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MAY 1952

Vol. 1

No. 11



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OF THE

ALL INDIA SPINNERS'

ASSOCIATION

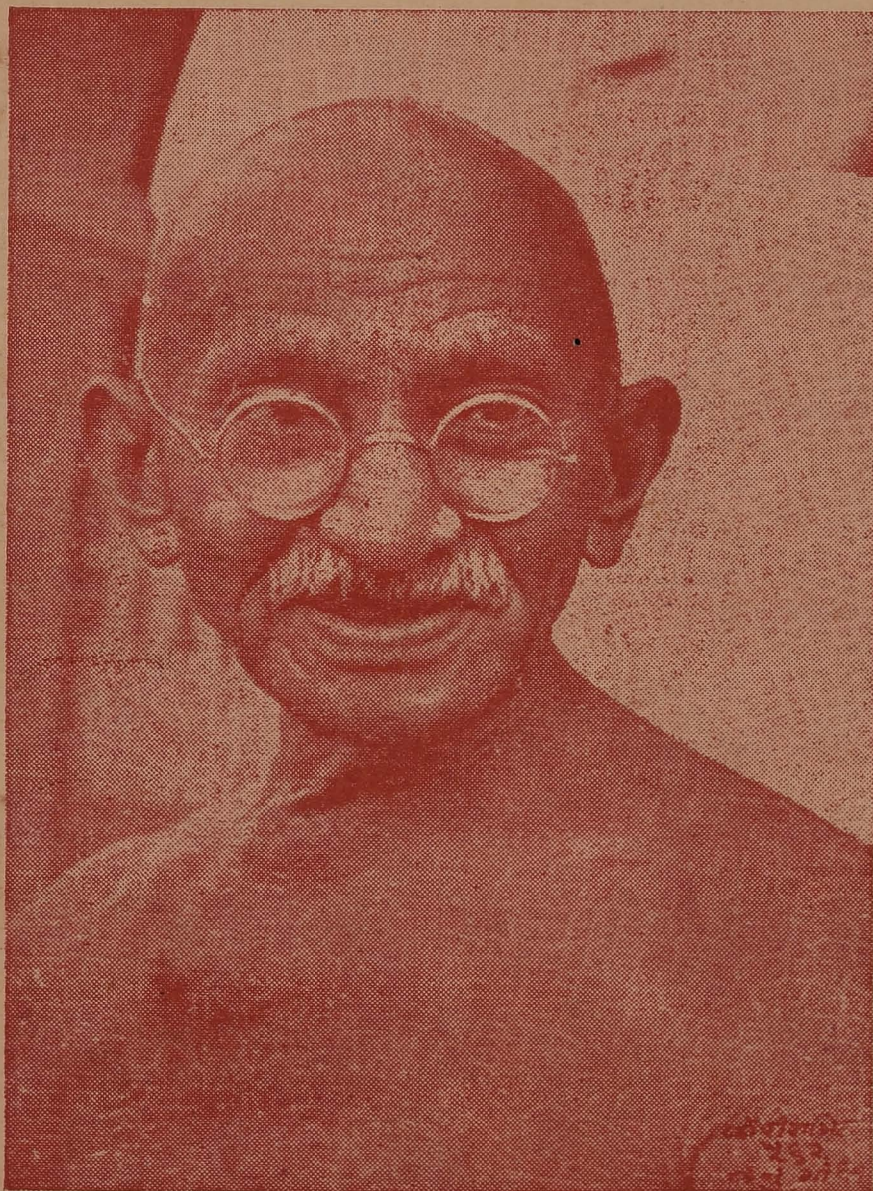


Photo - Kanu Gandhi — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot

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To The Readers of "The Khadi World"

We regret that the publication of "The Khadi World" of May had to be delayed by 10 days in the hope of including the full report of Sevapuri Sarvodaya Sammelan. As it came too late, only a portion could be translated and published in this issue. Further reports of Shri Vinobaji's speeches will appear in subsequent issues.

ERRATUM: Page 255, column 1, para 2, 2nd line from bottom, read 'training' as 'tanning.'

BHOODAN MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH
at the Sevapuri Sarvodaya Sammelan

The Sarvodaya Samaj aims at the establishment of a classless non-exploiting society on the principles of truth and non-violence, where each individual will enjoy the fullest opportunity for self-development. Now the main question before us is how to proceed towards this objective, solving the existing economic inequality in the country. The Bhoodan Yajna movement sponsored and carried on by Shri Vinobaji, since the last 'Sarvodaya Sammelan', has given us a clear answer. It has practically demonstrated before us the power of non-violence. It has renewed again our faith in non-violent methods. The nation is happy to note that the movement has attracted the attention of not only the people of the whole of India but also of the world. The workers as well as the people desire that they may get guidance through the Sarva Seva Sangh to carry on this revolutionary and epoch-making movement on a mass-scale throughout the whole land. It is also the wish of Shri Vinobaji that this movement be carried on on a wide national scale, not depending entirely on his individual personal effort only. So the Sangh considers that it is its duty to take up this work under the leadership of Shri Vinobaji.

The basic principle of this Bhoodan Yajna movement is that all children of the soil — mother Earth — have equal right over her just like the children have equal claims over a mother. And so it becomes necessary that the whole land in our country shall be equitably redistributed. The mode of this distribution will be on the basis of at least 5 acres of dry-land or one acre of wet-land for each family.

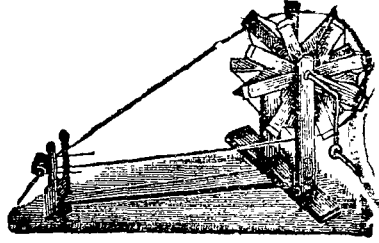
For this distribution, let the people get mentally prepared and inspire that sense of good conscience and equity in society. In the name of the people living in the 5 lakhs of villages, at least 25 lakhs of acres of land will be collected at the rate of 5 acres per village within a period of the next two years. This land shall be given to the landless people who know to cultivate or desire to cultivate it by themselves and who have no other means of livelihood.

For the establishment of Sarvodaya social order it is also necessary that there should be advancement towards economic equality in every walk of life and employment for every one. We believe that this can be possible only through decentralized economy of cottage industries. With this object in view, an earnest beginning should be made in boycotting all such articles of food and cloth that are processed through centralized industry which is detrimental to the decentralized self-sufficient economy of the villages.

(Free rendering from Hindi)

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CAN YOU AVOID CLASS WAR?

MAHATMA GANDHI

Q. If you will benefit the workers, the peasant and the factory hand, can you avoid class war?

A. I can, most decidedly, if only the people will follow the non-violent method. The past twelve months have abundantly shown the possibility of non-violence adopted even as a policy. When the people adopt it as a principle of conduct, class war becomes an impossibility. The experiment in that direction is being tried in Ahmedabad. It has yielded most satisfactory results and there is every likelihood of its proving conclusive. By the non-violent method we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy capitalism. We invite the capitalist to regard himself as a trustee for those on whom he depends for the making, the retention and the increase of his capital. Nor need the worker wait for his conversion. If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realizes his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer of the capitalist instead of remaining his slave. If he aims at becoming the sole owner, he will most likely be killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Inequalities in intelligence and even opportunity will last till the end of time. A man living on the banks of a river has any day more opportunity of growing crops than one living in an arid desert. But if inequalities

stare us in the face, the essential equality too is not to be missed. Every man has an equal right for the necessaries of life even as birds and beasts have. And since every right carries with it a corresponding duty and the corresponding remedy of resisting any attack upon it, it is merely a matter of finding out the corresponding duties and remedies to vindicate the fundamental elementary equality. The corresponding duty is to labour with my limbs, and the corresponding remedy is to non-co-operate with him who deprives me of the fruit of my labour. And if I would recognize the fundamental equality, as I must, of the capitalist and the labourer, I must not aim at his destruction. I must strive for his conversion. My non-co-operation with him will open his eyes to the wrong he may be doing. Nor need I be afraid of some one else taking my place when I have non-co-operated. For I expect to influence my co-workers so as not to help the wrong-doing of my employer. This kind of education of the mass of workers is no doubt a slow process, but as it is also the surest, it is necessarily the quickest. It can be easily demonstrated that destruction of the capitalist must mean destruction in the end of the worker and as no human being is so bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom he wrongly considers to be wholly evil.

"Young India", 26-3-'31

★ The Progress of Bhoodan Movement ★

VINOBAJI'S EXHORTATION

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

The reports received from Shri Damodardas Mundada are condensed and given below :

Transform every Village into a Gokul

From Sitapur District Vinobaji and party crossed the river "Ghaghra" and entered Baharachi District. Singing *Bhajans* and *Kirtans*, the villagers were anxiously waiting for hours, not to receive a monarch or a minister of State representing power or authority, but to welcome the Fakir who, out of love and devotion, was wandering from village to village for the good of the landless poor. The atmosphere was so serene and sublime that Vinobaji in his introductory speech remarked "Lord Krishna is here in our midst. We can feel him if we have the inner urge. Shishupal, Jarasanth etc. could not feel the incarnation of Krishna even in those days. God is seated in our hearts and we have only to feel his presence. Lord Krishna's love permeated the whole of Gokul. Shall we also not transform our village into an abode of love? If we share our lands with the landless, this can be achieved."

READY RESPONSE

The Bhoodan movement is fast creating a revolution in the hearts of the people. All along the routes, nearly eight miles, people were singing soul-stirring devotional songs and *Kirtans*. Such enthusiasm was never witnessed before in these Villages. Vinobaji's message stirred a new spirit in them. One family offered 10 bighas out of their 100 bighas, another two out of their ten. Then Vinobaji said, "If two families have adopted me as their own, why not every family in the village do it?" The villagers readily responded and 53 poor kisans offered small land-gifts, all amounting to 53 acres.

REAL YAJNA - THE MONGOOSE EPISODE

Addressing the people Vinobaji said, "Some people doubt the usefulness of such small gifts. What do we learn from Mahabharata? The hungry poor Brahmin's sacrifice of his only bowl of food for the hungry guest, did it not prove superior to the grand Yajna of Dharmaputra where lakhs and lakhs of people were sumptuously

fed? The gift of plenty fades into nothing when compared with the gift offered out of poverty."

EITHER SERVE THE POOR OR WELCOME VIOLENCE

In answer to the question 'Will Communism necessarily come if poverty is not wiped off?' Vinobaji said, "You will have to face either of these two—either serve the poor, or welcome violence. If you serve the poor, there will be no poverty. Then the problem is solved and there can be no room for Communism. If people live as members of one family serving one another, then where is the place for communists? If people fail to live like that, Communism is inevitable. You put your heart and soul in this movement and I will see Communism far away from our country. In Telengana the people welcomed me but the Congressmen were preoccupied with their to and fro Delhi trips and they had no time to devote themselves to this movement. The result was that they were defeated in the elections by the Communists."

SELF-INTEREST IS COMMUNITY INTEREST

In the prayer meeting he said, "Self-interest is community interest. A little thinking will make one realize that self-interest is not inconsistent with community interest. People receive goods in return for money. But when they offer land they receive love in return which cannot be got by any other means. The land offered may be little but the love in return from the landless is incomparable."

Vinobaji appealed to the people to offer their due share to the Daridranarayana. "This is the real Dharma of every house holder."

WOMEN PRESERVE THE BEST IN THE SOCIETY

The women folk of the village did not attend the meeting. Learning that they did not stir out even to exercise their right of voting in the elections, Vinobaji said, "To

deprive women of their rightful place in society is acting against Hindu-Dharma. It is the women who have preserved the best in our society. Gandhiji sent them for picketing toddy shops. They played their part wonderfully well. Ignorant women can bring up only ignorant children."

This timely warning had a good result. Next day a large number of women participated in the Bhajan and attended the prayer meeting.

Rampura 28-2-'52

* * *

Foundation for a New Order of Society

Addressing the villagers in Tinich (Gorakhpur Dist.) Vinobaji said, "Because our society tolerates surplus holdings, land remains in the hands of a few. This unequal distribution is the cause for the present evils in society. Just like air, water and sun, land is the gift of God and should be available to all for the common welfare of our society. This should be the basis of the New Order. This Bhoodan movement is to achieve that goal. It is the duty of those who possess more, to offer the surplus to those who have none. They have a right to get it so that they may cultivate. If the rich don't share, they are guilty before God. The Government can only echo the voice of the people in the society and enact laws to that effect, but social reform on the basis of new ideologies can be effected only by the hard work and intense propaganda of workers who have to convince the majority of the soundness of their new ideas."

PRINCIPLES OF JOINT FAMILIES' EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO SOCIETY

"Time has now come to view society as a joint family. The relationship should be one of love and co-operation. Can the elders or do they in the family ever think of denying the right of equal enjoyment to the younger ones? The humility and co-operation of the younger ones, coupled with the love and renunciation of the elders, brings prestige to the elders.

"On this principle society should live and progress. This is the time for the landlords to hand over their surplus lands to the poor and say 'Brother, why have you come to me as a labourer, come along, and share this land with me.'"

INTERESTING INCIDENTS

Two interesting incidents happened on his way to this place. In the morning a big

landlord came to offer two acres of his land. Vinobaji asked him to plough it and dig a well also and then offer the land. But the landlord said that the land was good and there was no need for a well. The truth is that the owner has so much of land in his possession that he could not cultivate all by himself. So when Vinobaji asked him to offer more land he did not agree. "I have not come on begging. I have come to get the due right to the poor from the rich landlords" said Vinobaji and returned the two acres to the donor. This act set the people of the locality to thinking.

The second incident:— Hardly had Vinobaji advanced a furlong on his onward march, a poor kisan came running to him and said, "I am a poor kisan; yet I want to offer 12 cents and request you to accept it." Vinobaji readily accepted the gift at once and said, "I have taken this gift from this poor man, because he really wants to help a brother in a worse plight than himself. He gives it with so much of love."

On this day Vinobaji received 14 acres by post from Lakhipur and 19.97 acres from Sitapur. The total for the day amounted to 214 acres. Besides this he accepted the compensation rights also offered by two brothers of a family.

Peepurigunj, Gorakhpur Dt. 16-3-'52

* * *

Bhoodan Yajna Fortnight

"The world is eagerly watching the economic development in India. It is waiting to know how India solves her land problem. If we solve this problem peacefully the world will follow India and thus it will be saved from a great catastrophe:" so stating Vinobaji congratulated the U. P. Congress Committee for their decision to observe the Bhoodan Yajna fortnight. (The U. P. Congress Committee has decided to observe a fortnight, co-inciding with the National Week, as the Bhoodan Yajna Paksha and collect five lakhs of acres of land for presentation to Acharya Vinobaji at the Sarvodaya Sammelan to be held at Sevapuri (Banaras) from April 13th to 15th.) He exhorted them to continue their efforts till they achieve the goal i. e. the real purpose behind it. This work has raised India's prestige in the eyes of the world.

The District Board there presented Vinobaji with an address wherein mention was made of their schemes of work prepared to fight famine in the area. He appreciated

their efforts to dig wells for every two acres. He welcomed the Government help to encourage khadi in the villages. He added that the Government should use khadi not only for the hospital or such other requirements, but it should also induce their officers to realize that khadi is a decent dress. "It is being prepared by the hungry millions in the country and the officers should feel it as their responsibility to use only such cloth. Nay, dignity and decency demand that khadi alone should be used for their dress by the Government officers. Khadi helps in establishing decentralized economy which would naturally promote the growth of non-violence in our country, thus giving no cause for provocation to other countries for an invasion. This is the cherished goal of all constructive work."

In an answer to a question whether he would be able to convert the communists to his views, Vinobaji said, "The communists are anxious to solve the problems of the poor, but their method of approach and work is not right. I do not hate them, but I pity them because they are blind and unable to see the right path. So far as I know, no communist has yet condemned my mission. They feel however that my method is out of date and may not bear fruit. But when they realize its effectiveness they can be expected to change their views. I wish therefore that the message of love and non-violence may reach every home."

Vinobaji received more than 600 acres of land in this district. Shri. Mishra M. L. A. offered 1/6th of his lands and also 1/6th of the right of compensation of his zamindari, accepting Vinobaji as one of the members of his family of five.

Azamgar, 27-3-'52

* * *

Invitation to Communists

Some Communists wrote a letter to Vinobaji expressing their doubts about the success of his mission. In the prayer meeting at Mau, Vinobaji referred to those doubts and gave clear answers to every one of them. He offered the Communists an invitation to accompany him during the tour and witness

the movement for themselves. He congratulated those particular communists for their sympathy and support to his mission.

SAMYA YOGA AND SAMYA VADA

Vinobaji explained, "Samyavada has no basis whatsoever as it does not believe in the unity of the soul, which is the foundation of Samya-yoga. The Communists look for everything in their books and do not bother for the considerations of the factors of time, place and circumstances."

He appealed to the huge gathering assembled there, to respond to the movement wholeheartedly, so that the doubts of the communists be dispelled.

PENANCE FOR ACTS OF COMMISSION AND OMISSION

"This mission offers an opportunity for the rich land-lords to do penance for all their acts of commission and omission. I do not feel that the landlord obliges the landless by his offer as he is simply parting with the rightful share of his landless brother. Not only do I feel obliged, on the contrary I feel it is the donors who are really obliged as the mission provides them with an opportunity to make reparations.

STRENGTH THROUGH SELF-PURIFICATION

Referring to the need of strengthening the Congress, which was felt by all, Vinobaji pointed out "If the Congress desires to regain its strength, it can be possible only through a practical programme of service and sacrifice. Service and sacrifice result in self-purification which brings in strength. He congratulated the U. P. Congress Committee for their resolve to observe the 'Bhoodan Yajna fortnight.' Bhoodan Yajna offers sufficient opportunity for service and sacrifice. I hope Congressmen will do practical work reaching every town and village. Although I do not belong to any institution I have a special claim over Congressmen, because many of them still swear by Gandhiji's name and would like to follow his teachings."

Vinobaji completed his tour in Azamgar district on this day.

Mau, 29-3-'52

★ ★ ★

THE INNER CHAOS

MAURICE FRYDMAN

The contradiction between the world as it could be and the world as it is was never greater than at the present. The world of the ancients was almost perfect in the sense that there was nothing man could possibly do to improve on it. He depended almost entirely on nature and her vagaries were quite beyond his control. However harsh nature could be, there was no feeling of frustration. The inevitable may destroy, but does not frustrate; frustration comes when the calamity could be avoided, when something could be done and was not done. But in the world in which we live control of the material and social necessities of our life is almost entirely in our own hands. Within the limits imposed by heredity, complete individual and social fulfilment is within our grasp.

Yet in the world of potential plenty there is starvation and strife. There is place and work and food for all who are born and are to be born, and yet there is constant war or fear of war, social or national. We have all the elements for a sane social, economic and political order, but what stands in the way is the diversity of ideas as to which pattern would be the best. Every intelligent man in the world is aware of the chaos around him and is seeking for a solution. But everybody is under the illusion that there can be only one solution, which is the best, which is his own. This illusion is one of the signs of inner disintegration.

Very few are aware of the chaos in themselves. The search for a way out of the confusion demands that the seeker does not add to the confusion by his very search. As long as the seeker does not know himself, his own inner confusion will corrupt his search. The desires of the seeker are bound to mould the answer he may find and therefore it cannot be the true, final, lasting, common answer.

The chaos around man merely caters to the chaos within. The world is as it is because we want it as it is. In a sane world our inner chaos would find no expression. We cultivate the chaos around us by our greeds, passions and obsessions which would otherwise find no outlet. This cultivation of chaos is going on all the time and vitiates every solution.

The idea that for putting an end to the chaos in the world all that is needed is some improvement in the economic, political, social or religious pattern shows the blindness of those who think that a change in the part will affect the whole. The whole can be affected only by an integral revolution. Such a revolution is only possible when there is a complete transformation in the individual's approach to life, in his relation to himself and to others.

Nowhere is this change of approach more urgently needed than in our attitude to the means by which we want to bring a change in the world. The ends are in the means the means determine the ends. The plant is in the seed. Only the right means will bring about the right ends and therefore all our concern should be not with the ends but with the means. If we take care of the means, the ends will take good care of themselves.

There is a way by which we can put an end to the chaos in the world and create a stable, sound and affectionate society, a society which does not necessitate an endless succession of revolutions. This implies a state of perennial revolution, a constant renovation of every form of social organisation. But such society cannot come into being without an inner revolution, a change of heart which is the only real revolution. Without change of heart the inner confusion will always overtake all outer reforms and the chaos will continue with some variations.

Such revolution is not impossible. What is needed is a clear understanding that outer revolutions will never put an end to the chaos in the world. By every means of persuasion and propaganda man had been conditioned to the idea that all he needs is a reform of some or all of the institutions in which he lives. All ideologies lead to formal changes only because ideologies are based on analysis of institutions. The full complexity of human life is not considered; only some aspect of it, economical, religious or political, is taken and made the foundation of human life. The simple truth that it takes a lot of decent people to build a decent world is never stressed. In the plethora of recipes for a perfect society the quality of its component units had been forgotten.

Man thinks that his doing is more important than his being. In reality what man is determines what he does. And none can change what man is except himself. Man is willing to change, because a man who suffers is ready for anything, but he is distracted from his most urgent task by the clamour of innumerable experts who never tire of telling him that their particular remedy is all that he needs. Like the patient who is kept away from the real cure

by an endless succession of nostrums, so is man kept away from the only thing that can set the world right by the universal demand for formal changes. Man's most important field of work is with himself. And it is the only field where he is absolutely free. He can begin with himself immediately and go very far. Beginning with himself he will create the greatest revolution the world had ever known.



★ Untouchability in Tamilnad Villages ★

N. M. R. SUBBARAMAN, President, Madurai District Harijan Sevak Sangh

We cannot forget the epic fast of Mahatmaji and its after-effects and the undertaking that the Hindu Society as a whole has given to Harijans. The great awakening in the country and the revolutionary changes are historic events that will be handed down to the future generation as heirlooms of our times.

The opening of the great temples in the land and the extensive Government support to uplift the Harijans to bring them on a par along with other caste Hindus have given a new spirit and enthusiasm to Harijans. The Civil Disabilities Removal Act has come as a death knell to the demon of untouchability.

From the beginning, the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, with all its Provincial and District Centres throughout the land, is doing social, educational and economic uplift work among Harijans and trying its level best to bring in change of heart among the caste Hindus.

The demon of untouchability though on its deathbed continues still to do its mischief and cruelty in the interior and remote parts of the country.

With a view to remove even the shadow of untouchability from such parts, the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, Delhi, started a new scheme of intensive work choosing a particular area in our province. They appointed Shri Swamy Anandathirth, M. A., a tried and dedicated Harijan sevak for this special work and deputed him to begin his work in Melur Taluk and in adjacent areas.

At the outset the Swamiji concentrated on doing propaganda for getting the Harijans the right of entry into hotels, public wells, tanks and barber shops. In many of the villages there was no difficulty in this work. A few cases were charged under the C. D. R. Act and things were set aright.

But backward villages like Mangulam in Madurai Taluk, and Melavalavu in Melur Taluk, were giving trouble from the beginnings. The caste gentlemen of these places including the village munsiffs (who are Government servants to keep law and order) began to obstruct the work of the Swamiji and oppressed the Harijans of the locality. A month before the Harijans of Mangulam were socially boycotted for taking water from a public tank. They were not given any work and the shopkeepers refused to sell them any articles. The grass and firewood bundles sold by them were not bought by the castemen. All the employed servants were asked to go home. Hence, for about three days the Harijans, most of them being poor, had to starve. On representation, the District Superintendent of Police and the Revenue Divisional Officer took up the matter and brought a temporary settlement. But the fire of hatred was brewing beneath and it burst out on 5-1-'52. When the Swamiji was coming out from the hotel after tiffin, a crowd of castemen gathered together and attacked him and the Harijans severely, as has already been reported in the Press. As the result of the brutal assault, the Swamiji fell down and had a fracture in his right leg. The Swamiji is getting treatment in District Head-Quarters Hospital, Madurai. District Superintendent of Police is taking action. The Swamiji is fighting untouchability single-handed on behalf of the whole Hindu society. The incident is therefore most shameful to all of us and to the entire society.

After so much propaganda, so much of suffering and sacrifice, and now when there is a continuous progress in the activities in other aspects, that such a happening should occur in a village near Madurai is a sign that still untouchability is taking refuge in villages and hence we have to do a lot there.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Congress Committees should take up the work and bring in a complete change of heart among the villagers and work for recognising and offering absolute equality to Harijans in the enjoyment of all civic rights.

In this connection, the Government officials, especially of the lower rank, should also remind themselves of the several Laws and Orders passed by the Government to protect and uplift the Harijans and put them (Law and Order) into effect with all emphasis and sincerity.

The injury inflicted on the Swamiji and the Harijans will only give greater impetus and strength to the indefatigable Swamiji and the cause.

Any delay in giving absolute equality to Harijans will only create greater difficulties to caste Hindus. Everyone of us should remember that the spirit of Mahatmaji is watching how we conduct ourselves in this holy self-purifying and national task.

★ GOSPEL OF BHOODAN YAJNA ★

PROF. TAN YUN SHAN

A statement issued by the Chinese Professor, Tan Yun Shan of Shantiniketan regarding Acharya Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna, on the eve of the National Week.

All land belongs to the Earth. The Earth according to both Chinese and Indian traditions is the Mother not only of all people but of all creatures. Land therefore should be the common wealth of all and should not be possessed by any one as private property. In ancient times land belonged to all. All people could move freely on it wherever they liked and could use it freely in whichever way they chose. This state of affairs changed later on, most probably due to selfishness or greed of human nature, termed by Russel as desire of possession, and not perhaps, due so much to Marx's theory of materialistic conception of history. People gradually usurped land as their private property. This created strange and peculiar phenomenon of human society. Some have it, some have not. At last only a few people became landlords and many became landless. This in turn caused lot of trouble in the world. Now it has become a most serious and acute problem which requires immediate solution.

But how to solve this most serious and acute problem, which requires immediate

solution? There may be in main three ways First, by violent revolution, as was done in Soviet Russia. Secondly, by legislation, which is being contemplated by many countries. Thirdly, by voluntary renunciation which has been termed as new movement by Shri Acharya Vinoba, a great disciple and co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi. First is of course the shortest and the quickest way. But it is the most horrible and cruel one. It is always stained with blood and sin. The second is safe and peaceful; but it is long and zigzag and full of obstructions. The third is the best, safest and most straight way. It bestows on all only happiness and causes no pain to anybody. It is blessing for both the giver and the given. If this new movement succeeds, I hope and pray and am sure it will succeed, India will show the world another great example of peaceful revolution without either hatred or violence and Shri Acharya Vinoba will be hailed as another Mahatma not only of Indian nation but of the whole human race.

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(Continued from page 248)

survived the ages, and that is the foundation of every religion and the hope of every sincere soul in this and in every generation.

A society educated through producing and creating, building and perfecting its entire corporate life, would become as invulnerable as a human society can ever be. In all its parts it would be self-contained and self-possessed, and so completely self-governing that the central government would

be absolutely dependent upon the parts. Without their consent it could do nothing, because they would hold in their own hands the secrets of physical and spiritual life. In such a society democracy would reach its apex of development; the issue of peace and war would lie wholly in the voice of the people. Hence peace would be assured, if peace ever can be assured, as we must hope and believe it can. ★ ★ ★

From 'Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary'

BASIC EDUCATION - Towards Non-violent Social Revolution

WILFRED WELLOCK

As we should expect, Gandhi was fundamentally opposed to the divorce of ethics and economics, as happened in the development of the economy of the Industrial Revolution. The labour which men contribute to society demands the lion's share of their best hours. Accordingly it ought to make a substantial contribution to the culture, development, satisfaction and well-being of those who contribute it. In fact, however, it fails to do this in a large and growing number of cases under the conditions of modern industrialism. When work is performed for money only, it has ceased to be a vocation and lost its cultural or spiritual value. One of the functions of Basic Education is to give human labour a spiritual and cultural content.

Basic Education is a process of learning through doing. It recognises the organic connection between the fingers, the senses and the mind, and the greater vitality and retentiveness of knowledge that is gained by doing and making things than by merely reading books or listening to lectures.

Gandhi discovered, as many others have done, that children love to do and make things, and that this is the most natural and effective way to teach them. Gandhi found that children of six took to spinning like ducks to water. They just loved to make a thread and later on, out of the thread a garment. From this exercise, and contact with a vital human need, in this case, clothing, the child mind can be carried along a number of avenues; as along an enchanted road, to a garden in order to study how cotton grows; to gardening in order to plant a cotton seedling; to dyeing and the study of colours; to texture and the study of quality, of fine, even, work; to embroidery and the study of patterns, the special patterns of certain villages and provinces, etc. To this process of education there is no end. One can pass from human designs to the designs in nature, from human to divine qualities and attributes, to an appreciation of the great mysteries of nature, to meditation and religion. Accordingly in every Ashram I visited, periods of devotion were part of the daily routine. These were largely in the hands of the students themselves and generally

consisted in the reciting or singing of chosen passages, prayers, etc., from the Scriptures of the great religions. Every Ashram, moreover, observes the Gandhian rule of devoting 30 minutes each day to silent or meditative spinning. I discovered that by this means a deep sense of spiritual values can be developed.

It was Gandhi's conviction ... that Basic Education was a vital part of the social revolution that was the essence of his concept of truth and non-violence and of his own life. Civilisation had strayed into untruth and was heading for disaster. The forces of destruction were now greater than the forces making for righteousness. The way of Truth and Non-Violence was Gandhi's answer to that impasse, given in deed as well as word.

Basic Education is a way of life, a method of learning and living, of learning through living, an art which ought to begin on the day of birth — even before — and continue until death. It is a system of education which from infancy trains human beings to live humanly as members of small, vital communities, and through personal and co-operative action to satisfy their common needs, to organise their own economic life and on its foundation build a beautiful and vital spiritual life. In such communities every person may and to some extent will become an architect of life, and thus will live vitally, enthusiastically and satisfyingly. There is no limit to the spiritual possibilities of living on this plane, while communities, trained in its ways would possess an inward strength which would make them invulnerable to attacks of any kind. Their strength would be manifest in all their works, and a nation made up of such communities would be equally invulnerable.

Mankind will never reach perfection, as Gandhi often pointed out, but it may approach perfection, and as it does so its inward or spiritual strength will be its protection: the greatest and completest protection that is possible to man.

Should it fail, then life itself must fail, and good be proved to be weaker than evil: which is a denial of the basic truth that has

★ LAND—ITS USE ★

J. C. KUMARAPPA

Land was not used by man until late in his evolution. Prior to that man met his needs by hunting, fishing and other predatory modes of supplying his requirements. His bows and arrows and nets and traps formed his equipment for his existence. He ate what he obtained with his instruments and later clothed himself with the skin and furs of his victims. Trade was not known then. He worked for his own requirements.

When he gave up the nomadic life and took to producing what he wanted, he adopted land as his instrument. Virgin forest and jungle lands had to be cleared and vegetation according to his plan had to be brought into existence. This work called for a considerable preparatory effort. So when one had put in that amount of labour one felt one had a right to that piece of land. This brought in private property in land. Even then each laboured for his own needs. Land was an instrument of production to obtain the materials to feed and clothe oneself.

Based on this structure agro-industries grew up. Even these were largely carried on by the farmer himself during the off season. These occupations provided ample employment throughout the year. Any surplus over and above one's requirements was exchanged for other's surplus. This was the beginning of trade. Both the parties to the transaction gained by the exchange.

At this stage money made its appearance as a means of exchange acting as a convenient token. But this device soon outgrew its original legitimate use and became an end in itself because of the various advantages it possessed as a convenient means of storage of purchasing power, and it soon outstripped other commodities in the demand it created for itself.

Henceforth all other commodities were produced for the purpose of securing money irrespective of their capacity to satisfy human demand. Fanciful demands were created to obtain the custom of the possessors of money. The real demands of common man were ignored in the race for the possession of this coveted means of storing purchasing power.

In this setting all instruments of production lost their position as means of satisfying human need and became instrumental in securing money. In this degradation, land also shared. Today it has lost its function of feeding those who work on it. Both the farmer and landless agricultural worker are among the worst fed and clad, but those who have the money secure the products of the land. This maladjustment is contrary to nature's ordinance and has been brought about by man. Unless this situation is rectified soon we shall come to grief.

PROCUREMENT

The present Government procurement plans have made matters worse. Money nexus lends itself to the strong exploiting the weak. It screens off real values and misdirects trade and commerce. Government pays for its procurement in money at rates fixed by itself deciding by estimation on the quantities available. Here are the doors to a fourfold exploitation. (1) It takes away from the producer a prime necessity at its own sweet will and pleasure. (2) The quantity is determined without relation to actual facts. (3) The payment in money hides real values. We cannot equate the nutritive value of one cup of milk with four cups of tea, though we may try to equate their money prices. (4) Production is directed into wrong channel by this programme. A farmer threatened by procurement will sooner produce jute than food grains thus putting land to a misuse and precipitating famine on the population.

Any procurement system aiming at justice must be founded on barter and should apply only to proved surpluses. If a farmer has surplus grain, which fact is determined after ascertaining all his needs, and he needs cloth, then the Government should provide the needed cloth in exchange and not merely content itself to a money payment based on the price of grains fixed by itself, leaving the farmer to fend for himself in a black market for his cloth at exorbitant prices. It is the duty of the Government to secure for the farmer his needs in exchange for what it takes from him.

PRODUCTION OR PROSTITUTION

Directed by the price mechanism the farmer is induced to cultivate things which may have even anti-social values. He may be made to grow tobacco instead of millets to feed a starving nation. He may grow raw materials for mills which cater to the upper classes while the masses stand in need of other commodities. Such utilization of land is a rape of our mother earth whose duty is to feed her children rather than make money.

Our attempts everywhere should be to awaken the farmers to a full realisation of the noble task entrusted to them to feed the nation. Today, enticed away by the money economy, they are allowing the exploitation initiated in the industrial sector to be driven into the agricultural sector without realising that this is a suicidal policy. They should act together to put their lands under the cultivation of articles that will meet their own needs.

From being a granary, land has now become an investment. This change in the status has resulted in tremendous deterioration in the relation of the various factors in this vital function of providing food for the nation. The landlord attempts to squeeze out as large a return on his capital invested as he can leaving the needed land development out of consideration. The tiller thinks of his annual production only and evinces no further interest in the upkeep of the fertility of the land. The Government is concerned mainly with how much revenue it can suck out of it. The consequences are seen in our present food shortage. There is no short cut to this problem. We have to restore land to its pristine glory and to its place as a feeder of the nation and the various factors should be contributory. Merely importing food grains is no solution.

"Gram Udyog Patrika", July 1951



★ MEMORIES OF GANDHIJI ★

MANILAL GANDHI

These are some of the reminiscences given by Gandhiji's son, Shri Manilal Gandhi, on this year's Sarvodaya Day, published in "The Indian Review", March, '52.

During my life-time I was able to spend very few years actually with my father. Unlike my other brothers, I had to live away from him in exile, in South Africa. I have been in South Africa for the last thirty years and more almost at a stretch. From August 1914, till the beginning of 1917, I went on a month's visit, to India. I went again at the end of 1924, on a month's visit. In 1926 I was there. I got married in March 1927 and returned almost immediately to South Africa and paid a visit to India once in about three years.

The longest period I was able to spend in India and most of it with father was the whole of 1945 and half of 1946. Those were the precious months I spent with father and had the rare opportunity to be with him during the long tour of Bengal and Madras. Those who nursed him and looked after his personal requirements were able to have the best time with him. Though

I seemed to be encroaching upon the preserves of others, father lovingly gave me as much opportunity as was possible in the circumstances, to be with him. We had many free and frank discussions on various matters including his own surroundings and on his own attitude which had so vastly changed since the time we were under him in childhood.

It seemed to me as though he had spoilt those near him by his extreme love and affection. They had become as his spoilt children as it were and much more so after my mother had been called away from his life. She acted as a check on my father and filled the gaps left by him especially on the social side of life. After my mother had gone, father had to act both as father and mother to those close to him but none in return were able to fill the gap left by mother and by Mahadev Desai, who next to mother was the nearest and dearest to him. They were both his right and left hand.

EXTREMELY SOFT

One of the things that struck me was the extreme softness in father's attitude compared with what it was when we, four brothers, were under him. He was, of course always forgiving though he was a very severe task master. But he had grown extremely tolerant which he was not in our time. That was partly due to his bitter experiences of the world in later years and partly to the development of the spirit of non-violence in him. When I saw this, many a time I chafed and said to father: "Bapu, you have vastly changed from the time we were under you. You never pampered us. You were very severe with us. I remember how you made us to do laundry work and chop wood; how you made us to take the pick and shovel in the bitter cold mornings and dig in the garden, to cook and to walk miles. And I am surprised to see how you pamper these people around you."

Bapu would listen and burst out with his usual hearty laughter: "Well, children," he would say "are you listening to what Manilal is saying?" And yet he would love and caress them. No wonder India sobs at the very thought that that loving soul in whom both father and mother were personified, was no longer with them.

Though father was severe with us, never was there a time when we felt his severity. The reason was that he did not tell us to do what he himself did not actually do and surpass every one in doing. There were times at Phoenix when he would go out hoeing in the field. The strongest among us would get tired but he would go on plodding steadily and unceasingly till the stipulated time. That was his great energy and will-power. When I think of that past, I bless it. For that indeed, has sustained me to this day and saved me from becoming a physical wreck.

I have passed through many a vicissitude in my life and have had love lavished upon me by father as also punishment from him. But I do not remember having felt bitter over his punishment at any time. No father could have nursed his child with more loving care as my father did when typhoid fever had gripped me at about nine years of age. A vivid description of it is given in father's 'Experiments with Truth,' every word of which is true.

SEVEN DAYS' FAST

I must confess to my utter shame that I was the cause of father having had to undergo a fast for seven days in 1912. I had tried

to deceive him. Father was at that time in Johannesburg and I was in Phoenix. There was an exchange of letters between us. He was pained at certain reports he had received about me. He wanted an admission from me but I persisted in denying until at last I received a letter from him which was signed "Blessings from your father in Agony." I could no longer bear it. I wanted to confess but I had not the courage to approach him direct. I, therefore, enclosed the letter in a letter to Mr. Kallenbach, who was to us like a member of our family. I asked father to forgive me in the letter. I received a telegram from him: "I forgive you. Ask God to forgive you." He came immediately to Phoenix and he and I together underwent a fast for seven days and Mr. Kallenbach also joined us. I can truthfully say that there was not a trace of bitterness in me then or after ever the painful incident. Father was at that time conducting a school at Phoenix and had children who were boarding and lodging there. As a result of this incident he wrote to all the parents who had entrusted their children to him informing them of this episode and asked them to withdraw their children if they so wished. None however did so.

Another incident took place in India in the beginning of 1916 when an untruth slipped from my mouth. It seemed a trifling thing to all around us. But to father, it was a Himalayan mistake. He disclosed the fact to the inmates of the Ashram and I was to be banished from the Ashram the next day. I was to go wherever I chose to but father made some suggestions. He said I could go to Madras to a certain place where hand-spinning and hand-weaving was carried on and ask to be apprenticed there. I was, however, not to make use of father's name. In addition to this, father was also contemplating a fast but I sat all night entreating him not to do so and in the end my prayer was heeded. I left my dear mother and my brother, Devdas sobbing. Father did not throw me out completely emptyhanded. He gave me just sufficient money for my train-fare and a little extra. I wrote a letter to father from the train with tears in my eyes regretting the pain I had caused him.

I had the experience of my life during the two months I thus spent which would make another story. After that father sent me a letter of introduction to one of our close friends and I spent the rest of my seven months in Madras in happiness and none the worse for what I had undergone.

AGREEMENT OR SLAVERY BOND?

— SURESH RAMABHAI

The well-known British journal, "New Statesman and Nation" has described 1951 as the year which "may well be remembered in history as the first year of the American Empire." In the opening week of 1952 were laid the foundations of American penetration in India too. On 5th January 1952, an 'Agreement' was signed at New Delhi by Prime Minister Nehru on behalf of the Government of India and by the U. S. Ambassador in India on behalf of the Government of United States of America. In his recent address to the Parliament, the President of India has given high praise to this Agreement. Quite a large and influential section of the Indian press has hailed it as a landmark in the history of Indo-U. S. relationship. No apology is, therefore, needed for a critical study of this historical document.

At the outset, it must be stated that this new Pact is in pursuance of the 'Point Four Aid' agreement for technical co-operation signed on behalf of the Governments of India and U. S. A. on December 28, 1950, in which an Aid of 1.2 million dollars has been provided for technical training etc. The present Pact goes far ahead both in its objectives and contents.

OBJECTIVES

1. Promoting and accelerating the economic development of India;
2. Promoting international understanding and goodwill, and in maintaining world peace and undertaking such action as the two Governments may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes for international tension.

Thus it can be said without any fear of contradiction that it is a politico-economic Pact and not a puny Technical Aid Agreement.

TERMS

How the said objectives are sought to be achieved can be gathered from the terms

of the Pact. The Pact consists of 10 Articles which may be summarised as follows:

1. The obligations assumed in this Agreement will be performed on behalf of the Government of India by a duly designated Ministry and on that of the U. S. Government by a Technical Co-operation Administration. The latter will be represented in India by a Director. He and his staff shall be regarded as a part of the diplomatic mission of the Government of the U. S. A. in India and shall share fully in the privileges and immunities enjoyed by that mission and its personnel.

2. The Administration shall furnish a field party of specialists to collaborate in carrying out the Technical Co-operation Programme. The party shall be under the direction of the Director. All of them shall be selected and appointed by the U. S. Government. All facilities shall be provided to the Technical Co-operation Directorate or the Administration. It will share fully in all the privileges and immunities, including immunity from suit in the courts of India which are enjoyed by the Government of the U. S. A.

3. (a) As regards finance, the U. S. Government will provide, by depositing in U. S. A. up to the 30th June 1952, a sum of 50 million dollars (about Rs. 24 crores) to be credited to a Special Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund (Fund A), while the Government of India will constitute a Special Development Fund (Fund B) exceeding Rs. 25 crores for making available supplementary finance. Besides the U. S. Government will further bear a sum of about four million dollars in meeting in U. S. A. the expenses of its experts, the tuition and other charges of Indian nationals sent abroad for training in this connection and the costs of technical assistance provided by the U. S. Government through private agencies.

(Continued from previous page)

MEMORIES OF GANDHIJI

I bless those days with loving memory of my dear father whose gentleness had no bounds and yet could he be as hard as steel. I thank him for what he has given me and millions of my fellow countrymen in India and in my adopted country, South Africa, which has become the centre of worldwide attention, as a result of her suicidal racial

policy. At this crucial hour of South African Indians' struggle for human rights and turmoil and strife threatening to engulf humanity with another fearful and deadly world war, may his spirit guide us all in the right path, and may the world enjoy a long spell of peace.

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(b) The Fund B shall be strengthened by the sale proceeds of salable goods imported under this Pact as also by repayment of the sums (belonging to the Fund A) disbursed as loans to private agencies or State Governments.

4 (a) The Fund A shall be jointly administered by an India Government officer and the American Director. It will be utilised only for the execution of agreed projects of technical co-operation.

(b) Fund B and its proceeds are, like the Fund A, to be utilised only for the projects approved by both the Governments.

5. Allocations will be made whereby agreed amounts shall be transferred from the Fund A to the consolidated funds of the Government of India or shall otherwise be authorised to be expended. Such transfers and authorisations to expend shall be in the forms of grants-in-aid and loans. But nowhere in the Pact has it been indicated how the loan portion is to be repaid.

6. No funds or parts thereof, allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government shall be subject to any garnishment, attachment, seizure, or other legal process by any person, firm, agency, corporation, organisation or government.

7. Agreed projects of technical co-operation shall be executed by a central committee (of not more than seven members) to be constituted by the Government of India. But no recommendation of this committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U. S. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director.

FUNCTIONS

The Pact gives no idea how the American assistance is to be exactly utilised. Obviously its purpose is to attain the objectives mentioned above. Though reports in the press point out that this is to be done by growing more food and establishing certain types of townships, yet as the text of the Agreement in question makes no mention of them, comments on the same would be beside the mark here.

Next we shall examine the economic and political implications of the Pact as evident from the aforesaid terms.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

1. Such a vast network of American experts and know-hows is going to be estab-

lished in India as has never been known in her long and chequered history.

2. No official or non-official body or authority in India can interfere with the activities and the programmes the Americans choose to enact.

3. Not a cent out of the American 50 million dollar fund can be spent against the wishes and tastes of the U. S. Government. It is a strange kind of generosity or 'dan' in which the 'dani' (donor) exercises such control over the use of his *dan* (gift) as a mortgagee in possession of a shop or factory might exercise over the mortgagor debtor's business.

4. For the duration of the agreement, India shall have no independent control over her own Fund (B).

5. The U. S. Government is free to impose any condition or conditions it may like in connection with the repayment of the loan portion of the Fund. What repercussions they may have one cannot say.

6. The U. S. Government hereafter acquires the undisputed right to start and develop such enterprise or concerns in India as may help it to secure for itself a permanent market for its finished goods or build up a *pucca bandobast* (a solid base) to obtain the requisite raw materials for home consumption. It thus obtains a free hand to build the American economy on firm foundations and for all time. In other words, under the Agreement the agriculture of India, our handicrafts and industries, our trade and commerce, our markets and homes may be recklessly thrown at the mercy of the U. S. Government and capitalist.

7. No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny. Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director or his company. They will have full rights or veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8. The American aid is in the nature of an investment on behalf of the U. S. Government to secure a firm foothold in the Indian sub-continent. It is an initial investment by which U. S. A. can make India bleed white for the American's pleasure and his way of life. It is in fact an essential advertisement in order to earn multifold profits in the not very distant future when American goods will stalk the country.

History affords several instances of investments of this type. A conspicuous one

is that of free distribution of opium by the British in China. It is virtually a common practice of every intelligent businessman.

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Next we turn to the political implications of the Pact.

1. The second objective given above makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government of India has agreed and begun to view the world political scene through the U. S. glasses. What is peace to America is peace to India and so also tension. Ostensibly neither America nor India may adopt a line of action which the other does not approve. But since India will have to be placed under an obligation which may not be lightly disowned or discontinued after operations have advanced to a certain extent, it is obvious that in an extreme situation, India will have to approve what America directs her to approve.

2. The U. S. Government hopes to kill two birds with a single stone. Who does not know that on account of the continued researches in science, new models of machinery are springing up day after day rendering the old models useless and cumbersome? But where should the hoary stock of old models go to? Machine is like that monster which demands incessant work otherwise it would eat up the very master.

America has developed the art of solving this riddle by doling out aids or loans (as Marshal Aid, Point-Four Aid etc.) to one country after another. She is, therefore, able to dispose of her unusable stuff with a clean conscience and put the aided country in eternal obligation. Besides it gives her a unique opportunity to seize the same by the neck.

AGREEMENT OR SLAVERY BOND?

Hardly anybody is unaware of America's intentions in Asia or Europe. That she has a passion for meeting the so-called 'menace' of Communism is common knowledge. It is why she is doing her best to help General Franco in Spain, the British in the Middle East, Emperor Bao-Dai and the French in Indo-China, and General Chiang Kai Shek in the Far East. There is no reason why she should not contribute her mite for the same in India.

In the light of the above conclusion one cannot but feel suspicious about the motives of the U. S. Government in offering this Aid. May not the so-called 'Agreement' become a slavery bond to India? Will it not enable America to overwhelm India completely?

These misgivings are confirmed on going through the reports of the speeches delivered to the American Congress at Washington on March 13 last by some of the leading officials of the U. S. A. The Secretary of State for America, Mr. Acheson is reported to have said that the '1953 Mutual Security Programme' called for the expenditure of 227,000,000 Dollars in technical assistance to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the figure for India being not yet made public. He stressed the need for Aid to India in very strong terms. But why? To quote his own words:

"The advice of all our observers on the ground is that unless the newly independent Government under Prime Minister Nehru can show substantial progress in economic development over the next five years there is the likelihood that in the next elections democratic forces will be endangered either by extremists or by communists."

Further Mr. Acheson went on to compliment us on the "tremendous effort" India was putting up in "its fight against communism." Really, are we putting up this fight?

Again, Mr. W. Averall Harriman, supporting the mutual security programme, warned the American Congress that any resolve to cut this programme would mean a reduction in the 'strength being built in the free world for our common defence against the threat of the Kremlin.' By this programme Mr. Harriman wants to secure 'well-equipped allies' in India and elsewhere for the youngmen of United States, fighting for freedom.

Any doubts in this regard are thoroughly cleared by the speech of the US Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert Lovett. Without mincing words he is reported to have said that the 'first criterion' in granting United States military assistance will be 'performance of the nations in raising effective forces.' He assured the American Congress that 'performance would be the test.'

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the American aid (and the aids to follow) is but a means to achieve the end of drawing India into the 'cold war,' a war that has already enveloped Europe and America in its painful grip. How far will our Government succeed in remaining 'neutral' despite the aid, only the future can say. But it is high time that the authorities in new Delhi and the Parliament ponder over where they are leading the country to. ★ ★ ★

★ GANDHI NIKETAN, KALLUPATTI, TAMIL NAD ★

A SAMAGRA-SEVA CENTRE

There are many independent constructive work institutions in Tamil Nad. They are at Vedaranyam, Keelamoongiladi (Chidambaram), Tiruchitrambalam, Gandhigram and Kallupatti. Many of these institutions have recently risen up with Basic Education as their centre of activity. But the Gandhi Niketan Ashram at Kallupatti, perhaps the oldest of the independent institutions in Tamil Nad had its origin in 1938 round Harijan work and rural service. The story of the development of this institution which has multifarious activities may be of special interest to constructive workers.

This place is within 25 miles from Madura. In 1938 Sri. G. Venkatachalapathi, Sri. R. Guruswamy and the late Sri. Chellaswamy and a few other enthusiastic workers planned to have an Ashram in this village, through which they could serve the villages around through constructive programme. For a long time they could not succeed in acquiring sufficient land. It is only in 1940 that the Ashram could materialize with the financial help of friends in Madura and elsewhere. Later a building was put up by their own labour. Within two furlongs from the Ashram a Tannery was developed with Sri. R. V. Guruswami as organizer who had his training in Khadi Pratisthan, Calcutta. The Harijan Sevak Sangh acquired some land for the Tannery and gave all encouragement as a part of Harijan work. In 1940 the Tannery was working in full swing, with a sales branch at Madura. They had also an Industries' section in which fountain pens, nibs, spectacles-frames and similar articles were made on a cottage scale. The war period was helpful for the growth of their business in Tannery as well as in other minor industries. Both were independently working as two co-operative organizations. Though in 1942 the principal workers were arrested, the Tannery and Industry works went on unaffected till 1945. Today the training department of the above has an annual turnover of over a lakh of rupees.

After the war the demand for fountain pens and other articles declined and the Industries' section today is solely manufacturing charkhas and other spinning and weaving accessories. At present there is

an annual turnover of about Rs. 50,000. Since the Gandhinagar workshop of the A. I. S. A. is closed this can be considered now as the biggest charkha-producing centre in Tamil Nad.

In 1946 this centre organized for the first time a training camp for all the Congress workers in constructive work. This is the first centre which took the initiative in giving such a kind of training to Congressmen and this was followed by many other camps in Chidambaram, Vedaranyam and other places. This is now a regular programme of every institution in the south.

Among the other cottage industries there are the ghani pressing, chakki grinding, poultry, bee-keeping, soap manufacture, paper making etc. These are small units maintained for demonstrative purposes as well as for the training of workers. These units are run by staff who were trained in the A. I. V. I. A., Wardha. Recently a training camp was run under the Government auspices for a period of 5 months.

The training course for Government Grama Sevaks under Rural Welfare Department is now a regular work of the centre. Grama Sevaks come in batches of 40 for training courses of 3 months each by turns. Here they are given training in khadi-craft, Gandhian ideology, Rural Economics and survey under Sri. R. Guruswamy, the Honorary Principal. So far 5 batches have come and gone back after training. Necessary buildings have been sanctioned by the Government for their training course. Recently a section for training in Khadi Weaving has been started. Twenty workers are trained with one year's course adopting the syllabus of the A. I. S. A.'s Vidyalyaya, under the Rural Welfare Department, Madras Government.

There is a Basic school which has reached up to seven standards. The 8th standard is to be started in the coming year. About 270 students are in the school and this is half the number of children of the school-going age in the village. This is the only school in Tamil Nad which has completed the seventh standard. Distinguished visitors have visited the school and the children have put simple and straight

questions which have baffled many official and non-official visitors. The questions were all most embarrassing to them and must have touched the conscience of some of them. Some of the questions of the boys were very interesting and thought provoking even to the sophisticated educated urban class.

The whole area is a traditional area of hand-spinning, with thousands of wage spinners served by the A. I. S. A.'s centres in the area. But the A. I. S. A. could not succeed much in converting these wage spinners as khadi-wearers. The Ashram had no opportunity so far in directly doing any khadi work. But during the recent period it has taken keen interest in working the self-sufficiency programme through the Grama Sevikas under the Women Welfare Scheme of the Government. There are two such lady workers, in the villages for the last one year who are giving training and encouraging the spinners to exchange their yarn wholly for khadi. They have organized a chit system. Each chit-group has 20 members, each member contributing 4 hanks a week. They take lots every week and she who gets the lot takes khadi for all the 80 hanks collected in that week. In this way 21,385 hanks have been collected by the chit-group and khadi worth about Rs. 4,500 has been exchanged. Some of them have bought with their surplus yarn agricultural implements, cattle, brass vessels, medicine, food articles and even minor ornaments, besides satisfying their cloth needs. Some of them have even deposited some money in the Savings Bank. A subsidy of about Rs. 600 at the rate of 9 ps. per hank was paid by the Government to these spinners. This experiment of the chit-group for encouraging spinning and banking their own labour or purchasing power in the form of yarn has succeeded and similar experiments can be easily extended to all the villages covered by the Women Welfare workers as well as Grama Sevaks. An extensive programme for all the centres can be easily tried by the Government with remarkable success.

Within a furlong from the Ashram a Teachers' Basic Training School of the Madras Government is working for the last 2 or 3

years. The Ashram Basic School serves as the model school for the teachers. Around the Ashram the Rural Welfare Scheme also is in progress. Today the Ashram hums with various activities through official and non-official agencies covering a large number of villages. It is almost a programme of Samagra Seva that is being followed. Another special feature of this centre is that the workers selected for various kinds of training belong to the neighbouring villages who can apply their experience and training for the welfare of their own villages. The Ashram also has day-to-day contact with hundreds of people in the villages around and tackles many problems of a domestic and social nature by rendering advice readily accepted and followed by the villagers. The workers' direct contact with the masses through the children of the Basic School as well as that of the trainees and teachers in Grama Sevak training courses in the Ashram, is a great advantage rarely enjoyed by any other similar institution of this kind.

Of course today there is considerable help from the Government but time alone can say whether the villagers can themselves continue and expand their activities without financial or other kind of patronage from the Government. If they do, as they would surely, for there is every sign of spontaneous co-operation of the villagers, the Ashram would have served its object in arousing the economic consciousness of the people to shape their own social and political pattern of life on the ideal of compact self-sufficiency as well as co-operative federal life with other groups of villages around them.

In the villages around the institution, roads have been formed; separate latrines for men and women have been constructed; drainage channels have been built; wells have been sunk; but all these works have been carried out with the willing co-operation of the villagers who have contributed a major portion of the expenditure by way of money and labour. The Government have helped them by providing technical help and in some cases by giving small grants as an encouragement.

★ THE ETAWAH PLAN — A Critical Study ★

PROF. THAKURDAS BANG AND SURESH RAMABHAI

1. INTRODUCTION

'Development' is the order of the day and none is so poor as cannot produce a 'plan' for raising the 'standard of life' of millions of our unfortunate villagers and women. Of late a development plan, known as the 'Etawah Project' has been very much highlighted and held out to be a basis for starting a number of like projects all over the country. Under the recent Indo-U. S. Agreement, the U. S. Government have promised all aid, technical, financial or otherwise, to better the condition of the country by producing replicas of the Etawah Project.

But curiously enough no unbiased and thorough appraisal of the Project has yet appeared before the public. The importance of an on-the-spot study of the same cannot, therefore, be too much emphasised. So after the fourth Sarvodaya Sammelan (held at Sevapuri, Banaras, on 13th, 14th and 15th April last) both of us, together with five friends, went to Etawah and spent three days, 18th, 19th and 20th April. Our party included Shri Chandrika Prasad Pandey (of Go-Seva Sangh, Wardha), working in the Village-Welfare Scheme round about Wardha town, Shri Prabhakar V. Kanetkar, in-charge of the Kashmir Branch of the A. I. S. A., Shri Madhukar Chaudhri, a student of M. Com. class of the Govindram Seksaria College, Wardha, having Planning for his special subject, and Shri Ganqa Prasad Gupta, a peasant belonging to the Chindwara District of Madhya Pradesh. The fifth companion was Smt. Suman Manudhane, M. A., (Economics), working with her husband in the Self-sufficient Agriculture Scheme at Mahakal, a village four miles away from Wardha. Before we proceed further we must express our heartiest thanks to Etawah Project authorities, and specially to Shri Baij Nath Singh, Deputy Development Officer, for the courtesy with which they treated us, the facilities that they provided for us, and the time that they spent with us. Express mention must be made of Mr. Albert Mayer, the leading spirit behind the Etawah Project, who, in spite of his heavy preoccupations, gave us some of his very valuable time enabling us to discuss some aspects of the Project with him.

2. PROJECT

The Etawah Project came into being in November 1948. It covers 97 villages round

about Mahewa, a small village-town at a distance of about eighteen miles to the east of Etawah, the headquarters of the Etawah district of the Allahabad Division of Uttar Pradesh. Etawah is a railway station on E. I. R. almost midway between Allahabad and Delhi. It is surrounded by the districts of Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri and Jalaun, and is a well-known centre for oil-seeds and and ghee.

The population of the villages under this development scheme is about 79,000 and the area is 61,400 acres of which 45,000 acres are under cultivation. Bounded on the south by the Jamuna, the Lower Ganges Canal runs through this area.

The Project has been founded at the instance of Mr. Albert Mayer, an American expert town-planner, formerly of the American Army. The U. P. Government in an order, dated November 27, 1948 gave its formal sanction to the Pilot Project. The items covered by the Project are agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, irrigation and implements, public works and environmental sanitation, public health, women's work, village participation including sight-seeing and adult literacy.

This Pilot Project is worked by the Governmental machinery specially constituted for this purpose under the leadership of Mr. Albert Mayer. At its head is the District Development Officer, with a sympathetic District Magistrate (a former Development Officer of this Project) in the background aided by four gazetted officers, called the Deputy Development Officers. Below them are six Assistant Development Officers (or Development Inspectors), 24 village level workers etc. Entire staff of the departments of Co-operation, Agriculture, Development, Animal Husbandry, Public Health and others, working in this area, is at their disposal. This Governmental machinery was yoked into useful service by the inspiring personality of Mr. Mayer who was able to stir it into activity, bring it out of the wooden ruts of the Red Tape and make it do something. Also never before was perhaps such a high-level district staff entrusted to any planner or expert, Indian or foreign.

3. PROJECT — ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

The Project began by distribution of improved seeds, specially of wheat and potato. Green manure, i. e., sannai seeds, and chemical fertilisers were also supplied. Use of improved and special tools and implements was also demonstrated and facilities were provided for their employment, if desired. The following are the results for wheat and potato:

Wheat:	Seed distributed in Mds.	Acreage	Yield per acre from desi seeds in Mds.	Yield per acre from improved seeds in Mds.
1948-49	915	600	8	10
1949-50	3,000	2,000	9½	13
1950-51	7,500	5,000	14	23
1951-52	10,000	7,000	...	18 to 20
Potato:				
1948-49	300	35	98	218
1949-50	800	100	117	269
1950-51	1,000	125	160	280
1951-52	1,500	190	...	230

The Project has by now covered about 92% of wheat growing portion of the area and about 80% of potato. It may be noted that the yield was specially high in 1950-51. The factors that contributed to this, we were told, were green manure, superphosphate fertilisers and winter rains.

These figures speak for themselves. No other part of the country can claim to have produced such results though every State Government has been spending lakhs in food campaigns. Credit for this must, therefore, be given to Mr. Mayer and his staff.

4. SPECIAL FEATURES

In 97 villages of Mahewa area there are 80 co-operative societies, knit into seven co-operative Unions, viz, Mahewa, Lakhna, Aurang, Jaimalpur, Lakhi, Newari Kalan and Sherpur. There are roughly 10 to 15 societies in every Union dealing with seeds, tools, yarn and cloth, sugar, manures and medicines etc.

In Mahewa proper there is one centre of animal husbandry as also a tools workshop. The following are the figures of the progress of animal husbandry in the area:-

Item	1948-49	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52
H. S. Inoculations	4,647	18,559	22,000	24,029
R. P. „	11,233	23,116	6,530	8,885
Castration	670	752	862	754
Artificial insemination	—	6	220	543
Hariana cows supplied	10	22	13	57

It must be mentioned that both H. S. and R. P. Inoculations have been hailed by the people of the locality. The same, however, cannot be said about artificial insemination.

As regards public health, *Paludrine* pills were distributed free in the first year. Also *Gammoxane* was scattered to destroy pests rendering the area malaria-proof.

In the field of irrigation three artesian wells and one tube well have been dug. Attempts have also been made to reclaim water-logged, *usar* and ravine lands but not with much success.

As observed earlier improved tools form an integral part of the Project. Below we give some of the main implements together with their prices:

1. Olpad Thrasher Rs. 190; 2. Cultivator-seeder Rs. 65; 3. Seed-drill Rs. 600; 4. Cultivator Rs. 85; 5. Spike with harrow Rs. 90; 6. Victory Plough Rs. 75; 7. Mower Rs. 1,200.

Adult education classes, 41 in number, are running in the area. There is also a mobile library with 50 chests. From Mahewa is published a twelve pages Hindi fortnightly, entitled '*Mandir-se*' (annual subscription Rs. 2/- only) which has some six to seven hundred subscribers.

In the whole area there are four women centres at Puthia, Marauli, Balju and Bani which are Harijan villages. At each centre there are three *sevikas* for maternity and child welfare, education and literacy, and craft work as weaving, knitting etc.

At Lakhna, some 10 miles from Mahewa, is the training centre where village level workers and others connected with the Project have their Refresher courses or Training. The time-table of the trainees seemed to be quite exacting. Sight-seeing and demonstration are regular features of the programme.

5. PERSONNEL AND COST

All told, no less than 125 persons from the District Development Officer down to the peon or Chowkidar are employed exclusively in the scheme. Taking into account those not directly connected with the Project but whose services are frequently utilised, e. g. Veterinary Surgeon, Circle Officer, Inspector etc., we may say that for every two villages three persons have been engaged.

As regards the cost, figures are as follows :

Year.	Allotment.	Actuals.
1948-49	Rs. 8,32,900	Rs. 2,69,112
1949-50	" 3,15,800	" 6,67,877
1950-51	" 2,37,700	" 2,28,500
1951-52	" 3,45,500	(not known)

Limitations of space do not allow us to present the budget details. But in order to give a rough idea of the expenditure we reproduce below figures for main heads of expenditure (allotment) for the year 1950-51. They are Rs. 88,471 for superintendence, Rs. 1,38,910 for execution, Rs. 37,360 for villagers' participation and Rs. 1,68,000 for building accommodation and village planning, all amounting to a grand total of Rs. 4,32,741. These figures include pay of officers, allowances, honorarium etc. It can be safely concluded from the above that average yearly expenditure on the Pilot Project is about two and a half lakhs of rupees. When we inquired of Mr. Mayer about the period for which such expenditure would continue, he replied, "For ever and ever." The reply simply dumb-founded us.

The approximate annual expenditure on each village comes to about Rs. 2,500. This clearly means that to work the scheme over the whole of Uttar Pradesh a personnel of about two lakhs of people is required and we must be prepared to spend every year about twenty-five crores of rupees at least.

6. RESPONSE OF THE PEOPLE

As stated above a large number of peasants have made use of improved seed. But we found some of them sceptical about the innate nature of wheat seed (PB 591), for the *roti* made of it did not taste like their familiar *roti*.

We have already stated that the H. S. and R. P. inoculations of the cattle have done substantial good and benefitted the people. So also the Gammoxane sprinkling. Paludrine pills have also been taken by the people but how much good they have really rendered cannot be definitely said. About artificial insemination the less said the better. Sentiment apart, the insemination has not always succeeded. We ourselves saw one insemination and were taken aback by the unhygienic and dirty way with which it was accomplished. A not very clean compounder pushed his hand through inside the vagina of a cow and then let in a bull's semen by a syringe. There is every possibility of the

development of a septic or of the uterus getting fatally disturbed.

It is startling that people have not responded to co-operative societies or Unions. They do come there for seed and other articles as they would go to a market-shop. But the atmosphere of 'co-operation' or 'union' is sadly lacking. We also found that papers and books in the Unions were not properly maintained.

We visited one Women's centre at Puthia. The registers showed a declining attendance. We also went inside a house and saw some knitting work done by a girl of 12. How we wished some such craft were taught in which mill yarn or mill goods were not used as raw material! But knowing as we do that work amongst the womenfolk is no joke, we commend the efforts put forth by these ill-paid young *sevikas*. Theirs is really a life of dedication and service.

Primary or Children's education forms no vital part of the Project. But we were shown at Sonbarsa a school run under new Development. We later came to know that it was built by a generous widow of the locality. There were two teachers in this school with more than 80 boys and girls reading from classes I to IV. The education imparted was all but basic and yarn on the *taklies* of IV class students was not worth even making a rope.

As regards tools and implements their high prices prohibit the general mass from using them. A good number of people whom we met were averse to their use.

People also did not appreciate the instructions given by the experts, viz., they were advised that wheat crop should not be mixed with oilseeds or any other thing which was, however, not accepted. Again, the chemical fertilisers, being hotter in content than farmyard manures, require more water whose deficiency injures the whole crop — a fact realised by several peasants to their misfortune. On the whole, response of the people is very cautious and watchful. Considering the magnitude of expense and personnel involved in the Project, it has failed to evoke a commensurate degree of enthusiasm in them.

7. PROSPECTS OF THE PROJECT

We have said above that village people have not received the Project with any enthusiasm. The nature of seed, prohibitive prices of implements, heat content of chemical fertilisers, and 'boss'-like or 'sahibana' attitude of staff are some of the

factors that have contributed to this apathy. People have, as it were, an instinctive dislike for the Project which is due to the grim reality that the Project has created far more problems than it has solved. To be brief, the Project has meant more unemployment. We met several poor landless labourers, including Harijans, whose fortunes have not only not improved but have tumbled down.

8. POTENTIALITIES OF EXTENSION

We have already given an idea of the heavy cost and personnel involved in the few items covered by the Project. That these forbidding figures will reach astronomical heights, in case all-comprehensive planning is tried, as it must, can well be imagined. But a planning for these modest items alone for our five lakhs of villages would require about 125 crores of rupees every year. Surely no Government can dare spend hyperbolic amounts on such meagre output. And no foreign agency can help it by way of Aid or Loan without depriving it of some of basic freedoms.

9. MAIN DEFECTS

From the above short account one can easily see that there are several defects in the plan. We may state some of them:

(i) The Etawah Project has concentrated on wheat and potato alone regardless of other important factors necessary for a self-sufficient agriculture.

(ii) It is supremely oblivious of village and cottage industries.

(iii) Relying on chemical fertilisers the Project has paid no heed to composting manures and utilisation of the hidden wealth in human and animal excreta.

(iv) The implements it seeks to make use of will create more unemployment.

(v) The adult and school education initiated by it have nothing to do with Basic education i. e., Nai Talim.

(vi) The Project not only ignores the millions of our landless labourers but also renders their plight far more miserable and worse.

(vii) It seeks to transform our agriculture into an industry living at the mercy of Big Business and High Finance.

(viii) The cost and personnel of the Project render it futile for a poor country like India.

(ix) It makes our villages depend on cities and our country on foreign countries or powers.

(x) It compels a villager to look to the Government or expert as its 'mai-bap' (father and mother) and lose all initiative and free will.

(xi) Deeply analysed, it is an attempt to uproot the unsophisticated people off their feet and transplant them on an alien way of life.

10. CONCLUSIONS

We cannot help reaching the conclusion that it is neither a plan of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people, but something imposed from above having no secure foundations below. The superstructure gone it will fall like a pack of cards. A Project with so serious defects cannot be recommended for India. Taking into account the political, economic, social, cultural and other implications of the Project we think that it would be injurious to the nation if it is repeated on a national scale.

This Project has been given tremendous publicity. The world has been told that it is something very big and grand. Etawah is extolled as a panacea of all the ills of impoverished India. But what it actually is, is Greek to almost one and all. Grandiose and costly, the Etawah Project is completely unsuited to our soil. Concerned with the very limited sphere of growing more corn, it seeks to smash village life to pieces, render people dependent and victim of centralisation and militarism and make the country a pawn in alien hands. Only a Government cut off from its people, can think of such disastrous and slave-producing projects which only support the reactionary, capitalistic and exploiting elements of the society at the cost of hungry and naked millions, making the rich richer and the poor poorer still. No plan is really worthy if it does not devote itself seriously to the betterment of the vast multitude of the down-trodden and most afflicted citizens.

The Government would do well to stop the Etawah Project give a hearty send-off to the experts knowing nothing about India and her people, return the foreign money already taken, cancel the contracts and deliver the country to its rightful owner, the people. There is no hurdle which the people of India cannot cross by dint of their own Swadeshi effort. Man-power is not wanting. Talent is not wanting. Material is not wanting. What is wanting is proper outlook and approach and method of the powers that be.



★ Vinobaji's Speech at the Sarvodaya Sammelan ★

Full report of Vinobaji's speeches at the Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Sevapuri could not reach us in time for translating and publishing the same in this issue. A portion of the first day's speech on the 13th April is given below. The rest of his speeches will be published in the subsequent issues.

In a few words, I shall place some of my ideas before you. Last year it was decided that this Sammelan should be held at Sevagram. Then I even suggested that every year it should be at Sevagram only. As I was touring in this province, I could not go over there and so the workers decided to have the Sammelan here.

Pandit Jawaharlalji called me to Delhi to discuss about the Planning Commission. As soon as I received his letter I started to Delhi but informed him that I was coming there walking all the way on foot. He excused me. I reached Delhi after two or three months. Then Panditji had no leisure at all. The election work was before him, yet he set apart three full days for discussion with me. I am really thankful to him.

It is my experience that no 'devata' gets pleased unless there is undivided concentration and devotion. So I have taken a vow in life that if I take up any work I must concentrate all my effort on it till my idea behind it takes a concrete shape. And I may add that I am incapable of concentrating on more than one work at a time. This is the reason why I said again and again that I could not proceed to Sevagram to attend the Mela which was proposed to be held there.

From Shivarampalli last year, I proceeded to Telengana. This morning one brother said that he was happy to know that 'Vinoba who was soaring in the sky, has now begun to walk on earth.' The real thing is this: If Vinoba were in the sky before, even today he is in the sky. My mind is at the same height as it was before. And if I am on land today, I was on land before also. But there is this difference that the circle in which I was then moving was limited, which today has widened. In those days Gandhiji was living and my contact was with the villagers in whose midst I was doing silent service. If Gandhiji were living today, you would not have seen me here. You would have simply seen me busy with my Banghi (scavenging) work or weaving activities. So what difference you note today is due to the

reason of the change in circumstances. I was on land then also and on it today also. As I said before the difference is only that the circle has widened a bit.

When Gandhiji disappeared this question arose in my mind, "what should I do now?" The thought, 'what Gandhiji would have desired me to do' has never risen in me. It is not my way of thinking. Without inspiration from inside I do not take up any work.

There was then a conference at Sevagram. In the meanwhile it was decided that we should build up a Sarvodaya Samaj. At this time there was the refugee work going on in the country. I got a call to take up that service and I started. There in Meva I had the opportunity to do some work. From then I began to think that a way should be found out to get out of the present critical situation of the country. I toured for 10 to 15 months. As a result of my self-introspection I felt convinced that, if through non-violent revolution we desire to transform our life and the life of the people we must have direct contact with the village people and their life, for which we must travel by foot. I had this idea even before. Meanwhile I was invited to Shivarampalli and I started on foot. The day-to-day contact with the masses that I got during that march, could never have been available to me through my vision by simply sitting in one place.

From Shivarampalli I had to return to Wardha. It is natural that man never returns by the same route he went. And I thought of returning through Telengana. In Telengana there was a lot of distress and suffering through communists. Crores of rupees were spent on military and police, yet the situation could not be brought under control. So I thought that I should go there and see for myself. On my return to Wardha I got Pandit Nehru's invitation to Delhi.

Now I shall tell you the substance of my discussion with Pandit Nehru and the Planning Commission. When Shri R. K. Patil came to Wardha in connection with the Planning Commission, he had a discussion with me.

In the course of that discussion I offered my frank and free opinion about the report. That criticism was really very strong and vehement even though I was not generally in the habit of doing so. This was also one of the reasons why Panditji invited me to Delhi.

Pandit Nehru on many occasions declared that after 1952 the Government would not import food grains from outside. At that time the people asked me whether the Government would do so. I made them believe that it would. But when the Planning Commission report was published, there was no mention of food self-sufficiency; but it stated that 30 lakhs tons of food-grains would be imported from outside every year. There was no mention of any time limit even for this import. So the promise to the people was broken and it was a severe blow to me. I expressed my painful feelings in strong and vehement words. I expected the Government who appointed the Commission, to issue definite instructions to the Commission to draw the plan according to the declared decisions.

As I stated before, the members were busy in the election work. So they sent to me their final decisions later in writing. I could not correctly understand what they meant. The substance of what Nandaji told me is that the Government promise not to import food grains from outside after a period of five years under ordinary conditions.

Naturally I was happy to hear about this and I hope the public also would feel happy. In my discussions at Delhi I tried my best to understand their view points. They are our own men. They bring in Gandhiji's name. Besides, their leader is Pandit Nehru who is dear to all of us. In fact I am a little partial to him. He tried his level best to understand my views.

Any national planning that cannot provide work to all in the country is not worthy to be called as such. It does not happen in a family of 12 members that only 8 or 10 of them are cared for. The head of the family provides work and food for all its members. The fundamental principle of national planning should be that it should

take up the responsibility to provide work for all. Every one should be given the means of production and what is produced should be distributed to all.

But as against this there is the argument of efficiency advanced. I am also for efficiency, but to insist upon efficiency before providing work for all will cut at the root of efficiency itself. That plan for providing work and food for some only without giving the same opportunities and facilities to others, is not a national planning. One member of the Commission told me that theirs is not a national planning, but only a partial planning. Then I remarked. "If that be so, why should you not extend your partiality in favour of the poor. You should have said that this is not a plan for all." In essence the Planning Commission should assume the responsibility for planning work for all. In order to fully discharge this responsibility under the present conditions it will have to leave all the raw materials of the villages to the villagers themselves for converting them into finished goods for their own use. This is otherwise known as self-sufficiency or village sufficiency. But the Commission is not prepared to accept the word self-sufficiency. They say that self-sufficiency is an imaginary thing and that they do not wish to go after such things. I do not insist that this word alone should be used if they are prepared to accept cottage industries to give work to all. I went even to the extent of stating that I do not object to their bringing any machinery if that could give work to all in the country. If they cannot do that even, then they have to accept charkha. It is there ever ready to give work to all. I asked them, "What harm or loss is there for you to accept immediately cottage industries as long as you are not able to discover other means of production and place them before the people so that every one can have work?" They answered that they would accept cottage industries to provide work for some people if it would become a necessity. Thus there is difference even in their ideological approach to the question. But I have great patience yet to wait.

(To be continued)

(Condensed from the original Hindi)

★ THE SEVAPURI SARVODAYA SAMMELAN ★

Some Personal Impressions

The fourth annual Sarvodaya Sannmelan at Sevapuri, 15 miles from Banaras, is undoubtedly a landmark of the Sarvodaya Samaj. The lead that the Sannmelan has given was already anticipated by the marvellous progress of Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement during the last one year. He has sown the seed of a new revolution, nay, for the continuation of the old Gandhian revolution which delivered the nation from political subjection. There was indeed a break of the Gandhian revolution though the triple objectives of the freedom movement were not fully realised with the political freedom. There seemed to be a void and vacuum after the attainment of political freedom as far as the masses were concerned while the elders had settled down in the task of consolidating the power as handed over by the British. It is Vinobaji's movement that has reminded the nation about the unfulfilled part of the great freedom movement and has shown a way to continue the Gandhian revolution towards the two inseparable wings of economic and social freedom. His unique movement has awakened the nation from the lethargy and torpor and has stirred it to activity.

The momentous Sannmelan has helped to show a non-violent solution of the land problem of India and to formulate its counter-part of decentralized economy of village industries towards regional and national self-sufficiency. It is the combined agro-economics alone that will solve the land problem, stimulate food production and assure full employment of all the man-power of the nation.

Having laid these principles, a target of 25 lakhs of acres of land to be collected through Bhoodan movement was fixed for the nation to be completed within a period of two years.

For the first time in the Sannmelan the negative aspect in the boycott of all articles of food and cloth processed by centralized, mechanized industries was emphasised for the Sevaks to follow.

All this reminds us of Gandhiji's movement of triple boycott for achievement of Swaraj within one year in 1920 and of the programme laid down for the nation to fulfil. The Sevapuri Sannmelan reminds us of those

throbbing days of a new national life and enormous mass activity towards our goal.

This Sannmelan assumed the form of a real *mela* to some extent. The number of visitors from all over India exceeded 2300 and they could not be distinguished as sevaks and non-sevaks. The largest number was from Bihar and U. P. and the rest from all other provinces. The number of the daily audience in the evenings during Vinobaji's talks was over ten-thousand. Besides there was a regular stream of villagers in thousands coming and going all through the day.

This centre is already familiar for khadi workers who had visited this previously during the Saranjan conference in 1949. The Sevapuri Ashram of the Shri Gandhi Ashram of U. P. has been carrying on extensive activities on Samagra Grama Seva under the guidance of Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, with all co-operation of the U. P. State Government. Naturally Sevapuri served the fittest background for the Sannmelan.

All credit is due to the organisers of the Sannmelan who had to rush up all arrangements in time. They were already preoccupied with the Bhoodan movement of Vinobaji in completing the target of five lakhs of acres as the quota of U. P. They had scarcely time to collect any money and look to the details of organising the conference within a fortnight's time. The U. P. State Government helped with a donation of Rs. 10,000 and made all arrangements for sanitation, water supply and lighting. They conducted the khadi and cottage industries exhibition under their auspices. The Sannmelan was on the whole managed without incurring any financial deficit and it is surprising that it has made also some surplus.

A special feature of the Sannmelan is that the organisers scrupulously boycotted all food articles processed in mill. They used only hand-husked rice, hand-made atta, oil of village *ghani* besides cow's milk, ghee and buttermilk. The villagers in the neighbourhood contributed grain and vegetables besides rendering free service in making atta etc. The cooperative societies around the ashram came forward in contributing money. Special credit is due to the organisers who could manage to feed

over 3,000 people on the first day and over 2,000 daily on the succeeding days. They were put to a great strain of reconstructing all the tents and the conference pandal as they had all collapsed two days earlier owing to high winds.

Shri Hare Krishna Mehtab, Shri R. K. Patil, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, from the Central Government, Shri Pant and other ministers of the U. P. State, Shriyuts P. C. Ghose, Acharya Kripalani, Purushothamdas Tandon, Pandit Sundarlal, Rameshwari Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Kaka Kalelkar, Mridula Sarabhai and many other important visitors attended the Sammelan.

The conference opened with Sutra Yajna and prayer on the 13th morning. Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju presided over the Sammelan. Many sevaks were given opportunity to express their feelings and ideas over many problems facing the nation. Those who could not have a chance on the first day got their time to speak on the 15th morning. This frank discussion by the sevaks who were active workers in the field was helpful for the crystalization of the views of the Sammelan. In the afternoon of 13th Shri Baba Raghavadas, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the sevaks. Later Acharya Kripalani opened the Sammelan with a thought-provoking speech. Shri Shankerrao Deo gave a brief report of the activity of the Samaj since the last Sammelan. It was followed by Acharya Vinobaji's speech. On the 14th and 15th all the discussions centred round the Bhoomi-dan Yajna and the problem of economic and social equality. The final proposition as drafted by the Sarva Seva Sangh in consultation with Vinobaji was read and discussed in the Sammelan on the 15th. There was naturally a consensus of opinion endorsing the basic ideas of the Bhoomi-dan Yajna and the Boycott movement. A free rendering of the Sangh's resolution is given elsewhere in the 2nd wrapper page.

The camp life was as usual very rigid with a tight programme from morning 4 a. m. till 10 p. m. As the number of visitors were the largest in this Sammelan it involved a great strain to the organisers. The sevaks took part as usual in safayi, cutting vegetables and other odd services.

The Khadi and Cottage Industries Exhibition was declared open by Shri Jajuj on the 13th morning. In the khadi section

all the processes were demonstrated to prove that one can easily earn two annas per hour or a Rupee per day if one does all the processes from cleaning of kapas up to weaving of khadi. There were all other industries from cutlery to bangles. Improved cottage machines for cane crushing and making bonemeal for field manure were also demonstrated in the Exhibition.

There was a general feeling of satisfaction among the Sevaks who attended the Sammelan that there emerged a national programme on the land problem with a specific target for the sevaks to fulfil. A radical non-violent solution of the land problem and the decentralized and self-sufficient economy most suited to the masses of India were for the first time accepted. Above all the Sarva Seva Sangh has come forward to implement Vinobaji's Bhoodan Movement. Shri Shankerrao Deo's full-time service with all his heart and soul for the Bhoodan movement is an invaluable acquisition to the Sangh. He has already put in his full energy to this movement going about from province to province explaining the non-violent revolution behind the Bhoodan movement and the necessity for a decentralized economy with all its implications in boycotting all mill-processed articles at least with regard to food and cloth.

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar who has been doing incessant propaganda by his writings and speeches during the last 3 years has found the natural realization of his mission since the Sarva Seva Sangh has now taken the mission of the Self-sufficient economics and the boycott movement that he has been preaching.

The Bhoodan movement is bound to make rapid progress in the course of the next year before the next Sammelan which is likely to be held in Bihar.

Vinobaji's daily prayer speeches in the evening and on special occasions during daily proceedings were heard with pindrop silence by thousands with devotion. His inspiring words of clarity and wisdom tempered in the heat of his spiritual *tapasya* gave a clarion call to the nation to follow his footsteps in the present economic revolution that he is leading. Let us become worthy of the great message and live and act up to the high ideals underlying the Bhoodan movement. ★ ★ ★

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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM: An Announcement

We are glad to announce that the Akila Bharata Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha, has decided at its meeting held on 29—4—'52 at Wardha, to open their Publication Department for South India. To start with, it has come forward to take over the entire Sarvodaya Publications of the A. I. S. A., Tamil Nad, with its two monthly magazines, **KHADDAR MALAR** in Tamil and **The KHADI WORLD** in English.

The A. I. S. A. has arranged to transfer the Sarvodaya Publications, Veerapandy, Tirupur, to the Sarva Seva Sangh with effect from 16th May, 1952, with all its present assets and good-will.

The A. I. S. A. Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tamil Nad, will be hereafter known as The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya of the Sarva Seva Sangh which will have its office at the same premises of the A. I. S. A., Veerapandy, Tirupur, for one year, till June 1953 when further expansion of publications in the other languages may compel the transfer of the Headquarters to a more suitable place with all necessary facilities.

We are confident that the readers of "The **Khadi World**" and the "**Khaddar Malar**" and our other publications will extend all their co-operation and encouragement for further development of the Sarvodaya Publications under the Sarva Seva Sangh, for the propagation of the Sarvodaya ideology.

All correspondence and remittances may be addressed to the 'Managing Editor, Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Veerapandy, Tirupur (S. I.)'

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