can to awaken the public conscience of our nation.

GANDHIJI ON DEMOCRACY IN KHADI WORK.

To introduce an element of Democracy into khadi work, would be to kill khadi. The Charkha Sangh was not a democratic organisation in the sense the Congress was. It was an organisation created by the Congress for building up of democracy like the Directorate of the Bank of England. It was a business organisation first and last. Only it was motivated by an altruistic, non-profit motive. A business organisation of a democratic body could not be bound by the procedure of the democratic vote.

"Harijan" 27th October, 1946.

Vinobaji's Revolutionary Work in Telangana.

AN ANSWER TO COMMUNISM.

SHRI. SURESH RAMABHAI

Meeting Communist Detenus.

It was on the auspicious day of Ram-Navami, the 15th April 1951, that Acharya Vinobaji Bhavé set his face when he started from Hyderabad on a walking tour of Telangana. To quote his own words:

"I wanted to tour the Telangana as a soldier of Shanti Sena in order to propagate the message of peace. For many days, I could not put into practice this wish of mine for many reasons. But, however, after obtaining the blessings of the Lord Rama, I have undertaken this tour", as he said in the course of a speech (May 10th) delivered to the Communist detenus whom he met in the District Jail of Nalgonda (Vide unofficial Note No. 364, issued by the Director of Information and Public Relations, Hyderabad).

What is the problem of Telangana? As Vinobaji said in his speech in the village of Mirialguda (May 15th):

"Some people here possess thousands of acres of land while some cannot call even one acre as their own." (No. 353)

The seriousness of the situation can be gauged by what he said at Balapalle (May 31st):

"The population of this village is 3,000 and its cultivable area is 3,000 acres. But only 90 families own the entire lands, while 600 families are landless. Nor is there any cottage industry in the village. The weavers of the village get yarn sufficient to keep them engaged for eight or ten days only in a month. Equitable distribution of lands should be co-ordinated with the development of cottage industries. Villagers should not grow cash crops. They should grow food crops and enough cotton to enable them to make their villages self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. *The trouble in Telangana is due to indiscriminate growing of cash crops, like groundnut and tobacco*". (Vide No. 390)

The Evil of Cash Crops.

By the way, it shows that thoughtless encouragement given by the authorities in

India to the random growth of cash crops like cane, groundnut and tobacco, is responsible for much of our food shortage, as Vinobaji also mentioned in very clear terms in his note on the letter from Shri. R. K. Patil, member of the National Planning Commission. (Vide "Harijan," dated 23rd December, 1950 and 3rd March, 1951). How deeply Vinobaji feels about this all can be gathered from his speech at Medepalli (May 24th):

"Forty years ago, as a student I used to read and think about the conditions of my country and feel sorry for my slave country and its miserable conditions. Today, after forty years, there is no change in those conditions; on the contrary, they have worsened." (No. 374)

Bhudana Yagna.

In keeping with the time-old tradition of India, Vinobaji wants to meet this baffling situation by performing a Yagna:

"In olden days, when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform Yagnas.

I also wanted to perform a Yagna, so I have started experimenting this Bhudana Yagna. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Every one should take part in this Yagna which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the Yagnas, so also we should donate lands. People were doubtful whether anyone would donate lands to the landless poor in the Kaliyug but when there is a person to ask, people are giving and up till now (speech at Tanikella on May 30th) I have got 3,500 acres of land". (No. 386)

From the foregoing it is manifest that the mal-distribution of wealth and property has brought about all the trouble in Telangana. Nothing else has so much contributed to the communist menace as this. As Vinobaji said at Suryapet on May 23rd:

"The rich people are responsible for the creation of the communists. The rich in fact are the fathers of the communists". (No. 373)

Receiving donations of land from every one and distributing the same among the poor is the only way to root out this trouble. No amount of police and military forces will do the job. As Vinobaji made it clear in a speech :

“In summer you will not find grass but no sooner the rainy season starts, grass begins to grow as there are seeds of grass in the earth. So also the police can curb the Communist menace for a while, but it cannot root it out permanently. So we must root out this menace by adopting the right path”. (No. 386). Or again, “The police will not be very helpful in fighting the Communist menace. The only way to root it out is to remove the unequal distribution of land by peaceful way.”

(No. 379)

Necessity of Legislation.

Vinobaji wants that effective legislations must be passed so that this anomaly may become a thing of the past. Speaking at Naikengudam (May 23rd) he said :

“The task begun by me should be continued. Sri U. Kesava Rao, the President, Nalgonda District Congress Committee, will continue this task. According to my estimate about fourteen to fifteen lakhs of people live in the District of Nalgonda and if fourteen to fifteen thousands acres of land are donated, then fourteen to fifteen thousand individuals will get their livelihood. This act of distribution of lands will remove the state of restlessness and establish peace. Government should give *Taccavi* loans and other facilities to individuals who will be acquiring these donated lands. Besides this, the Government should pass an Act limiting the extent of land and the number of acreage that a man should possess and then it should make a provision by the same act to ballot the rest of the land to the poor. If these things come into existence the communist menace will disappear”.

(No. 373)

Further, the 'haves' must donate the land regarding it as their duty. Vinobaji made it clear in a speech (May 26th) at Kodmur :

“The donations that are now being given are not obligations. According to *Shastras*, the act of donation means the act of sharing with others whatever we have. This clearly means that no individual

obliges the other individual by giving donations”. (No. 379)

Redemption from Clutches of Money.

It may be argued whether donation of money will not serve the same purpose. No, certainly not. Vinobaji is very firm on this point. He unequivocally declared at Kodmur (*ibid*):

“I do not accept money by way of donations. As a matter of fact money has destroyed India. The values of commodities do not fluctuate; on the contrary, the price of money fluctuates. The value of food-grains is stationary. I want to redeem the people from the clutches of money which is merely medium and which generates a feeling of pride in the man who donates it. But in the donation of lands the right of the poor is inherent and, therefore, I accept donation of lands..... If everyone embraces the poor with love I am sure that the Communist menace will vanish”.

In passing it may be remarked that Vinobaji accepts only *Shrama-Dan* (donation in the form of labour done). He has been working on this principle for more than a year past and with a band of devoted workers has achieved remarkable results in the direction of self-sufficiency by self-labour in his Paramdham Ashram at Paunar, about five miles away from the famous town of Wardha.

Communists are my Brothers.

As regards the Communist menace in Telangana, its genesis has been given above in Vinobaji's own words. He bears no malice or ill-will towards the believers in the Communist doctrine. Speaking (May 23rd) at Chandupatta, he said :

“I have heard that a sort of awakening does exist in this village, as the Communists have put in some work here. I consider the Communists as my brothers. I have got some friends among the Communists and it is not a crime to be a Communist. To be a Communist is to serve the poor”. (No. 373)

But Vinobaji has no doubt about it that the ways of Communists are not suited to the country. In the course of the same speech he observed :

“But, however, the Communists have indulged in violence and murderous acts.

This is absolutely wrong and, therefore, all their services go over-board. Shri D. Venkateshwara Rao, a prominent Communist, who belongs to this village is a good man. If he could see me, I would have been able to convince him that he had adopted a wrong path. I have met some Communists in the jails of Hyderabad and Nalgonda and I held talks with them. It is my earnest wish to convince the people by making them understand that the way of peace is the real way to serve the masses". At another place he stated, "I want to make it clear to the Communists that it is not necessary for them to murder the rich, for the era of Democracy has ushered in. As a matter of fact the rich can be killed without pistol; for every adult has now acquired the right to vote. The future *Raj* will be the *Raj* of the common man. I request the Communists to come out openly and work. If they do that I will give my co-operation. If the Communists abandon their path of violence, all good and moral people will co-operate with them. Mahatma Gandhi also used to say: 'I am a Communist but I will not accept the suicidal path of violence' ". (No, 374)

Appeal to Communists.

Nay, Vinobaji goes even further. In appeal to the Communists, he said at Wyrā :

"I request them to abandon violence and if they do so, I will accompany them to every nook and corner of India in order to propagate Communism".

What else could a believer in Communism aspire for? Vinobaji's method is that of love. As he observed (May 26th) at Kodmur :

"The change that you villagers are perceiving in the entire environment is due to the blessings of God. If everyone believes in God it is definite that he will show the way. God is present in everyone's heart. If we appeal to him, much work can be done. I will accept lands which are donated willingly. I have not come here with sten gun or with any power which is vested in me by Government. The Communists are doing their work and the Government is also doing its work in its own way. I am also doing some work here in my own way which is essentially based on love".

One need not be sceptical about the efficacy of this method which Mahatma

Gandhi taught us by his life as also by his death. Hatred and violence do not help us at all in the long run. Attacks by the Police in the day and counter attacks by the Communists at night will lead either of them nowhere and, of course, the people will continue to suffer in the extreme. To quote from Vinobaji's speech (June 5th) at Gavicharla:

"Violent manifestations of Communist activities may disappear in Telangana for some time, due to Police vigilance and the split among the Communist workers, but Communism as such may continue as a problem with us until we solve the problem of poverty through the re-distribution of lands and the abolition of the drink habit".

Sarvodaya alone can deliver the goods.

He believes in the innate goodness of man and the conversion of his heart by persuasion. When he met the Communists in the Warangal Jail they asked him whether he could solve the problem by re-installing the rich in their villages. To this Vinobaji replied :

"I believe that hearts do change. The act of donation will lead to a duel between the good and the evil inherent in man and improve their outlook. The fusion of Indian metaphysics and Western sciences will necessarily be sweet. Non-violence alone is the remedy of all evils." (*Ibid*)

But to work this method is a very hard task indeed. A solid work of this nature could be undertaken only by the Sarvodaya Samaj. To quote again from his Gavicharla speech :

"The Congress cannot serve the people because the principle of service has become a joke for the Congress. The Socialists are a better lot but they are after power. In these circumstances, the Sarvodaya Samaj alone can deliver the goods."

Agriculture with Cottage Industries.

During this tour Vinobaji did not lay stress only upon the distribution of land. He made a plea for self-help and village industries also. As he said in a speech (May 10th) at Nalgonda :

"There is a limit to the extent of the availability of land. Besides, the population is also growing day by day. We must, therefore, increase the number of wells by digging the new ones."

(It may be added that Vinobaji has actually dug a well at Pauniar, no labour from outside the Ashram being availed of). He went on to say :

"We must construct canals also The digging of new wells and constructing of new canals will usher in a new era where-in a man will be contented with 20 acres of wet land, whereas now he is not contented even with a hundred acres of land".

He continued :

"Without cottage industries, mere possession of land by a *kisan* will not solve his problem. If the *kisans* take to producing finished goods from the raw material obtaining in the villages, then only they will save themselves". (No. 364)

He also asked the rich to open *Nai Talim* Schools in the villages so that no children need be sent to the cities.

Vinobaji concluded his tour on June 6th when he reached Mancherial, a little town on the bank of the Godavari. During this historic tour of 51 days Vinobaji encamped at 51 villages. In his 'Telangana' tour Vinobaji passed through some 200 villages, and received about 9,000 acres of land for distribution among the landless, for which purpose he has formed a committee of 3 persons. Vinobaji settled about 500 village disputes, almost ten every day, during this Pilgrimage of Peace, and addressed some 2 lakhs of people.

All the while in Telangana his endeavours have been to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal on June 5th, "a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook by asking the rich to donate lands to the poor".

This is a very heartening, refreshing news the like of which the country has not heard ever since Gandhiji passed away. At this critical hour the people all over the country look forward to Vinobaji to help show them the path lit by the Sarvodaya light and save them from the impending ruin.

Abridged from the "Modern Review" August 1951.

—Para heads are our own.

We commend the scientific method adopted in Japan to our Municipalities and the Government for experiment and investigation, while we feel that the general method adopted in rural areas (as described above) can be very successfully tried in our villages without any expense whatsoever. Will the Agricultural Department take it up?

Use of Night-soil in Japan.

Shri. L. N. GOPALASWAMI,

Secretary, Tamil Nad Harijan Sevak Sangh.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh has received the following interesting and useful information regarding the utilisation of night-soil in Japan through the Indian Liaison Officer, Sri. K. K. Chettur:—

It will be interesting to note that pit or tubular latrines are unknown in Japan as their use deprives the 'farmer' of a ready use of the night-soil. It is only very rarely that night soil is buried underground and used as dry manure. The common latrine in Japan consists of a wooden receptacle, 4'x'3x1' which is kept in a covered room and the contents thereof emptied as described hereunder :

In rural areas night-soil is very widely used as manure. It is collected twice or thrice a week from various houses by the farmers themselves. It may be noted here that there is no class as scavengers who alone can touch it as it is the case in India. It is then placed in wooden tube with closed lids and transported in hand carts to farms where it is stored in masonry tanks. Usually it is diluted with water to prevent dryness and then allowed to putrefy. It is then ready to be used as liquid manure for manuring the farm during all stages of cultivation from sowing till harvesting.

It may also be noted that on account of the acute shortage of chemical fertilisers during and after the war night-soil is now the only fertiliser in all the small farms of Japan.

In urban areas, the Municipalities or -Prefectural Government- as they are called, make a similar use of the night-soil on a larger scale. In addition, they use scientific methods for storage, putrefication and decomposition. But it should be noted that in all cases night-soil is being used as manure and more so in liquid form.

There are two kinds of methods employed in using night-soil by the Municipalities. The one is called the operation method and the other the chemical method.

Details of these two methods are available with us for such of those who may interest themselves in the matter.

(Continued in previous column.)

Samagra Grama Seva in Pedaravur Village.

Shri. P. RAMAKRISHNAIYA,

Sanchalak, Tenali Vibagh, Charkha Sangh.

Since the publication of "the Fifteen Years of Organised Village Work of Pedaravur" (Guntur District) in *Harijan* dated 6—1—51 some of the readers took interest and have asked for detailed report for one year touching all the problems in the village.

I give below an account of the work done by the Village Panchayat Multi-purpose Society, Kathayi Mandal and Library Committee, during the last 12 months, from April to March 1951.

As per the last Census, the population of the village is 4,627. 1,857 own lands and cultivate directly. 124 who own lands, give them on lease. Among the landless, 237 take lands on lease, 1326 work as agricultural labourers, and earn their wages in kind or money. 261 depend on small jobs, such as, teachers, clerks and laskars etc., 159 on petty trades, 88 upon masonry, 71 on carpentry, 65 on gold-smithy, 49 on shoe-making, 45 on pottery, 33 on tailoring, 36 on hair-dressing, 115 by washing clothes, 15 on basket making, 9 on black-smithy, and the others working in hotels, mills, practising Medicine and some other small professions.

The village is a deltaic one and the villagers mostly depend upon cultivation. Of course, there are other supplementary resources, such as, spinning, dairying, road-making, rice pounding, poultry, fishing, growing vegetables and gunny-making etc., The area of the village is one fourth of a square mile and the houses are 1300 in number.

The income of the Panchayat is Rs. 13,151—15—0 and the expenditure is Rs. 11,575—6—0. For providing and maintaining of latrines and urinals Rs. 1,436—5—0 was spent, for constructing rubbish depots, compost sheds, and a shed in the burial-ground Rs. 1,117—11—6, for road-laying Rs. 4,301—7—0, for scavenging and sweeping Rs. 1,584—4—0 and for forming Avenues and Parks Rs. 942—12—0. There were other minor items of expenditure towards repairs for wells, bridges and culverts for which manual labour estimated at Rs. 800 worth from the village was received. There is a

big canal for navigation by the side of the village. The villagers have to cross the canal every day for cultivation purpose, as 600 acres of land are on the other side. The villagers formed a committee and collected Rs. 12,000/- to construct a bridge and approached the Govt. for help. The Govt. granted Rs. 18,500/- towards the construction of the bridge and directed the village Panchayat to take up the work. With the help of the local Committee the village Panchayat took the work. According to the Madras Village Panchayats Act of 1950, a surcharge is levied in the area under the jurisdiction of a Panchayat, on transfers of property on the duty imposed by the Indian Stamp Act, and credited to the respective Panchayats. Moreover, the Madras Govt. enacted to set apart every year, a sum not less than 12½% of the total land revenue collected in the State during the year and distribute such sum in a prescribed manner as grants, to II class Panchayats on the basis of their population.

I give the figures below for the year for the Panchayat :

Receipts.

Grass sales	Rs.	4,918
Right of measuring and carting paddy and brokerage	„	281
Fees collection from soda, coffee, mutton vendors	„	73
Fish sales	„	742
Land cess	„	529
Surcharge stamp & Registration	„	5,665
Avenues	„	653
Other income	„	291
Total	„	13,152

Expenditure.

Establishment	Rs.	180
Contingencies	„	187
Scavenging	„	1,584
Latrines	„	1,436
Repairs	„	242
Parks etc.	„	620
Roads	„	4,601
Avenue	„	823
Health	„	411
Sheds	„	817
Rubbish depots	„	300
Minor expenses	„	369
Total	„	11,570

More Messages for The Khadi World.

We are grateful to several eminent persons and colleagues in the constructive field who have kindly sent their messages welcoming this small magazine, 'The Khadi World', to propagate the revolutionary mission of the Charkha. Some were published in the August issue and a few more of them are reproduced below:—

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR,
Hon'ble Minister for Health,
Govt. of India.

New Delhi,
30—8—'51.

'Khadi' has stood for something very special in our freedom movement. It has been for those of us who believe in its ethics a symbol of service, of our close kinship with the poorest in the land and of our recognition of the place that cottage or village industries must occupy in the uplift of rural India which is the real India.

Political Independence does not mean that the utility of 'Khadi' is ended. On the contrary we need it more and more and we must guard it and cherish it as a precious heritage.

Shri. SWAMI ANAND, Kausani; Dt. Almora,
20—8—'51.

I am happy you have at last succeeded in bringing out this English Digest for the benefit

of urban folks whom the message of khadi can reach more conveniently through English only. I am sure it will serve the great cause well and carry the gospel of the wheel to many. The scope of the "Khadi World" as explained on the editorial page is well-set and I wish you every success.

Shri. GULZARILAL NANDA,
Deputy Chairman,
Planning Commission,
Govt. of India.

New Delhi,
10—8—'51.

Nothing that has happened during recent years has shaken my conviction that khadi remains the best form of unemployment insurance and in a country with so much unemployment, production of khadi must, therefore, be assiduously developed.

(Continued from the previous page)

The "Kathayi Mandal" is working with 52 members. Shri. Tulasamma is carrying on the work all through the year with the help of other members. 1,000 square yards of khadi were woven for the members during the year through A. I. S. A., From 13th July to 2nd October, 1950, 70 wheels worked for 2 hours each day in the 'Charkha Jayanti' spinning 1024 hanks in all. Instruction in carding and *Tunai* for the teachers and pupils in Girls' School was given for 100 days. There are 2 looms for khadi one for 'Dari' (carpet) with rags and another for 'tape-making'. Carpet weaving from old garments is very popular. A simple apparatus is supplied to those, who are keen on making 'Dari' themselves out of rags. Four carpets were prepared during the year. Regular community spinning and prayer were conducted with success. Rs. 237-14-0 was collected for Assam Relief Fund. The active members visit every home and persuade the house-owners to provide urinals, soak-pits and latrines in their houses. So far in 14 houses latrines are provided. And in some houses, provision for compost-making from urine and night-soil is made. The Kathayi Mandal members clean the drains and the

streets occasionally. A trained Hindi teacher is engaged to conduct classes for the young. Bee-keeping also is being tried. The villagers are helping the Mandal in all activities. Shri. P. Nagaiah gave a site worth Rs. 1,000 for constructing a building to be named after Gandhiji. Two others gave Rs. 600 for promoting the constructive work and a lady has subscribed Rs. 100 to construct a tube-well. Three of the Kathayi Mandal members took a vow not to wear gold or silver hereafter and gave away the ornaments at the time of the vow to further the cause of Gandhian ideals. Now the Mandal decided to establish a "Gandhighar" in the village and to seek the help of the "Gandhi Smarak Nidhi".

The library committee was able to collect Rs. 956-6-0 during the year. Rs. 728-15-0 was spent for purchase of books, and for repairs to buildings. The number of the members has increased.

The Multi-purpose Society was able to supply manure, worth Rs. 4470-6-0 and iron Rs. 241-7-6 during the year. The number of the members increased from 35 to 50.

Let Villagers rebuild Villages by their own Spade Work.

NEHRU'S CALL TO VILLAGERS.



Prime Minister Nehru inaugurated on 29th April 1951, the digging of a mile-long nullah at Hazratpur village, about ten miles from Bulandshahr.

The Prime Minister, carrying a spade, led the voluntary brigade of village men and women and dug a few yards of dry hard earth. Others who took part in the ceremony were the Congress President, and Uttar Pradesh Congress leaders and ministers.

The mile-long drain when completed by the voluntary effort of the villagers will drain away water during the rainy season from a low-lying area measuring 6,000 bighas and benefit about 6,000 people. The land so reclaimed would then be cultivable from both kharif and rabi crops.

Later, addressing the villagers the Prime Minister stressed the need for self-help among them. If villagers started a competition amongst themselves in building roads, wells, canals, schools and houses with their own help, the face of India would be changed in a short time.

He said Government help of course, would be forthcoming. But it would be wrong for people to think that without their taking the initiative in such matters, Government alone would do everything. The time for looking to Government only for everything had long gone.

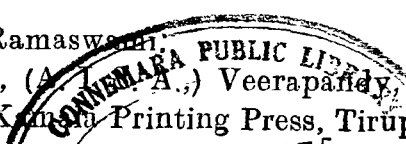
Mr. Nehru said, that what they had done this morning might appear as *tamasha* with a battery of cameramen and newsreel men around. Yet their little spade work represented the urge among the people to do things themselves. If people decided to develop the country through their help such events would have real meaning. For after all, to whatever party people might belong, real constructive work could be done only through actual work done by themselves.



"THE KHADI WORLD"

1. The next issue will be published on the 1st October '51 and subsequent issues on the 1st day of every month.
2. Copies of 'The Khadi World' are made available for sale at all the important Khadi Bhandars of All India Spinners' Association and its Certified Institutions all over India.
3. Agency for Sale of Copies will be given to others also at all places. The terms of Agency will be sent on application.
4. The Subscription period for new subscribers will commence only from the current month if back numbers are not in stock.

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What is Samagra Grama Seva?

MAHATMA GANDHI.

Q. Please explain the meaning of Samagra Grama Seva of your conception. How can we fit ourselves for that?

A. The eighteen-fold Constructive Programme includes Samagra Grama Seva. A Samagra Grama Sevak must know everybody living in the village and render them such service as he can. That does not mean that the worker will be able to do everything single-handed. He will show them the way of helping themselves and procure for them such help and materials as they require. He will train up his own helpers. He will so win over the villagers that they will seek and follow his advice. Supposing I go and settle down in a village with a *Ghani* (village oil press); I won't be an ordinary *Ghanchi* (oil presser) earning Rs. 15 to 20 a month. I will be a Mahatma *Ghanchi*. I have used the word 'Mahatma' in fun but what I mean to say is that as a *Ghanchi* I will become a model for the villagers to follow. I will be a *Ghanchi* who knows the Gita and the Quran. I will be learned enough to teach their children. I may not be able to do so for lack of time. The villagers will come to me and ask me: "Please make arrangements for our children's education." I will tell them: "I can find you a teacher but you will have to bear the expenses." And they will be prepared to do so most willingly. I will teach them spinning and when they come and ask me for the services of a weaver, I will find them a weaver on the same terms as I found them a teacher. And the weaver will teach them how to weave their own cloth. I will inculcate in them the importance of hygiene and sanitation and when they come and ask me for a sweeper I will tell them: "I will be your sweeper and I will train you all in the job." This is my conception of Samagra Grama Seva. You may tell me that I will never find a *Ghanchi* of this description in this age. Then I will say that we cannot hope to improve our villages in this age. Take the example of a *Ghanchi* in Russia. After all the man who runs an oil-mill is a *Ghanchi*. He has money, but his strength does not lie in his money. Real strength lies in knowledge. True knowledge gives a moral standing and moral strength. Everyone seeks the advice of such a man. Take the instance of Vinoba. He is a good *Ghanchi*. You all know what he does and you can all follow his example according to your capacity.

— "Harijan" 17th March, 1946.

83rd CHARKHA JAYANTI.

(25TH SEPTEMBER TO 2ND OCTOBER)

Sardar Patel's Message.

The astonishing constructive work done by the Charkha Sangh is well-known throughout India. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon it. I hope the people will consider the importance of developing it further and strive to adopt the activity as their own. They can solve one of the difficult problems of the country through the activity of the Charkha Sangh. Perhaps throughout history India never experienced such deficit in cloth as she does today. The only solution of it under the present conditions is that every individual must produce as much cloth for himself as he can. This is possible only through the *Charkha*. The Charkha Sangh can give complete guidance to the people in this. Provided that the Sangh receives co-operation of the people, I trust that it can shoulder the responsibility falling upon itself in furthering this activity.

31—7—'49.

President Rajendra Prasad's Message to the Nation.

CHARKHA - PIVOT OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

(Last year's message is reproduced below:)

The whole country will shortly celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday, which Gandhiji himself used to designate as Charkha Jayanti. Spinning and Khadi propaganda have always been the regular and particular programme in its celebration. It is particularly necessary at present to help and encourage the Charkha and Khadi in every manner, because in the turmoil of politics Khadi is rather pushed back and the Charkha has been almost forgotten by many people. Gandhiji considered the Charkha the pivot of all his constructive programme. And so it really is. Consequently, not only will all khadi lovers be obliged if on the occasion of this Jayanti the Charkha is encouraged, but those who take part in its encouragement will themselves have performed one of their duties. I hope the Jayanti will be celebrated with enthusiasm.

New Delhi, 21—8—'50.

*(“Harijan” dated 16th September, 1950)***CHARKHA SANGH'S APPEAL.**

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 help in 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 of the Provincial Branch or Sanchalak of the respective Vibagh.

A. I. S. A., }
Sevagram. }

KRISHNADAS GANDHI,
Secretary.