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# SOCIALISM THROUGH SATYAGRAHA

GANDHIJI

Truth and ahimsa must incarnate in Socialism. In order that they can, the votary must have a living faith in God. Mere mechanical adherence to truth and ahimsa is likely to break down at the critical moment. Hence have I said that truth is God. This God is a living Force. Our life is of that Force. That Force resides in, but is not the body. He who denies the existence of that great Force, denies to himself the use of that inexhaustible power and thus remains impotent. He is like a rudderless ship which, tossed about here and there, perishes without making any headway. The socialism of such takes them nowhere, what to say of the society in which they live.

If such be the case, does it mean that no socialist believes in God? If there be any, why have they not made any visible progress? Then again, many godly persons have lived before now; why have they not succeeded in founding a socialistic state?

It is difficult completely to silence these two doubts. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that it has perhaps never occurred to a believing socialist that there is any connection between his socialism and belief in God. It is equally safe to say that godly men as a rule never commended socialism to the masses.

Superstitions have flourished in the world in spite of godly men and women. In Hinduism itself untouchability has, till of late, held undoubted sway.

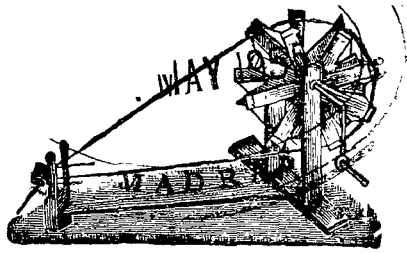
The fact is that it has always been a matter of strenuous research to know this great Force and its hidden possibilities.

My claim is that in the pursuit of that search lies the discovery of satyagraha. It is not, however, claimed that all the laws of satyagraha have been laid down or found. This, I do say fearlessly and firmly, that every worthy object can be achieved by the use of s a t y a g r a h a. It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will not be reached by any other means. Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

(“*Harijan*,” 20th July, 1947)

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## WHO IS A SOCIALIST?

MAHATMA GANDHI

**S**ocialism is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism.

In it the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee are all on the same level. In terms of religion there is no duality in socialism. It is all unity. Looking at society all the world over there is nothing but duality or plurality. Unity is conspicuous by its absence. This man is high, that one is low, that is a Hindu, that a Muslim, third a Christian, fourth a Parsi, fifth a Sikh, sixth a Jew. Even among these there are subdivisions. In the unity of my conception there is perfect unity in the plurality of designs.

In order to reach this state we may not look on things philosophically and say that we need not make a move until all are converted to socialism. Without changing our life we may go on giving addresses, forming parties and hawklike seize the game when it comes our way. This is no socialism. The more we treat it as a game to be seized, the farther it must recede from us.

Socialism begins with the first convert. If there is one such, you can add zeros to the one and the first zero will account for

ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, in other words, no one makes the beginning, multiplicity of zeros will also produce zero value. Time and paper occupied in writing zeros will be so much waste.

This socialism is as pure as crystal. It therefore, requires crystal-like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalized by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off and equalize the employer and the employed. One cannot reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth. Are not non-violence and truth twins? The answer is an emphatic "no". Non-violence is embedded in truth and vice versa. Hence has it been said that they are faces of the same coin. Either is inseparable from the other. Read the coin either way. The spelling of words will be different. The value is the same. This blessed state is unattainable without perfect purity. Harbour impurity of mind or body and you have untruth and violence in you.

Therefore, only truthful, non-violent and pure-hearted socialists will be able to establish a socialistic society in India and the world. To my knowledge there is no country in the world which is purely socialistic. Without the means described above the existence of such a society is impossible.

(*"Harijan"*, 13th July, 1947)

# Charkha - the Means for Non-Violent Revolution

K. G. MASHRUWALA

Though the "*Khadi World*" has received the blessings of Shri. Kishorelal Mashruwala, we could not get a message from him so far. We consider his recent Hindi message to the Fourth Indian National Trade Union Congress, Ahmedabad, appearing in English in "*Harijan*", 27th Oct. 1951, as a valuable message for our "*Khadi World*" and take the privilege of reprinting it below for our readers.

I am glad to learn that the fourth session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress will be held at Ahmedabad, the birth place of Gandhiji's new type of Trade Union movement. The Trade Union movement was, indeed, not new to the world, when Gandhiji laid its foundation in Ahmedabad. But he founded it on quite original and sound principles, and the experience of a quarter of a century has so proved the worth of these principles that they have been adopted by the all-India organisation of Trade Unions.

The principal topic of the day is Elections, and it is possible that your Congress will devote a great part of its time to discussing that topic. In such an atmosphere, it may be futile to speak on any other subject in a message. But the election intoxication has not yet touched me, and hence, I feel some hesitation in sending a message. The thing which interests me more than the elections is Gandhiji's *Charkha*.

*Charkha!* You might feel amused at hearing the mention of the *Charkha* in your assembly. You will say: The *Charkha* is all right in its place; and it is true that it is a favourite of Gandhiji. But here we belong to the class of mill-owners and labourers. The *Charkha* can have no place in our midst!

But I have nothing else to place except the *Charkha* even before mill-owners and workers. It does not mean that I suggest at this stage that the mills should be closed forthwith or that you should give up your jobs in the textile mills. I know that that would be impracticable.

But I do wish to tell both owners and workers that while, as long as circumstances demand the working of mills, they might be worked, you should in your personal life and for your personal requirements ply the *Charkha* to spin your own yarn and employ the hand-loom to weave or get woven your own khadi. The mill-cloth might be manufactured for those who are incapable of spinning, weaving or getting woven khadi for themselves, or even purchasing it. There are some countries, and there might be some people in our own country also, who are in such situation. The mills might cater for them. But you, who are artisans yourselves or the owners, who are strong enough to organize production, distribution etc. on such large scales have no reason for not spinning and weaving your own cloth on your own *Charkha* and hand-loom.

The message of the *Charkha* is no longer meant to provide work for the unemployed only. Nor is its message confined to India. It now stands before the world as the means of bringing about a new non-violent revolution in the world. The people that depend upon the mercy or the diplomatic policies of foreign countries or on the policy and administrative machinery of their own State for their two primary needs, namely, food and cloth, cannot enjoy Swaraj—*independence*. However opulent and well-paid a part of its population might become, that country can never be free from the miseries of starvation, unemployment and high prices.

I appeal to you and your leaders to ponder seriously over this truth.

May your session be successful.

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## Vinobaji and Jaiprakash Narain:

### DISCUSSION ON KHADI AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

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When Shri. Jaiprakash Narain saw Vinobaji at Pauniar, near Wardha, on 15th Aug. 1951, they jointly plied the water-wheel during prayer time after which there was a touching post-prayer speech of Vinobaji appearing in our "Khadi World" of October last. After this there was discussion between Shri. Vinobaji and Shri. Jaiprakash Narain who evinced keen interest in the development of Khadi and cottage industries at this national crisis of famine and desired to have Shri. Vinobaji's opinion as to how far there can be mutual co-operation between the Socialists and Sarvodaya workers in this field.

*Shri. Vinoba Said :*

The main-question that attracts the attention of the people very often, is the security of the country. They feel that the modern method is the only possible way. Big machines are being imported and such imports will continue in future also. Big factories also will be established. Production of raw materials is speeded up for this purpose. The economic order will be shaped on this line. "What will be the place of cottage industries under these circumstances?" - This is a question to be analysed and discussed. Even the well-known Gandhites think that cottage industries can be given only a limited place in the transition period. They feel it can be given only so much of respect and honour as a guest may be entitled in a house.

But I have my own formula. I think that for the coming 20 to 50 years nothing else other than khadi and cottage industries can bring relief to the villages of India. My conclusion is that whatever articles that are necessary for the life of the villagers should be made in the village itself out of the raw materials available there.

#### THE JOKE OF DECENTRALIZATION

Shri. Vinobaji continued: In my tour in Telangana, I have seen that the people in the villages have no work at all. The land that may be available per capita is only 3/4th of an acre. I enquired everybody about the industry that could supplement and engage their idle hours giving work to all. The raw-material of cotton grows there in the villages. The poor and the rich, women as well as men, all are in need of cloth. What is that industry which can give work to all? Even the Socialists said that khadi alone can do it. But it is pointed out, "time is saved by

mills". I say: Population goes on increasing and there will be more and more of idle man-hours. Yet it is strange that nobody thinks of encouraging those industries that are already there in the villages and that can be easily started there. 'Nationalize the mills' is the slogan everywhere. In my Indore speech I said that the mill owners have already deceived us. So there is no way of escape other than the nationalization of the mills. But this will not bring relief to the crores living in the villages. I find that neither the Congress people nor the Socialists, not even the Planning Commission think of khadi. But every one talks about decentralization. They mean by decentralization, 'transfer these mills now at Bombay and Ahmedabad etc. and replant them in Wardha, Paramdham etc. etc.,'. They fail to see that, that would be real decentralization by which the villagers will make their own cloth out of the cotton grown there in the village. To Shri. Patil Saheb of the Planning Commission I made it clear, "It is the bounden duty of the Government to give work to all. If you can do it by machines, do it by all means. You get the machine from Tata or from anywhere. But I don't know from where you can get the machine. You have to see that whatever we have with us, whatever little machines we have now at home, are all put to use so that all people may have enough work. If we all view the problem in this aspect we won't find anything other than charkha with which we can produce cloth, giving work to all."

#### THE STRANGE PICTURE OF LOOTING THE IGNORANT

Whenever I talk of khadi and charkha people say that we are 'going back'. I don't understand these slogans of 'going back' and 'progressing forward'. This much I see that people are in need of oil, and oil

seeds are there in the villages. The village requires ropes, coir etc. and the hemp and other raw materials are there in the villages. They want cloth and the cotton grows there. All these industries were once in the villages. Even now these industries can be carried on there and they ought to be revived there. But the city people have destroyed all this and claim, "We want to relieve the villagers of the 'drudgery of work' and give them 'comfort'". The village people are ignorant and uneducated. They do not know all these. They don't know how much they are being looted by the city people.

Similarly the men are also exploiting the women. In former days women did the weaving work; men have now taken over that work from their hands. The sewing art was in the hands of the women. Later men have invented machines and the women are robbed of this work. Women were grinding flour then and the men have now installed machines for the same and women are being deprived of this also. And men say that they have done all this to liberate women from the work and drudgery. Women are now made to do such kind of work that they cannot do by themselves. In Wardha our own people take up cleaning work. From them I learn, women of the scavenging class have to do latrine cleaning. For want of suitable tools these women have to remove the night-soil from the various foul-smelling latrines with their own hands, carry them in buckets on their heads, fill the drums and place them in the carts. And what the men do is only to empty the carts and bring them back for the next day's refilling. See, here even, the men are looting women!

In this way the villagers are being looted by the city people and the women folk by the men folk, the animals by the human beings and so on. Wherever we see, we find looting here and exploitation there. This is my formula I place before you all to free ourselves from all these: Whatever raw material grows in the village should be kept there itself and all the articles necessary for life should be produced there itself. Let these be reserved for the villages even as certain forest areas are protected as Reserve Forests.

*Jaiprakash :*

Yes, there is no other industry other than khadi—by which we can give work to all, but what shall we do with the existing mills?

*Vinoba :*

Let us first decide that no further machines will be imported or installed. The old machines will get worn out within a period of 20 years. Whatever cloth that is produced in the existing mills, may be sent outside India, if there is demand for it. Or else, let it be reserved for the military use. Let the State give training and instruction to the people in the art of spinning and enforce it throughout the land as they give military training in periods of war-emergency. Now there is the problem of yarn for hand-loom weavers. If mill yarn is to be given to the weavers the mills will collapse. These mills require long-staple cotton and this cotton grows in Pakistan area. The short-staple cotton that is available here is quite good for hand-spinning. Khadi can assure work to all if the so-called fear of 'going back' is cast off.

Along with it carpentry work will increase. If khadi work is carried on in a large scale, best hand-ginned cotton seed will be available for cultivation. In these days, people sell kapas and buy cloth and cotton seeds. Oil seeds are sold and oil is bought. What a bad oil they get and who knows how old it is! The food value of fresh oil from the *ghani* is infinitely superior to that of the mill-oil.

*Jaiprakash :*

But we will do planned cultivation.

Shri. Jawaharlalji was talking of self-sufficiency in food grains but now, he is interested in growing more of jute, cotton, and sugar cane.

*Vinoba :*

He is not prepared to accept this principle that we should produce all the food grains required under all circumstances. He thinks in terms of individual's profit or loss even like the merchant or the farmer. But the responsibility is heavy. But our ideas have not developed. They still remain as they were. It is not enough if it is said that "we do not want war". We have to create that atmosphere.

If self-sufficiency in food is not achieved our country will have to join either one of the blocks sooner or later.

*Jaiprakash :*

Some political agitation is necessary to advance the speed of constructive work. Such agitations were carried on even before Swaraj and had effect. Now, can we give some such constructive programme to the people?

*Vinoba:*

Agitation, I also do welcome. Now there is conflict between the village people and the townspeople. If this is not prevented, danger cannot be avoided in future. For this we have to make the city people understand that they should not lay their hands on those industries which inherently belong to the village people. But what cannot be made in villages the cities can make and supply to the villages. We have to make the village people understand the consequence of this competition and conflict that is going on. If the village people really understand its significance, their agitation will take the shape of boycott. Village people will have to take a vow to boycott all such articles made in the cities by machines and imposed on them that could be easily made in the villages themselves.

*Jaiprakash:*

What can be done in places where cotton does not grow?

*Vinoba:*

Whose fault is it that cotton is not grown? In olden days, cotton was growing in every place in India. But due to a certain planning scheme its cultivation was stopped. We have to break that 'planning system'. In olden days, *jowar* was growing in Berar where now the major crop is cotton. For food, *jowar* has to be brought there

from the Nizam's districts nearby. The argument advanced by the authors of this planning is this: "That which grows most in a place should alone be developed there. Commodities can be taken from one part to another. The whole of India is one." I insist that kapas necessary for cloth should be grown in all places. If we were to take a vow to give work to all, then there is no remedy other than khadi. It is possible to grow cotton everywhere in India if attempt is made. Alright, if there is any possibility of any industry which can give work to all, other than khadi, come on, we shall think over it.

*Jaiprakash:*

Is there any such possibility?

*Vinoba:*

No. Because cloth is necessary for all at all times. From the smallest to the biggest all need it. Therefore this weapon of charkha I have named as 'protector of the time'. This little machine can be put in motion at any time, whenever we desire. The charkha is there ready for use when it rains and it is not possible to go to the field. When rain stops we can put the charkha aside and can attend to the field. In this we should realize the 'par-excellence' of this 'small-machine'.

(Free rendering from Hindi "Sarvodaya" — Oct. '51)

## PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND FUNDS

My experience has taught me that no movement ever stops or languishes for want of funds. This does not mean that any temporal movement can go on without money, but it does mean that wherever it has good men and true at its helm, it is bound to attract to itself the requisite funds. On the other hand, I have also observed that a movement takes its downward course from the time that it is afflicted with a plethora of funds. When therefore a public institution is managed from the interest of investments, I dare not call it a sin but I do say that it is a highly improper procedure. The public should be the bank for all public institutions, which should not last a day longer than the public wish. An institution run with the interest of accumulated capital ceases to be amenable to public opinion and becomes autocratic and self-righteous. This is not the place to dwell upon the corruption of many a social and religious institution managed with permanent funds. The phenomenon is so common that he who runs may read it.

GANDHIJI

(Satyagraha in South Africa)

# FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA

J. C. KUMARAPPA

Shri. J. C. Kumarappa, who left for Peking as a\* member of the Indian Goodwill Mission on 20th September last has returned in the first week of November after touring in China for about 40 days. He has been giving his first impressions on China in his several letters to Shri. G. Ramachandran, Secretary, A. I. V. I. A. Two extracts were published in the November issue of the *Khadi World*. The following are further extracts from his letters taken from "Gram Udyog Patrika." Shri. Kumarappa has cautioned that these must be taken only as his first impressions which may require revision after fuller study.

1. The more I see of China the more I admire their spirit. Canton though poorer than Honkong, its cleanliness was equally striking. There were no beggars, flies, crows or stray dogs. They had the streets perfectly clean. The traffic constables had their mouths and noses covered like surgeons at an operating theatre. The street traffic was largely of cycles, cycle-rickshaws and buses. There were some cars but these mostly belonged to the State. There were no taxis or private cars in evidence. The air-ports were like huts, the runways were not concreted but only tarred. There was complete simplicity. There were no conspicuous rich, all were more or less alike. Canton also presented a festival appearance because of the artistic and colourful shop-signs. It is a big city almost as large as Calcutta. You cannot see any waste lands. Even in the city all available space was cultivated. They are extremely industrious unlike us. As I took a walk among the poor bye-lanes, everywhere we found mothers busy in the morning washing their children.

\* \* \*

2. We watched the celebrations of the 1st of October in Peking. Over a million persons must have marched past the Chairman Mao. We were on the stand from 9-30 a. m. to 4 p. m. The military, army, navy and the air-force took about one hour and a half. Then the workers, railway and industrial labour, farmers, villagers, school and college students etc. all went past. There was perfect order and discipline. Their enthusiasm was unbounded. A people with this spirit will never be slaves. By comparison India suffers. It seems a bit of cheek on our part to think that India leads the East, China is miles away before us. There is a singleness of purpose and an iron determination to achieve it. Nothing can

stop them now. We have neither a goal nor a purpose and we lack drive. There is food everywhere in plenty and also other prime necessities at extremely low prices. Of course, there is inflation, but the Government has devised ways and means of getting over it. It has an intelligent administration which has the whole-hearted backing of the people, as all the services are one with the people. All wear the same type of clothes and live alike. There is not much of a range between the highest and the lowest. The Chairman Mao himself gets only 2,800 catties of millets, a house and the use of a car. (A catty is 1.3 lbs.) At the most it may work out to about Rs 600/- per month. I was talking to two Cabinet Ministers, who were each getting the equivalent of about Rs. 450/- per month. The volunteers that look after us get about one third of that. Now you can see how China has leaders who share the life of the people. The spirit that pervades here is like that we had in India in 1931. Russia has not the overwhelming influence we imagine. Soviet Communism is based on large scale production and nationalisation, while China believes in private property, though limited, and small scale industries. It is primarily based on agrarian reform and agricultural improvement. With this fundamental difference China may not blindly follow Russia. I was interested to notice that the remuneration basis here is much like the one I had formulated for Seldoh. They get house, clothing and food free and cash about Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/- per month. Mine is more scientific as it is attempted on a balanced diet. However the resemblance is striking.

\* \* \*

3. The Russian novelist, M. Ilya Ehrenburg, a top-ranking official propagandist for Soviet Russia, asked at an interview, why India, a country which is definitely a peace



loving country, does not take an important role in International Peace Conferences of Pacifist bodies. I replied to him as follows:-

"Our approach is different in that our philosophy and national culture lead us to the reform of individual life. We diagnose war as a social disease caused by the violence in individuals which in the aggregate leads to global out-bursts. Therefore, dealing with wars is symptomatic treatment leaving out the real cause. Disarmament and treaties will not solve the problem finally. We feel that wars are an essential concomitant of creating an artificial standard of wants and trying to meet them by centralized production. But we feel that such an artificial standard stimulates natural greed and jealousy and creates hatred which ultimately culminates in war. Therefore, India's approach, especially the one with Gandhiji's lead, is working for permanent peace, but it is a long time programme". To this he replied, "When a murderer comes into the house to kill a child, will it not be the Gandhian way to save the child?". I replied, "I am afraid your analogy is faulty. We must deal with the cause. If the murderer is attracted to do his deed by something on the child — a piece of jewellery then, if we prevent one murderer still others may be attracted. So the problem is not solved that way. Wars are like floods. Floods are the accumulation of little drops of rain water. We may build dams at great cost to control floods. Even then if the dams burst there will be great destruction. The proper way to control floods is at the stage of the rain drops. If we plough the land the rain drops are retained and fertilize the land. If we plant forests then also the rain water is not allowed to run away, but goes into the soil to be used as spring water later on. The land acts as a reservoir to restrain the water from forming destructive floods. Small erosion bunds also do the same. These items are not spectacular but they are none-the-less effective for all that. Gandhiji's method is that of conserving the drops and rain utilizing them to good purpose rather than allowing them to accumulate into floods causing widespread distress. The Constructive Programme he has left behind is an enormous force for world peace, far more formidable than any appeals Peace Conferences can make. The only difficulty is we are not willing to pay the price of leading a simple life. We live in such a way as will cause wars and then lift our holy hands

in prayer to ask God to save us from war and destruction. Is this not a mockery? We may have the short cut too, but it must be backed by the long term plan of changing of our lives to breed Peace".

\* \* \*

4. Regarding agrarian reform, they appear to have made a very realistic approach. They have not blindly followed Soviet Russia but have learnt valuable lessons from the Russian Experiment. There is no communal ownership. Private property is the rule of the day but the use is strictly controlled by the State. Private profit, though strictly limited, is still the motive force and incentive. The landlordism, which was parasitic, has been abolished but rich peasants, who cultivate are left untouched. Till now tenants paid anything from 50 to 100% of the produce as the landlord's share. This has gone, so the cultivator gets the full benefit of his labour. The land tax comes to about 13% of the produce and is collected in kind. This is one of the major steps in dealing with inflation. Government pays its military personnel and the teachers in kind. There is no terrorism excepting drastic handling of landlords who attempted a violent revolt. Their lands have been confiscated, but to those who wished to till the soil the same rehabilitation measures given to other farmers were extended.

The Russian revolution was pivoted on the proletariat while China is rebuilding on Agrarian Reforms. The difference is not one of degree but in kind; the result is that there is no *Communism* in China of the type we associate with the Soviet, and Russia is not as influential in moulding Chinese policies as we imagined. In many ways the Chinese revolution is a lesson to us. Even in the industrial sector, the parasitic capitalist is liquidated but the industrialists are encouraged to carry on. Their way of solving their problems is very rational. In all their reforms they try to carry the common people with them. These people are marvelously practical.

\* \* \*

5. In Canton they banished prostitution in a few months by putting all such women to productive occupations. These people took popular feeling at flood tide which carried them over many difficulties. In our land the high tides created by Gandhiji were allowed to ebb away and it has left us in the mire high and dry.

## ★ WHAT KIND OF UMBRELLA? ★

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN, GANDHI GRAM

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A few days ago I observed a man in his clean white clothes sitting under his \*cloth umbrella. He was in an open field and for a moment I wondered why he was there. Then I observed that a group of coolies were working near by on what I supposed was his land. One often observed this kind of umbrella. It is an umbrella of the privileged—and may I say, the parasite.

In some parts of India, where the rainfall is heavy this umbrella is very conspicuous. I have often said that in such a land one may sit under a coconut tree and the coconuts will fall into one's mouth and no further effort is needed! But it is not quite so simple as that. I note that in such places the privileged seem to be especially lazy. They are unable even to carry their boxes! They carry the umbrella and some waif or stray carries the boxes or brief cases through the rains. This is rank exploitation and our Indian youth must avoid such a life as they become citizens.

We are told that in places like China or Russia, such kind of people are not tolerated. Everybody must work. Even the priests must do meaningful manual labour along with their chosen vocation. And this is just. Why should some people be assigned to a life time of manual labour and drudgery while other people carry their umbrellas and the privileges which go with them?

Please do not tell me there is too much labour, much unemployment and no place for the work I am talking about. We need to plant new forests throughout India. There are still millions of miles of necessary village roads, yet to be built. Our tanks, channels, and bunds need renovation throughout India. In many places terracing should be done on the hillsides. Anti-soil erosion work is still necessary in many

fields. In village and town wastes need to be collected daily and put into compost pits. In fact every high school and college student should give two hours daily to such work.

We are entering the 5th year of our political freedom. Villagers have done much of this kind of work. But I think I am right in saying that the privileged classes have done practically nothing. It is time for us to awake and get at the job.

But I must tell you about another umbrella. This umbrella I also often see in the fields. But it is the palmyra umbrella, generally worn on the top of people's heads, while they work in the blistering sun or in the falling rain. It is the symbol of the worthwhile life. I fear it is also the symbol of the poor and the exploited. Yes, perhaps it is also the symbol of slavery. It is a tragedy that those who wear this palmyra umbrella are often doomed to live in mud huts that are not fit to live in. I can see the rain dripping through the roof. In many places these huts are so crowded together that there is scarcely enough space in which to sleep during the night—especially when it rains. These are the people whose average income is but a few annas a day.

Surely our pride should be deeply touched to think that some people in India must think in terms of annas as a daily wage while others may think in terms of hundreds of rupees. Am I not right that this \* white umbrella must go and all of us must take to the palmyra umbrella? That is, we must voluntarily surrender our privileges or use them as conscientious trustees in the service of our nation so that all may soon have such privileges. The important question is, what are you and I doing about the situation even today?

*\* Ordinary umbrella covered with white cloth.*

### AN UNIVERSAL INDUSTRY

Khadi is the only universal industry. I have compared its position in the scheme of village industries with the Sun round which all the other planets revolve. There can be only one Sun. The planets can be many and their number increases from time to time.

GANDHIJI

# Gandhiji's Sarvodaya Life in South Africa

D. G. TENDULKAR

A little before the appearance of the plague, a proposal came to Gandhi to take over a weekly. A printing-press was already at work in Durban under the direction of Mr. Madanjit, a Bombay school-master. Gandhi had contributed a large portion of its cost. This printing-press was now available. Mansukhlal Nazar, an under-graduate but a trained journalist who offered his services free, became the first editor of *Indian Opinion*. It was understood that Gandhi should contribute certain funds and write regularly for the English columns. The weekly was published in English, Tamil, Gujarati and Hindi. The enterprise was necessary but it proved to be very costly. During the first year Gandhi had to put in £ 2,000 from his own income and it became necessary for Gandhi either to close the venture or to assume the entire charge himself. He decided upon the latter course.

He put his friend, Mr. Albert West, in charge of *Indian Opinion*. Mr. West found the financial side of the press hopeless and reported it to Gandhi, who immediately left for Durban.

Mr. Polak, who had come to see Gandhi off at the Johannesburg station, gave him Ruskin's *\*Unto This Last* to read during the twenty-four-hour journey. This was the first book by Ruskin Gandhi had ever read. The train reached Durban in the evening. His mind was gripped by the book and he could not get sleep that night. He discovered some of his deepest convictions reflected in this book, first published in 1862.

The teachings of the book as grasped by Gandhi were: That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all; that a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work; that a life of labour, that is the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

Gandhi arose with the dawn, ready to translate these newly-imbibed ideas into practice.

That day he paid a flying visit to his cousins at Tongaat. He saw their store, but what attracted him most was the acre of garden ground at the back where some fruit trees were planted. These looked so beautiful, and the possibilities of the land appeared to be so great, that he felt that his cousins were wasting their time in the store when so much work and so much beauty lay around them. Gandhi thought; "They simply employed labour to cultivate the garden and it was done poorly. Why could they not labour themselves and do it well? Surely such a dream might be realized".

Gandhi talked over the affair with Mr. West, and proposed that *Indian Opinion* should be removed to a farm, on which everyone should labour, drawing the same living wage, and attend to the press work in the spare time. Mr. West approved of the proposal, and £ 3 was laid down as the monthly allowance per head, irrespective of status, colour or nationality.

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Gandhi did not take long to put the ideas of 'Unto This Last' into practice. Within ten days he purchased for £ 1,000 a hundred acres of land, containing a fine little spring, a dilapidated cottage and plenty of fruit trees, some of which bore mangoes and oranges. The plot was fourteen miles from Durban, and two and a half miles from Phoenix station. The Phoenix Settlement thus came into being in the middle of the year 1904.

The newly purchased land, which was uninhabited and thickly overgrown with grass, was infested with snakes. At first Gandhi and his co-workers lived under canvas. He took with him to Phoenix those relations and friends who had come from India with him and were now doing business and one of them was Maganlal Gandhi.

Rustomji, a rich Parsi friend, placed at the pioneers' disposal old corrugated iron sheets and building material with which they started work. Within a month, with the help of Indian carpenters and masons, who had worked with Gandhi in the Boer

\* Gandhiji reduced the essence of this book in a Gujarati booklet entitled '*Sarvodaya*.' This has been translated in Hindi and recently in Tamil and Published by A. I. S. A., Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.

War, a structure, seventy-five feet long and fifty feet wide, was erected to accommodate the press. And soon *Indian Opinion* was transferred from Durban to Phoenix.

An oil-engine was installed for working the press. But Gandhi had thought that hand power would be more in keeping with an atmosphere where agricultural work was to be done by hand and a wheel mechanism was, therefore, kept. *Indian Opinion* was reduced to foolscap size, so that in case of emergency copies of the journal could be struck off on a treadle.

On the first night the engine refused to work. A mechanic and West came in despair to Gandhi to break the news. Gandhi immediately woke up the carpenters, who were sleeping on the premises, and put them to work on the wheel. Gandhi worked along with the carpenters, all the rest joined turn by turn, and they worked till seven in the morning. There was still a good deal to finish but the machine now started working as soon as it was touched and the copies were despatched in time. This enterprise ensured regularity of the paper and created self-reliance in the Phoenix workers. For some time the use of the engine was deliberately given up and the press was worked with hand power only. In the initial stages all the settlers had to keep late hours before the day of publication. Everyone, young and old, had to help in folding the sheets and despatching them. Though there were regular paid compositors, every member of the settlement learnt the tedious work of type-setting. Gandhi tried his hand at it. Maganlal mastered type-setting and quickly learnt all the other branches of press-work.

The settlers of Phoenix were divided into two classes the "Schemers" and the paid workers. The "Schemers" had to make a living by manual labour. They were given three acres each round the press. No land was fenced in and paths and narrow roads divided one holding from another.

The original idea was to build mud huts thatched with straw or small brick houses, such as would become small peasants. But due to lack of funds, structures of corrugated iron were erected by the settlers. If any member vacated his house or holding, it was not sold but passed to another member. The original members of the settlement

comprised a small group of Indian and European idealists. The colony was to be as much as possible self-supporting and life's material requirements were to be reduced to a minimum.

Beyond the settlement no buildings were to be seen, except a few small Zulu farm-huts about 2 miles away. Between the settlement and the railway station was a big sugar estate covering thousands of acres. Apart from a miserable little general store, a short distance from the railway station, there was no shopping convenience and all articles had to be procured from Durban.

Within a couple of months eight dwellings built of corrugated iron with rough wooden supports were ready. Gandhi's quarters were no different from the others, except that they were larger. They consisted of a big room, which served as a living and dining-room, two small bedrooms, a small kitchen and a primitive bathroom. The fittings of the bathroom were ingenious. A good-sized hole was made in the iron roof, a garden-watering can was balanced on a piece of wood and to the can was attached a piece of cord. One could get a shower-bath by standing under the hole and pulling the cord. On the roof of Gandhi's bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

*Indian Opinion* was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar, who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate the press work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right." ★ ★ ★

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## Vinobaji on Planning Commission's Draft Outline (III)

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The following is the concluding part of Pujya Vinobaji's discussion on the Five Year Draft Plan with Shri. Patil, Member of the Planning Commission, at Paramdham ashram on 20th August. The previous parts have appeared in October and November issues of the *Khadi World*. Since Vinobaji reached Delhi on 14th November after walking 795 miles, all the members of the Planning Commission have been daily meeting him in his camp at Rajghat to know his views on the Draft Plan from the Sarvodaya angle of vision.

### WORK FOR ALL

*Patil:* How is it possible to provide work for all today?

*Vinoba:* Why not? Otherwise, how dare you recommend the same to the millions in the villages? A village should be regarded as a small state. I shall ask ten out of every hundred to take up agriculture. This is the average proportion of unemployment in our country. If need be, I will give them some crafts also. Village unemployment can be wiped out by means of agriculture and village industries. I will like to have such a co-operative shop in every village with all the residents having a share in it. That shop will tell me the requirements of each village. Thereafter those industries can be started there. If required, we will impart training in all industries.

It is easy to provide work for all only if we bear in mind two things, namely, that the villagers must depend as little upon money as they can and the requirements must be met in the villages themselves. But to remove the dependence of villagers on money I have been insisting on the realization of land-revenue in kind. Why do you not adopt it?

*Patil:* There is the problem to store the grains. All food ministers oppose this proposal. This practice has been stopped, even in places where it was prevailing.

*Vinoba:* It means you prefer paper to gold. Grain is gold which you have to amass even today. While you collect subscriptions for grain you can get it only from the rich. On the other hand if you realize revenue in kind, the tillers of the soil would also give you grains.

Next, why do you not support the idea of paying the wages to the labourers in the villages in kind instead of cash?

*Patil:* How can we do it legally?

*Vinoba:* If legally you can bring controls, why not this?

*Patil:* But how will it solve the unemployment problem?

*Vinoba:* Well, it will at any rate solve the food problem. At least that much of grains will remain in the villages, as the villagers require. We shall think about other needs and the necessities afterwards as also about the problem of unemployment. You export cotton today, why not send ginned cotton? This was the practice some time back. But with the start of ginning presses you have abolished hand-ginning in the villages. Village industries did not die of their accord, but they have been killed.

Our ministers inaugurate pulse grinding mills. Does it become them to destroy the industry carried on in every home? First you yourself create unemployment by introducing machines and later you ask me how to provide work. In Govindgarh (in Jaipur) oil-pressing *ghanis* were much in vogue. But when I went there people told me that since the Government had permitted the use of expellers village *ghanis* were lying idle!

*Patil:* We allow expellers because they are a perfect means of production.

*Vinoba:* I do not want this perfection of yours. Before the introduction of expellers why did you not tell the villagers that you will make other arrangements to meet the unemployment resulting from them? Do you provide the village people with any new industry in lieu of their *ghani*?

*Patil:* The problem of unemployment was there even when the village industries flourished. The people were quite poor and miserable even then.

*Vinoba:* It is nothing but camouflage. A solid proof of it is the proportion of rise in population was much less at that time. Population increases in a haphazard way only when life has become worthless. With the deterioration in ideal the standard of life of the people falls low and such conditions as we see today are produced. Then you begin to think that without expellers the country will remain backward. These are all your wonderful postulates, which have no basis behind them. That is why I told in the very beginning that you must first promise to provide work for all people and then make use of any machines you like. The promise to provide work for all will solve all riddles of economics.

*Patil:* But today the economic progress of the country has come almost to a standstill, which is due to stagnation in our food production.

#### KHADI AND MILLS

*Vinoba:* But how do you presume that I oppose increase in food production? The very fact of our regarding village industries as subsidiary industries shows that main industry is something else. That is agriculture. But the fruit of all labours of the mills is that an average yield per capita has been brought down to 12 yards from 17. Why so? I believe that if khadi were there, the situation would not have developed.

*Patil:* The cloth shortage is due to want of cotton in the mills.

*Vinoba:* Of course, to every effect there is a cause. That the mills did not get cotton simply means that India does not produce that variety of cotton which the mills require and the one which India produces is not required by the mills. There is a Marathi proverb to this effect: "Whereas my own child does not dance, I cannot accept anybody else!".

*Patil:* The cloth that was formerly produced out of Indian cotton was rough and coarse. With the arrival of fine cloth from outside the production of local rough cloth came to a stop. Later, cotton from outside was brought to produce fine cloth.

*Vinoba:* You see that when foreign cloth floods your country you protect your swadeshi mills against it. Likewise, why do you not protect khadi against mills?

*Patil:* But khadi is impossible today.

*Vinoba:* It is a mis-conception, and I have already offered you a challenge. Even when Bapu was with us we had resolved to clothe the country with khadi within two years. That was done when Bapu was alive. The reality is that the Governments have 'lost their balance. When the refugees wanted grinding-*chakkis* instead of mill ground-flour we provided them with *chakkis*. But lo and behold! The Government failed to supply those people wheat since they had issued contracts for supply of mill flour much earlier. Consequently, the refugees had to eat rotten flour. To take another instance, two villages near Pauniar intimated to the Government that they did not want mill cloth and made a request for being taught the craft of spinning. Their application met no response.

The touch-stone that I have fixed for khadi and village industries is that the raw material of a village must be converted into finished material in that very village provided it is required there for use. But all this is possible only when the Government is "inclined" to act that way. This is the road to non-violent revolution. Either accept it or be prepared for a bloody revolution! There is no via-media.

*Patil:* Do you think that khadi etc., can solve unemployment entirely?

*Vinoba:* What I mean to say is that whatever amount of unemployment problem can be solved it is possible only through khadi, agriculture and other village industries. If not cent-per-cent we shall be able to solve 95 per cent. But we can solve it, I repeat, only by this method.

*Patil:* While drawing a plan for khadi we found that 62 crores of rupees are required to keep 15 lakhs of khadi-labourers busy. How can such a plan be enacted.?

*Vinoba:* That is a wrong plan. I can never accept that plan. That is not the way in which I will work. Tax the mills and carry on khadi. Is this the way to carry on khadi for work? I say I do not want a pie in this manner.

*Patil:* Then how to sell Khadi?

*Vinoba:* Why sell at all? Khadi is meant for use and not for sale.

*Patil:* But the villager wants money to purchase other articles in the market.

*Vinoba:* We have to free him from money. Oil, gur, cloth, rope, etc., whatever he requires can be and should be produced in the village.

#### FOOD SELF-SUFFICIENCY

*Patil:* But you say that the Planning Commission has been set up to find a wrong way in order to escape from the declaration of food self-sufficiency. How do you declare so?

*Vinoba:* I do not say that the Commission was established with that purpose. Only God knows the real purpose. Nobody knows the reality of the heart of those who rule. This is why a Sanskrit proverb says 'After rule to hell.' And the ancients have gone to the extent of saying that one should not eat the food given by the King. If you were to break the promise why did you make the promise at all?

*Patil:* Now that the promise cannot be fulfilled what should be done in your opinion?

*Vinoba:* Resign! On a promise being unfulfilled the worth of one's word is lost and who will honour the words of one whose word has lost its worth? Why did you not prepare the country to fulfil the promise the moment you took it? You break such a serious promise and now make the Commission say that food self-sufficiency is not possible! I regard it as a moral degradation! People had begun to inquire at that very time when the promise was made whether the Government would really be able to carry it out by 1952. I asked the people not to harbour such doubts. But their doubts have proved true.

*Patil:* Now what is the way out?

*Vinoba:* The Prime Minister should declare: "I am not prepared to import food from abroad. You will make him as your Prime Minister who is ready to import food. But if you do want me you will have to do certain things that I say". Definite instructions must be issued to the Planning Commission to see to it that, besides other things, the country becomes self-sufficient in food. You expect to have established the Commission on the day you took the pledge and order its execution. Will you now beg from door to door when war haunts you in the face?

I entertain a high regard for Pandit Jawaharlal. His heart is pure as a crystal. During my brief stay in Delhi, for the few moments that I came in contact with

I found him alone a 'sensible man'. Yet in the larger interests of the country I must make public the difference in my views as against his.

*Patil:* Do not think that we believe that we can maintain ourselves by begging.

*Vinoba:* Do you then suggest that production is enough while distribution is faulty?

*Patil:* Partly this is true, and partly that. But today it is well-nigh impossible for us to grow all food on account of cotton, jute and sugar.

*Vinoba:* Here you are! You must first decide your objective and then frame a programme. Food self-sufficiency must be regarded as a 'fundamental objective'. But that you do not do. When I wrote about it in the "Sarvodaya" you denied that. But what I said has come true. Coming events cast their shadows before. Even as a peasant grows money crop irrespective of the village, the Government is behaving accordingly. 'Dollar'! 'Dollar'!! 'Dollar'!!!, the Government is mad after dollar!

The Planning Commission ought to have felt that it was morally bound to frame its plan with the objective of food self-sufficiency in view. But it did nothing of the kind without any such obligation binding itself. Nay, over and above you took Jawaharlalji's signature in it as its Chairman. At least the Commission ought to have a different Chairman. You made the very person who took the pledge break it.

#### THE QUESTION OF POPULATION

*Patil:* Do you mean to say that nothing should be said about the growing population?

*Vinoba:* I am sure you know what Petain said: "We lost the war for fewer children". There in Russia the more children one begets the more she is honoured. There they award prizes for producing more children. Hence "Produce Less Children" is suicidal from the point of view of Nation's security. The issue of birth-regulation is like that of life-transformation. You may well attain birth-regulation by artificial means but not life-transformation. On the contrary, it will result in a degeneration in moral values. But if you say that moral values count little in life, I have nothing to grudge.

I believe that the earth is not pressed down so much by the weight of population as by that of sin. The weight remains the

same whether the population increases or not. The children born of such sin will be so very weak that the country will go down.

#### SELF-SUFFICIENCY FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE

*Patil:* You have referred to the army. But since it is a development plan there is no mention of army in it.

*Vinoba:* There need be no mention. But even as a development plan it can help in devising ways and means for maintaining 'defence potential' of the country. Today we require fifty thousand strong atleast to defend the country. Production etc. must be planned in view of this fact. Entire planning is to be done without the possibility of the use of petrol. But nothing like this is visible in this plan. If the country is to be defended by means of non-violence, self-sufficiency is a necessary condition for it. One is not possible and the other you are not ready to do; such is your condition. You are like the prodigal son who is not ready to eat the barley of his own field while the wheat that he wants is not available from without. These are all symptoms of death. If you build a non-violent order it will atleast produce its moral effect upon the country. If you build a violent order then you will have to go either with Russia or America. But our entire defence planning today seems to be chalked out on the basis of cutting one's nose to spite the face. Our army is capable of facing Pakistan alone, i. e. can be employed only for a tussle among the brothers themselves. But if non-violence is desired our scheme must be planned accordingly. If the public today bids you to apply all ingenuities of science for the village industries, will you do it not?

*Patil:* But this does not seem to be feasible at present.

*Vinoba:* Then why do you ask me to stop plying my wheel? Does not a drowning man take the help of a straw? But while I am being drowned you are questioning the capacity of the straw. Well, my poor wheel is such that it will spin according to your pleasure and when you so desire it will also be prepared to heat your milk! But yours is the strange method, on account of which you stop what is on the move but do not give any motion to anything yourself. What did you do about vanaspati? On account of being an adulterant it has killed ghee industry. Thus it kills the cow and hence we oppose vanaspati. But when we ask you to colour it so that it may not be employed for adulteration then people like Rajaji repudiate it on the ground that we do not colour water when it is mixed with milk! Now what to say about this ingenuity of comparing vanaspati with the water added to milk?

There was no vanaspati in Rajastan, but it too has reached there after the merger. These are the blessings of merger! After merging, the Gujarati, the court language of Baroda was replaced by English and so also, Urdu of Hyderabad. I do not want to argue about every issue. Please do not go back upon your word. Make the country self-sufficient in food and give food to all. It was a different matter if Jawaharlalji had taken that pledge as an individual. But he did it as a Prime Minister and hence it is the pledge of the nation. Hence according to our ancient saying of Tulsidas, we must fulfil our pledge even at the cost of our life. This is the only way now before us.

[The discussion was in Marathi and translated in Hindi in "Sarvodaya" — Sept. 1951, and this is a free translation of the same.]

### REVOLUTION IN MENTAL OUTLOOK

Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spinning is the easiest, the cheapest and the best.

I know this means a revolution in our mental outlook and it is because it is a revolution that I claim that the way to Swaraj lies through Swadeshi.

GANDHIJI

"Young India", 10-12-1919



# Appeal to the Middle-Class for Non-Violent Class-Transformation

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR, President, All India Spinners' Association

The Charkha Sangh is the oldest and biggest of all the organizations that Gandhiji set up for the fulfilment of his objectives and, therefore, after his death, as the eldest member of the family, a great responsibility devolves on the *khadi* workers. What I would appeal to the people to do has to go deep into the lives of our own khadi workers.

The great problem before the country is that of production and the toilers for production. With the development of capitalism during a period of several centuries, the all-round exploitation of the masses has gone on increasing and today its poison has spread so widely and universally that the world is crying for succour. The slogans which go all round are 'abolish capitalism' and 'establish *kisan-mazdoor raj*'. The inevitable result of this agitation is that it is leading all parties to one goal, viz. abolition of all classes and the creation of one working-class society. The slogans are common to Communists and Socialists as well as to the Congress. But in spite of all propaganda, we do not see the country moving even an inch in that direction. Why is it so? If the Charkha Sangh is to solve the present problem of the country and thus justify its existence, it has not only to answer this question but also successfully solve the other problems of the country, or should perish in the attempt. The *mantra* 'Do or die' is the legacy which Bapu has left to all his constructive organizations. Ordinary people will take 'Do' to mean, 'eat, drink and do other routine acts of life, and earn something for achieving that purpose'. But for Bapu 'Do' meant, as we all know, 'Solve the problem of the day or perish in the attempt'.

The main reason why any progress is not made in the direction of a classless society is that, though everyone desires that society should advance, no one wants to change his individual life or to reduce his comforts. It is like soldiers simply remaining at ease in their barracks while wishing for the advance of the army. The government's

pomp and show must be maintained as of old and the ministers must maintain a standard befitting their high position. The capitalists should enjoy a life of luxury and ease to manage the country's industries efficiently. The large number of middle class people created by capitalism for its maintenance and development feel that they would not be able to make an impression upon society if they do not have a spotlessly white dress imitating the polished style and manners of their employers and bosses. Therefore everyone wants to maintain one's own present status. It is still a surprise that all intelligent people want that the whole society should be converted into a classless society of workers!

The middle class people make the loudest agitation because they are the hardest hit. They are like a crow donned with peacock feathers. They desire a place in high class society but have not sufficient resources. As a matter of fact, the middle class is a section of the people employed by the capitalists as their agents and assistants for exploiting the rest. In return this middle class gets a small commission and share of their comforts and luxuries. The lure of comforts and luxuries attracts lacs to those subsidiary professions and in order to qualify themselves for these they try to ape their principals. Their number has become so great now that it is no longer possible for all of them to maintain a life of idleness and show and hence their miserable plight now. As the credit for maintaining, organizing and spreading the evil of exploitation goes to this class, it is also their responsibility to bring about the establishment of a classless society. The khadi workers also belong to this middle class and they have to make a beginning in that direction as the charkha sangh was in fact established to prepare the country for this revolution.

It is clear that there are two ways for doing this: one is the violent method of the Communists and the other the non-violent method of Gandhiji. The Gandhian method is to turn the middle class into the producer-

class. That is, the exploiter merges into the producer-class by becoming a producer himself. This is a new type of revolution. The responsibility for achieving this rests on the middle class, and it is they who have to take intelligently the first deliberate step in this direction. If they do not act promptly in the direction of this class-transformation, another violent revolution, viz. class warfare will envelope the whole country, since the present terrible condition of inequitable class divisions will not be tolerated for long.

According to the non-violent method, the first step in the direction of a classless society is for the middle class to identify itself with the producer-class, i. e. their life should be a dedication to productive activity. I do not mean that the middle class should lower their standard of earning. In fact, there is little difference now in the earnings of a *kisan*, a labourer and an ordinary middle class man; may be that of a *kisan* is even a bit higher than that of the middle class. The middle class has to maintain about five or six members in the family within an income ranging from Rs. 60 to 100, half of which is spent on outward show. But the members of a *kisan* family toil together and spend more on food, spending little on outward show.

Let me warn the middle class that a violent strife is inevitable if we do not move with the trends of the times and achieve this revolution in India. It is not

necessary for me to tell what the class-war means. Those who read newspapers can have the picture of communal strife before them. When groups of men fight with one another, men become beastly. During the Punjab partition tragedies we know how a majority could suppress a minority. Murders, loot, incendiarism, atrocities on women, etc. become matter of ordinary occurrence. Do we think that the difficulties facing class-transformation are greater than the sufferings of a class-war? We know that the population of *kisans* and labourers is greater than that of the middle class people. Do we think that in case a class war breaks out, our position would be better than that of the minorities of the East and the West Punjab? These minorities could at least escape into Pakistan and India respectively, but where will the middle class people migrate to seek shelter? I wish to tell plainly that at the time of a class war, the middle class people who are meticulous in preserving the creases of their white clothes will find it difficult to save even their lives. If the present mentality does not go, those who want to protect their clothes from being stained by mud by physical labour today might see them stained with blood by inviting a violent strife tomorrow. Therefore, it is not any sacrifice that I talk of; I am simply drawing the attention of the middle class to the grim writing on the wall, and I wish that they protect themselves well in time. It is not a sacrifice to leave a house that has already caught fire!

*The above is a part of an appeal mainly addressed to the workers of Charkha Sangh, on the occasion of the Charkha Jayanti, 1949.*

### THE MIDDLE CLASS

If the middle class people voluntarily suffer losses for the sake of the 'lower classes', it would be but tardy reparation for their participation in the latter's exploitation. It is this arrogation of superiority and consequent callousness to the sufferings of the so-called lower classes that keeps us from Swaraj and retards the progress of the life-giving charkha.

GANDHIJI

"Young India", 17-7-1924

# ★ MARVELLOUS PROGRESS OF JAPAN ★

ANNASAHEB SAHASHRABUDHE

The author who has recently returned after visiting Japan, is contributing a series of articles on Japanese life in the Hindi "Sarvodaya." This is a free translation of the first article appearing in the October issue of "Sarvodaya."

In these days, we see, many of our people proceeding to Western countries for higher education. To specialize in Agriculture they go to America. Our Agricultural problems have nothing in common with theirs. We can learn things only from such countries whose conditions are similar to ours. Some years back China and Japan faced the same problems that we face today, but they have now achieved remarkable progress. Our population is 36 crores. The land available per capita is only 3/4 of an acre. We are considerably backward in the use of machines. But in America agricultural operation is entirely carried on with the help of machines and the cultivator has got more lands. In China and Japan the conditions are similar to ours, and from them we can learn a lot.

In Eastern countries agriculture is never a full-time occupation giving work all throughout the year and the necessity to have some supplementary cottage industry with it is found absolutely essential.

In Japan the land available per head is only 1/5 of an acre, and 80% of the agricultural work is done by human labour. Tractors and big machines are not in common use. The Japanese use only small machines in agricultural operations. And he reaps the full benefit of his labour.

There was the Zamindari system in Japan. When the communist trouble began, General MacArthur took the revolutionary step of dividing lands equally among the people. At present no Japanese can hold more than 3 acres of land. His standard of living is much better than that of our agriculturists. The cultivator, by his hard work and intelligent application of his brain earns Rs. 2500 - 3000 from his land every year. He works harder and for longer hours than our people. Besides, he gets the advantages of the modern scientific methods from his Government. This is the key to his success and higher income.

In Japan only 50% of the population are allowed to take to agricultural work, and the farmer has some supplementary cottage industry also. Japan's climate is very congenial. Nature herself had made them very energetic and enterprising. The climate is cooler than ours. The people are very healthy. They work for longer hours, yet they don't get exhausted. Japan has no raw materials produced in her land and still can compete with England and America in trade and industry.

Japan is always threatened by earthquakes which is a common occurrence. The people never feel stability in existence. They care only for the present and courageously carry on. They are not only hard-working but also extremely intelligent. The educated class work harder than others. They recognise the dignity of labour. Japan stands foremost in education, and literacy is cent per cent. Education is compulsory for all children for 9 years. The last three years are entirely devoted to education in craft. The teacher and the guardian jointly draw the schemes and decide as to what kind of education each child should be given. Nothing is done without pre-planning and without an objective purpose. The teacher and the guardians decide as to the number of the students to be trained for agriculture and the number for cottage industry factories at homes. Such of those students who are not found fit for either of the two are trained in some other work which the teacher and the guardians themselves find out for them. Then there is another peculiarity in their educational system. It is never uniform throughout and for all times. It is related to the various crops they grow from time to time. So the scheme goes on changing.

Once we went to an educational institution to study their system. There we saw that the children are given instructions in "canning" i. e. in packing fruits in tins for export. Japan has now begun orange cultivation. There is no competition now and so the cultivators get fair

price for their crops. The teacher said, "This cultivation will spread in future throughout the whole land on a large scale. When the demand may fall and competition starts it will result in loss to the farmers. To avoid this the children are now taught this "canning" industry and after a period of five years every farmer's family can have this canning industry as a supplementary occupation to export their fruits to outside countries. The Japanese system of education is thus unique. How often Gandhiji used to repeat that good education is that which fulfills the needs of the life of the nation!

Japan does not grow and cannot grow any raw materials for her industries in her own country. She has no mineral mines. Thus she has to import everything from outside. This natural disadvantage has contributed to the special characteristic in her. She has to buy the raw materials from outside at higher prices, and she has to sell the finished articles at cheaper rates in foreign markets. Japan knows that she cannot compete with others unless her articles are the best. So a genuine anxiety is developed in everyone of her citizen that the finish should be of the highest order. Naturally an anxiety for precision and correctness is inculcated in every one, in every piece of work. Every workman thinks that he should achieve the maximum standard. If the workman finds that he cannot attain the required proficiency in one industry, he tries his hands on a second and then on a third and so on. If he does not succeed in any, after repeated attempts, such instances are not wanting, when he goes and happily commits suicide. This high sensitiveness makes the Japanese the best craftsmen in the world.

The Japanese never throws anything to waste. He finds maximum use for every-

thing he comes across. They are surprised to know that we Indians are using rags for paper making. To them cloth bits are very valuable articles. They collect cotton rags at low prices from other nations. They clean them and manufacture good carpets out of them. No cotton grows in Japan. Yet Japan stands first in textile industry in the world! They buy cotton from outside. First they manufacture the finest clothes out of it in one factory. The waste from that factory is sent to another factory which produces ordinary cloth from it. In this way the waste from one factory is passed on to another and finally when they find no more cloth can be had out of it, the residual waste is used for making toys.

The Japanese never throw rubbish and wastes here and there as we do here. They are very methodical in sorting out and stocking them in separate places allotted for each item. Bits of metals are sorted and collected in one place. Bits of glass etc. are separately gathered in a second place. Absolutely useless rubbish and organic things are distinctly heaped in an entirely different place to prepare compost manure. From the streets, even the burnt bits of beedis are collected, and the remnant bits of the tobacco are taken out with which fresh beedis are again prepared.

It must be remembered that it is not out of a feeling of mere helplessness, or dependence on foreign countries that Japanese are so economical. They are by nature industrious and alert. They are hard-working and energetic. They are very conscientious and enterprising. I doubt very much whether there is any other nation which is so energetic, skilful and efficient.

### PLACE MAN ABOVE THE MACHINE

We were trying through khadi to place man above the machine, rather than allow the machinery driven by electricity or steam, to be the master. We were endeavouring through khadi to establish equality between man and man in place of the enormous inequality now existing between the poor and the rich, between the high and the low, between the man and the woman. We also endeavoured to make the labourer independent of the capitalist instead of the capitalist exploiting labour and assuming undue prestige. If, therefore, what we did in India during the last thirty years was not wrong, we should now carry on the programme of the spinning wheel with all its allied activities with more understanding of all the implications and with greater vigour.

GANDHIJI (*'The Ideology of the Charkha'*)

# VINOBAJI'S FIVE-YEAR PLAN

SURESH RAMABHAI

These are the days of planning when everybody is ready with a plan of his own. The Government of India through its much-vaunted National Planning Commission has also come forward with a Five Year Plan to produce food, clothing, consumer goods, etc. etc.. But curiously enough all these plans fail even to produce a ripple on the vast Indian waters. The reason is not far to seek. These plans suffer from one common drawback, viz., their expert authors expect them to be executed by everybody save themselves. But believing, as the Indian masses instinctively do, him and only him who actually does what he says or preaches, they are not the least affected by any of these plans. In this plethora of plans there is one, however, which stands in bright contrast to the rest. Its author is India's Resister or Satyagrahi No. 1 of World War No. 2, Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

There is no preamble for Vinobaji's Five Year Plan. Nor any draft outline. The plan simply is: collection of five crores acres of land from all those who have it for distribution among the landless who have it not. There is nothing in it which cannot be followed. And what is his technique? He goes abegging:

"If you have four sons please consider me as the fifth. Accordingly give me my share."

Thus of India's cultivable land which amounts to about 36 crores of acres, he wants only five acres, even less than one-seventh. We have known beggars asking for money or fooding or clothing. But here is one of an altogether new kind, Vinobaji who would have none of it. He wants only land. Again, he is not a beggar who will consume the article himself. He begs in order to donate it to others who can make good use of it. Acute poverty of the land has driven him to this course. As he said during the course of his Telangana tour:

"Forty years ago, as a student I used to read and think about the conditions of my country and feel sorry for my slave country and its miserable conditions. Today,

after forty years, there is no change in those conditions; on the contrary, they have worsened."

Or, as he put it recently at Lalitpur (Jhansi):

"The most important problem today is that of the starving millions. It is a problem of uprooted humanity and has had its origin in the complete destruction of village economy based on cottage industries and self-sufficiency. The increasing poverty in our villages is a cause of great anxiety and four years of freedom have failed to bring about any change for the better."

A critical situation as exists in our country today calls for a united effort of sacrifice, known as *Yagna*:

"In olden days when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform *Yagnas*. I also want to perform a *Yagna*. So I have started experimenting this *Bhu-dan Yagna*. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Everyone should take part in this *Yagna* which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the *Yagnas*, so also we should donate lands."

And, therefore, as Vinobaji feelingly said the other day:

"With folded hands I entreat you to fulfil my mission. I am not asking land for my own sake. Those on whose behalf I come to demand are mute and cannot express their minds. I wish my words touch your very hearts straight as *Rambaan* (Divine Arrow of Rama)."

Mind that this *Dan* or donation is no obligation of those who give it. They should do it as their sacred duty. Vinobaji is quite clear about it:

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

There is another reason also why they should part with their land:

“I do not wish to suggest that all land in possession of landholders today was acquired by means other than fair. But the time demands that landholders realise the right of the landless, accept the latter's legitimate claim, and come forward to part with the rightful portion of the landless.”

Nay, he goes further:

“Everybody has a right to own land as he has a right to share air and water equally. I do not agree that land is meant for a few. God has given equal shares to everyone.”

How the gift of five crores of acres will affect the food problem of our country is easy to see. It is well-known that ours is a very fertile land but the average yield per acre is very sadly poor. Below are figures for average yield of rice per acre in a few countries:

Country	Yield per acre
India	731 lbs.
U. S. A.	1480 „
Japan	2307 „
Egypt	3000 „

It requires no imagination to point out that this poor record is due to the fact, let apart want of facilities for irrigation, etc., that the tiller is not really the sole master of the land he tills, as it were, and works on hire. What is seriously wanting is enthusiasm. Let five crores of acres be cultivated by those who own them. They will work in the land as a mother does for her son. So doing, even if they could produce 500 lbs. per acre more (i. e., say, six maunds per acre) five crores of acres will yield extra thirty crores of maunds of food, which is well over ten million tons. In any case the extra yield can surely be a third as much, or about three

million tons which is our present official food-import figure.

But this is not the only target of Vinobaji's Five Year Plan. It is something nobler still:

“My object cannot be achieved by obtaining a little *Bhudan* here and there. It is to transform the whole society.”

Such transformation is the only way to eradicate the evil in our society. Like a torch-lamp Vinobaji, by his Five Year Plan, seeks to bring light in the all pervading darkness. He seems to awaken the power-drunk capitalists, landlords and all varieties of 'haves' and asks them to open their eyes before it is too late. In fact the warning was given by Gandhiji as early as 1929:

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

The basis of this Five Year Plan is non-violence, love and peace. Vinobaji wants to implement it in order to “bring about”, as he said in a mass meeting the other day, “a silent ideological revolution in our social outlook.”

Verily, this modest plan seeks to achieve a triple revolution—economic, social and ideological. And well, the political will follow of its own accord.

Let each one of us participate in this Five Year Plan and contribute our mite in the great revolution. ★ ★ ★

### KARMAYOGA IN FAMILY LIFE

We should love our son in the same way as we love the world. There should be no distinction between the two. So also with regard to our own self. Let us ask ourselves: “Do I love my son more than I love other or less than I love myself or my son?” If the answer is in the affirmative, we are in the wrong

Every one should resolve that the estate earned by his father is for the whole society. He has no exclusive right over it. It is the responsibility of the father to educate the son properly up to a certain age. Thereafter he must be made free to live and remain as any other friend. If these things are clear in the mind, a man with a family is also a Karmayogi, in accordance with the Gita.

VINOBAJI (“Sarvodaya”, November, 1950)

# ★ GANDHI AND MARX

## Rigid Schooling and Independent Thinking

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

The following is the continuation of Acharya Vinobaji's introduction published in the previous issue of the "Khadi World" to Shri. K. G. Mashruwala's recent book 'Gandhi and Marx' published by Navajivan Trust - (Price Rs. 1—8—0. Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.)

They\* say that Valmiki wrote the Ramayana long before the birth of Rama and Rama conformed to every word of it during his earthly career and, so, had also no occasion to worry himself about using his own judgment in order to take a decision. He had just to consult the book and act accordingly. Since the consequences had also been predicted, he was not worried about the results also. So, too, is the case with the Communists. Lenin acted as Marx had prescribed; we, too, (according to them\*) have merely to follow him and straightway reach our goal. If at times there appears a discrepancy between the words of Marx and the actions of Lenin, the pandits of Communism have of course to labour a little to prove that there is no real discrepancy. This is not very difficult. For, it is a well known maxim of interpretation that a *smriti*-text (rule) must conform to a *shruti*-text (law). And, hence, if a rule is clear, then one need only so interpret the law that the former is justified! Do that and you get the 'line clear'!

It is quite otherwise with the Gandhian ideology. If Communism is a solid and imposing structure of granite, Gandhism is an ever-changing amoeba. If we examine Gandhiji's ideas we will find them always growing. If his later pronouncements contradict his earlier ones, he would ask us not to worry about reconciling the two, but to accept the later and reject the earlier and proceed further. Even in his major fights, he had no premeditated plans, no technique, no ordered arrangement etc. Since he used to say, "One step is enough for me", why should the Lord show him two? And, what was the amount of authority to be attached even to his latest utterances? His answer was, "Do not be authority-bound. Use your own talent. You might ask me while I am available. Thereafter every one is free to think and decide for himself." That is why there is no unanimity of ideas even among his closest followers. A critic

once remarked to me ironically, "Gandhiji was a devotee of the *Gita* and so are his associates. And they have all written something on the *Gita*. But each one has an interpretation different from that of the other!" We might ignore this particular satire as it simply proves the inexhaustibility of the *Gita*. The fact remains, however, that there is not a single problem of life—not even *khadi* which is the basis of *Sarvodaya*,—whereon all the close associates of Gandhiji will declare the same mind in every respect. That is why someone had suggested to Gandhiji that he should set forth his ideas in a systematic and formal treatise. But Gandhiji answered, "For one thing, I have no time; for another, I am still experimenting. Hence, let the treatise develop slowly of itself, if it does at all." And of course, he was right. But the answer struck me home for another reason also. All that a well-written treatise can do is to furnish a reply to ideologies which are opposed to it. But just as a policy of armaments by one country does not deter others from increasing their armaments but on the contrary encourages them to do so,—thereby creating more problems in its wake,—so also the war of words created by scholarly systems does not contribute to clarification of ideas or narrowing down of differences, but only creates more confusion. Therefore, it is much better to allow thought to work freely than to beat and drive and shut it up into the rigidity of a system. It is possible that this might lead to discordance and schisms. And, as had happened among the followers of Buddha who split up into four different schools, the followers of Gandhi might split up into ten, each going his separate way. This can be prevented, as Gandhiji has said, only by every one using his own talent and assuming responsibility to speak for himself (in his own name).

(To be continued)

\* The Communists

# NOTES AND NEWS

## VINOBAJI'S DELHI WALKING TOUR

Pujya Vinobaji reached Delhi on the 13th November after walking 795 miles. He is staying in Rajaghat (Gandhiji's Samadhi) in Delhi and is having daily discussions with the members of the Planning Commission. He has also received land donation from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic and others in Delhi. He is resuming his historic pilgrimage from 24th November in Uttar Pradesh where his target of land donations is five lakhs. The Land donation received during his Delhi tour excluding donations at Delhi is as follows:

Madhya Pradesh	6,700 acres.
Vindhya "	1,000 "
Madhya Bharat	500 "
Rajasthan	400 "
Uttar Pradesh	10,836 "

Total 19,436 acres.

More details about his Delhi tour will be given in the next issue of the *Khadi World*.

## SHRI. DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR'S SHIBIRS

Khadi lovers and Kathayi Mandals who have organized the various camps in the South for Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar will feel disappointed to know that his tour programme in the South has to be cancelled on account of urgent and pressing work at Sevagram for some months. It is hoped that the President of the Charkha Sangh may be able to fulfil the present programme of camps some time in March next.

## 83RD CHARUKHA JAYANTI

Reports have been received from several Vastralayas of the Charkha Sangh and Kathayi Mandals in Tamil Nad about the celebration of the 83rd Charkha Jayanti. Sutra Yagna, Akhanda Charkha, Safayi, mass-prayer, public meetings, sale of publications, enlistment of subscribers for "Khaddar Malar" and the "Khadi World," spinning competition, poor-feeding and processions have been the principal items observed in the celebrations. At some places weaving of self-spinners' yarn was conducted. Some of the following items are noteworthy:

1. In Moolanur intensive area in Coimbatore Dist. 7 workers including two lady workers participated in manual work as

wage-earners in a farm in a village. Wages earned by them were credited to the account of the Charkha Sangh in accordance with the spirit of the resolution passed by the Trustees of the A. I. S. A.,.

The Sanchalak of Nellore Vibagh of A. I. S. A. (Andhra) writes that he visited a number of places by cycling a distance of 218 miles during the Jayanti and did propaganda for self-sufficiency.

The Sanchalak, Srikakulam Vibagh of A. I. S. A. (Andhra) writes that Bhunayi Sena (band of weaving experts) visited five places and arranged to weave self-spinners' yarn. The places visited are Sasanam, Singapuram, Bonthalakoduru, Kalingapatnam, Ponduru., where 32 local persons in all took part in the weaving processes and 41 yards of khadi were woven in all the above places.

## SHIBIRS IN TAMIL NAD

There were seven short term training camps in Tamil Nad conducted by Shri. Kanu Gandhi and N. R. Sowneji of Sevagram between 26th September and 21st of October as per original programme published in the *Khadi World*, Nov., with change in one place. Each camp lasted for 3 days and sixteen to fifty workers participated in every camp. Two of the camps were held in towns and five in villages. Members of Kathayi Mandals, khadi lovers and a few students took part. The mornings were devoted to practical classes like spinning, thunayi, charkha repairs and weaving. In the afternoon there were classes and discourses on the ideals and programme of the Charkha Sangh. There was public prayer both in the morning and evening. These camps have given an impetus for spinning, carding and weaving for self-sufficiency. Mass-prayers were conducted in about 25 other places besides the centres of camps. At some places like Alandurai, Coimbatore, Bhavani, Mannargudi, Kondapally and Jalarpet 2,000 to 3000 persons attended the prayer. Shri. Kanu Gandhi's way of conducting mass-prayers has attracted large numbers. It may be suggested to the Kathayi Mandal organisers of these camps that the enthusiasm and interest aroused should not be allowed to ebb away but should be canalized into a permanent daily programme of spinning for self-sufficiency, public safayi and prayer besides



frequent discussion on the ideology and programme of the A. I. S. A., without allowing all the labour and expenses incurred in such camps running to waste.

**KATHAYI MANDAL CONFERENCE**

There was a Dist. Kathayi Mandal conference on the 1st of October in Mukasimangalam village near Coimbatore, presided over by Shri. R. Srinivasan. The following is the substance of the resolutions passed at the conference:

The members of Kathayi Mandals realise that the object of the Charkha Sangh is to establish a classless non-exploiting society through the self-sufficiency programme. As such society is impossible with centralised and mechanized methods of production the Kathayi Mandals should vigorously carry on propaganda for boycott of mill-cloth and all mill-processed food articles like mill-rice, mill-oil, Vanaspati etc. and use only village-made articles instead.

The Mandals should do propaganda in villages to abandon the use of coffee, tea, smoking, snuffing etc. which drain the wealth of villages.

The Kathayi Mandal members should themselves use and propagate the use of pit-latrines and to prepare compost manure which will be useful for food production while ensuring health and hygiene of the villages.

It will also prevent the drain of village money now spent on foreign chemical manures.

The Kathayi Mandal members are requested to spin a minimum of 100 hanks for their self-sufficiency in cloth before the next 84th Charkha Jayanti.

As these resolutions were subsequently discussed and accepted at the shibirs conducted by Shri. Kanu Gandhi, they are considered to have been accepted by all the Kathayi Mandals in Tamil Nad as their future programme.

**SHORT TERM WEAVING COURSES**

The Tamil Nad Branch of the A. I. S. A. started the first Short-Term Weaving Training Course at Gandhinagar, Tirupur, on 16th July 1951. It was opened by Shri. Krishnadas Gandhi. The course was for two months and twelve workers took part in it. Each of them wove 40 yards of 28" Dubata. The second course began on 17th September

with seven workers and was closed on 15th November. The following particulars of work of the second course will be of interest:

Yarn hanks used : double thread	312 hanks.
"          single          "	391 "
Total number of hours spent on all processes of weaving etc.	2,337 hrs.
Number of yards woven	
28" double thread	251 yds.
"          single          "	10 "
Average weaving charges earned for Dubata (per yard)	3 annas.
"          single thread	4½ "

One of the trainees has woven 40 yards of 28" Dubata in 280 hrs. Another wove 43½ yards of 28" double thread and 10 yards of single thread in 384 hours.

The third weaving course has commenced on 20th November, 1951.

**DEEPAVALI KHADI SALES TIRUPUR VIBAGH (FROM 1-10-51 TO 29-10-51)**

Retail	Rs.	1,10,555
To Spinners	"	45,533
To Kathayi Mandals	"	2,096
Exchanged for full yarn	"	13,818
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>1,72,002</b>

Total No. of yarn hanks exchanged for khadi is about 1,00,000.

**ALL-INDIA KHADI PRODUCTION AND SALES**

	1950-51	1949-50
1. Self-sufficiency square yards	5,13,827	5,48,026
2. Khadi Production square yards	67,71,842	65,54,407
3. Khadi sales Rs.	1,78,72,856	1,29,16,872

The above are the figures for the A.I.S.A. and its certified institutions. The figures for 1950-51 are estimated for some places as all reports have not yet been received. The sales for 1950-51 is more than twice that of the production partly due to clearance of the opening stock of the year and partly due to appreciation in price.

**SARVA SEVA SANGH**

Shri. Gopabandhu Choudhury has resigned his Secretaryship of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh and Shri. Shankar Rao Deo has been appointed as the Secretary of the Sangh till the Sarvodaya Sammelan in 1954.

**SEVAGRAM SHIBIR**

A training camp for the workers of the A. I. S. A. was opened at Sevagram on 5th November by Shri. Kishorelal Mashruwala. The camp is being conducted under the direct guidance of the President of the Charkha Sangh. The camp will end on 25th Nov.,. About 50 workers from the various provinces are participating in it.

**MAHATMA'S LIFE**

Shri. D. G. Tendulkar who had first brought out the 75th Birthday volume, *Gandhiji*, has now published the first of the eight volumes of his book *Mahatma-Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*. The author has laboured for several years to collect valuable information and data about Gandhiji's life and had the benefit of frequent personal consultation with Gandhiji in the preparation of these volumes till January 1948. These may be considered as a solid and substantial contribution to the literature on Gandhiji's biography. Each volume is priced at Rs. 25 and the whole set at Rs. 180. The price, of course, is beyond the reach of a common reader but the whole precious set should adorn every public and school library. We are indebted to the author for the two extracts taken from the first volume in this issue of the "Khadi World" with the title *Gandhiji's Sarvodaya Life in South Africa*. It is surprising how the significant word "Sarvodaya" which dawned on Gandhiji's mind while reading Ruskin's "Unto This Last" and a precious name of Sarvodaya Samaj, a name which is 'an ocean of nectar' as called by Vinobaji, has escaped mention by the author in the particular chapter of the book, reprinted by us.

**THE KHADI WORLD**

The Travancore - Cochin State Government have kindly approved the use of our monthly magazine the "Khadi World" in all the school libraries as per their order No. L. Dis. 19797/51 dated 31st October 1951., issued by the Director of Public Instruction, Trivandrum.

We hope that the other State Governments will give the same kind of recognition to the magazines of this kind so that Gandhian - Sarvodaya ideology may easily spread in the schools and shape the thought and conduct of the rising generation of the country.

**BOOKS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED****International Labour Review:**

August - September, 1951. Published monthly by the International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland. Price 3 Shs.

**Peace News:**

'The International Pacifist Weekly. 3, Blackstock Road, London, N. 4. Quarterly Subscription 4 Shs. 4 D.

**Economics of Socialism:**

By Sharavak Mistry—available from Sahakari Prakashan Ltd., Raja Bahadur Wadi, 24 B, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay. Pages 40; Price Re. 1.

**The Trusteeship Scheme:**

By M. P. Kedia B. Sc. (ENG.) Publisher: Srilal Sawalka, 174, Chitaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 7.

● **Gandhi and Marx:**

(With introduction by Vinobaji) By K. G. Mashruwala. Publishers, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

● **Towards Non-Violent Socialism:**

(By M. K. Gandhi) Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.

● **A Righteous Struggle:**

A Chronicle of the Ahmedabad Textile Labourers' Fight for Justice. By Mahadev Desai. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

- My Asram Plan for Rural Uplift: 1-8-0
- The Indian Village: (A Ten-Year Plan) 0-12-0
- After Gandhiji: Our Problems: 0-12-0

By K. S. Venkataramani, Svetaranya Asrama, Kaveripoompattinam, Via. Tiruven-gadu, Tanjore Dt.

● **Doctor Kumarappa:**

(Life of J. C. Kumarappa in Tamil) By M. Vinayakam. Published by Lakshmi Pusthaka Nilayam, Maganwadi, Wardha. Pp-140. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

● Available at A. I. S. A., Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Veerapandy, Tirupur.

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**PUBLICATIONS OF  
All India Village Industries'  
Association**

	Rs.As.
Why the Village Movement?	3 0
Economy of Permanence Part I	2 0
-Do- II	2 0
Gandhian Economy and Other Essays	2 0
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Magan Dipa	0 8
A Questionnaire for Rural Surveys	0 4
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Guide to Maganwadi	0 3
View of Maganwadi	0 8
Stone Walls and Iron Bars	0 14
Organization and Accounts of Relief Work	1 0
Whither Constructive Work?	0 10
Unitary Basis for a Non-Violent Democracy	0 10

**PUBLICATIONS OF  
Hindustani Talimi Sangh**

	Rs.As.
Educational Reconstruction	2 0
[Containing (a) Gandhiji's speeches and writings on education, 1937-39, (b) Report of the National Education Conference, Oct. 1937 etc.]	
The Latest Fad - Basic Education	1 8
Syllabus for the Training of Pre-Basic Teachers	0 12
Plan and Practice	1 8
Higher Education in relation to Rural India	1 8
The Rural Universities	0 8
Nai Talim Sevagram :	
A brief account	0 4
„ (An illustrated album)	3 0
„ (with text and captions in Tamil)	2 8
Cardboard Modelling	1 4
Compost Latrines: their Value, Construction and Use	0 6
“Boimondau” (a French Community of Work)	1 8
Common Ailment of the Village	0 8
Nai Talim and the Social Order	0 8
One Step Forward	2 8
Two Years of Work	2 8
Third Annual Report	0 8
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