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THE LAW OF SWADESHI

MAHATMA GANDHI

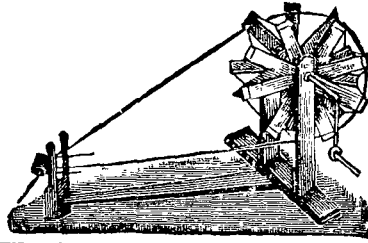
...I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve even my own family. It were better to concentrate my effort upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation and, if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love. The motive will determine the quality of the act. I may serve my family regardless of the sufferings I may cause to others. As, for instance, I may accept an employment which enables me to extort money from people, I enrich myself thereby and then satisfy many unlawful demands of the family. Here I am serving neither the family nor the State. Or I may recognize that God has given me hands and feet only to work with for my sustenance and for that of those who may be dependent upon me. I would then at once simplify my life and that of those whom I can directly reach. In this instance I would have served the family without causing injury to anyone else. Supposing that everyone followed this mode of life, we should have at once an ideal State. All will not reach that state at the same time. But those of us who, realizing its truth, enforce it in practice, will clearly anticipate and accelerate the coming of that happy day. Under this plan of life, in seeming to serve India to the exclusion of every other country, I do not harm any other country. My patriotism is both exclusive and inclusive.

(From an address at the Missionary Conference, Madras, on 14th February, 1916.)

— 'Economics of Khadi'.

The

KHADI



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KHADI IN TOWNS,

MAHATMA GANDHI.

MILL CLOTH, SYMBOL OF SLAVERY OF VILLAGE.

“Your scheme for making village India self-sufficient in the matter of clothing has hit town lovers of khadi pretty hard. You have gone so far as to say that sales bhandars may close as such and that townsfolk may even revert to the use of mill cloth.

“While there is no quarrel with the new ideology and the consequent basic change in the running of bhandars nor with the introduction of a certain quota of yarn currency for purchasing khadi, I would like you to solve the difficulty of town buyers who must use only khadi.”

Let the readers fully understand the so-called new plan for khadi. I call it so-called, because what is being done is the logical step, if khadi is to clothe the villagers, as from the very start it was intended to do. Khadi was never meant merely for the townspeople, it was never meant to bleed the villagers as they are being bled so that the townspeople can live. Khadi was from its inception conceived for the sake of reversing the order though never to bleed the townspeople. To reverse the order was to restore the natural relation. Towns there were before the British arrival. Things were bad enough then. Now they are much worse. Towns became cities. The latter, in spite of their Indian millionaires, lived mainly for the British masters. Khadi was to undo the grave mischief. Mill cloth is the symbol of the slavery of village India as khadi is or should be the symbol of its freedom, both economic and political. If it cannot be that, it is meaningless. Therefore, any healthy change undergone in the process of khadi development is to be welcomed.

REALLY AN ASSOCIATION OF SPINNERS.

The defect in the existing development, good though it appeared, was not good enough for the villagers who spun yarn and wove khadi but did not use it themselves. They neither understood nor appreciated the dignity and value that its use carried. The fault was not theirs. The workers themselves did not. The town dwellers had to wear khadi and do the penance. They were willing to buy penance for a few extra rupees which they could easily spare and be called patriots in the bargain. But how could the Charkha Sangh (in English All India Spinners' Association) belie its faith by ignoring the very foundation of khadi? And so it is employing its resources to making the villagers khadi-clad. It naturally begins with the spinners and weavers of hand-spun. If the move succeeds, as it is bound to, there will be after a time, ample khadi in the city and town markets. Then the only cloth available in India will be khadi. The A. I. S. A., is diligently working at the consummation. If its researches show that khadi has no such potentiality, it will have no hesitation in declaring its insolvency. Let the reader remember that it is a science which deals with the psychology of forty crores of people in the machine age. Thus considered, it is a tremendous problem, though at the same time fascinating and interesting. The very defeat, if defeat it is to be, will itself be no defeat. Let it be understood that it is not an attempt to go back to the dark ages when the charkha was the symbol of the slavery of the masses. Surely it will be a triumph of human understanding, i. e. of the soul of India, when India makes an effort through the charkha to break her bonds asunder. The free man eats the

same bread as the slave. The one eats the bread of freedom, the other of slavery.

DUTY OF THE URBAN PEOPLE.

But if the city dwellers and the town dwellers would learn the glad tidings that the charkha has to give, they will willingly employ their leisure time in carding, spinning and weaving rather than in gambling on the race course or drinking and idling away their time in their clubs. And their children? Why — they could spin for their parents, for the liberty of India and have education of the type that India wants. I was in Rome and Mussolini's officials took pride in showing the graceful manoeuvres of the little children who were being taught all naval tricks. And do the English children

do otherwise than learn in their mother tongue what England needs? It is only reserved for India to teach her children the foreigner's language and through it, such things as the latter need. Who but a foreigner has devised the education code?

The A. I. S. A., sales depots will be used for a better purpose than before. They will teach the people, who, I hope, will flock to them, all the tricks of spinning and weaving. If they do, they will have all the khadi they need. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Lastly, let the reader know too that nowadays khadi like mill cloth is scarce. Let me not go into the reason why.

(*"Harijan"*, July 21, 1946.)

Spinning Wheel: A Fine Piece of Machinery.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

An English friend sends me a news paper cutting showing the progress of machinery in China. He has evidently imagined that in advocating hand-spinning I am propagating my ideas about machinery. I am doing nothing of the kind. I would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery, if thereby India's pauperism and resulting idleness be avoided. I have suggested hand-spinning as the only ready means of driving away penury and making famine of work and wealth impossible. The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery, and in my own humble way I have tried to secure improvements in it in keeping with the special conditions of India. The only question, therefore, that a lover of India and humanity has to address himself to is how best to devise practical means of alleviating India's wretchedness and misery. No scheme of irrigation or other agricultural improvement that human ingenuity can conceive can deal with the vastly scattered population of India or provide work for masses of mankind who are constantly thrown out of employment. Imagine a nation working only five hours per day on an average, and this not by choice but by force of circumstances, and you have a realistic picture of India.

If the reader would visualize the picture, he must dismiss from his mind the busy

fuss of the city life or the grinding fatigue of the factory life or the slavery of the plantation. These are but drops in the ocean of Indian humanity. If he would visualize the picture of the Indian skeleton, he must think of the 80 per cent of the population which is working its own fields, and which has practically no occupation for at least four months in the year, and which therefore lives on the border land of starvation. This is the normal condition. The ever recurring famines make a large addition to this enforced idleness. What is the work that these men and women can easily do in their own cottages so as to supplement their very slender resources? Does anyone still doubt that it is only hand-spinning and nothing else? And I repeat that this can be made universal in a few months' time, if only the workers will. Indeed it is on a fair way to becoming universal. Experts only are needed to organize it. People are ready, and what is most in favour of hand-spinning is that it is not a new and untried method but people have till recently been using it. Its successful re-introduction does need skilful endeavour, honesty, and co-operation on the largest scale known to the world. And if India can achieve this co-operation, who should deny that India has by that one act achieved Swaraj?

(*"Young India"*, 3-11-1921.)

Vinobaji's Pilgrimage of Peace towards Delhi.

SIDDHA RAJ DHADDA.

700 MILES IN 7 WEEKS.

Before these lines go into print Vinoba would have started on foot on his trek to the North from his small but beautifully situated Ashram on the banks of river Dham at Paunar 6 miles from Wardha. I was fortunate enough to be with Vinoba for about 4 days from the day he announced his present intention of walking to Delhi.

The distance from Paunar to Delhi would be about 700 miles, practically as the crow flies, which distance Vinoba hopes to cover in about 7 weeks, that is 15 miles a day on the average. As soon as Vinoba announced his decision at a small gathering of close associates at Sevagram on the 7th instant, his indefatigable secretary, Shri Damodardas got busy with the Road Map. A rough itinerary has already been drawn up and according to it Vinoba hopes to reach Delhi on the 29th October, just the day previous to Deepavali, our great seasonal festival.

GLORIOUS TRADITION OF WALKING TOURS.

Walking on foot is after all not a very extraordinary affair. We all do it daily and millions in our country do it for pretty long distances too, from one village to another. But for a man like Vinoba, at whose command even the fastest mode of travelling would be available, it does appear to be something out of the ordinary. Yet, with an acquaintance of Indian History and Indian tradition, and with the memories of Vinoba's last foot-march into Communist-ridden Telangana still fresh in one's mind, the march to Delhi does not come as an entirely new thing.

Long distance travelling on foot is not unknown in History. The travels of Marco Polo and the pilgrimage of Chinese Scholars like Hieun Tsang to India in quest of knowledge are well-known examples. These travels were undertaken either for the purpose of visiting foreign lands to acquire a knowledge of the world or with a particular destination in view. But Indian History contains many examples of long-distance, and almost continuous, marches on foot for a slightly different purpose namely for propagating a particular Ideal or Message. Buddha and Mahavir were almost continu-

ously on march from one part of the country to another over and over again for a considerable part of their lives for spreading the message of Ahimsa. The famous Shankaracharya toured the frontiers of India in all the four directions preaching his gospel of *Advaita* and organising Hindu Society. Gandhiji's famous march to Dandi, the idea of which was pooh-poohed in the beginning even by such close associates of his as the late Pandit Motilal Nehru but which set the whole Indian Continent afire and shook the foundations of British Empire in this country, is well remembered by many of us. Acharya Vinoba's recent tour of Telangana was the latest addition to this glorious tradition.

But this time Vinoba has given a very extraordinary and almost a new meaning to his walking tour. It was at the small-gathering of co-workers at Sevagram at which he first made known his intention, that he gave a hint of this new orientation. But he elaborated his thesis more fully the next day at a smaller gathering of about score inmates of his own Ashram at Paunar. I happened to be present on both occasions.

NEHRU'S CALL.

It is an open secret by now, if at all a secret, that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has invited Acharya Vinoba to Delhi to discuss matters connected with Planning. But as Vinobaji himself explained, that is not the prime cause of his foot-march to the North. Vinobaji disclosed that he had already decided on his return to Paunar from Telangana that he would stay there for the four months of rainy season and start again on foot on his mission towards the end of October, and this time the North. The only difference that the call from Delhi has made is that he is now starting much earlier than decided previously.

But the main-spring of his present action is his growing conviction that for the preaching of Truth and Non-violence, or the Ideal of Sarvodaya, as we call it in the social and economic context, we cannot adopt the means which owe their very existence to violence and untruth in society. The modern centralised instruments of

propaganda like the Press and the Radio and the means of speedy transport are not only owned, controlled and directed by the very forces of centralism against which we have to fight, and hence it would be good strategy to avoid dependence on them, but their existence itself depends on money economy which is the root cause of the prevailing exploitation in society. Our means, as Gandhiji insisted, must conform to the end. Moreover, Vinobaji explained that it is only a very small section, mostly urban, of one total population that we can reach through these centralised means of propaganda and the effect that they create is fleeting and transitory. It is only by walking through the length and breadth of the country from village to village and talking to the people face to face, that one can truly convey the message of Love and Peace to the millions. It is only by the contact of one soul with another, which a personal approach alone can ensure that we can create a lasting impression on the minds of the people and make them move towards the desired goal. Hence it is that Vinoba is thinking of making it a routine of his life atleast for some years to walk across the country for seven months in a year preaching *Harinam* and the gospel of Sarvodaya. The remaining five months include four of the rainy season which are not favourable for a foot journey and one month in a year for rest.

BHUMI-DAN-YAGNA.

Vinoba, of course, intends to utilise his tour for obtaining sacrificial offerings of land from the 'haves' for the 'have-nots,' or what he calls the *Bhumi-Dan-Yagna* which he started so successfully in Telangana. He was particular in pointing out at more than one gathering during the past few days that what he wanted was not 'Gifts' of land

but 'offerings' as at a *Yagna*. For, gifts can be asked for only from the rich and they also create superiority and inferiority complexes in society, while an offering is an act of self-purification, which can and should be performed by everybody, big or small, and which does not leave behind any trace of an obligation done on anybody. Vinoba made a very good start on the 9th instant at Surgaon, a little village just near Pauniar, where within an hour he got about 50 acres of good land from the villagers for re-distribution among the landless. It is indeed a feat when we remember that to part with land is not very easy specially these days when land-hunger is growing and prices of land are going high.

FREEDOM FROM TENTACLES OF MONEY.

Incidentally Vinoba completed 56 years of his life and stepped into the 57th on the 12th September the day he started his walking tour of the North. It was on a similar occasion of his birthday, last year that Vinoba started his great experiment of freeing himself and society from the tentacles of money economy, *Kanchan Mukti*- as he calls it, and the present decision to continue his walking tour is another great step forward, as explained above, towards the fulfilment of that Ideal.

While one can realise the natural anxiety of many of the admirers and friends of Vinoba and those near him who know the state of his health over Vinobaji's decision to march hundreds of miles on foot, Vinoba evidently seems to find it difficult to resist the Inner Call which is beckoning him to continue the 'Do or Die' mission left un-fulfilled by the Master. Many in the land would watch the Pilgrim's progress with hope in their hearts and prayers on their lips.

HAND-LOOM v. SPINNING WHEEL.

Hand-weaving and mill weaving are not complementary propositions. They are mutually antagonistic, the tendency of weaving mills, like all machinery, always being to displace the product of the hand. If, therefore, hand-weaving could become a supplementary industry on a large scale, it would have to solely depend on mills which would naturally squeeze the last pie from the weaver for the supply of yarn and would scrap it at the first opportunity.

GANDHIJI,

"Young India", 11-11-1926.

GANDHIAN OR SARVODAYA ECONOMICS

J. C. KUMARAPPA

The following is an extract from the book "GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT" by J. C. Kumarappa (recently published by Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay, pages 72, Price 1-4-0) under the Library of Indian Economics edited by C. N. Vakil, Director, School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay. This valuable book is a lucid and authoritative exposition of the basis of Gandhian or Sarvodaya Economics and it is an indispensable companion to everyone interested in the creation of a new economic order of society of Gandhiji's conception.

FIVE KINDS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

These are the five types under which we may develop the idea of economic activities, namely, parasitic, predatory, enterprising, gregarious and the service stages. The principles connected with each one of them will differ. In the parasitic stage, it is all self-centred and right centred, and consumption takes place without production. In the second stage it is the same but not so violent. In the third stage there is production and consumption. In the fourth stage, the gregarious state, production exceeds consumption. In the fifth stage it is all service with no thought of any reward.

PARASITIC ECONOMICS.

In the human family we find the same methods of production and consumption. Thieves and robbers are parasites of society, because they kill men and obtain what they want for themselves without working to produce wealth. A child is walking in the street, and a man cuts off its head and runs away with its jewels. Such are parasites of society.

PREDATORY ECONOMICS.

Predatory—Suppose you are going to buy a railway ticket. You are standing in a queue. Somebody comes at the back and while you are looking at the booking office, he slowly takes your purse from your pocket and goes away. His act is predatory. He is very anxious that even his touch should not be noticed. A pick-pocket is a very good example of one in the predatory stage.

ENTERPRISING ECONOMICS.

Cultivators are very good instances of those in the enterprising state. They plough the land, sow the seeds, work hard and enjoy the results of their labour. It is in

the agricultural stage that human beings came out of the animal kingdom. They realise their duties and rights in this state and both are balanced. This we may call the dawn of civilisation. The other two are the jungle states. With the enterprising stage we come into civilisation.

GREGARIOUS ECONOMICS.

The Hindu Joint Family system affords an instance of gregarious economy. The brother works, not for himself, but for the whole family. The individual works and he does not think that the wealth created belongs to him personally because he himself has laboured. There is a sense of oneness and a sense of working for a group.

SERVICE ECONOMICS.

Service Economy—a mother is the best instance of this. The mother works for the child. She does not expect any return. Service is its own reward.

THE ECONOMICS OF NATIONS.

Similarly we may find these divisions in group life, in Government, in Nations, etc.

Group life based on destruction of life or the suppression of the rights of other people—which Imperialism is, is jungle economy. By this other countries are subjugated and the mighty get something out of the weak. It is a parasite economy.

(1) India had been subjected politically to Great Britain. This is an illustration of parasite economy.

(2) Economic subjugation of others—Financial penetration of America is a good instance of predatory economy.

(3) Enterprise—The agricultural economy which had been practised in our country in olden days is an instance of the enterprising economy. It is a self-sufficient economy.

(4) Gregarious economy - Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany may come under this category to a large extent.

(5) We do not have in history an instance of a stage of Service Economy, but Gandhiji was working towards that stage.

VARYING BEHAVIOUR IN INDIVIDUAL'S ECONOMICS.

These five stages can be found in our individual daily action also. It is easy to laugh at others, but when we come to think of ourselves, we are sometimes tigers, sometimes monkeys, sometimes this and sometimes that. When we eat untidily, and throw out all sorts of things, we belong to the tiger stage. We should ask each night as to how many times during the day we have been a tiger, etc., and if there is a growing tendency towards the mother economy, we are moving towards civilisation. Otherwise, we are going towards the jungle stage.

THE HINDU ORDER OF SOCIETY.

The analysis given is nothing very novel, because it is found in the Hindu order of society. You have the Mlechchas, Sudras, Vaisyas, Kshatriyas and Brahmins. If your desire is to help your fellowmen, even though you may be a Mlechcha by birth, you belong to the Brahmin group. If you are born a Brahmin and are doing Government service for the fat salary you get, you are in effect a Mlechcha. These Mlechchas are at the tiger stage. The Sudras are predatory. The Vaisyas, who deal justly, belong to the enterprising stage. The Vaisya, who gives wrong weights and measures, belongs to the tiger economy. The mill-owners belong to the tiger economy. If we divide our society into these five broad stages, based on action and not birth, it is possible for the Mlechcha to be a Brahmin in the service of his fellowmen. Gandhiji's plan was to develop human beings step by step from the Mlechcha plane onwards to the Brahmin stage. The upward progress will be according to one's moral and physical development. That is the purpose of all education. At the time when rights disappear and duties take their place, we reach the Brahmin or Service economy.

Gandhiji on Importance of Small Things

MANUBEHN GANDHI

TRUTH & NON-VIOLENCE UNDER TEST.

Since the time that he sent his companions to different villages, Babu was overburdened with work. It was difficult even for six persons to cope with Babu's office work alone. Now it had to be managed by two, Babu himself and Nirmalbabu. But Nirmalbabu was unacquainted with the work. Moreover, he could manage only the Bengali and the English correspondence. Gujarati, Hindi and Marathi were foreign to him and Babu had to look after all that correspondence. Then so many came to see him and he had to go through the Hindi and English post-prayer talks also for the Press as press-reporters could not interpret him accurately. The most difficult work was that of packing up the luggage daily and seeing that not the

smallest thing was left behind. Of course though it was I who was managing this, Babu always saw that everything went on all right. One may wonder what luggage Babuji would carry on his pilgrimage on foot, which would be difficult for anyone to pack. He always carried his daily requirements with him, as he did not want to be a burden to anyone. And these did not mean merely pencil and paper for writing. Here is a list of things which we were asked to take: From needle and thread to the cooker with all its paraphernalia such as pincers, cooking pan etc. Then there were vegetable knife, earthen bowl, wooden spoon, bucket, tumbler, commode etc. These were our companions not because they could not be obtained owing to the ravages of fires in Noakhali but because Gandhiji liked to use his own

things. So they found their way even to the palaces of Shri Birlaji. In addition, there was a separate arrangement for his office requirements. Such was the handbag from which the loss of the smallest chit of paper would bring Bapu's work to a standstill. This bag contained sundry important things such as letters from Pandit Jawaharlalji, the Sardar and the Viceroy, Bapu's copy of the Gita, Ramayana, Bible Quran-e-Shareef and his *Bhajanavali* (book of hymns). It also contained rough drafts of letters by Bapu on the back of those he got by post. I had to look after this valuable bag and if anything was lost from it, the responsibility was mine. Still Bapu would say, "If anything is lost from there you may escape blame, but how can I?" This shows the burden of his worry for the smallest thing in it. Again nothing should be left ill-arranged simply because our stay was to be very short at a particular place. Unawares Bapu may inspect my arrangement. Here is an excerpt of a letter which I chanced to read :

"It is impossible to cope up with the work here. How poor is the extent of my *ahimsa*! Somehow my work goes on. All round there is conflagration. It is only through God's grace that my work goes on. My truth and non-violence are being weighed with the finest weight—not that which weighs a pearl but by one which is too heavy for weighing even a hundredth part of a hair. All round there is exaggeration and untruth as if truth had entirely deserted us. Violence stalks the land under the guise of non-violence and *adharma* in the name of *dharma*. But my truth and non-violence can be tested only under such an ordeal. And I am here to go through the test".

ONE STONE AND TWO BIRDS : A NEW MEANING.

Such was Bapu's plight in his great work at Noakhali.

To cope with this tremendous work he used to get up at 2 a. m. and wake me also. To get up so early and that too in such cold was a trying situation for me, but never for Bapuji. Half in jest once I said to him, "Bapu, I would light a candle to God as a mark of thanks if either you wake up late or make some mistake in looking at the watch." Bapuji burst into laughter and said, "God is not so susceptible to bribe as you." And really God did not seem to care at all

for my votive offering; and lo! no sooner did the hour of 2 a. m. strike than fondly slapping me on the head he woke me up saying, "Get up Manudi, see, God was not tempted by your offer." Then he asked me to light the lamp which he would always have put out on going to bed every night. Thereupon I told him, "Bapu, we sleep at about 10 or 11 p. m. and we get up at 2 a. m., and so why not keep the lamp burning dimly?" Bapu said, "That is true but who will give me so much kerosene? Neither you earn for me nor do I earn myself. It is quite natural for you to think like that, because your father in Mahuva is earning. And moreover, do you realize that I have two purposes served in having the lamp put out? One is that the moment you light the lamp sleep is shaken off, so that you don't doze when I dictate anything to you, and second, so much of kerosene is saved. Thus I can kill two birds with one stone, but do you know the meaning of the proverb?" I gave him the generally understood meaning but he gave me a different interpretation. He said, "One stone (one way) and two birds (two jobs). What is that way by following which two jobs are always accomplished? Two did not literally mean only two jobs. But two here may mean two or a hundred. Here in Noakhali thousands have been ruined. This leads me to think that we should not let even one moment go waste. Sleep, food etc. we should have just enough to keep us going."

THE GOLDEN PATH OF SERVICE.

Here he made a reference to poet Lalit's devotional song beginning with:

"Strike the iron while it is hot. Take time by the forelock," he proceeded. "Who knows what will happen the next moment? That is why I am saying all this to you just now at 2 a. m. If the Lord wants to take away either of us He may do so. It is all in His hands.

"So this verse needs to be fully understood and assimilated. Then what is that golden path by pursuing which we can achieve all purposes? That path is the path of service—that is, service of one's neighbour, or service of the Lord. Devotional marks on the forehead or telling the beads of the rosary does not connote the service of the Lord. To put such a mark and then to stab another—as is happening nowadays—that is sheer hypocrisy. But as saint Narsinha Mehta has said, 'Devotion means absolute

(See page 80)

★ Essentials of a Revolution ★

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

NECESSITY FOR BOYCOTT.

Though busy in their constructive work our workers pay no heed to the forces and institutions which are working top speed to crush it outright. They develop and carry on village industries but do not think of boycotting mill products. They run *kacha-ghanis* but do not insist on rejecting preparations of mill-oil. While taking cereal they are quite oblivious of their being mill-grinded or polished. Thus there are a thousand and odd things about which our workers have almost no consciousness.

We forget that for a successful growth of village industries and lively revival of village civilization, mill-made articles and city civilization have to be boycotted, thoroughly both from our households and also from institutions. Nay, we would have to build the atmosphere around us on these lines and thereafter launch a country-wide movement for it. Otherwise, we of Sarvodaya, observing these merely as certain rites and ceremonies, would be washed away by the onward current of time.

TOWARDS REVOLUTION.

All of us do make certain sacrifices in our daily life but surely we do not bring about a revolution therein. And yet we dream of a new era to be ushered in. This is simply impossible without lowering our standard of life. Revolution is nothing but change in our way of sacrifice and life. We must confess that we continue to lead a *u r b a n* - exploiter's life, our all *tyag* notwithstanding. Even our ambitions and aspirations are directed along the same channel. This must go. The mode of life

of our workers must correspond to that of actual tillers and producers, i. e. we must become labourers all. It matters little whether we transform ourselves completely or not (for our capacities differ) but our honest and firm step must be taken in that direction, lest our revolution might be reduced to a dull farce bereft of life or motion.

As an earnest of the same we have to study the conditions prevalent in our country-side. Our sacrifice counts little with the village peasant and labourer. And rightly so, for, are not most of the new residents of mansions and palaces those who were once leading a simple and ostentatious life before they got into power? There is a feeling all round that our sacrifice was but an investment.

ADOPT THE LIFE OF THE MASSES.

Another factor is also responsible for this feeling in the people. It is the hard, very hard, struggle for existence which the common man has to undergo. He is really in a terrible slough. Even the necessities of life are a distant dream to him, beyond attainment or realization. He, therefore, cannot bear the sight of our enjoying meals with pleasure. We must partake with him in the battle for life. Our public service or social work must be based on trying to earn our livelihood by the sweat of our brow through such meagre and crude resources as are available to the poor and down-trodden. Only thus can the masses lean to our side. Any attempt to service without keeping in touch with the masses is bound to meet the fate of a corpse.

(Free rendering of an article
in "Sarvodaya", February, 1951).

(Continued from 79th page.)

self-surrender (lit. offering of one's head). So remember if you cannot serve with your body, then you must do so with your mind, getting up, sitting, eating, drinking, playing, laughing all the while. We must pray for the wellbeing of the whole world and render whatever service falls to our lot. If you understand even this much you have

learnt a good deal. See, what deep meaning our proverbs have. Even through these little jokes I have taught you a valuable lesson."

And thus this great teacher spoke to me for about 20 minutes in the stillness of the night at two o'clock in a low tone in order not to disturb anyone else.

[From the book 'BAPU MY MOTHER' — Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.]

Vinobaji on Planning Commission's Draft Outline

[A summary of the discussion between Shri. R. K. PATIL, Member of the Planning Commission, and Shri. VINOBAJI, on 20—8—'51 at Paunur, on the Draft Five Year Plan of the Government of India.]

In the Constitution, Government promises food and work for every citizen of India. But your report takes no account of it at all. And just as a master of the house believes in the provision of food and work to every member at all times, the Government, thinking in terms of the whole society, must incorporate this idea in its planning and devise ways and means accordingly. If the Government has drawn the plan with this objective before it, the entire picture will change. But they start on the assumption that they want armies and large-scale industries. Your entire draft is prepared on this basis. And yet you express your helplessness to provide work for all. I would rather start the other way round, providing work and food first and planning in that light, next. You may well retort, "This is not a sound policy; it is barren and primitive". I accept it, but this is the policy on the strength of which we all can live. Today we but want to live, and a plan to let us live. It can be modified later if required.

Recently I went round Telangana. But for my belief in non-violence I could have done nothing there, and would perhaps have gone into the Communist hold. For about a hundred years people there are addicted to drinking. Nation after nation rose during this period, but not they. There is no mention of prohibition in your report. I saw the life of people in Telangana. As you witness prayers in an Ashram every evening regularly, there you find people quarrelling among themselves. The Commission does not feel worried to improve their lot.

You must be able to provide work to all and resolve to do so from a particular date. This resolve should be carried out. It matters little to me what you intend to put in their hands. But they must get work. On the contrary, you — on whom lies the sole responsibility of providing work to the nation — say it is not possible. Then, better resign and go.

YOU ARE SERVANTS, NOT MASTERS.

The draft has suggested family planning. You want fewer children. I ask you: How

dare you say such a thing about my full and lively house? Are you my servant or master? Your duty is to give me food. I do not believe that we are an overpopulated country. I am sure Japan is not less heavily populated. Japan's soil is putting up four times as heavy a load as that of India. So also the English soil is bearing a greater strain than ours. Who are you then to advise us birth-control? Have you ever thought over the problem of the growth of population? Do you know that a lion begets less than a goat? How is your birth-control propaganda going to influence and reduce the village population that is growing more and more? In fact it is due to the present situation throughout. Its solution lies not in birth-control but in directing the life on the right channels. I am all for population increase, but I am only for such a population as will be strong and good. And I shall create a way of life for it. We must know that what is required to yield a strong and good population is the same as is needed to check the population. We shall educate the people along these lines. We shall try to build such an atmosphere as to change their life. It is not a question of birth-control but how to model the life and create circumstances favourable for achieving it.

APATHY TOWARDS VILLAGE INDUSTRIES.

You want village industries to stand on their own feet. First you cut off my feet and then ask me to stand on my legs. You should rather admire my ability to walk even then, with the support of my hands. You must recognise the fact that Gandhiji carried out khadi and village industries programme in the face of the vehement opposition offered by an alien Government, both by its policy and intent. Far from admitting it you declare before us about its impracticability now on the ground that it could not succeed even in spite of 25 years' activity of such an eminent person as Gandhiji. I ask you whether khadi has or has not contributed say even 10% to our freedom movement? If you admit it why should you not support it? It is very much like an ungrateful son abandoning his old mother after coming

into his own. I simply wonder how Gandhiji could achieve so much. He wrought a wonder indeed!

From my very childhood I was a little inclined towards Gandhiji's views. We used to laugh at the sight of a Brahmin who lived in our neighbourhood, daily spinning on the takli. But really we ought to have learnt the lesson of industry and hard work from him. Today we are doing the same thing he did then. You must rather think thus: When Gandhiji could do so much, under the then unfavourable circumstances, much more must be achieved now when we have our own Government. You want to convert this illustration of 'inverse proportion' into one of 'equal proportion.' This is all due to ignorance of mathematics.

NO OTHER WAY.

During my recent tour I enquired of thousands of people as also the socialists: "Can you suggest any other industry for this place except khadi?" No, they can neither contemplate nor suggest any other way than khadi. There is a very congenial atmosphere for it in Telangana. Women carrying charkhas on their heads came in their hundreds to see me and span easily for two or three hours at a stretch. And yet their Government do not even think of the charkha. The reason is that you people start on some assumed propositions. I would request you to give them up lock, stock and barrel. First you confess that it is yours to provide work for all. Then you will realise that there is no other way except village industries.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY PLEDGE BROKEN.

You had pledged yourself not to procure food from outside after 1951. Now when you find that you cannot carry out the great pledge you took, you found a Planning Commission which says that for some years to come it is not possible for the country to be self-sufficient. Naturally the Government would follow the Commission and plead for getting food from abroad.

I have always held that food self-sufficiency must be the first target of the nation. But careless in that regard you propose to obtain three million tons from outside. And that is not all. Your draft says more might be required. I wonder whether you really think of protecting India. If you do, what do you propose to do in case of food emergency? Suppose tomorrow you are at war against Pakistan. Naturally they will not give you any food. Will America etc. give

it? If so, would they do it out of their love for you or to bind you with their shackles? I fail to appreciate your not assigning first priority to food and cloth self-sufficiency.

Nor can it be said that you are devoted to non-violence. Again, taking for granted your faith in violence, there is no plan for strengthening the army or re-armament. In fact the Commission precludes the possibility of heavy re-armament. So, if you have to protect the country by means of non-violence, it is incumbent on you to achieve self-sufficiency in some clear terms. This is the fundamental axiom of a non-violent social order. Before you commence planning, you should clearly lay down your axiomatic principles.

CONSTANT BEGGING.

You must be un-equivocal in your statement. Either you can militarise the country or you cannot. This draft is silent on this. It is simply confusing. You propose to get three million tons from abroad. Do we own any ancestral lands there to have it? And when you get it somehow you would have to grow crops here according to the dictates of the foreigners. Thus it is a plan envisaging constant begging. Rather you should say something thus: we are short of food. A "dan" of three lakhs tons is required. If you please, give it unconditionally. We shall distribute it in a rationed manner among our people.

This Draft gives no incentive to the villagers to grow more. It does not inspire them to make any sacrifice at the critical hour. You are putting the cart before the horse when you say that the villagers themselves must plan to procure work for them. In fact that is my dictum. But if it is yours also why do you take the money of the villagers outside at all? Yours is not simply to recommend proposals but you must have the guts to devise proper means to enable to execute them.

DRUMS AGAINST DYNAMITES.

There is no idea in this plan to revive the village industries. Your brain works like that of a father who is ever thinking of the ways and means to kill his children! You have already deprived the villagers of their cloth industry with textile-mills, their oil-ghani with oil-mills, their jaggery-craft with sugar-mills, and so on. How do you think that they would withstand all your onslaughts even after you have emaciated

(Continued on next page.)

★ EQUALITY AND JUSTICE: ★

Bullock Cart Driver's Rights in Democracy

J. C. KUMARAPPA

TONGAS NOT ALLOWED.

The technique of how the rich exploit the weak was spotlighted at the time of my visit to New Delhi to attend the Planning Commission Advisory Board. The Planning Commission office is located in the South wing of the Rastrapathi's Bhavan. From the station I took a tonga and after dropping my luggage at my lodging place asked the driver to proceed to the 'Lot Sahib's Mahal'. The driver replied, "I am a poor man. I shall get into trouble if I drive you there as tongas are not allowed". I assured him I would see him through. He took courage and drove on and went past the two secretariat blocks and was about to turn left to the Viceregal Lodge gates when a sikh young man authoritatively commanded the driver to get off the road. I told him that that was a public highway and I had every right to use it and asked what authority he had to turn me away especially as he was not even in police uniform to regulate traffic and I ordered the tongawalla to proceed. The intruder now climbed down and explained that 'Panditji' was to pass that way to preside over the Planning Commission Meeting and he was only clearing the way for him. Then I informed him that I too had to attend that very meeting and what was more I had to be there before Panditji got there so that I could have the privilege of standing up when Panditji enters! Laughing at my retort he allowed the tonga to proceed.

SERIES OF HURDLES.

A few yards further at the forbidding gates, was a military sentry, bayonet, boots,

brass buttons all complete. He stood across the road and ordered us to get outside the railings as tongas were not allowed inside those sacred precincts of the first citizen. I countermanded that order to the tongawalla. The sentry demanded a pass from me. I replied I held no such thing. He told me I could not enter those grounds without a pass. I explained that I had been summoned to attend the Planning Commission Meeting and so I had to go. He replied that he had orders to let the invitees go in but not tongas! I refused to get off and walk the distance. When the altercation was well on, a police officer intervened and brought some reason to bear on the military orders, I was then allowed to pass.

A few yards further the traffic policeman also stopped the tonga. On my explaining the situation and strengthening my position by pointing out that at the first entrance he had noticed that a police officer had passed me, he agreed to let us proceed.

The last hurdle was another military sentry a few yards from the entrance to the office. There too, we were held up till the Planning Commission Office attendants rescued us.

In spite of my protest to the Secretary, and his subsequent communication with the Military Secretary, this performance was repeated the next day also, when I threatened to arrive the next day—if the meeting continued—in a bullock cart! I pointed out that it was the height of absurdity and absolute lack of planning to hold a meeting
(Continued on next page.)

(Continued from previous page.)

them? And again how will you protect the city folk then? Therefore, you should do nothing that injures the village industries. My principle in this regard is that all those industries whose raw material is produced in the villages and their finished articles are used for consumption should be reserved for the villagers. Why can't you have reserved industries like reserved forests?

They answer by saying that life would then lose all warmth and joy. Oh! you want warmth and joy, dance and music in your villages as a sign of life. In those serious deliberations at Bangalore A.I.C.C., you got a resolution carried to that effect. Good heavens! What an irony that you had passed a resolution expressing simply your preference for drums instead of dynamites.

[Free rendering from Hindi 'Sarvodaya' Sep. '51.]

To be continued.

at a place to which the members had no free access.

WHY BULLOCK CARTS NOT ALLOWED?

At the afternoon session that day the question of Roads came up. On being invited to offer my remarks I regaled my experience of getting to the meeting in a tonga. I told Panditji that a bullock cart driver in a democracy was as good a citizen as the Prime Minister himself and that it was an insult to deny him the use of a public road as was done in New Delhi in such roads as Ferozeshah Road.

Then Jawaharlalji interrupted to say he fully agreed that every citizen was equal in a democracy and that no privileges could be denied a bullock cart driver. But he submitted that I had misunderstood the purpose behind the notice board 'Bullock carts not allowed'. He suggested this restriction was placed in the interests of the bullock cart drivers themselves as those roads were frequented by military lorry drivers and accidents might happen in which the bullock carts would be the worse sufferers.

I replied:

*"Sir, you are a lawyer used to special pleading but to a simple man like me your argument looks upside down. When there are two persons in a public place and the presence of one is likely to be a menace to the other, my common sense would lead me to restrain the source of danger rather than the possible victims. Accordingly I would put up a notice 'Motor cars and lorries not allowed' and thus protect the bullock cart drivers!"**

This evoked a peal of laughter.

This incident shows how even a simple situation is twisted out of recognition to suit the vested interests and the under-privileged is told that he is being deprived of his rights acquired at his own costs in his own interests. This was the old British Trusteeship argument still perpetrated under our "Freedom." When will these frauds on the public cease and citizens be allowed to enjoy the newly acquired rights of full equality and justice?

**Italics is ours.*

Vinobaji and Jaiprakash Narain ply the Water-wheel in Prayer.

"Shri. Jaiprakash Narain was at Wardha from August 15th to 17th. He saw Vinoba at Paunar on the 15th and held discussion with him for over two hours, on various current problems. Shri. Jaiprakash went round the Paramdham Ashram and watched closely the experiment of Swawalambi Samyayoga: the experiment of self-reliant equality. He stayed on to participate in the evening prayer. Vinoba wants the prayer to be yoked to work; accordingly, for some time past, the prayer is now held at the water-wheel; that is, they pray while they turn the wheel. The wheel has eight poles and each pole can accommodate three workers. Vinobaji and Jaiprakashji took hold of the same pole. The prayer and the wheel moved together. While the former watered the hearts of the workers, the latter watered the crops in the garden."— Thus writes Shri. Damodardas Mundada in the "Harijan" of 8th September, 1951, reporting Vinobaji's speech after prayer given below:

VINOBAJI'S SPEECH:

THE PANDAVAS:

It is a great pleasure to have Jaiprakash Narain in our midst today. We are a big family and we should live like the five Pandavas in complete unison. India, our country, is a vast land, its problems naturally are as vast, there are also differences among us about the way they should be solved.

There is Jawaharlalji. He has to shoulder the burden of the whole country, an onerous

responsibility in all conscience. The situation in the country today is by no means easy. He expects co-operation from all. But he has his own ideas, and inevitably he has to work within the limitations of those ideas. Then, there is Kripalaniji who feels that the most pressing need of the hour is the eradication of corruption. He is working according to his lights. Jaiprakash has his own ideas and his own remedy for the

country's ills. He is also serving the country and trying to remove the sufferings of the poor. Then, there is Kishorelalbai and others of his way of thinking who believe in Sarvodaya. They are also guiding the country in their own way. Thus all of them have but one aim - the service of the country. They are devoting whatever energy they have to the service of the land. God is behind them, and He is directing them to the service of the Nation.

SPORTIVE SPIRIT IN ELECTIONS.

But at times when I am alone and think of it, I wonder why we, the servants of the people, devoted to the cause of the service of the poor should not put only those things before the public on which we are all agreed and keep back things on which we differ, remembering that neither our number is very large nor are the differences in our ideas too great. I, for my part, bear this rule in my mind, in putting my ideas before the public. The elections are impending. Suppose, both Jaiprakash and I stand as candidates; then what should happen is to let the people outside choose either of us, while we work together here, ply the water-wheel jointly and dine together. Though we stand as separate candidates at the elections, that should not disturb our unity in other spheres. If this happens, elections will pass off peacefully and people will choose

whomsoever they like. Sankaracharya said, this world is a big sport. Elections too are a part of the sport. We should enter the sport in that spirit, our love and admiration for one another remaining constant.

Hence, I say, to the villagers; let not the elections destroy the village. Differences should not be allowed to disfigure your life. I do not care whosoever may be elected. There is no fear that people will elect those who are inimical to our views. But if elections are allowed to create factions, then, even though good and honest men are elected the loss will far exceed the gain. This should not happen. Let not the chord of love which binds us together be snapped.

AN UNFORGETTABLE SIGHT.

When I look at things from all these sides, and ponder over the part which God wills me to play, I feel at times that He perhaps wants me to act as a lubricant between the different parts of the machine, so that it may function smoothly. And I think that he has also endowed me with the capacity to do this part of the work well.

I was led to speak these words to you, being inspired by the fact that though Jaiprakashji and I have our ideological differences, yet we have worked together at the water-wheel. It was a sight which we would never forget.

THE CALL OF THE SPINNING WHEEL

To a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages. God created man to work for his food, and said that those who ate without work were thieves. Eighty per cent of India are compulsorily thieves half the year. Is it any wonder if India has become one vast prison? Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel. The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love. And love is Swaraj. Thus spinning wheel will 'curb the mind', when time spent on necessary physical labour can be said to do so. We must think of millions who are today less than animals, who are almost in a dying state. The spinning wheel is the reviving draught for the millions of our dying countrymen and country-women. "Why should I, who have no need to work for food, spin?" may be the question asked. Because I am eating what does not belong to me. I am living on the spoliation of my countrymen. Trace the course of every pice that finds its way into your pocket, and you will realize the truth of what I write. Swaraj has no meaning for the millions if they do not know how to employ their enforced idleness.

— GANDHIJI ('Young India,' 13-10-1921)

★ The Foundation of Sarvodaya ★

KAKA KALELKAR

THE GENTLEMEN OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

Gandhiji placed before the Nation, time after time, many programmes based on truth and non-violence to win Swaraj and to regenerate the Nation. He laid special emphasis on the necessity of these programmes to establish a non-violent society. The effect of this programme is to eventually transform the whole life. But the gentlemen of the middle class were not prepared for this. Even now they are not. Those who worked for Swaraj and also those who desired to have it, more or less accepted those programmes just like a patient who is prevailed upon from a feeling of helplessness, to take medicine of bitter taste. Now Swaraj has come. Who will now take this bitter dose? Even that little briskness that people had has cooled down. All those programmes have become most inert and are being carried on in an indifferent and lifeless manner. Those who have real and full faith in Gandhiji's ways know that, for the well-being of the Nation, these programmes are more needed today than before. But how to bring home this necessity to the people? They accepted them then as an aid and inspiration to win Swaraj. Why should they adopt it now? The suppressed population is heading fast towards another type of revolution. We must so direct the course of this revolution towards the objective of Sarvodaya and formulate a programme that may be acceptable to the people and the Government. This has to be presented to the people in new terms with a new appeal. Our Constitution promises the following in right earnest :

1. All men and women (not only majority but all) must get enough opportunities to earn their livelihood.

2. More facilities for food, clothing, health and education etc. should be provided for all people, than as at present.

3. Wealth and means of production should not be centralised as centralised economy endangers common well-being. Definitely embodied as these things are in our Constitution, no Government would go against it. The Government must apply their

mind and strength to implement these three objectives. All farmers and others engaged in the production of grains, vegetables and fruits for the increasing population of our land, should get a living wage. If this principle is not accepted by the Government of the country they are thereby inviting a terrible revolution. Since ages, the poor agriculturist has been producing food, but his children get less and less to eat day by day.

THE NATION'S BURDEN ON THE FARMER.

It is not possible to continue this state any further in future. As the burden of the Earth is supposed to be on the head of "Adishesha" the whole burden of feeding the Nation falls on the farmer and the members of his family and the like. Being the central pivot of national life, the peasantry should also constitute the foundation of our national policy. Each farmer-family should now possess as much of land as would be necessary to sumptuously feed itself. Besides this, cultivation must yield him some profit too. In case the lands are in fragments let the farmers join together and carry on co-operative farming. The limitless land owned by the Zamindars should be redistributed among the peasants. This is the least that must be done without any delay.

IMPENDING VIOLENT HUNGER - REVOLUTION.

The next thing to be considered is to see whether the farmers will be able to get in addition to their land, some home-industries which are necessary for their subsistence. Since the land available for cultivation may not be enough for distribution to all, there will yet remain some who may be landless. We must see what we can provide for this lot of people to earn their living and how. This problem cannot be solved by merely transferring some of them to the cities and employing them in factories and paying them heavily. We must not forget that this would make it rather more complex. All attempts for providing work in urban workshops are bound to result in making most of the village people starve for want of any craft at home. Village industry has already been meeting slow death on account of this policy.

Now the villagers will refuse to be victims to this policy and take to the course of a terrible revolution. The white-clad gentleman will not be able to face this revolution nor the Government can control it. This cannot be held up by merely repeating the word Sarvodaya. The Government should provide enough land for the farmer for saving the country from violent hunger-revolution, if not for establishing a non-violent order of society. So let the farmers be given the land and also those who cannot be given lands be provided with some craft or industry to earn a living wage. Let all possible obstacles in the way of such cottage industries be removed.

AGRICULTURE WITH COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.

The policy of encouraging some cottage industries along with the machine-factories, alone will not be able to stop the revolution. Successful execution of sound agriculture and cottage industries must be the essential economic policy of the Nation and society. This is the only way to ward off bloodshed and usher in Sarvodaya.

What else may be required to realise this Sarvodaya—for bringing beneficial and non-violent revolution—will be discussed in detail in subsequent issues. ○ ○ ○

(Free rendering from Hindi "Mangal Prabhat" Sep. '51)

THE KHADI WORLD: THOU SHALT NOT STEAL. — R. R. KEITHAHN, GANDHI GRAM

GANDHIJI'S WORDS RECALLED.

I remember what a shock I received when I came to India over twenty years ago, thinking I was rendering a great service and then reading in "Young India" the words of Gandhiji which ran somewhat as follows: "If you have two chairs in your home, your neighbour is without any, and you do not need these chairs, you are a robber. I was in a Missionary bungalow having all conveniences. Most of the families of India would not even have had a satisfactory house in which to live. Naturally Gandhiji's words troubled my conscience. I believe that the conscience of those who read this article should also be troubled.

IS IT NOT STEALING?

Where most of us receive two rupees or more in wages the ordinary villager producing the necessary food and clothing for India receives only his two annas or less. Is that not stealing? Many of us are busy adding house unto house and field unto field until there is no place in all the land for God's people! Although this problem was felt by the sensitive prophet 2500 years ago, yet the problem of landless agricultural labour in India is perhaps our greatest problem. And it is not primarily a political problem. *It is a human problem.* But none of us will do anything about it. Are we not robbing the lives of these millions?

ROBBING SELF-RESPECT.

I was at a recent retreat of religious leaders. At the first meal at which I was present I found several people leaving some

food on the leaf. Is it not a custom of exploiters and a false culture? A little later I saw a scavenger family scrapping these leaves and eating the food. I felt so ashamed that at the next meal I asked my friends not to leave anything on the leaf and to give the hungry scavenger family good food from the kitchen itself. We were robbing this family not only of food, but even worse, of their very self-respect. We must become much more sensitive in these matters.

IS NOT THE STUDENT A ROBBER?

Is not the average student robbing India? Much money is spent on his education by society and his parents. Lakhs of rupees are spent in expensive buildings. Most of the people of India have to do without education. Is not the student a robber?—If he does not study well and thoughtfully; if he does not share his blessings and serve; if he does not go to the villages to serve whence most of the taxes come and where our greatest needs are to be found; if he is not determined to build a new society of justice; if he spends his money and time needlessly on cinemas, athletics, clothes, and so forth. Each student and each citizen should be more thoughtful in these matters.

These are critical days—days of consolidation of our national freedom. The contribution of every citizen is needed. Should we not, in this **Khadi World**, remind ourselves that there is a great moral law "*Thou shalt not steal*"?

All India Spinners' Association

Some Decisions of the Board of Trustees

[The following is the substance of some of the important resolutions passed at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the A. I. S. A., held at Sevagram on 4th and 5th September, 1951.]

APPOINTMENTS.

Shri. Dwarakanath Lele, at present Sanchalak of the *Pramana Pathra Vibagh*, has been appointed as the Assistant Secretary of the A. I. S. A., (R. 2.)

Since the untimely death of Shri. Gulam Ahmed Bhai, Secretary of Kashmir Branch, no successor could be appointed from among the local workers. As the Jammu Khadi Bhandar was transferred to the Punjab Branch, the remaining portion of Kashmir will be treated as a Vibagh for which Shri. Prabhakar Kanetker is appointed as the Sanchalak (R. 4.)

Shri. B. Govindaswami is appointed as Sanchalak for the Tirupur Vibagh of Tamil Nad. [This includes Coimbatore, South and North Arcot Districts.] (R. 10)

Shri. Sankar Rao Vele is appointed as the Sanchalak of the amalgamated Chanda and Naga Vidharba Vibagh. (R. 11)

RETIRING SECRETARIES.

Resignation of Shri. N. S. Subramanyam of Tamil Nad Branch was accepted. Since Tamil Nad had been already divided into five Vibaghs under Sanchalaks there is no need to appoint any new Secretary. (R. 6)

The resignation of Shri. K. Vaidyanathan, Secretary of Hyderabad Branch is accepted. The major portion of Hyderabad Khadi work has been handed over to the newly formed institution "Hyderabad Khadi Samiti" by the A. I. S. A., retaining sale Bhandar of Hyderabad city and the Production centre at Metpalli under the Charkha Sangh. (R. 5)

Shri. Kothandaramaswami, Secretary of Andhra Branch whose five years' period of Secretaryship is about to expire desires to resign from service for personal reasons. His resignation is accepted. (R. 7.)

The five year period of Secretaryship of Shri. Uthamchand Shah in Gujarat

Branch is shortly to expire. He is relieved of his responsibility. The organization and propaganda work for Kathayi Mandals in Gujarat on behalf of the Head Office are entrusted to him. (R. 8)

Shrimati. Manibhen Nanavati's period of Secretaryship of Bombay Branch having expired, she is relieved of her responsibility. (R. 9.)

The Charkha Sangh thanks all the above retiring Secretaries for the service rendered in their responsible positions and hopes that their services will be available in future also for the Sangh.

TRUSTEES.

It was decided in the previous meeting that the Trustees of the Sangh should individually help in giving guidance and advice to the workers and the public in specified regions for the general development of Khadi work without any responsibility in the administrative work. The following Trustees have undertaken the responsibilities in the areas specified against each.

1. Shri. Dwajaprasad Sahu - Bihar and Assam
2. " Siddharaj Dhadha - Rajasthan.
3. " R. Guruswami - Tamil Nad and Kerala.
4. " Rema Devi - Utkal and Bengal.
5. " Jugat Ram Dave - Gujarat
6. " R. S. Dhotre - Madhyabharath - Naga Vidharba & Mahakosal.

Shri. Anna Saheb Sahashra Budhe who is not present in the meeting, it is hoped, will agree to be in charge of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Hyderabad regions (R. 16)

GOVERNMENT COTTAGE INDUSTRY BOARD.

Shri. Siddharaj Dhadha is nominated as the Charkha Sangh's representative for the Cottage Industries Board of the Central Government, as Shri. Dhiren Bhai, the

present member does not find it possible to attend its sittings. (R. 17)

CONGRESS CONSTRUCTIVE WORK COMMITTEE.

Shri. Srikrishnadas Jajuji is elected to represent the Charkha Sangh in the said committee (R. 18.)

FLAGS.

The Government of India have decided that the National Flags of cotton, silk and woollen should all be made of hand-spun and hand-woven khadi. The Charkha Sangh has undertaken the responsibility at the request of the Government in making and supplying the Flags as per their requirements through its own centres or its certified centres (R. 13)

LAND-GIFT.

An unconditional gift of two acres of land has been offered near Chippiparai Village in Tinnevely Vibagh (Tamil Nad) for research in cotton and development of self-sufficiency work. The gift is accepted with the hope that the workers of the Vibagh may make use of it for the purpose. (R. 14.)

SIKSHA SAMITHI.

On the suggestion of Shri. Dhiren Bhai that the various Samithis of the Sangh may be reconstituted, the existing Siksha Samithi was dissolved and a new Samithi is formed with the following members :

1. Shri. Dhiren Bhai.
 2. " R. S. Dhotre.
 3. " Ram Dev Babu.
 4. " Vallabhaswami.
 5. " Narayan Desai.
 6. " Devendra Gupta.
 7. " A. Natarajan.
 8. " Nandalal Patel (Convener)
 9. Secretary, Charkha Sangh.
- (R. 19.)

CERTIFIED INSTITUTIONS.

The Managing Committees of the Certified Institutions have been requesting to allow representatives of the Charkha Sangh in their committees. Under the existing policy of the Sangh, no officer or worker of the Sangh can be a member of such committees. However, all advice and guidance will be available to them from the Sangh through its "Pramana Pathra Vibagh" (certification Department.) (R. 15)

[Some other resolutions relating to research in spinning and carding implements will be published in the next issue of *The Khadi World*.]

A separate committee was formed to manage the growing volume of work of the Certification Vibagh. The committee will consist of the following members :

1. Shri. V. V. Jarajani.
2. " Brijkishore Sahu.
3. " Bhim Sen Vedalankar.
4. " Dwarakanath Lele (Sanchalak.)
5. Secretary, Charkha Sangh. (R. 20)

On the representation of Shri Gandhi Ashram, Meerut, and the Bihar Khadi Samithi to limit the maximum amount for certification fees, it is decided that any Certified Institution producing khadi over Rs. 5 lakhs a year need not pay more than Rs. 250 as fees besides the salary and T. A. of the Inspectors of the Charkha Sangh whenever deputed to inspect their accounts. (R. 22)

Rule 18 of the Certification Rules has been further clarified as follows :-

The prevailing percentage of margin sanctioned by the Charkha Sangh for overhead charges will remain the same as per the original rule. But if any institution saves any amount of this margin it can be used by the institution for its own work, as it may decide. But in the case of such institutions who have been specially allowed higher percentage of margin for expenses, any saving out of that amount should be handed over to the Charkha Sangh. The surplus of an institution for any year should remain with the Charkha Sangh for 2 years. And during that period if any loss occurs it can be adjusted. After the third year begins the surplus of the previous period, if any, of the institution may be spent for the benefit of the artisans as per rules of Workman's Benefit Fund or to consumers with the previous sanction of the Charkha Sangh.

MANTHRI SAHAYAK.

The post of *Manthri Sahayak* or Assistant to the Secretary, Charkha Sangh, Sevagram, created at the last meeting to assist the Secretary in his work is now renamed as "*Prabandh Sahayak*" to clear all possible misunderstanding. (R. 3) (Refer to August issue of '*The Khadi World*' for earlier correction by Shri Krishnadas Gandhi.)

GANDHIJI'S CONTRIBUTIONS — N. R. BALAKRISHNAN

Gandhiji's unique contribution towards the history of culture and civilization has been that he was able to shape and influence the thoughts and ideas of a large number of people all over the world. Like all other great teachers and prophets who taught mankind the eternal path of divine knowledge and wisdom, Gandhiji too, has bequeathed to posterity an unique and everlasting philosophy of his own.

The distinguishing feature of Gandhiji is that he did not dogmatise about spiritual ideals and the nature of Truth without emphasising the purpose of our earthly existence; and he established no separate creed. After making a comparative study of all religions of the world, he applied their moral philosophy not only in his private and public life, but also co-ordinated it with such mundane subjects as politics and economics, and brought freedom to a disunited and enslaved nation.

Unlike denominational religions, Gandhism is not designed for one particular class or sect of people. Its aim is to unify all castes, communities and races and to bring them under the banner of international brotherhood. To this end, besides having steadfast faith in God, it teaches truth, love and non-violence as the basic principles of human life. It entreats mankind to give up brute force, anger, passion and prejudice and to constantly strive for attaining perfection in this very life. In short, it beseeches humanity to eschew all evil ways of untruth and wickedness and to follow the noble path of virtue and righteousness. And yet it is friendly towards every religion. It is as much akin to Christianity even as it is to Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and other religions. Since Gandhiji holds all religions with equal regard, it strongly objects to conversion from one religion to another. While there is place in it for intense and incessant practice of *japa*, *tapa*, prayer, fast and other austerities, and devoted study of the sacred books, it also insists on selfless service of mankind.

Immolation of the self in service as enunciated in the Gita was the ideal means of Gandhiji's life and he ceaselessly worked for its fulfilment. Without the fullest self-

control involving purity of mind and body, control of the palate, *brahmacharya*, practice of nature-cure, non-violence in thought, word and deed and non-possession, the ideal of self-immolation in service cannot be attained. His whole life, including his strange-looking experiments in diet, dress, cures, vows, training of workers etc. were but a continuous research work to testify to the efficacy of Truth.

Gandhiji reflected the eternal spirit of humanity in order to give everlasting hope and courage for the multitudes of enslaved masses, and also to demonstrate to the world for the first time in its history, the method of non-violent campaign and its wonderful result. Even when he seemed to be inconsistent and blundering Gandhiji shone out as an unrivalled champion of nobility in every aspect of greatness. His unflinching devotion to God, high sense of duty, extreme simplicity, childlike frankness, genuine sympathy, unbounded courtesy, unpretentious humility, transparent sincerity, strict adherence to truth and non-violence, and above all, his stupendous moral calibre and conviction gave him extraordinary poise and power, and these superfine human qualities made him the greatest man of his time.

Leaders often take Gandhiji's name to instil courage and confidence into the minds of the agitated people. Politicians take his name to gain power and position. Even the revolutionaries quote him for invigorating the mind of our masses, and our educational and social workers often quote him to bring about educational reforms and social uplift on the line of Gandhiji's ideals. Writers, philosophers and religious preachers cannot carry on their professions without citing Gandhiji. Even the worst black-marketeers, profiteers and other enemies of our society keep his photo in front of their shops and houses in order to achieve public sympathy. We celebrate his birth-day and death-day by shouting "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai", by erecting his statues and also by renaming our various places, roads and parks after him. If this did not degenerate into a mere fashion or tactics, but Gandhiji really became a part and parcel of our daily thought, what miraculous and revolutionary effects his name would be able to produce in the life of man?

WALKING TOUR OF VINOBAJI

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

RETURN FROM TELANGANA TOUR.

When Vinoba returned from his Historical Telangana tour on the 27th June last, nobody had the idea that he would start on his new mission so soon again. Of course, he was not going to stay at Paramdham indefinitely. He, on return, had declared at Sevagram that he would apply himself to making the experiment of self-sufficiency at Paramdham a complete success so that it would add strength to his utterances outside. The problem of land was not limited to India alone, he said. It was an international problem and if the Paramdham experiment was successful, it would resolve the problem at home and abroad. He accordingly had taken to his spade and started digging in the field. He made several changes in the Ashram programme to facilitate speedy elimination of money economy. Financial aid was not to be availed of any more after the 2nd October, 1951, even for development purposes. Most important change was the pledge taken by all the Ashram colleagues to lead a life of complete celibacy throughout, with a view to make this experiment a complete success.

Vinobaji was not satisfied with the changes at the Paramdham Ashram only. He introduced similar changes at Sevagram and Gopuri. The main point was self-sufficiency and elimination of money. He was restless as it were. Invitations from different provinces were pouring in. Workers from Thana district wanted Vinobaji to visit the backward area there. Pandit Dharmadeo Shastri who is working in the Himalayas amongst the Adi-vasis had written heart-rending tales of the people there, where labourers were agitated and a movement seemed immanent. In Usmanabad district in Hyderabad, there was the problem of rehabilitation of the Muslims. Similarly the question of the Meos was not yet settled and Vinoba's presence was needed there.

DECISION OF THE NEW TOUR TO DELHI.

We had thought that he would not leave Paunar atleast before the 27th October '51., when he would be completing a four-month-autumn halt there. In between, on the 6th

September there was a meeting of the constructive workers at Sevagram, which was convened at Vinoba's instance with a view to start some intense work in the villages around Wardha, for that alone could be a straight reply to the Planning Commission. Not a few were surprised that elderly people like Shri. Kishorelal Mashruvala and young enthusiasts like Shri. Shrimannarayan Agarwal raised their hands to enroll as volunteers for this new programme. They were all sure of Vinoba's presence to guide. He addressed the workers on the 6th afternoon and in the evening he informed his colleagues about his decision to undertake a North India walking tour on the 12th. It was exactly 6 months ago, on the 6th of March, and at Sevagram that he had announced his Sarvodaya Tour. Workers were embarrassed by the new decision and could not at once understand the full significance of the new venture, especially after initiating a New Programme of intensive work in 30 villages, around Wardha. But he argued that his tours would add strength to the home front. None could desist him from this decision. On the 11th incidentally he was completing his 56th year. But that was not the immediate reason to undertake the tour. He was sure to start on his next tour in some part of the country in the near future. It was an open secret now, that he was invited by the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to discuss on the Planning Commission. He had received the letter on the 5th and this helped in deciding the direction of his tour.

BHU DAN - YAGNA IN WARDHA.

And on the morn of 7th, he left Sevagram, for Paunar. He visited Babu's cottage to regain the strength as it were. The Talimi Sangh sisters came upto the hill to give him send off. All the workers and the students lined on both the sides of the road. The atmosphere was filled with *Ram Dhun* and Vinobaji arrived at Paramdham.

Before leaving Paramdham, he visited Surgaon, his dear village. He explained to them his mission. They wanted to do something as a token of an auspicious augury. They gave him sixty acres of land; Wardha gave six hundred acres. Some of Vinobaji's

associates gave away all their lands. Shri. Dathoba Dastane gave away his all, i. e. 19 acres. Shri. Thakur also gave all his lands. In the morning hours of 12th, Vinobaji left for Paramdham. In his message he appreciated what the Wardha people did to make his pilgrimage a success. Explaining the meaning of *Bhu dan*, he said *dan* is not only donation, but equal distribution. He wanted people to realise that society which consisted mainly of poor people, had a rightful share in the belongings of the Haves who should come forward to part with their lands voluntarily for the Have-nots. That alone would bring non-violent revolution in India. Otherwise there was no other go but inviting the bloody-revolution that happened in Russia and China. So far as he was concerned, he would devote all his life to bring about the non-violent change for which he thought there was favourable atmosphere in India.

And before leaving the Ashram limits he visited the Bharat Ram Mandir, sang his most dear song "*Dharma Zago Nivrithicha*:" "Let the teachings of Nivrithi prevail." "*Rama Ramana Govinda Hare*" filled the air. The river Dham also seemed to join. Above in the sky the *Mruga* was so prominent. There the sage was anxious to protect it from the hands of the *Vyaadh* the hunter. But here on the earth this sage was eager to protect the masses from the clutches of Communism, and violence.

In all the places, from Paunur to Sansar, during the first week the average donation came to about 285 acres per day as against 200 acres in Telangana. In some places like Gungaon, Sansar, Lodhi Keda, land gift was simply showered on him. The Pathan Brothers did not promise anything except their own 12 acres. At Lodhikadar they gave 60 and promised 100. Sausar Tahsil made up 500 acres in all. There were not a few instances which did not touch the hearts. At Nagpur one Marli Rao gave away all the 7 acres he possessed; at Kelod one Brahmin who had received 12 acres of gift gave away all the land to Vinoba. At Ramakona, one poor *Messin* gave away 8 acres which were his all. He said, "I earn my bread by my work. If I keep the land, my children will become idle." At Dongargaon, a very small village of the Gonds, Vinobaji received one acre and 1/2 acre from the two very poor

Gonds who owned only 4 acres. There were many who gave either 1/4 or 1/8th of their belongings. The figures per Tahsil are given below:—

1. Wardha	640 acres
2. Nagpur	695 "
3. Saoner	214 "
4. Sansor	596 "

FAVOURABLE ATMOSPHERE FOR NON - VIOLENT REVOLUTION.

The response in villages has proved that land gift does not require that an area should be first affected by the Communist atrocities and that Sarvodaya need come later after *Sarvanash* as in Telangana. People thought that Vinobaji may not be able to get lands in other parts of the country as he did in Telangana. If it were really so, there would be no chance for change of heart or non-violent revolution for which, he believed that there was already the ground ready in India.

This North India tour has another significance. In Telangana in Hyderabad, the atmosphere was filled with violence. There was violence No. 1, that of Razhakars, aided by Government; violence No. 2, that of the Zamindars and Zhagirdars; Violence No. 3, that of the Communists; and Violence No. 4, that of the Indian Union's Police and Military. Thus in the atmosphere of all-round violence, Vinobaji's pilgrimage brought over a change, undreamt of. It was also unprecedented. It was a revolution, mental as well as material, social as well as moral, economical as well as political. The Telangana tour was the beginning of a new era and served as a basis for a vast field of constructive work which had remained barren till now. In this tour though there was no Communist problem evident to the naked eye, could anyone deny that the seeds of Communism were not present? Was the land property distributed equitably? Was unemployment eliminated? Was food problem solved? Were village industries revived? How could any one then check the bloody-revolution? And yet there seemed to be no hope or indication of a move towards Sarvodaya. The Planning Commission Report, if put into action would prove another catastrophe for the nation. Congress workers have no time or leisure because of their electioneering work. The need of the day is selfless Sarvodaya workers. It

was for this reason that Vinobaji, on the eve of his departure had given final shape to his new programme of intensive work in the villages around Wardha. It was a good sign that we could visit on our way many Sarvodaya centres. At Seldoh, Kumarappaji himself had established the *Pannai Ashram*, and his brief stay has indeed transformed the village. At Takli there was Yogiraj Bhansaliji assisted by his adopted daughter Shri. Pushpa Bahen. It was a sight to see the two *Rishis* Vinoba and Bhansali seated on the same dais. At Saonga, there was the selfless untiring worker Kanetkar. At Sansor there was a band of hard working selfless workers. The whole journey was thus marked by visits to many personalities and institutions reminding us of the old *Rishis* and their Ashrams.

LAND PROBLEM WILL SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS.

Vinoba's words were all inspiring everywhere. What a devotion of the masses for Vinobaji and his cause! "Have they gone mad?", he asks; "What makes them part with their lands, which are so dear to them? They have realised that the revolution is immanent and inevitable and they do not want the kind of revolution that Russia and

China had. They have realised that mine is the only way to bring about the non-violent revolution. This is why they are voluntarily parting with their lands. Once you solve the problem of the land, you have solved all the problems and of the world too".

And he wants also "Now, if India, does not act up to Mahatmaji's teachings and takes to violence instead, she will be shattered to pieces. She will have no place in the world".

To the rich, he says, "Consider me as the fifth child; if you have four give me my share, the share of the poor masses! I am a friend not only of the poor but of the rich as well. I want to save them from the coming catastrophe".

And in this way the pilgrim is progressing. Some day it is 15 miles; another day it is 18 and sometimes it is 21 per day that he walks. It has begun well and it is only the beginning of an end, the end which Vinobaji has resolved to achieve and towards which he has taken one more plunge on the 12th of September, 1951, on his 57th birthday. Did not Babu say "One step enough for me"? ○ ○ ○

★ EDUCATIVE VALUE OF MANUAL WORK ★

MAHATMA GANDHI

[From the Address at Basic Teachers' Camp at Sevagram.]

"One of the complaints that has been made by one of you," Gandhiji remarked, "is that too much emphasis is laid here on manual work. I am a firm believer in the educative value of manual work. Our present educational system is meant for strengthening and perpetuating the imperialist power in India. Those of you who have been brought up under it have naturally developed a taste for it and so find labour irksome. No one in Government schools or colleges bothers to teach the students, how to clean the roads or latrines. Here, cleanliness and sanitation form the very *alpha* and *omega* of your training. Scavenging is a fine art you should take pains to learn. Persistent questioning and healthy inquisitiveness are the first requisite for acquiring learning of any kind. Inquisitiveness should be tempered by humility and respectful regard for the teacher. It must not degenerate into impudence. The latter is the enemy of the receptivity of mind.

There can be no knowledge without humility and the will to learn.

"Useful manual labour, intelligently performed, is the means *par excellence* for developing the intellect. One may develop a sharp intellect otherwise too. But then it will not be a balanced growth but an unbalanced, distorted abortion. It might easily make of one a rogue and a rascal. A balanced intellect presupposes a harmonious growth of body, mind and soul. That is why we give to manual labour the central place in our curriculum of training here. An intellect that is developed through the medium of socially useful labour will be an instrument for service and will not easily be led astray, or fall into devious paths. The latter can well be a scourge. If you grasp that essential point, the money spent by your respective Governments in sending you here for training will have been well-spent."

"*Harajan*", 8-9-'46

NEWS AND NOTES

THE BOYCOTT MOVEMENT IN BIHAR.

Readers may be familiar about the boycott movement that Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar, President of A. I. S. A., has been advocating for the rapid re-generation of the villages. The Bihar Khadi Samithi which is in charge of the one of three largest khadi producing provinces has given a lead in its decision to boycott all articles of food and cloth produced in mills which have caused the famine and poverty in the villages. The workers of the Samithi met in a conference in the last week of July and decided to the following effect.

1. No worker of the Bihar Khadi Samithi shall buy or use any kind of cloth made out of mill yarn. Every worker shall also induce the people around each centre to become self-sufficient through khadi and to boycott all mill-yarn cloth.

2. In all the centres of the Bihar Khadi Samithi the use of all food articles prepared in mills such as rice, flour, sugar, oil or hydrogenated oil like *Vanaspathi* and all edible preparations made out of these will be entirely stopped. No worker shall make use of them in the premises of the centres. Instead, the workers will use only hand-pounded rice, hand-ground flour, sugarcane gur or palm gur, ghani oil etc., and they will propagate the same to use these and boycott food articles made or processed by mills.

TRAINING CAMPS IN TAMIL NAD.

Intensive self-sufficiency work has received an impetus in Tamil Nad during the last one year under the direct guidance of Shri. Krishnadas Gandhi, Secretary, A. I. S. A., who has been spending most of his time in Tamil Nad since he came for the Implements Conference at Madura in Nov. 1950. After the Madura Conference there was a Training Camp for workers at Mulanur (Coimbatore Dist.) in Dec. 1950. The camp was for 3 weeks with about 30 workers, when Shri. Krishnadas Bhai explained the significance of self-sufficiency in all details. Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar and also Shri R. S. Dhotre and others addressed the workers. As result a compact area was selected around Mulanur for carrying on intensive self-sufficiency work. Ten workers have been working in different villages in the area since January 1951 with a specific pro-

gramme. The figures for six months from January to June '51 given elsewhere will show the progress of work.

There was another camp in Chippiparai village near Koilpatti, Tinnevelly Vibagh and 46 workers from Tamil Nad and Kerala took part. The training was on general lines to carry on the self-sufficiency work on an extensive scale in every Vibagh in Tamil Nad and Kerala, with a definite programme and policy according to local conditions. This has been elaborately discussed by Shri. Krishnadas Gandhi in "Sarvodaya" of July. As a result of this camp the self-sufficiency work has gained fillip in a general way in all the Vibaghs and particularly in Tinnevelly Vibagh.

One of the decisions made at the Chippiparai camp was to train a batch of expert workers in all the khadi craft, so that they may be able to give training and organize self-sufficiency work in any place where there is a call. Therefore a training camp for workers was held at a village near Koduvai centre, Tirupur area, from 20th August to 12th September. Shri. Nandalal Patel (Sanchalak, Siksha Samithi) opened the camp. Most of the time was devoted to actual training in making of bamboo charkhas, spindle making and spindle truing etc.,. 28 workers including 3 ladies from all the Vibaghs attended the camp.

GANDHI NIDHI

Under one of the schemes of the Tamil Nad Branch of the Gandhi Nidhi two six weeks' training camps for constructive workers were started recently. The first camp was started on 19th August at Gandhi Ashram, Keelamoongiladi, Chidambaram and the second at Bommanaickenpalayam, Coimbatore District on 27th August. The third camp will be held at Thambikkottai (Tanjore Dist). A two years' workers training course will be opened in the first week of October 1951, at Gandhigram (Madura District).

The Nidhi has recommended a scheme of publications of Gandhian literature drawn at the meeting of the Publication Sub-Committee held in the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam at Veerapandy on 30th July '51. If this scheme is approved by the Central Committee Gandhiji's writings and speeches

will be translated and compiled in about 8 volumes besides small cheap booklets on a large scale.

A short training camp for workers organizing Gandhi Ghar in rural centres will be conducted at Vedchi, near Bardoli in Gujarat, in the first week of December under the guidance of Shri. Jugat Ram Dave. Four workers will be selected from each of the provinces. Applicants for joining the camp may address to Sanchalak of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi of the respective provinces.

KANU GANDHI SHIBIR.

Shri. Kanu Gandhi and party will be touring in Tamil Nad and conducting short training camps for constructive workers, Kathayi Mandal workers and Khadi Lovers in the various processes of khadi crafts. Each camp will be for 3 days. Classes on the various aspects of the khadi and other items of constructive programme will be conducted by Shri. N. R. Sowany, Sanchalak, Kathayi Mandal Vibagh of the A. P. S. A., Sevagram. Those who wish to join the camps may write to the organising K h a d i Vastralayas of the A. I. S. A., mentioned below. One or two more camps will be conducted later on in the other districts also.

<i>Place and Date.</i>	<i>Organizing Khadi Vastralaya.</i>
Thagaraputhur Sep. 26, 27, 28	Khadi Vastralaya, ATHUR, Salem Dist.
Mukasimangalam Sep. 29, 30; Oct. 1, 2	A. I. S. A., Tamilnad, TIRUPUR.
Konamukkanur. Via. Anthiyur, (Coimbatore Dt) Oct. 3, 4, 5	Khadi Vastralaya, ERODE.
Thugili, (Tanjore.) Oct. 6, 7, 8	Khadi Vastralaya, KUMBAKONAM
Thirukazhar Oct. 9, 10, 11	" "
Cumbam Oct. 14, 15, 16	Khadi Vastralaya, MADURA.
Tenparankundram Oct. 19, 20, 21	" "
Tirupathur Oct. 27, 28, 29	Khadi Vastralaya, VELLORE.

INTENSIVE KHADI WORK IN MULANUR AREA.

(SIX MONTHS FROM JANUARY TO JUNE, 1951.)

I. GENERAL WORK.

Number of charkhas repaired	141
Spindles corrected	574
Speed wheels attached	130
Bamboo charkhas made by workers	55
-do- carpenters	12
Spinners on bamboo charkha	52
Dubatta spinners	14

II. EXCHANGE OF KHADI FOR YARN.

Month.	No. of yarn hanks bought from spinners.	No. of hanks exchanged for khadi.
1951 January	4,470	425
" February	13,128	3,209
" March	26,756	11,810
" April	44,163	24,588
" May	30,694	34,740
" June	23,499	35,627
Total	1,42,710	1,10,399

III. COMPARATIVE PRODUCTION AND SALE.

The following is a comparative statement for work done in January to June, 1950 and for the same period in 1951.

Details.	1950	1951
	January to June.	January to June.
Yarn Production:		
hanks in No.	1,71,709	2,56,775
Khadi Production Rs.	19,609	19,123
Khadi Sale "	13,112	47,167
Spinning Imple- ments Sale "	216	887

SHRI. DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR.

Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar, President, A. I. S. A., has been carrying on extensive propaganda in all the provinces spreading the new message of the charkha. During the last 3 months he toured in Punjab, U. P., Bihar, Bengal and Rajasthan. After staying for 2 weeks in Sevagram, he is again touring at present in Gujarat. He is expected to tour in Tamil Nad in the end of November '51.

(News and Notes continued)

SHRI. K. ARUNACHALAM.

Constructive workers will congratulate Shri. K. Arunachalam, one of the few leading educationists in the field of Basic Education in Tamil Nad, on his securing the American Watumull Foundation Fellowship and Fulbright Travel Grant for higher studies in teaching education in the State University of Iowa, for a period of 2 years. He has sailed on 25th August from Bombay for London. His co-workers in the constructive field in the south will miss his services in Tamil Nad for some time, but they will be happy that he will re-dedicate his life to the cause of *Nai Talim* on his return, richer with the knowledge and experience gained in America during his two years' sojourn there.

SHRI K. S. VENKATARAMANI.

The following thought provoking paras are from Shri. K. S. Venkataramani's reply to the felicitations on completing his 60th year:-

"Wisdom is an ancient inheritance of man, especially in India. We are full of it from the days of our Vedas and Upanishads. But the tragedy is the gulf that divides it today, very widely, the word and the deed, the ideal and the real, the wisdom and the daily life. Till we bridge this gulf, there is no hope for humanity. But I have every hope we will succeed in one generation with the emergence of a new leader of the right type, to achieve a new way of life that will help and guide India as well as the whole world, on the basis of *dharma* fortified by *dhriti* and *niyama* and implemented in a way best suited to modern conditions of life, not ignoring the gains of wisdom and science in every walk of life." * * *

"Minimum Government based on the fundamentals of decentralised politics and economics with self-sufficient and autonomous rural units in plenty is the only way to happiness. Now centralisation has created over-government which has become another predatory parasitical ghost, absorbing through *ruthless taxation* three months' labour of each man every year.

"The divorce between the word and the deed is the tubercular bacilli that kills the welfare, happiness and peace of mind of

★ Charkha Sangh's Appeal to Workers ★

The very first resolution of the Board of Trustees of the All-India Spinners' Association at their sitting at Sevagram on 4th and 5th of September 1951 is one of great importance as it definitely lays down the ideological objective of the Sangh. The resolution runs as follows :-

Since the Charkha Sangh has accepted the Programme of creating a non-exploiting society it has naturally to reduce the commercial form of its khadi work and pay greater attention to self-sufficiency work. As a consequence productive manual labour has assumed greater importance. Hence several items of work have been taken up by the Sangh in its Programme to establish the classless society or Sarvodaya order. The Sangh is of the view that this would be possible only when the dignity of manual labour is realised by workers by actual participation in the same.

Therefore the Sangh requests its workers to wholeheartedly identify themselves with those doing manual work in the various centres of the Sangh without any consciousness of class-feeling. And the Sangh further requests that they may join the labouring class even outside the institution whenever possible in their manual labour on the basis of wages atleast for 24 hours in a month and credit the amount of wages so earned to the funds of the Charkha Sangh. By the workers so doing inside and outside the Sangh in merging with the labouring class in the capacity of a manual labourer our progress towards creating a classless society will be very much advanced and appreciated.

(News and Notes continued)

man today. This divorce must go releasing man to fulfil his ideal longing of self-realisation."

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83rd CHARKHA JAYANTI

(25TH SEPTEMBER TO 2ND OCTOBER)

Mahatma Gandhi's Message of Khadi

GOD'S WORK

...I cannot be satisfied, not till every man and woman in India is working at his or at her wheel. Burn that wheel if you find a better substitute. This is the one and only work which can supply the needs of the millions without disturbing them from their homes. It is a mighty task and I know that I cannot do it. I know also that God can do it. The mightiest and the strongest matter is but a tiny affair for Him, when it pleases Him. He can destroy them all in the twinkling of an eye, as He has destroyed now thousands of homes in Gujarat and as He had destroyed thousands of homes a few years ago in South India. I carry this message of *khadi* and the spinning wheel with the fullest faith in God, and therefore in His creation, man. You may laugh at me today. You may call this a sordid thing. If you like, you may distrust me and say this is some political schemer who has come to place his *khadi* before us, but he has got many things up his sleeve. You may misinterpret me and my message. You may say: 'We are too weak to do these things, and too poor'. I know it is possible for you to repel me by your arguments and make me speechless. But I shall not lose faith in you so long as I cannot lose faith in God. It is impossible for me to lose that faith, and therefore I cannot lose faith in the message of *khadi* and the spinning wheel.

If I have not succeeded in opening out my heart to you, and if I have not succeeded in showing to you, the rock-bottom spirituality of the message of *khadi*, I don't think I shall ever succeed in doing so. All I can say is I mean to succeed. My lips may not deliver the true message. God will do it all, in whose name I have delivered this message to you. God bless you.

(A speech at the Y. M. C. A., Madras.)

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