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Photo - Kanu Gandhi — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot



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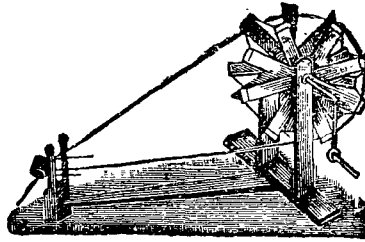
A Picture of Village Swaraj

MAHATMA GANDHI

My idea of Village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. Then if there is more land available, it will grow *useful* money crops, thus excluding *ganja*, tobacco, opium and the like. The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own waterworks ensuring clean supply. This can be done through controlled wells and tanks. Education will be compulsory upto the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today with their graded untouchability. Non-violence with its technique of *Satyagraha* and non-co-operation will be the sanction of the village community. There will be a compulsory service of village guards who will be selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village. The Government of the village will be conducted by the *Panchayat* of five persons, annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. These will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. Since there will be no system of punishments in the accepted sense, this *Panchayat* will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined to operate for its year of office. Any village can become such a republic today without much interference, even from the present Government whose sole effective connection with the villages is the exaction of the village revenue. I have not examined here the question of relations with the neighbouring villages and the centre if any. My purpose is to present an outline of village government. Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world. For the law governing every villager is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour.

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THE MESSAGE OF THE WHEEL

MAHATMA GANDHI



I do indeed ask the poet and sage to spin the wheel as a sacrament. When there is war, the poet lays down the lyre, the lawyer his law reports, the school boy his books. The poet will sing the true note after the war is over, the lawyer will have occasion to go to his law books when people have time to fight among themselves. When a house is on fire all the inmates go out, and each one takes up a bucket to quench the fire. When all about me are dying for want of food, the only occupation permissible to me is to feed the hungry. It is my conviction that India is a house on fire because its manhood is being daily scorched, it is dying of hunger because it has no work to buy food with. Khulna is starving not because the people cannot work, but because they have no work. The Ceded districts are passing successively through a fourth famine. Orissa is a land suffering from chronic famines. Our cities are not India. India lives in her seven lakhs of villages, and the cities live upon the villages. They do not bring their wealth from other countries. The city people are brokers and commission agents for the big houses of Europe, America and Japan. The cities have co-operated with the the latter in the bleeding process that has gone on for the past two hundred years. It is my belief based on experience that India is daily growing poorer. The circulation about her feet and legs has almost stopped. And if we do not take care she will collapse altogether.

To a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages. God created man to work for his food, and said that those who ate without work were thieves. Eighty per cent of India are compulsorily thieves half the year. Is it any

wonder if India has become one vast prison? Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel. The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love. And love is swaraj. The spinning wheel will 'curb the mind' when the time spent on necessary physical labour can be said to do so. We must think of millions who are today less than animals, who are almost in a dying state. The spinning wheel is the reviving draught for the millions of our dying countrymen and countrywomen. 'Why should I, who have no need to work for food, spin?' may be the question asked. Because I am eating what does not belong to me. I am living on the spoliation of my countrymen. Trace the course of every pice that finds its way into your pocket, and you will realize the truth of what I write. Swaraj has no meaning for the millions, if they do not know how to employ their enforced idleness. The attainment of this swaraj is possible within a short time, and it is so possible only by the revival of the spinning wheel.

I do want growth, I do want self-determination, I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul. I doubt if the steel age is an advance upon the flint age. I am indifferent. It is the evolution of the soul to which the intellect and all our faculties have to be devoted. I have no difficulty in imagining the possibility of a man armoured after the modern style making some lasting and new discovery for mankind, but I have less difficulty in imagining the possibility of a man having nothing but a bit of flint and a nail for lighting his path or his matchlock ever singing new hymns of praise and delivering to an aching world a message of peace and goodwill upon earth. A plea for the wheel is a plea for recognizing the dignity of labour.

I claim that in losing the spinning wheel we lost our left lung. We are, therefore, suffering from galloping consumption. The restoration of the wheel arrests the progress of the fell disease. There are certain things which all must do in all climes. There are certain things which all must do in certain climes. The spinning wheel is the thing which all must turn in the Indian clime for the transition stage at any rate and the vast majority must for all time.

It was our love of foreign cloth that ousted the wheel from its position of dignity. Therefore, I consider it a sin to wear foreign cloth. I must confess that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and, therefore, sinful. Thus the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour. It is sinful to eat American wheat and let my neighbour the grain-dealer starve for want of custom. Similarly it is sinful for me to wear the latest finery of Regent Street, when I know that if I had but worn

the things woven by the neighbouring spinners and weavers, that would have clothed me, and fed and clothed them. On the knowledge of my sin bursting upon me I must consign the foreign garments to the flames and thus purify myself, and thenceforth rest content with the rough khadi made by my neighbours. On knowing that my neighbours may not, having given up the occupation, take kindly to the spinning wheel, I must take it up myself and thus make it popular.

I venture to suggest to the poet, that the clothes I ask him to burn must be and are his. If they had to his knowledge belonged to the poor or the ill-clad, he would long ago have restored to the poor what was theirs. In burning my foreign clothes, I burn my shame. I must refuse to insult the naked by giving them clothes they do not need, instead of giving them work which they sorely need. I will not commit the sin of becoming their patron, but on learning that I had assisted in impoverishing them, I would give them a privileged position and give them neither crumbs nor cast-off clothing but the best of my food and clothes and associate myself with them in work. ★ ★

"Young India" 13-10-1921

THE NOOSE OF THE DOLLAR: American Financial Imperialism

J. C. KUMARAPPA

About a month ago an agreement was signed between the U. S. A. and India, by which a grant of 50 million dollars was made available to India for developmental purposes. The U. S. A. has been an octopus with financial tentacles in all other parts of the world. Britain specialised in political imperialism, while the American speciality is financial imperialism. Is this going to gag us on world questions? Let us beware of baits of all kinds including "rural-urban development."

Not content with a contribution of a mere 50 million dollars, the American Ambassador, Mr. Chester Bowles, suggests an aid of 1000 millions to push forward the "progress" of India. American "experts" have already begun to come in.

There is danger in all this. The American penetration will bring in commercialism and tractors. Basing our Agriculture on crude oil and machines will deliver us body, soul and spirit into American hands. If we chafe at anything that the Americans dictate later,

all that they will have to do to "bring us to our senses" is to stop crude oil supplies. Then we shall be starved into subjection. Prior to the last war some well-to-do cultivators had installed crude oil pumpsets in some district places near Madras. Their economy was dislocated during the war, as they could not get any supplies of the needed fuel. Some of them were even ruined by this handicap.

To base our economic order on things our country does not possess or produce, is suicidal. Let us profit by Japan's experience. Japan surrendered not so much for fear of the Atom Bomb, but because they had no stock of petrol to carry on the war any longer. Hiroshima provided only an honourable excuse. Humble though our progress may be, let us be on our own legs. Any attempt to hasten the pace may be fatal. In the end any foreign aid of this magnitude, from which we cannot easily shake ourselves free, will prove a halter round our neck and jeopardise our newly found independence.

("Gram Udyog Patrika" — Feb. 1952)

Government Salaries and Constructive Workers

SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

A devoted constructive worker who is at present working in the Government Department writes to the Editor of *Harijan*:

“Some of the constructive workers of our institutions have gone into Government services to carry out items of the constructive programme through government machinery. They lived a simple and frugal life in our institutions. I request you to give your guidance on the question of salaries which they should accept from government for the proper discharge of their responsibilities to themselves and their family. Should they accept the payment to which they are entitled according to the government scale? If not, what should be the maximum? I would request you to prescribe the definite limit. In case these constructive workers accept high salaries allowed according to government scale, should they receive the same respect in our institutions and fields of work? Many of our workers who have been joining government services for carrying out such activities as Sarvodaya schemes, Nai Talim, uplift of Aborigines etc. need definite guidance on this subject. One of the evils resulting from accepting high salaries in government is that it creates dissatisfaction among other workers. The sense of devotion of the ordinary class of our workers weakens, and they begin to look for a chance to get into government services. But only a few can do so; most of them will have to continue in the institutions. I request you to kindly write on the subject at sufficient length in *Harijan*.”

The subject raised in the letter is an important one in the cause of the service of the people. I have been requested by the Editor to respond to the correspondent's request. I do not know whether I should regard the request as an honour or a burden. Obviously, it is an embarrassing question. I fear what I may write may not please some. However I believe that a dispassionate discussion of the subject would be to the good of all concerned and I undertake to do it in a spirit of duty. Though the question has been restricted by the correspondent to constructive workers, it has a wider aspect

covering the whole field of Government service. I would therefore consider the question in its entirety.

GANDHIJI'S CRITICISM OF SALARY LEVEL

In a letter to the then Viceroy, on the eve of his famous Salt Satyagraha, Gandhiji had cited the figures of the income of an average Indian and the pay of the Viceroy, and pointed out the yawning gulf between the two and the enormous injustice which it involved to our poor country. He wrote the letter as a representative of the Congress. The Congress Governments are now in power all over India. Are we to believe that Gandhiji's criticism applied only to then British Government and could not be applied to the present Congress rulers? It is true that the currency has depreciated and the difference which now divides the average income of an Indian and the highest pay under the Government is not as big as it used to be. However even the existing ratio is not inconsiderable. It works out at about 250 to 300 times to 1. And it is a real pity that this inequality has been embodied in the articles of the constitution itself. It has fixed the salaries of some of the principal office-holders of the Government. Whatever happens to the country, whether its poverty worsens or otherwise, the constitution ensures that those salaries cannot be touched. It also provides—and this is a prevailing practice in almost all Government Departments—that whenever an officer is called upon to take over charge of a superior office even for a few days, he will draw the pay attached to the higher office.

NEHRUJI'S ANSWER TO PRESENT CRITICISM

This subject of the scale of Government salaries has been discussed and commented upon more than once in the columns of *Harijan* and elsewhere. It has also been debated in the Parliament. But there is no indication that Government contemplate any scaling down. Just recently, in December 1951, Pandit Nehru answered the charge in a speech in the course of his election tour. From the report of the speech published in the newspapers, he appears to make the following points:

(i) It is not only Government officers who receive high emoluments, but also industrialists, lawyers and others;

(ii) The present equivalent of Rs. 500/- which the Congress laid down as a maximum salary is about Rs. 1500 to 2000. After deducting the income tax etc., the Prime Minister gets a net salary of Rs. 1950 only. For the highest official, the Public Service Commission has fixed the maximum of Rs. 3000 per mensem;

(iii) The President gets Rs. 5000 per month free of income tax, plus certain allowances. The President is the symbol of the status and honour of the country. Not that a high salary is necessary for the maintenance of status and honour, but he has to appear in several social functions and programmes, and give large donations for charitable causes. He must live in a style which will befit his dignity and position as the head of the State. The people may, if they so choose, reduce his salary, but that will not make much change in the economic condition of the country.

Shri Jawaharlalji is the foremost leader of the country and it may be presumed that ultimately his view will prevail. But it is necessary to point out that there is another strong side to the question.

The first point refers to the very high incomes of persons engaged in industries, law and other lucrative professions. It is suggested that while there are other professions, which hold out prospects of handsome earnings really capable men are not likely to stick in government services at lower salaries. We have to admit that for the administration of a vast country like ours, a large number of capable men will always be necessary. And unless the scale of pay is sufficiently high, government service will not attract them. So far as the ordinary class of government servants is concerned, there is some force in this proposition. But it does not augur well for the country if money alone is the most powerful attraction for the higher type of officers also. They must stand in a different class from the ordinary class of traders, merchants and industrialists. They are charged with the heavy responsibility of administering the country. It is in their power to make the administration good or bad. They are designated as public servants. It is not proper that men should join government services with the selfish object of making money. They should be inspired by the

spirit of service. There should be scope for the fulfilment of one's ambition, but the acquisition of money is not a noble ambition for man. Moreover, it should be no small fulfilment of ambition for them that they get the power to carry on the administration of the country. This is an important difference between ordinary money-makers and public servants.

Another grave defect in the system of government salaries is that they continue to rise with every rise in the post. After a stage, there is no essential difference in the wants of upper class government officers of various grades. The rule of higher pay for higher office has no moral or equitable reasoning behind it. If a higher pay is offered because of the heavier responsibilities of the superior office let it be remembered that a man can work only to the extent of his ability and every man is expected to work with his full ability in every office held by him. If it is argued that the rise in the pay signifies the recognition of the higher intelligence of the officer, it is not quite true; for promotions to higher posts are made, oftener than not, on grounds of seniority. The appointment to a higher office involving enlargement of administrative powers and area should be regarded as a sufficient recognition of and return for the talent of the officer. The holder of a superior office has not only to discharge the responsibilities of his office, he has also to inspire his juniors with the spirit of service to the country. He can do so only if he himself presents an example of service and sacrifice. Hence, having regard to the poverty of the country, it is but proper that the salaries of high officials should not exceed reasonable limits.

Even if there is some justification for paying high salaries to government servants, it cannot extend to governors, ministers, legislators and similar holders of special posts. They belong to an entirely different category. They are representatives of the people and go there with the avowed aim of serving the people. They are expected to guide and give a lead to the people. Why should they adopt a higher standard of living? Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has referred to the necessity of maintaining the honour and dignity of office, necessitating the allowance of a high salary. The question is whether the honour and dignity of an office is maintained by chaste simplicity or by display of wealth and luxury? The

Britishers maintained a high and luxurious standard of living because they came to exploit the country economically, to overawe the people and to maintain their imperialistic rule. But can these standards be justified in the present day democracy and under India's cultural traditions? We have to remember that *rishis* and *fakirs* have been always held in greater respect in our country than kings and *amirs*. Even among rulers and the rich, those who live a simple and austere life are more respected and praised than those who live pompously. How can this conception of associating honour and dignity with wealth and display, do credit to a poor country like ours?

Many of the present ministers belonged financially to the ordinary middle-class, and lived quite simply before they assumed office. They did not hesitate to go on foot or travel third class. Why should they change their mode of living as soon as they become ministers? Many of them made great sacrifices during the quarter of a century of the struggle for Swaraj. They spent long periods of their lives in jails during which they could not earn anything. How is it that now they cannot do without fat salaries? Is it that sacrifice was necessary at that stage and now it is not? Our leaders feel a deep concern for the corruption prevailing in the administration, in the Congress, and in the country in general and make some efforts to eradicate the evil. May I ask, however, if these efforts can succeed without ascending the scale—or, shall I call it, the sharp pale—of sacrifice which alone can take us to the desired goal? Unless the leaders to whom the people look for guidance come forward to set the example of sacrifice, how can we hope for any purification amongst the people in general? Governors, ministers, and such other holders of high offices are looked upon by the people as the elders who set the pattern of right living. It is essential for the good of the country that they curtail their comforts, accept lower salaries, and live simply.

THE LEADERS SHOULD INSPIRE NOBLE URGE

Shri Nehru has stated that the reduction of salaries would not make much difference in the general economic condition of the country. This is largely true. But it is not so much a question of effecting economies in the expenses. The question is how does it fit in with the conditions of want and poverty prevailing in the country? People tend to follow the ways of those whom they

consider to be their superiors. If these superiors look for the maintenance of their honour and dignity in high salaries, others will naturally feel inclined to spend their talent and energy for earning money. There is the need to rouse in the people the urge for a morally pure life. And to that end, it is essential that the conduct of the elders must be of the kind and standard which will inspire the people with noble urges.

It may be granted for the sake of argument that the present scales of pay are reasonable for efficiency of administration. The question would still remain whether a person who does not need that amount may also accept it. Certainly there are many among them who have large properties which yield them enough income, or whose sons and brothers are quite able to maintain the family on their own earnings; in short, who are now fit to enter to use an old expression, into the *Vanaprastha Ashram*. Why should they accept anything even though the Government be prepared to pay them in full? Could they not make even that amount of sacrifice for giving a proper lead to the people? There are a few persons who draw very much less than what they are entitled to under the rules, but they are so few that they cannot influence either the people in general, or other office-holders. Perhaps, such examples are even prevented from receiving publicity. It also appears that there are some, who would be quite willing to work on a lower pay, but they hesitate to do so for fear that it would displease their colleagues. The fault lies in the atmosphere prevailing in the government services. A change should be brought about so that while those who might draw their pay in full, while those who have other sources or whose requirements are few might give up their salaries wholly or in part.

I think that the answer to the correspondent's questions can be inferred from the above discussion. Vinobaji has expressed the view that broadly the political set-up of the country would be made of three sides: viz; a party in power to carry on the administration; an opposition pursuing the policy of responsive co-operation and constructive opposition; and a third one which would be a body of non-party workers who would apply themselves to the service of the people without involving themselves in power-politics. The administration and the forces of democracy will be honest and

free from corruption and act within proper moral limitations only to the extent that this body of selfless workers grows large and strong. A little thought will convince the reader that only the constructive workers can form the third side of the triangle. In a sense, everything which is conducive to the good of the country may be termed constructive. But generally the term is restricted to the work undertaken in the spirit of *ahimsa* and for the furtherance of the Gandhian programme. Among other things, these constructive workers are expected to be pledged to *aparigraha* i. e. non-possession. It is a virtue which should find an important place in their lives. Economic equality is bound to be one of the main features of a Sarvodaya society. Then how can they let themselves be tempted into accepting high salaries? They must take only as much as is necessary to meet their requirements, whatever may be the pay offered by Government.

The correspondent desires to have the limit of the maximum salary laid down. It is difficult to lay down a definite limit. Circumstances differ from man to man. Every worker must decide it for himself following his own conscience. If he decides to take more than he needs, he goes wrong. It will not be proper for him to increase his income or adopt a costlier mode of living after he joins Government. Rather, he should persist in his simplicity and set an example of a service-minded worker. Not only in respect of the

monthly salary but in other facilities also such as travelling allowances, leaves etc. he should follow his own distinguished code of conduct. The Government rules are a little too generous in all these respects. A constructive worker will not stoop to take any unfair advantage of them. He will charge from the Government only the actual amount of expenses incurred in travelling and the expenses should be consistent with his standard of living which has to be simple and frugal. It is reported that some members of the legislative assemblies make a considerable saving out of the travelling allowances they get from Government. It is a reprehensible practice. The money that goes into the government coffers comes ultimately from the poor. We must spend government money as frugally as we do our own.

CAUTION AGAINST EGOTISM AND JEALOUSY

However, everything said and done, let not those, who are able to live up to the right standard of simple and non-acquisitive life, look down upon those, who are weak and unable to resist the temptation or opportunity of living more comfortably or making some saving. Hence, the question of respect and prestige to be given to them in constructive institutions is irrelevant. The virtues of non-possession and simplicity will lose their value if they are stained by egotism and jealousy.

(*"Harijan"*, Feb. 2, '52)

THE PHENOMENA OF SLAVERY THROUGH MONEY

If this pseudo-science, political economy, were not occupied like all the juridical sciences, with devising excuses for violence, it could not avoid taking note of the strange fact that the distribution of wealth—the circumstance that some people are deprived of land and capital and that some men enslave others—is all dependent on money, and only by means of money does one set of men now exploit the labour of others, that is, enslave others.

I repeat: a man who has money can buy up all the corn and starve another and make a complete slave of him through his need of bread. And this is done before our eyes on an enormous scale. It would seem necessary to seek the connection between the phenomena of slavery and money; but science asserts with full confidence that money has nothing to do with the enslavement of men.

TOLSTOY

★ GANDHI AND MARX ★

THE TWO MOTHERS

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

Whatever differences there might be between Gandhism and Communism, there are also points of similarity between them and these, too, are important. A Sanskrit poet traced similarity between even Rama and Ravana through the common syllable *ra*. There is no wonder then that there are common points between these two ideologies, since both of them have originated from a desire for the welfare of the masses. The cause of the have-nots is the basic sentiment running through the both. Kalidas has said somewhere that a small blemish in a thing endowed with many virtues not only makes the former ignorable, but even heightens the value of the latter. The converse of this can be asserted with equal propriety. That is, a single virtue of great intensity can swallow up a multitude of blemishes. Such is the supreme merit of intensity. So wretched is the condition of the poor masses throughout the world that whoever shows, with the intensity of a mother's love, the large-heartedness and boldness to adopt - nay, to raise higher - these wretches, may be credited with a worth comparable to that of the very sanctifying name of the Lord himself.

Both Gandhism and Communism regard the well-being of the poor and the oppressed with the intensely loving regard of the mother. It often happens, however, that the infatuation to see immediate results gets the fond mother involved in entanglements of indiscretions, which make her overlook the far-reaching results of her methods upon the child. This has happened to Communism. Mere intense and loving regard of the mother does not solve the child's problems. It is essential because it indicates keenness to seek the solution. But the solution itself requires the talent of an expert.

The other day a young Communist was discussing the subject with me. He was keen but had not lost his power of independent thinking. I asked him, "Can violence be regarded as the weapon of the masses?"

He said: "Not as a general rule. But under particular circumstances and with adequate efforts, the masses can be prepared for using the weapon of violence."

I observed: "Granting that violence can be generated among the people for a parti-

cular purpose, how can it help them? Surely, you do not suppose that a revolution once brought about will continue to give its results for all time to come, like an endowed fund! The artificial cultivation for a short period of a quality which is not natural to the masses is like borrowed capital. Ultimately, it will transfer the power to those few who possess that quality - the capital - as a natural aptitude. And, if you feel that it might be possible to bring about a permanent change in the nature of the people as a whole, I say, even if it were possible, it would be a great calamity. For, in that case, it means that man is to be made a ferocious animal. Its results would be more dangerous than you imagine."

To this my young friend replied: "Let the results be what they will. Let us first change the present condition. One step is enough."

"You might get a momentary illusion of having changed the present condition. But the reaction will be worse than the present evil."

"Let it be so," he said. "We shall think of it when the reaction begins."

"This is the reply of a confused and distressed mind, not of a scientific one. Communists lay claim to scientific thinking."

"Yes," my friend said. "They do make that claim and assert that once they got the power they would bring about a permanent order. I do not believe in the possibility of establishing an order, which can last for all time. Nothing can be permanent in the world. But for this generation it is absolutely necessary to put down the supremacy of the capitalists. Let the future generations solve their problems, when they arise."

Confirmed Communists will perhaps regard this comrade to be a wavering follower. I compare him with a lunatic with lucid intervals. If the Communist philosophy sets forth a permanent order of society, it is only an opiating drug. The background behind the mind of an ordinary Communist is simply to mind the immediate results. It exhibits the intensity of the mother's love and concern, but not the discernment of the Master-Mother, as a Guru is called in Indian languages.

From the introduction to Shri K. G. Mashruwala's recent book '*Gandhi and Marx*' published by Navajivan Trust; Price 1-8-0; available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,

★ CALL TO MIDDLE CLASSES ★

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

There is a great deal of commiseration and much talk about the sad plight of the middle classes. The middle classes played a great part in the progress of civilization in the past. A middle class, a new kind of middle class, not the hereditary middle classes as we know them now, will yet play a great part. But I am now addressing the hereditary or as I would call them, the congenital middle classes.

I shall not try to please, but shall speak what I consider is the truth. I may appear to be unsympathetic but what is the good of blarney? The truth though unpleasant may help. Troubles and griefs are apt to breed anger and confuse the understanding and even obliterate memory and lead to grave errors of judgment and consequent disaster. This is scripture and it is God's truth as I have seen in my experience. I crave for patience and understanding and wisdom in action.

As long as there is a strong Government firmly in the saddle, i. e., a party in power whose prestige is good and which commands the loyalty of the civil and military forces of the State, votes count, votes help, and progress through democracy is steady though slower than it could be under dictatorship and violent sanctions. But if the charm is broken and prestige disappears, votes do not count, be they on a narrow franchise or be they based on the widest form of suffrage. I may explain why.

THE POWER IN WORK

As long as there are numerous classes that depend on the physical labour of other classes and such physical dependence is in things essential for existence, there is no independence and there is no real power behind votes. The power is in work that is essential, not in the votes. When those who work in essential services are organized either in the general interest or selfishly, either wisely or in anger but efficiently, it is they that rule and not either votes or democracy. The votes may be cast in the prescribed manner, but they are cast in open or veiled fear, and according to orders from organized labour. The writ of democracy any more than that of a king does not run by divine right but can do so only by force of

economic and social organization. Where men and women depend for essentials on the labour of others, and they have learnt to withhold it for achieving their will, the writ of democracy runs according to the endorsement of essential labour and not on the strength of Parliament. Parliamentary statutes become a dead letter when organized labour does not like them. If forms are to be maintained, the statutes are amended for decency's sake.

Just as in the early history of the British Parliament, the Constitution appeared to place large powers in the hands of the King and the Lords, but the tax-payers controlled everything through the commons, so in the present phase of civilization when physical work in the essential services is even more important than the collection and allotment of funds, the real power in the governance of the country has silently passed from Parliament to labour organizations. The revolution is open in certain countries. It is concealed in other countries. I can put things plainer but it is unnecessary.

If boys and girls among peasants or other working classes are not able to find opportunities for work at the levels at which their parents worked, they go down unhesitatingly to lower levels, they do not prefer to remain idle or allow themselves to become dependents and parasites on others, be they tillers of the soil, weavers or other citizens. They find no shame in working for wages under others and struggle and rise again if they can. If boys in the congenital middle and upper classes do not get a desk job, they starve, borrow, beg and suffer and their distress is only relieved by the acceptance by those among their kith and kin who happen to be more lucky, of the obligation to help and maintain them. The necessity of the female section of the class for married status helps to a certain extent in easing the situation for acceptance of obligations. But all this cannot last and while it lasts, it is intense unhappiness.

THE DESK-BIAS DOMINATES

There is no room whatever in tradition for the unemployed among the middle classes to find their living by manual labour. There has recently been some improvement in this respect. It cannot but be so, for nature

does not long tolerate disease. Young men are prepared to take up occupations which previously had not been considered possible. Still the desk-bias dominates and even in the newly-found lines of occupation they look for jobs that mean more supervision and administration and less of direct manual work. When such jobs are not available they prefer to suffer and be a burden on others to becoming common workmen and being content with the standards of life appertaining thereto. Of course with increased national prosperity, the middle classes will find many more places to fill, but that prosperity is itself delayed by the present widespread misery of the middle classes.

SIMPLE SELF-SUFFICIENT LIFE

There should at once be a determined effort to reduce if not to eliminate the dependence on the labour of others. Simplify life and try to do everything yourself. Both men and women should follow this unpleasant prescription in domestic life. There may be much inconvenience felt in the change, especially when it is undertaken in right earnest and not as a token. But as the new way of life proceeds it will unfold joys which before were not known. In the West, the middle classes even now follow this prescription with pride and pleasure. But then they have and we have not in our country many labour-saving appliances. We cannot command identical conditions in any matter. We should all the same take lessons and try to apply the principles learnt in spite of the greater difficulty in our own country and its

conditions. Labour-saving appliances have again a knack of turning out to be dependence on others in a concentrated form and liable to result in the same breakdown as plain dependence. Let us therefore not pine away, but work for true independence, that is, non-dependence on others in daily life. Neither political independence nor political democracy is enough for true happiness. We have to equalise in all respects. Unless we all work in the physical sense, we cannot stabilize democracy. There should be no distinctions of status in work. All tasks should be deemed equally noble and as forms of piety and homage to the household gods. Otherwise we must submit to be ruled by the people who are prepared to work and our lives have to be on sufferance. A new and necessary middle class will arise, not a middle class based on birth but a true middle class of manual workers, those who have attained skill and status by work and learning, who can design, guide and teach, the members of which go down or up according to talent, industry or circumstance and who do not come to position by birth only.

LET US BEGIN IN SCHOOLS

The present structure of a 'middle class' based on birth must become a thing of the past. It can be achieved voluntarily and this would be preferable. Let us begin by tasks gone through in all schools and colleges under the guidance of teachers who will not allow simulation and snobbery. Further elaboration would take up too much space.

"Hindustan Times" Jan. 26th, '52

TRUSTEESHIP

In fact, capital and labour will be mutual trustees, and both will be trustees of consumers. The trusteeship theory is not unilateral, and does not in the least imply superiority of the trustee. It is, as I have shown, a perfectly mutual affair, and each believes that his own interest is best safe guarded by safe guarding the interest of the other. 'May you propitiate the gods and may the gods propitiate you, and may you reach the highest good by this mutual propitiation', says the *Bhagavadgita*. There is no separate species called gods in the universe, but all who have the power of production and will work for the community using that power are gods—labourers no less than capitalists.

GANDHIJI (*"Harijan," 25-6-'38*)

—≡≡≡| Vinobaji's Bhoodan Mission |≡≡≡—

Five-Fold Programme for Villages

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

Vinobaji's Camp at Bewar was at a Martyr Memorial School, newly erected in commemoration of the three patriots who were killed in Bewar during the national freedom movement. How a structure of mere mud can also resound the feeling of human heart in praise of the departed who laid their lives at the altar of sacrifice! Vinobaji during his post-prayer speech said, "The spirit of such sacrifice, should be the ennobling feature for others to follow one after another as a continuous flow of the rivers so that their lives of greater sacrifice may eclipse those of the past. The *guru* is pleased when he is surpassed by the disciple. Many have passed away from this village but these three are immortal and they will be ever remembered."

While mentioning about the recent elections, Vinobaji said that thousands of meetings were held all over the country during the last two months and various political parties were indulging in propaganda one against the other. But he said "I only preach the gospel of love and appeal to the villagers to live as members of one family, the foundation for a new society in the villages." It will be a fool's paradise, he said, if the villagers depend upon their elected members to solve all their problems and though they may do something, the burden rested on the villagers themselves. He placed the following five-fold programme:-

1. *Khadi and Village Industries*: The raw materials produced in the villages should be made into finished goods there itself. Khadi is the pivot of all other industries.
2. *Cleanliness, inside and outside*: Free from all-intoxicants, village sanitation and compost manure of all waste and night-soil.
3. *Community prayer*: Regular and atleast once a week community prayer.
4. *Bhoomidan*: The Dharidranarayan is one more member of each family and entitled for a share of the intellectual and physical possessions along with a share of other properties.

5. *Study*: Regular study of Sarvodaya literature such as Gita-Pravachan, Bhoodan Yajna and other books.

Though the above programmes can be further detailed, he said, the five-fold programme when fulfilled, will bring about Sarvodaya in the country.

Vinobaji and party camped in small villages after Etahwa and even there large number of people gathered from the surrounding villages to hear the message of Bhoodan. While exhorting the people to offer land-gift whether poor or rich, he said, "The beauty of God is that He has blessed the poor with a large heart. If the villagers realise that the land belongs to the village as a whole, there will be happiness in the village. I will continue asking the people to give one share to me as the representative of the Dharidranarayan till the goal is reached. This is the only way of training the people in the art of giving in a non-violent economic revolution, necessary after the political freedom."

Vinobaji has received nearly thousand acres so far in Etahwa District and 700 acres in Mainpuri District and the workers of both the districts have undertaken to complete the quota of ten thousand acres each for their respective district before April when the All India Sarvodaya Sammelan is meeting at Sevapuri.

* * *

Appeal for a Trial and Test of Non-Violence

"Why should anybody fear if the Communists have come out successful in the elections? Of course, you have to fear if you have determined not to serve the poor", said Acharya Vinobaji in a huge meeting at Farukhabad. It was a drizzling and cloudy day, but when the dark clouds cleared just at the meeting time, the people were delighted and gathered by thousands. Vinobaji said that he had toured Telangana without any fear and was welcomed by all. "What else can anybody give me except love? In spite of the hold of the communists in the area, people were engaged in

Kirthan and *Bhajan* from morning to evening. 'Ram Nam' filled the day althroughout the two months. I was there. I had told them that communists will come and communists will go but 'Ram Nam' will remain eternal in our land. Service of the poor was the only solution for the Communism" said Acharyaji.

He appealed to the people to feel and recognise the presence of the Invisible, the Daridranarayan, in the hearths of every family. Reminding them about his oft-repeated demand of one-sixth of land to the landless, he said, "The Shashtras have declared one-sixth as *rajabhoga*. And I want to ask who, at the present democratic set-up, is the ruler today, if not the cultivator? Is it not the sweat of his brow and the rains that produce crop? For rain by itself produces only grass and not crop. The sweat of the tiller, our ruler here, and rain, the gift of the eternal ruler, together produce the green verdure and food for humanity." Vinobaji overwhelmed with love and compassion for both rich and poor touched the hearts of all when he said, "If you give one-sixth for the Daridranarayan, the landless, you are doing your duty. And if you sacrifice your all it is only His supreme grace and blessing bestowed on you after a long *tapasya*. My hands will be extended towards you demanding the one-sixth till all enjoy land as equal sons of God."

Then he mentioned how some denounce him as one antiquated, unsuited for the present age, who is retarding the process of revolution by the Catholicistic method of mere asking, which will after all result in the collection of a few acres; how some others describe him as a revolutionary paving the way for communism by his philosophy that land is common possession of all, like the air, water and sun and a third set fear him as more dangerous than communists, destroying the very foundation and prestige of the rich by his unrelenting decry of the value of the currency and its attendant wealth, while the communists recognised at least the prestige and value of the possession of wealth by their class hatred. "In spite of all these assumed qualifications showered on me," Vinobaji said, "who knows who I am? I am only your own reaching your heart full of love and demanding the due share for the poor. I see my own self reflecting and reacting in yourselves just as I see my face reflected in a mirror."

While emphasising the efficacy of the weapon of non-violence and declaring that love is the weapon of the strong-willed, Vinobaji said, "People doubt whether the way of love can solve such a mighty land problem. But do those who doubt, possess love? Tubercular patients cannot understand the power of strength. I challenge and tell them that everyone possesses love which is hidden in the recesses of the human hearts. I tell you I can move the heart of even the most ill-tempered and angry person and bring out the hidden love. Who is there who does not love himself? It is only his self-love which is extended to others. After all, love is the cause for hate and enmity because out of love for oneself or somebody else, one hates the other. When the poor takes the sword in hand to redress the injustices, is he not after all our own brother fighting for his rights? With whom else can he fight if not with his own brother who has denied him his rights? We have that sense and power in us, which can convert our own brother into a bitter enemy and a bitter enemy to a brother." Vinobaji finally made a fervent appeal to all to give a trial and test the power of love to solve the economic and social evils of society." During the two days tour in Farukhabad district Vinobaji has received nearly 500 acres and it is expected the workers will fulfil the quota of 10,000 acres before April. He is now on his march in Hardoi District.

* * *

The Message of "Give"

(A Summary of Vinobaji's Speech in Hindi on 4-1-'52, at Bahedi, Bareilly District.)

"I appeal for lakhs of acres for the landless. This may look strange. But in fact it is not so, for each one should feel that all that belongs to him, is for the benefit of others.

"Today in Hindustan, 'take, take' has become the order of life. 'How to loot others and ruin them' has become the aim of life and the order of the day. This order has to be changed. The reverse process should begin now. 'To take' is a trivial thing but 'to give' is a great and noble act. Selfishness will be on the increase if everyone is after 'taking and looting'. This will lead to further and deeper exploitation in society which will then see only strife, misery and chaos. Then the world will be torn to pieces.

"Here in Hindustan Muslims, Parsis and others besides Hindus are living. If we desire peace, we should give up this habit of only 'taking' and practise the virtue of 'giving' what we have, to others. This will make Hindustan a real united land. She will then emit her radiance to the whole world. She will be the real torch-bearer of hope and peace to the whole world. This is the real opportunity for her to exhibit the strength of her soul. If she does so, then the whole world will be saved.

"He who receives land through this mission will not be allowed to be idle. He will be encouraged to cultivate it. He will not then remain unemployed and poor. Thus he who gifts the land and he who receives it, both are benefitted. Both will then live in mutual love and peace. That village will be the strongest where people live as close brothers. We read Mahabaratha and Ramayana. Lord Krishna did distribute all the butter of the Gokul to all people alike. With what an intense and fast affection the five brothers—the Pandavas—lived! Rama's love for monkeys has no parallel. It is these things that we have to learn from these great epics. What does Koran say? — 'Even from the little that God grants you, give a portion of it to others.'

"We have to forget our self and body and engage in the service of others. This is real service unto the Lord. This fundamental ideal and code of life every religion teaches us. Some address Him as 'Allah' and some 'Rama, Lakshman' etc. But all admit and feel that he is the one Lord of all the 'Parameshwar'.

"He is the real devotee of the Lord, who (1) tells truth, (2) never allows his tongue to say a harsh word, (3) loves all and (4) serves all, be it a Muslim, Hindu or a Parsee."



Donation by Muslims

(A Summary of Vinobaji's Speech at Pilibhit on 12-1-52)

Puranpur, tahsil centre of Pilibhit district, contributed 8,650 acres of land to Acharya Vinoba Bhave and party when they broke their journey there. A huge crowd from far and near gathered there at noon to hear Acharya Vinoba.

o Acharya Vinoba said, "Land is limited but the population is increasing. There should not be anyone in the country without possessing land. Some desire suitable enactments for solving the land problem. Legislation cannot change human hearts. People evade and counteract such Acts. My movement is an appeal to the goodness of the people. I appeal both to the rich and the poor to keep aside one-sixth of their land for distribution among the landless.

"Land-gift is a landmark in the history of the world. Nowhere, at any time, land-gift for the poor happened. Just as the Ganga is receiving tributaries to gather force, this movement, I hope, would also gain momentum when more people would come forward with their voluntary land-gifts."

Out of 8,650 acres, one single block of 7,500 acres in Bailaha and Bamanpura villages has been offered by three Muslims, Mr. Kurshid Hasan Khan, Mr. Shamsul Hasan Khan and Mr. Mohammad Zahuruddin of Sherpur, each donating 2,500 acres.

* * *

Syed Hussain of Bangalore has donated 1,000 acres of land to Acharya Vinoba Bhave through Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The people of Aardoil have also given more than 1,100 acres of land and promised to fulfil the quota of 10,000 acres before April. A committee of 32 persons has been appointed for the purpose.

(Adapted from "Hindustan Times",
14-1-52 and 13-2-52)

I do not want to destroy the zamindar, but neither do I feel that the zamindar is inevitable. I expect to convert the zamindars and other capitalists by the non-violent method, and therefore there is for me nothing like an inevitability of class conflict. For it is an essential part of non-violence to go along the line of least resistance. The moment the cultivators of the soil realize their power, the zamindari evil will be sterilized. What can the poor zamindar do when they say that they will simply not work the land unless they are paid enough to feed and clothe and educate themselves and their children in a decent manner. In reality the toiler is the owner of what he produces. If the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power. That is how I do not see the necessity of class conflict. If I thought it inevitable, I should not hesitate to preach it and teach it.

GANDHIJI, ("Harijan," 5-12-'36)

Face to Face with the Villagers

PROF. T. K. BANG

Like many educated people in India I had read much about the villages and the village people in my country. Like many educated people again, I was born and brought up in a village, and yet, I never really knew the villages nor took any interest in them. It was only in 1947, when I was on the staff of the College of Commerce in Wardha, that I had my first contact with villagers in their own setting. We were out conducting a rural survey in a village. In the night, one of us started lecturing to a crowd of villagers who were tired and sleepy after their day's work. The speaker waxed eloquent on the need for sanitation and for converting all nightsoil into manure. One of the villagers lifted up his head and put a question to the speaker: "Is it your idea to talk and then go away or will you actually show us how to do what you are asking us to do?" We took up the challenge. We started digging a trench and putting up a trench latrine. Like magic, the villagers suddenly dropped their mask of apathy and suspicion and co-operated with us, even offering food and other hospitality to all of us. It then came to me in a flash that while villagers were suspicious of talkers and preachers, they were ready to co-operate with those who would themselves practically show the way. Since then, I have had more contact, off and on, with villagers. But I really came face to face with them only after I threw up my work in the College and went out to work all the time among them. And, as I so lived and worked with them, I made more and more discoveries and a number of my prejudices and illusions alike fell away from me. I had read and heard of two typical views of villagers before. The first was that they were lazy, ignorant, uncultured, superstitious and dirty. The other was that they were unspoilt, truthful, easily led and very lovable. I found, however, from my own experience, that these were half-truths, prejudices, exaggeration or idealisation.

INTELLIGENCE AND RESOURCEFULNESS OF VILLAGERS

Is not the Indian villager poor? Certainly yes. His poverty has become proverbial. And yet, I was amazed to find how villagers, living from hand to mouth, have constructed temples, rest-houses, wells etc., feed hundreds of people during

the anniversaries in the temples and engage themselves in numerous other community activities. Is not an Indian villager ignorant and illiterate? Certainly yes. Literacy in rural areas is less than 10 per cent. And yet, these illiterate persons, apparently cut off from contacts with the outside world, are amazingly intelligent, well informed and resourceful. Is the Indian villager cultured? No. Not in any modern sense of the term. You will never catch him saying, 'Thank you' at any time. And yet, no one can beat villagers in true civility and hospitality. They are polite and specially so to strangers. They have their own words of greeting. Even if they are reserved with and suspicious of strangers, they are never rude as city people are so often. Their hospitality knows no bounds. In cities nothing is available except for payment. In the village you cannot buy any hospitality. You get it free or not at all and most often you get it free. A villager would consider it an insult if offered money for a meal or a drink. Tenacity and some kind of courage have become part of the life of the village. In the biting cold, he will spend night after night watching the crops without any woollen clothes and with only thin cotton covering. In the rainy season he will not mind getting drenched for hours at a stretch. In the long summer he will be out in the blazing sun without an umbrella or a covering for the head. In the pitch dark nights he will move about without a lantern. He has no weapons worth the name against wild boars or leopards. The thought of serpents in the dark never frightens him. If some one talks to him to express admiration for these qualities, he will look blank and wonder what there is to admire at all in living his life in the way he has to.

THE VAST RURAL PROBLEM

Idealising villagers as unspoilt and innocent people possessing all the pristine virtues is nonsense. He may appear better in comparison with the sophisticated city people. But he can be very cunning. He has learnt to deceive and is an adept in the adulteration of many materials which he sells to outsiders. By long suffering he has himself become callous to the suffering of others. Another misconception is that

villagers are very hard working. This is true only of some sections of the people in the villages. The mass of labourers will work honestly only under the master's eye. Farmers do not treat labourers in the villages now in the kindly old traditional manner because of competition and poverty all round. The master-servant relations have been terribly corrupted and for the first time in our history a vast rural-labour problem is coming up with far reaching consequences. The diet of the people is hopelessly unbalanced and this has sapped their vitality and health. In fact, the problem of public health in the villages is something, of which, our Public Health Departments have absolutely no idea. It is one of the biggest menaces to the future of our country.

THE URGENT NEED OF THE VILLAGES

The mind of the villager has many superstitions. For centuries, he has seen all kinds of diseases ravaging the villages and wiping out whole sections of the population. He is unable to trace the causes and is bewildered by their recurrence. He therefore, attributes the diseases to the displeasure of the gods and spends time and money in propitiating them. Caste distinctions and untouchability die hard in villages. Women have to suffer much ill-treatment in villages. We have thought of the Harijans and their sufferings and done something to uplift them. But in the villages the women suffer even more. They work longer and harder and get less from life than men. From girlhood they get different treatment from that given to the boys who get better food and are sent to schools. Women are merely the bearers of children and often treated like the beasts of burden.

Their sufferings and their devotion and the inexplicable ways in which they somehow find their own happiness are among the mysteries of our life. All-India Organizations of women have never touched the life of these people in the villages. It is only after the establishment of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust and the training of women village workers under it, that we have, for the first time, the beginning of an attempt to serve village women and to improve their conditions. But it will take an army of trained workers and decades of ceaseless work to bring happiness and good health to village women. One of the most crying and urgent needs in the villages

is for trained midwives who will approach the work in the spirit of true service.

CRISIS OF HUMAN SPIRIT

There is, undoubtedly, an economic and social crisis gripping our villages today. But deeper than all that is the crisis of the human spirit. The fact is, villagers have nearly lost hope of a better life. They cannot be easily wakened to any sense of urgency regarding the rebuilding of their own lives. They have become bitter and there is a rising tide of anger in their hearts. Their difficulties appear insurmountable. They have long been exploited by everybody who has gone to the villages from outside, the zamindar, the bania, the priest, the teacher, the doctor and the worst of all by politicians. In our pre-independence days, politicians promised villagers that village reconstruction would be the first major task of our own national Government. Just now also the general elections are on and all sorts of promises are being made to catch their votes. No candidate has the courage to tell them that they will have to work out their own salvation by hard work, self-reliance and mutual co-operation and that the State can after all help them only upto a point. When workers from outside talk to them today of sanitation, khadi, village industries, Basic education etc. they will nod their heads in approval without meaning anything. If workers bank on these nods they will soon find that they are on slippery ground. It is no use then getting angry and calling the villagers by bad names. It is only very rarely that, some villagers will put up the challenge to those that come to improve their lot, that they should first earn their own bread by one of the occupations available in the village and then show where is the time and energy for sanitation or education. But the number of such people is steadily increasing and it is no longer possible to deceive villagers by talks and promises.

THE HERITAGE OF A GREAT CULTURE

The most important thing to realize is that the villagers are as good human beings as any elsewhere. There is in their blood and bone the heritage of some great unwritten culture. They are in their own way proud of their villages and their traditions. They will not allow any one easily to look into the wounds in their hearts. Their mud houses are their castles and their villages the best places in the world and the cattle and neighbours and occupations are all

good enough for them. If outsiders will not rob or cheat or exploit them they will be grateful. Above all, they will lift their eyes to God and repeat again and again that God's will alone can prevail. They have their own dignity and self-respect. What they need is not merely the intellectual comprehension of their problems by others but the fellowship of the heart that will accept them as the back-bone of the nation. They cry out for the recognition of the fact that the cities and the educated community flourish because of their labour and toil. The idle parasitic people in the towns will have to reckon with the new mind growing in the villages and they will fail to do so only at their peril. Among young people in the villages particularly, there is a new awakening. They do not want to tolerate social and economic inequalities any more. They are not going to be satisfied with palliatives. They will soon rise up and oppose all exploitation. If Constructive Workers will not show them the peaceful way of real progress they are sure to find out other methods to cut their way to a better future for themselves. If we do not apply the technique of non-violence for the solution of the social and economic problem of our villages, no power on earth can stop a violent revolution overtaking India. It is here that Shri Vinobaji is setting the example for all Constructive Workers to follow. Let us respond to the challenge before it is too late. That challenge is for an army of selfless and trained workers to go to the villages and stand by the village people in their difficulties and to help them by personal example and work to move forward to a better, happier and fuller life.

From the book 'The Economics of Peace — The Cause and the Man', 60th Birthday Souvenir presented to Shri J. C. Kumarappa; Edited by Shri S. K. George and G. Ramachandran; 400 pages in handmade paper with photos; Price Rs. 10; Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya.

★ Democracy in Villages ★

Acharya Vinoba Bhave wants Self-Governed Units

In a prayer speech at Hardoi, Acharya Vinoba said the time had come when the people had to halt and ponder whether it would be advisable to get their lives fully controlled and governed by the Centre, or so regulate life in the village itself that, although final power vested in the Centre, the village attained the status of a self-governed unit. He suggested that more than 75 per cent problems of the village could be settled in the village itself. All the economic, social and cultural activities should be organized and directed by the village. The State should not be required to interfere in the village except when there was a dispute between any two villages. As a matter of fact, the State should serve as a link between two villages.

Acharya Vinoba warned his audience not to copy Western democracy which was responsible for creating problems of majority and minority. The Panchayat system in India, which used to govern the villages by unanimous decisions, eliminated such evils. A self-governed village provided chances for creation of statesmen. If the people depended wholly on Centre and got their lives governed from above there was the danger of intellectual enslavement.

He said India had much to learn from the West so far as the science was concerned. But it was wrong to presume that the West had much to contribute to the East so far as social structure was concerned. The *bhoomidan* mission was the beginning of establishing the *Gram Rajya*. He hoped as the elections were now over, workers will apply themselves to this revolutionary cause which was sure to achieve success with less than half the zeal manifested during the elections. He appealed to all parties to co-operate in making the mission a success. ★ ★

“The Hindustan Times,” 13—2—'52



★ APPEAL TO OUR YOUNG MEN ★

Everyone thought that with the attainment of swaraj there will be comfort, peace and happiness. But five years have passed, yet there is only distress and suffering. The people are finding fault with each other. This won't improve matters. Our young men feel disappointed and get restless. Why all these things? We have to find out the real cause and solve our problems even at the risk of life.

Gandhiji had remarked that there is no freedom either in England, Germany or America, or even in Russia in the real sense of that word. According to him 'Real swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few, but by the acquisition of capacity by all to resist authority when abused.' In other words swaraj is to be obtained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority. This will be possible only if the people will decide not to look to the government for their basic and absolute necessities of life and become self-sufficient and self-dependent.

To relieve suffering and sterilize economic exploitation, a new society based on mutual co-operation and hard manual labour has to be built up. Then only our country will be saved from the present economic structure which is fast marching towards a totalitarian set-up. Our young men believe that capitalism will end if capitalists are wiped off. Shall I remind them that then they forget that the people will again be in the grip of those individuals or parties whoever that control the centralized capital.

So I appeal to our youngsters to come forward for selfless service, in lakhs and stay in villages. There they should create an atmosphere which will inspire in the villagers that consciousness and readiness to achieve self-sufficiency at least in food and clothing and make them boycott all those articles that are the products of centralized capitalistic concerns.

According to Gandhiji, the citizen of a real swaraj is one who lives by the sweat of his brow. In such a swaraj, there will be no class distinction, exploitation, injustice or suffering. Truth, comfort and happiness will reign there. Such a state can alone claim to

be a classless democracy. Gandhiji has practically demonstrated through non-violence the political revolution. Now following the same path we have to work for the economic and social revolution. To achieve this, our young men should decide to go to the villages, and live there completely identifying themselves with the village life. Their selfless service should inspire and develop that strength to paralyze the existing systems and methods of production and distribution and inculcate that power in the masses to be self-sufficient and self-dependent.

Shri Vinobaji, even though he is old and in indifferent health, has begun the work. Will our young men sit idle and simply gaze at it? No, certainly not. I have faith in them. Our young men say they are ready and enthusiastic. Of course they have the energy and desire for service. The Charkha Sangh is prepared to harness their enthusiasm and give them training, work and guidance. It is prepared to enlist young men and give them the necessary training in its centres and send them to the villages where they have to work and make the people self-sufficient and self-dependent. It has decided to open Samagra-Grama Seva centres throughout the land. It has already begun the work through Kathayi-mandals.

May I appeal to you, sisters and brothers, to come forward and join hand with us to establish the new Sarvodaya order of society. Those who wish to join the training course, please apply with full particulars. The worker should be well-conversant with the fundamentals of Sarvodaya ideology. They should also analyse and study the principles of other ideologies that are now prevalent in the land. So those who apply should have the required physical strength for hard work and the mental stamina to understand themselves and to make the people also understand the necessity for this non-violent revolution. For further details please write to me.

Sevagram, }
29-1-'52 }

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR,
President, Charkha Sangh.

(Translated from Hindi)

LESSONS FROM GANDHIJI'S LIFE¹⁹⁵⁵

J. C. KUMARAPPA

POT-WASHING

Gandhiji's sense of humour often saves the temper of people around him. When he finds danger coming ahead he immediately brings the ludicrous into play, and thus glances off at a tangent and avoids friction.

When the All India Village Industries Association was formed Gandhiji came to live with us at Maqanvadi so as to be on the spot to guide the policy of the Association. One of our rules at that time was that everyone should take part in all our daily activities. This included washing of heavy kitchen utensils coated with soot and dirt. One day it fell to Gandhiji's lot to clean the kitchen pots. I was his partner. So we both sat down together, near the well, with cocoanut fibre in our hands, and ashes and mud by our side and we were scrubbing the black stuff off.

Suddenly, Kasturba Gandhi appeared on the scene. She could not tolerate the sight of the great Mahatma with his hands up to the elbow in dirt. She watched him for a few minutes and burst out in Gujarati, telling Gandhiji that this was no work for a person like him, and that he ought to be engaged in better work. In a rage she asked him to get up and go away, leaving the work to be done by others; and, swiftly suiting her action to her words, snatched off the *dekchi* from his hands, leaving Gandhiji bewildered at the quickness of her action. With the cocoanut fibre in one hand and the other hand all full of dirt, he looked at me with open mouth and laughed, saying: "Kumarappa, you are a happy man. You have no wife to rule you this way. However, I suppose I have to obey my wife to keep domestic peace. So you will excuse me if I go away leaving her to partner your washing of the kitchen pots!"

HUMILITY AND DISCIPLINE

The greatness of a man does not consist in the power he wields to control the life of others, though it may result in such powers being granted to him as a result of his greatness. The real greatness comes in the personal humility of the individual and self-discipline imposed on himself. Conse-

quently, this alone brings us the so-called 'power' over our fellow-men. Power so obtained is a responsibility rather than a privilege. It should make us cautious in using that power. Gandhiji's life is full of incidents which show the great humility and the iron discipline he imposes on himself.

During the relief work in Bihar, after the earthquake of 1934, I was functioning as the financial adviser of the Bihar Central Relief Committee. Later Gandhiji arrived in Patna for a tour in Bihar. In order to check a tendency to be extravagant and spend much on the upkeep of volunteers and their expenses, I had made a rule that the daily allowance for food of volunteers should not exceed three annas. I myself was eating in the volunteers' camp on this basis. It became a little embarrassing when Gandhiji with his entourage arrived. Gandhiji's milk, fruit and the various requirements of his entourage, which called for provision of dates and nuts and other articles of food which would ordinarily be regarded as luxuries, would cost much more than the daily provision we had made for the volunteers, and, therefore, I told Mahadevbhai that I was not prepared to feed Gandhiji and his group. Again I had a strict register kept recording the mileage of the cars, time when used, by whom used, and required sanction for every trip that the cars made. Naturally all these restrictions caused a certain amount of dissatisfaction. When Gandhiji came I suggested to Mahadevbhai that they should obtain their own supply of petrol for themselves, and disallowed Gandhiji's bills in regard to food and motor car travel. When this was reported to Gandhiji he was a little puzzled. He sent for me and said: "I am coming all the way to Patna to help with the relief work. It is my one and only object in coming to Patna. That being so I fail to see why you should not debit my expenses to the Relief Committee." I explained to him my delicate position where I was faced on one side with checking the expenses of thousands of volunteers. Even an increase of an anna per day would involve the Relief Committee in lacs of rupees in the course of our work and, therefore, I suggested that Gandhiji should bear his own expenses so that they would not stand in contrast to the

austere life I was suggesting to the volunteers and would also check the extravagant use of motor travel. Gandhiji appreciated my point, and told Mahadevbhai that not a pice was to be charged to the Bihar Relief on his account. He was willing to subject himself to the discipline that the administration called for, even though his rights arising out of duty done would have given him the right to claim for the expenses incurred in the execution of his work. This mode of submission to rules requires a great deal of humility and wise understanding of the situation taking into consideration the difficulties of those who are engaged in the field work.

Similarly, early in 1947, when I was invited by the Congress President to become a member of his Working Committee, Gandhiji wrote to me, saying that he would be happy to watch my career in this new responsibility that had been placed on me, thus in a sense giving me his approval to take up the membership of the Working Committee. He had written this after seeing the reports in the newspapers. I immediately replied and said that one of the rules of the All India Village Industries Association, of which I was the Secretary, required us not to take part in politics, and if we wished to do so, we had to resign from the All India Village Industries Association. I pointed out that my life-work was connected with the Village Industries Association, and if I had to join the Working Committee, I should give up my connection with the Association according to our rules. Gandhiji thanked me for drawing his attention to the rules of the Association and said that his memory had failed him, though he was President of the Association, in regard to this rule, and that the rule was a wholesome one and we must respect it at all costs; and, therefore, he undertook to advise the Congress President not to saddle me with this additional responsibility.

Here again we see his greatness. He definitely said that it was an alluring offer; but in spite of the needs in other fields we must resist the temptation and confine ourselves to the work before us, if we wish to forge ahead with the development of our country.

THE DOCTOR

The kaleidoscopic variety of activities that Gandhiji indulges in cover practically all professions, and his contributions are by no means mean. He calls himself a quack where the medical profession is concerned,

but it has not yet been decided whether the professionals are quacks or Gandhiji. He brings to bear on the case before him profound wisdom and commonsense which often outwit the technical advantages that the professionals have.

Some years ago when it was discovered that I was suffering from blood pressure, the reason for the malady was to be ascertained. I was taken to Bombay to be examined by some of the best doctors. I was thoroughly 'overhauled', and I was at the mercy of the specialists for three or four days. After this examination all that they could declare was that they could find nothing wrong organically, and therefore by the process of elimination they decided that my blood pressure was due to nervous strain.

With this report I came back to Gandhiji. He immediately set about finding the cause of even that nervous strain. He said: "We have to trace the cause of the strain, and unless we do that we shall not be able to treat the disease or prevent its recurring." He thought the cause might be either physical fatigue or mental tiredness, and therefore he wanted to locate the actual difficulty with me.

At that time there was a professor from the Kinnaird College, Lahore, who had come to discuss certain difficulties with Gandhiji. He sent her to discuss some of these with me, and instructed Dr. Sushila Nayyar to take my blood pressure both before the discussion and after it. The discussion was limited to a period of fifteen minutes. The result showed that my blood pressure went up by 15 points.

The next day Gandhiji called the manager of the workshop and asked him to draw a line on a plank of wood and get me to saw it exactly on that line, and directed that my blood pressure should be taken before and after. The result again was a rise in blood pressure of 20 points this time.

The third day the physical instructor was asked to run a furlong with me and observe my pulse and also have my blood pressure taken before and after the exercise. The result this time was a fall of 15 points, and the pulse remained more or less normal.

With these three results before Gandhiji he said he was fairly positive that my blood pressure was due to concentrated work of the brain and not physical fatigue, and the results also showed the way of cure and prevention. He said to me: "Whenever you get symptoms of blood pressure you have simply to walk it off. As regards mental

strain, to prevent its accumulation you should relax between your periods of work. You may work in the morning till 11 or 12 and take a complete relaxation for about a couple of hours before you begin to work again in the afternoon. Combining this with a regulation of the diet so that digestion and brain work do not go together, you should be able to control your blood pressure more, or less completely."

I took Gandhiji's treatment as being scientific both in regard to diagnosis and in regard to treatment, and have followed his

instructions carefully for the last seven years, with the result that excepting when this regime is upset by unforeseen circumstances the plan has worked satisfactorily.

In the same way his approach to the various ailments is both simple and efficacious. He looks upon disease as caused by man's deviation from Nature's ways, and his attempt is to bring back our life into alignment with the requirement of Nature. This should be the aim of every physician.

(From the book 'Incidents of Gandhiji's Life' — Edited by Chandrashanker Shukla; published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay)



SELF - CRITICISM AND HUMILITY

INGNATIUS ABSALOM, M. A., Government Arts College, Madras

My study of Gandhiji's life has always given me inspiration on two points, just mentioned above, as caption to this article. Particularly in matters relating to social reform, the two great salient features of the tasks undertaken come under a close self-analysis, which in turn generates an abundance of humility. Humility is the keynote of all success. Else it results rapidly in vanity and a kind of self-indulgence, which is completely divorced from disinterestedness. Self-criticism promotes disinterestedness, the divine discontent of the human spirit. I find that this is very much required in the minds of all social workers. We are not an institution but fellowmen, eager and ready enough to go about doing good on behalf of our neighbours. Our tasks are mainly to do something edifying and helpful to our neighbours. And our neighbours include the people with whom we have to co-operate in working out social reforms. And in this work of co-operation, much is lost by shifting blame on others' shoulders, and worse by abusing them for no fault of theirs. Governmental co-operation is always necessary at all reasonable levels, till a new Government steps into power. And of all the sins of over-estimation, the worst is the lack of self-criticism. Once we analyse ourselves, we could find that we have lost much good accruing from others by deliberate or inadvertent abuse of others. We lose their co-operation, and we cause bitterness! Both these defects in the field of social work can be remedied by a close self-analysis or self-examination of one's own conscience, before he or she as social - worker lands on

the field. Without humility nothing can be achieved. We are not social workers, because we take a pride in that designation; but we are social thinkers before we venture to call ourselves workers in society. To think and to do the right thing in all matters of social reforms require a good deal of co-operative good will and amity. *Violent words and thoughts and deliberate misreading of others' minds cause infinite disgrace and considerable set-back to our tasks as social workers.*

The communist menace threatens as if no man need think for himself. Their words are a tornado against humility of spirit. In fact they build rapidly on the lack of self-criticism of unthinking social workers. Hence a sorry state of things, which make me clamour with Wordsworth to see "what man has made of man!"

Passions have to be regulated, for after all they are but our own sensibility forging ahead in an advanced state of exaltation or depression. But they are meant for extatic enjoyment. Conversion of soul does not result in bickerings and recriminations. Man is not created to abuse another! Taking all his defects together, he can still redeem himself, if he could only follow the great Socratic saying "Man, Know thyself!" We are yet to know ourselves. To be a thinking man before he could aspire to be a social worker is what I consider essential today on the stage of social reform. A deep analysis of one's soul and practice of real humility go a long way to stir up the best that is in the human spirit. The rest is easy and smooth as day follows night. "HUMILITY — THY NAME IS REAL STRENGTH."

OPERATION GANDHI

SURESH RAMABHAI

The other day a very strange but extremely interesting news went abroad the world press. It was this. Before the War Office, of the City of London a group of people calling themselves "non-violent resisters" held a peaceful demonstration on 11th January last, under the slogan 'Operation Gandhi.' Squatting on the pavement outside the War Office, they declared their refusal to participate in any "war or violent struggle for either East or West." The police intervened, disturbed them and finally shepherded 13 of them—seven men and six women—into Whitehall Palace Yard. They were later taken to a police court in order to be charged with "obstructing the police in the execution of their duty and obstructing the foot-path."

This group of young men and women gave a "downright no" to all warfare and the leaflets it distributed said:

"We intend to defend our country as Gandhi defended his—by non-violent resistance. Gandhi freed India without war. His method was simple: Respect all men and refuse to cooperate with evil.

"Operation Gandhi calls to the conscience of the British people to give a downright 'no' to modern war, which cannot defend our country, our honour, or our way of life."

They were each fined £ 1 on the first charge and 10 sh. on the second, with an alternative of seven days imprisonment. Within a fortnight, however, appeared another news item from the not very well known town of Perugia in Central Italy. It revealed that under the dual inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi and Saint Francis of Assisi, of imperishable glory and fame, an international gathering was to meet on January 30th—the fourth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's passing away—to promote the ideals of non-violence. It was a three days' programme including a visit, on the 31st January, to the tomb of the great saint at the nearby village of Assisi where he joined the realm of the Unknown more than seven centuries ago in 1226.

This gathering was convened by a 52 years' young Italian professor, Aldo Capitini by name, who is well known in his country and the continent as an eminent author on education, philosophy, religion etc. Prof. Capitini's faith in non-violence is no less than

twenty years old. During the fascist regime he twice suffered imprisonment for refusing to join the party and for establishing "free thought" groups. The keynote for the said gathering was set forth in these words: "In the spirit of non-violence we attack the oppressor, exploiter, even the invader not only with non-collaboration but with the positive, invincible weapons of love and kinship." Further, Prof. Capitini had listed four aims for this:

1. To examine the principles and methods of non-violence and to derive from them proposals to avoid war and create a new spirit of kinship among men;

2. To formulate these proposals for submission to the U. N. independently of any political or military bloc;

3. To initiate a world-wide movement for non-violence; and

4. To bring the Western and Eastern hemispheres together through non-violence and all-embracing human love, thus forging an instrument to free and revitalize the world.

Happily this conference did meet and among the visitors from India was Smt. Ashadevi Aryanayakam, the renowned Nai Talim or Basic Education worker. The conference adopted a six point plan urging the establishment of neutral zones, guaranteed by the United Nations, where disarmament would be controlled by the members of the non-violence movement. The other points of the plan, which would be submitted to the United Nations were:

1. Free diffusion of the principles and methods of non-violence in every country;

2. Establishment in all countries of training centres for active non-violent resistance to a potential aggressor;

3. Recognition of conscientious objectors;

4. Exchange of workers and students among countries;

5. A civilian service for international assistance.

The gathering called on all peoples to join the movement. Earlier when they met at the tomb of St. Francis, they declared in an appeal read on the occasion:

"Violence leads to a continuation of evil, non-violence opens a new reality in the heart of man and the surrounding world."

All India Spinners' Association

Some Decisions of the Board of Trustees

[The following is the substance of some of the important resolutions passed at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the A. I. S. A. held at Sevagram on 20, 21 and 22 of January 1952.]

1. Shri. Ananda Vasudev Sahasra Budhe is elected as the Head Office Secretary and the resignation of Shri. Krishnadas Gandhi, the outgoing Secretary, is accepted.

Shri. Ananda Vasudev Sahasra Budhe has done khadi work for many years as the Secretary of the Maharashtra Branch. He is well known to all khadi-lovers. All workers in the field of constructive work are keenly aware of his high efficiency. It is hoped that during his period, khadi work will make decided progress.

2. Shri. Dwarakanath Lele is the Assistant Secretary to the Head Office.

3. Shri. Siddharaj Dhadha, Shri. Dwajaprasad Sahu and Shri. R. Guruswami are again elected as Trustees for another year.

4. The following members are elected to the Budget Committee :

- Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar. (President)
- „ Ananda Vasudev Sahasra Budhe, (Secretary)
- „ Dwarakanath Lele, (Asst. Secretary)
- „ R. S. Dhotre,
- „ Krishnadas Gandhi.

It is decided to call Budget Committee meetings quarterly in the last week of January, April, July and October and also on other occasions when necessity arises.

5. The Sangh accepted with regret the resignation of Shri. Kanu Gandhi who desired to be relieved for khadi work in Saurashtra. The Sangh records its deep appreciation of the efficient work Shri. Kanu Gandhi has done in conducting Shibirs.

6. Shri. Nandalal Patel is allowed to devote all his time and services to implements research work of the Sangh and as per his request he is relieved of his responsibility as the Sanchalak of the Sevagram Khadi Vidyalaya and Convenor of the Siksha Samiti and Implements Committee. The Secretary, Shri. Ananda Vasudev Sahasra Budhe will take up that responsibility.

7. The Implements Committee is newly constituted and the following members are its members:

- Shri. Ananda Vasudev Sahasra Budhe, (Convenor)
- „ Ramachari Verkhedi,
- „ Nandalal Patel,
- „ Mohandas Parekh,
- „ Krishnadas Gandhi,
- „ Madhavalal Patel,
- „ Vishnubhai Vyas.

8. The Sangh has decided to make arrangements at its branches as per the desire of the Sarva Seva Sangh to receive yarn in lieu of money towards subscription for the "Sarvodaya" magazine and credit its value to the Sarva Seva Sangh's account.

(Summarised from Hindi - "Sarvodaya," Feb. '52)

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OPERATION GANDHI (Continued from previous page)

It is yet to be known how U. N. reacts to the Perugia Plan. But even if it may, at the worst, reject it outright in its present frenzy, the two said events do point out the trend of the working of the mind of the thinking section of Europe and the West. At any rate it cannot be gainsaid, that only small beginnings, like the London demonstration or Perugian conference, in this case, later grow and develop into mighty and world shaking movements.

But as for every operation to be successful, the instrument must needs be sterilized in a hot fluid, so also for this 'Operation Gandhi,' the instrument of non-violent resistance must be sterilized in what the Master-Surgeon called 'Constructive Programme.' No people can operate through non-violence in the military sphere without the application, at its back, of decentralization in their

economic, social and other spheres, where the law of love should prevail as against that of the brute. The process must be carried on from the individual to the community and then to the nation. In other words, the non-violence movement would have to be fought for both internally and externally. It is, in fact waging an unceasing war against all that is evil, here and everywhere, now and ever. Otherwise, the atom-bomb can easily overwhelm us supported as it is by big business and governments the world over. At present almost all the resources of man have been yoked to its service, and what is really painful, that too in the name of 'culture' or 'civilisation.' 'Operation Gandhi' seeks to turn this tide. This is what makes a peace-worker's task onerous and awful. And also charming!

NOTES AND NEWS

'HARIJAN' PAPERS

Shri. Jivanji D. Desai, Managing Trustee of the Navajivan Trust writes in the "Harijan" (2nd Feb. '52) as follows:

"Though from 1946 onwards the circulation of "Harijan" papers has progressively diminished, they paid their own way. But during the last two years the number of subscribers have been so reduced that the Navajivan Trust has been put to a heavy loss on their account and there is no sign of improvement. The number of subscribers is falling continuously. Gandhiji was opposed to the publication of papers at a loss. And it is against the policy of the Navajivan Trust to accept advertisements. Hence, after considering the whole question from all sides, the Navajivan Trust has with very great regret, decided to close down the papers from the beginning of their new year i. e. March 1952."

The "Harijan" has no equal, so far, among the news papers in the world in its strict and definite policy not to accept any advertisement. It is comforting to hear that the Sarva Seva Sangh has offered to take over the English edition along with its Hindi monthly magazine the "Sarvodaya."

From a subsequent report it is learnt that the Navajivan Trust has decided to continue the papers for six months more, during which period it is hoped that circulation will substantially increase to make them self-supporting.

Messrs. M. N. Jai, N. J. Dave and K. M. Mody of Bombay and some other friends, it is reported, have voluntarily undertaken the task of enrolling 10,000 subscribers for the "Harijan" papers before March 31st 1952.

We appeal to our educated readers in the South, to come forward and enrol themselves as subscribers to the "Harijan" English edition. Of course, we need not state here, as the public are well aware, the valuable contribution this paper has made towards moulding public conduct and morality. The yearly subscription is only Rs. 6/- and contributors are requested to send their subscription amount to the "Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad."

MIRA BEN'S EIGHT-POINT PROGRAMME

"The eight-point programme outlined by Miss Miraben for establishing "Bapu Raj" includes: (1) There will be self-sufficient healthy villages in which man's primary needs of life are produced — namely food, clothing and houses; (2) The Government

will be quite simple. No people will live in palaces, and no people will burn up thousands of rupees worth of petrol. The powers of Government will rest principally in the village panchayat, which itself will be a true guide and servant of the whole village; (3) There will be quite simple decentralised law in which exploiting lawyers will have no place and the poor man will not have to run to far-away law courts; (4) There will be honourable police, strong in discipline, honesty, and with a true sense of service to the people. At the same time, the highly expensive army, involving expenditure of crores and crores of rupees, will be dispensed with. Airplanes will also be dispensed with; (5) There will be no capitalists whose factories tend to destroy village industries, and no zamindars with extensive lands; (6) There will be good and practical schools in which our children will learn to become useful and hard-working; (7) Everyone will have to put in physical labour and everyone will be blessed with pure and nourishing food; and (8) There will be no loans from foreign countries."

WHENCE THE STUDENT?

Rev. Ralph Richard Keithahn, Gandhi Gram, writes as follows:

"30 students met recently in a quiet village spot near Mysore City in an Echo Meeting of the 1951 International Peace Seminar, Kodaikanal. This was entirely the work of one member of the Peace Seminar who was able to inspire fellow-students to give such co-operation that the 30 delegates are determined to continue their fellowship monthly. With the co-operation of older friends they plan to build up a library which will be of help to students interested in village work. Plans were also made for a Vacation Work Camp in a Mysore village.

"Word has just come of the Anniversary Meeting of the Rural Welfare League of the Madras Christian College. Three years ago they revived the Tambaram village school. They helped to put the old building into shape and when I visited the school last October, I found students and village youths digging a well in the school compound to be used in watering newly-planted trees and a garden. The League is also carrying on a weaving centre within the College premises where village youths may learn how to weave and also make a living.

"Various Social Work Associations in the different Madras Colleges have very recently completed a Social Training Institute for interested students. There were six weekly meetings and discussions. At the end of this training, which included excursions to noteworthy centres of social activity, faithful student participants receive Diploma.

"At Madhurai a group of students live in a hostel next to a Labourer's Ashram and have their own daily discipline. Several students carry on Adult Education regularly and do Boys' work. Many Colleges can report of similar efforts of bridging the gap between the intellectual and labouring classes. That may give further guidance to interested students. Vacation Work Camps are being organized in several places in India. A world Peace camp will be held in Kodaikanal in April. A training camp for interested student leaders who would like to do a work of this kind in their own Colleges during the coming school year will be held at Wardha in June. Any one interested may write to the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, Gandhi Gram, Ambathurai, S. Ry. or to Shri. Ravindra Varma, Wardha, (M. P.)."

SELF-SUFFICIENCY CENTRE:

TINNEVELLY VIBHAG

The Self-sufficiency work in the Vibhag is fast progressing. The area selected for the work consists of 24 villages round Koilpatti, the Vibhag Head-quarters.

A report received states that 685 families are engaged in spinning in the traditional village charkhas and 870 charkhas are now plying. A few Bamboo charkhas are also introduced. Within a period of six months, the Charkha Sangh workers in co-operation with the Kathayi Mandal members could persuade 47 families to take to complete khadi-wearing. 47 looms are weaving khadi yarn and about 23,000 hanks of yarn were purchased, and the khadi produced is about 17,000 sqr. yards. Intensive propaganda was carried on to boycott mill-made articles and it is reported that the villagers are now in the habit of using hand-made articles of food such as oil rice and flour. It is a happy thing to note that the villagers are taking interest in the Charkha Sangh's programme to build the Sarvodaya order.

SARVODAYA YATRAS AND MELAS

The following is the summary of the reports so far received from the various Sanchalaks in the respective places.

DAKSHINA KARNATAK VIBHAG

Three batches, one led by Shri. H. R. Venkataramana Iyer, in Chikmagalur Dt., another by Shri. Belagumba Narayanappa, in Magadi Taluk, Bangalore Dt., the third by Shri M. R. Veerabhadrayya, Secretary, Kathayi Mandal, Gulur, in Kolar Dt., started on a walking tour during the Sarvodaya fortnight, visited 32 villages, conducted prayers, Sutra Yajna, and delivered the message of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan Yajna to the rural population. More than 2,000 members attended the prayer-meetings.

Village sanitation was one of the important items of the programme. Street and trench cleaning, removing rubbish, slush from the drinking wells, clearing the wild vegetation from streets and road repairs were some of the services rendered in 30 villages. At one place a trench was dug out to construct a model latrine and at another place a trench was dug to get the pipe-line near Harijan quarters. A stone platform was constructed for them, to wash their clothes and bathe. About 200 persons have taken active part in *Shrama Yajna*. 85 hanks of Sutanjali were offered.

TINNEVELLY VIBHAG

23 workers belonging to the Charkha Sangh, Kathayi Mandals and other constructive institutions, in four batches started for the Yatra. They covered a distance of 230 miles through 53 villages. On their way they erected 6 pit latrines, dug 33 manure pits with the hearty co-operation of the villagers. 1753 persons partook in sacrificial spinning and 355 hanks of yarn were collected as offering. The Mela took place at Cape Comorin where batches of workers from the Nagercoil Vibhag, (Kerala) joined them in the company of Kasturba workers. Shri. Sivan Pillai of Nagercoil presided over the morning meeting and Shri. R. Guruswami of Kallupatti, (Charkha Sangh Trustee) addressed the evening meeting. The workers carried the message of the wheel from village to village on their way.

TANJORE VIBHAG

A total number of 40 workers in eight batches from Tiruchi and Tanjore districts, covering many villages on the way, met at Srirangam for the Mela. There was prayer, congregational spinning and yarn offering. Women workers also joined the function.

MADURA AND RAMNAD VIBHAG

27 workers in five batches toured in 61 Villages and conducted prayers and mass-spinning. In all the villages together 46 manure pits were dug and 64 pit latrines

set up. 527 hanks were collected as yarn offerings.

BHOOMIDAN FROM ANDHRA

On 10-2-'52, a meeting was held at Korlam in connection with Sarvodaya Mela with Shri. P. Varahalu, as President, when a local resident Shri. D. Suryanarayanamoorthi was pleased to announce the gift of 2 acres of his own land in Vasthavalasa, a nearby village, to Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna.

BHOODAN YAJNA UPTO 8-2-'52

	Acres
1. Telengana	... 15,000
2. Madhya Bharath	... 7,000
3. Rajasthan	... 1,000
4. Vindhya Pradesh	... 1,000
5. Delhi	... 1,000
6. Uttar Pradesh	... 39,554
Total	... 64,554

Note:- These figures are only of those places of the provinces toured by Vinobaji. They are exclusive of the donations received through post from Maharashtra, Kandesh, Saurashtra and Andhra.

(From Hindi "Sarvodaya" Feb. 52)

SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The next Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held at Sevapuri near Banaras, from 13th to 15th April 1952 (both days inclusive). If necessary, the conference will be extended to the 16th also.

Members will receive invitations, concession form etc. in due time.

SEVAGRAM
10-2-'52

VALLABHASWAMI,
Jt. Secretary, Sarvodaya Samaj

THE SAD DEMISE OF SHRI. VENKATARAMANI

Shri. K. S. Venkataramani, the great champion of Indian village Swaraj — that Swaraj with thoroughly decentralized political and economic units of villages, knit by the thread of our unique and ancient culture — has laid down the mantle of his body on 22-2-'52 at Madras. He had been struggling to live by his will only, in the frame of his body that was battling with death, during the last few years. Thousands of his admirers will deeply miss his bodily presence, but the voice of his rarely written words will certainly find echoed in thousands of our villages for the cause for which he toiled hard in his life and laid down his body. May the youths of our land respond to the voice of his mission for the liberation of the rural India from poverty and economic slavery. May his soul rest in Peace.

KASHMIR WOOLLENS

The Sanchalak, A. I. S. A., Kashmir Branch, Srinagar, invites i n d e n t s from A. I. S. A. Branches and certified institutions for Kashmir woollen goods with samples of required varieties.

GOOD WISHES FOR "KHADI WORLD"

Dear Friend,

Please accept my hearty thanks for sending me the magazine copies of your Khadi World. I find it very interesting and valuable.....

I especially value the magazine because after I get two pieces of writing done at present I am engaged on (one a book and the other a pamphlet), I want, if possible, to write a revised edition of my old book, 'The Economics of Khaddar.' The *Khadi World* will help me much in that task.

I send you my best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely your friend,
(S.C.) RICHARD B. GREGG

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED

Manas:

A Weekly Journal; — Box. 112, El Sereno Station, Los Angeles 32, California, U. S. A.

The International Labour Review:

Published by International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland.

Lasting Peace - The I. L. O. Way:

The story of the International Labour Organization; Price ls. 6d.

Unto This Last:

A paraphrase by Gandhiji; Price annas 6; — Published by Navajivan Trust.

The Story of the Bible:

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