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JULY 1952

Vol. 2



No. 1



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THE SOUTHERN PUBLICATION SECTION

of the AKHILA BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH

The Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh is an all-India organization. Some of the leading constructive institutions created by Mahatma Gandhi have merged in while some others are federated to it.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has its publication department at Wardha.

The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya at Veerapandy, Tirupur functions now as the Southern section of the Publication Department of the Sarva Seva Sangh for publishing and distributing all Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature.

All publications of the All-India Village Industries' Association, Talimi Sangh, A. I. S. A., Go-Seva Sangh, Navajivan Trust, Vora & Co., Hind Kitabs Ltd., and others are available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya.

We are negotiating with other publishers in India and abroad dealing in Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature and we hope to stock all their books with us for distribution in the South.

TO OUR READERS

We regret that this first issue of the second year of *The Khadi World* could not appear in the new name of **SARVODAYA** as mentioned in our June issue. The necessary permission from the District Magistrate for the change of the name of the magazine is still awaited. We hope that we will be enabled to publish the August issue of the magazine as **SARVODAYA**.

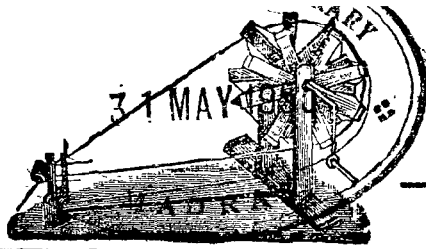
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The

KHADI



WORLD

Vol. 2

*

July

1952

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No. 1

DEDICATION

With the blessings and encouragement received from elders and fellow-workers in the constructive field "THE KHADI WORLD" could complete the first year with June and enter the second year of its life with this number. We express our deep gratitude to hundreds of readers in the various provinces and to a few friends in foreign countries like Mr. Wilfred Wellock, Mr. Gregg and others who have been sympathetically encouraging our endeavour.

When this was started in July 1951 it was our object to work towards the 'NEW KHADI EPOCH' in the words of Gandhiji. The Charkha is a symbol of resistance against the prevailing order and a medium for creating a new order. We have to go beyond the cotton threads that make the khadi fabric to study the philosophy and Sarvodaya concept of Mahatma Gandhi lying behind it which should form the real warp and weft of the new non-violent order of society that he was ever dreaming. The khadi cult comprehends all items of his constructive programme for the realisation of the fullness of life and society. Therefore, for us, the change in the name makes little difference. Khadi World and Sarvodaya are synonymous as Shri. Kishorelal Mashruwala says in his message to us and perhaps the latter will be more acceptable to the public. It was hoped that this number could emerge with the new name "SARVODAYA." But the formal approval of the District Magistrate has not yet come. The next (August) issue will be published in the new name even with some delay, if it becomes unavoidable.

It has been oft repeated that one phase of Gandhian revolution is over with the attainment of political freedom and that the other two phases of that revolution are yet to come for the economic and social freedom of the masses. It implies the need for the continuation of the non-violent revolution through which we won our political freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji. During these thirty years of political fight many of us would not have had the time nor the mind to deeply study and imbibe the non-violent message of Gandhiji, his way of thinking and living, his technique of individual and mass action, and his conception of the ideal way of life compressed in the magical words of 'Ram-Rajya.' Perhaps this transitional period is best fitted for a deeper study of all these for their proper evaluation, for re-interpretation and for their re-application to the economic and social problems of the hour that face us and the world today.

Gandhiji has left for us a great reservoir of his writings and speeches. They have a perennial value. Each word that he wrote and said years ago vibrates with a new life and vigour now and even the most familiar passages seem to us as newly written for the day. We have tried to draw liberally from these vast resources which throw a flood of illumination showing a way out from the present gloom and depression. Perhaps the degree of their import and influence on us today is a barometre in recording our progress.

There is also a growing literature on Gandhiji's life and philosophy either in the form of collections, reminiscences or studies and interpretations from many of his colleagues. We have not hesitated to draw from these sources to share them with our readers, which reveal the working of the inner mechanism of Gandhiji's mind and heart for our own guidance and inspiration.

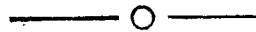
"The Khadi World" was intended originally to serve more as a Digest magazine for the existing leading journals like "Harijan" papers, "Sarvodaya" and others devoted to propagate Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology. It aimed at collecting, translating, editing and presenting materials in a way that may appeal to and propagate Gandhian philosophy and his non-violent revolution among the rising generation particularly among the students. It has aimed also in reminding the passing generation who had the privilege of taking part in Gandhiji's non-violent fight for political freedom, of their unfulfilled mission in life in respect of the economic and social freedom of the masses so that they may rededicate themselves for the now impending economic revolution in the Gandhian way. It is for the readers to judge how far this small journal could succeed in this great task within the short span of a year.

Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yajna seems to us to be the timely revival of the Gandhian Revolution for the economic freedom of the masses and this has become indeed the chief mission of our journal. We only regret that we could not translate more of his speeches and give them in our monthly issues. His speeches are on a high intellectual and moral level and will evidently appeal to the intelligentsia and the propertied classes and touch their conscience to voluntarily and quickly act before India has to face a violent mass upheaval that the world is too familiar with.

We are sorry that the Khadi World could not approximate even to the standard we have set up before ourselves owing to various difficulties and obstacles we had to encounter on our way. It could not be truly a digest magazine covering larger number of subjects within its small compass for want of adequate assistance. Nor could the scope of the journal be enlarged to cover all the items of Gandhiji's constructive programme owing to the limitation of the size and price of the journal.

We are much indebted to the Trustees of the Charkha Sangh for giving us all encouragement and facilities to start and develop this English journal along with the Tamil Journal "Khaddar Malar" in addition to the large publication section, Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, under the auspices of the A. I. S. A. Our thanks are due to the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh who have kindly come forward to adopt both "the Khadi World" and "Khaddar Malar" as their own under the new name of Sarvodaya and take over the entire Sarvodaya Prachuralaya as the Southern Section of their Publication Department.

The change of the name and the publishers has added to our responsibility as it has aroused new hopes among the public. We pray to God that He may grant us enough faith and zeal to rededicate ourselves to this great mission and serve to the best of our ability with all humility, love and devotion so that this small journal may become a worthier medium for the propagation of the Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology.



★ Mass Production and Production by the Masses ★

MAHATMA GANDHI

(An American Journalist's interview with Gandhiji in London in 1931)

FORD'S VIEW OF MASS PRODUCTION

An American journalist had a very interesting discussion on mass production with Gandhi. About a year prior to the meeting, the journalist had met Henry Ford and in the course of conversation had mentioned to him his view, that the current European conditions were opposed to the continuance of mass production. Ford had replied that those conditions were to pass away in a short time and a demand for cheaper things would spring up. "It is a question of raising the standard of living of the people," observed Ford. "Do you feel, Mr. Gandhi," the journalist asked, "that mass production will raise the standard of living of the people?"

THE SATURATION POINT IN MASS PRODUCTION

"I do not believe in it," he said, "there is tremendous fallacy behind Mr. Ford's reasoning. Without simultaneous distribution on an equally mass scale, the production can result only in a great world

tragedy: Take Ford's cars. The saturation point is bound to be reached soon or late. Beyond that point, the production of the cars cannot be pushed. What will happen then? Mass production takes no note of the real requirement of the consumer. If mass production were in itself a virtue, it should then be capable of indefinite multiplication. But it can be shown that mass production carries with it its own limitations. If all countries adopted the system of mass production, there would not be a big enough market for their products. Mass production must then come to a stop."

"I wonder", proceeded the journalist, "whether you feel that this saturation point has already arrived in the western world. Ford says that there never can be too many articles of quality, that the needs of the world are constantly increasing and that while there might be saturation in the market for a particular commodity, the general saturation would never be reached."

PROBLEM OF DISTRIBUTION

"Without entering upon an elaborate argument," said Gandhi, "I would categorically state my conviction that the mania of this mass production is responsible for the world crisis. Granting for the moment that machinery may supply all the needs of humanity, still, it would concentrate production in particular areas, so that you would have to go in a roundabout way to regulate distribution, whereas, if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation."

DECENTRALIZATION BY ELECTRIC POWER

The American journalist mentioned Ford's favourite plan of decentralization of industry by the use of electric power conveyed on the wires to the remotest corner, instead of coal and steam, as a possible remedy, and drew up the picture of hundreds and thousands of small, neat, smokeless villages, dotted with factories, run by village communities. "Assuming all that to be possible," he asked, "how far will it meet your objection?" "My objection will not be met by that," replied Gandhi, "because, while it is true that you will be producing things in innumerable areas, the power will come from one selected centre. That, in the end, I think, would be found to be disastrous. It would place such a limitless power in one human agency that I dread to think of it. The consequence for, instance, of such a control of power would be that I would be dependent on that power for light, water, even air, and so on. That, I think, would be terrible."

THE PROBLEM OF TOO MUCH MACHINERY IN AMERICA AND EUROPE

"Mr. Gandhi," the journalist continued, "this is particularly appropriate moment, it seems to me, for you to be visiting London, because, apart from the political questions, it seems to be a time when the western world is disillusioned in regard to machinery in general, in regard to the mass production system we have built up in Germany and America in particular, and people are feeling somewhat bewildered and doubtful as to their value and asking themselves whether we have not, after all, overdone it. Have you any idea as to what Europe and America should do to solve the problem presented by too much machinery?"

"You see," remarked Gandhi, "that these nations are able to exploit the so-

called weaker or the unorganized races of the world. Once these races gain this elementary knowledge and decide that they are no more going to be exploited, then they will be satisfied with what they can provide themselves. Mass production, then, at least where the vital necessities are concerned, will disappear."

"As a world organization?"

"Yes."

"But even these races will then require more and more goods as their needs multiply."

"They will then produce for themselves. And when that happens, mass production, in the technical sense in which it is understood in the West, ceases."

AMERICA HOLDING THE WORLD BY MASS PRODUCTION

"You mean to say it becomes local."

"When production and consumption both become localized the temptation to speed up production, indefinitely and at any price, disappears. The endless difficulties and problems that our present day economic system presents would then come to an end. Take a concrete instance. England today is the cloth shop of the world. It needs to hold world in bondage to secure its market. But under the change I have envisaged, she would limit her production to the actual needs of her forty-five millions of population. When that need is satisfied, the production would necessarily stop. It won't be continued for the sake of bringing in more gold, irrespective of the needs of a people and at the risk of their impoverishment. There would be no unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few, as is happening in America. America is today able to hold the world in fee by selling all kinds of trinkets, or by selling her unrivalled skill, which she has a right to do. She had reached the acme of mass production, and yet she has not been able to abolish unemployment or want. There are still thousands, perhaps, millions of people in America who live in misery, in spite of the phenomenal riches of the few. The whole of the American nation is not benefitted by this mass production."

"The fault lies in distribution," said the journalist. "It means that, whilst our system of production has reached a high pitch of perfection, the distribution is still very defective. If distribution could be equalized would not mass production be sterilized of all its evils?"

THE INHERENT EVIL IN THE SYSTEM

"No," said Gandhi, "the evil is inherent in the system. Distribution can be equalized, when production is localised' in other words, when the distribution is simultaneous with production. Distribution will never be equal so long as you want to tap other markets of the world to dispose of your goods. That does not mean that the world has no use for the marvellous advances in science and organization that the western nations have made. It only means that the western nations have to use their skill. If they want to use their skill abroad from philanthropic motives, America would say, 'Well, we know how to make bridges, we won't keep it a secret, but we say to the whole world, we will teach you how to make bridges and we will charge you nothing.' America says, 'Where other nations can grow one blade of wheat, we can grow two thousand.' Then, America should teach that art free of charge to those who will learn it, but not aspire to grow wheat for the whole world, which would spell a sorry day for the world indeed."

STATE CONTROL IN RUSSIA BASED ON FORCE

He next asked Gandhi, referring to Russia, whether it was not a country that had developed mass production without exploiting the less industrialized nations or without falling into the pit of unequal distribution.

"In other words," remarked Gandhi, "you want me to express opinion on state-controlled industry, that is, an economic order in which the production and distribution are controlled and regulated by the state as is being done in Russia. Well, it is a new experiment. How far will it ultimately succeed, I do not know. If it were not based on force, I would dote on it. But today, since it is based on force, I do not know how far and where it will take us."

"Then you do not envisage mass production as an ideal future of India," said the journalist.

MASS PRODUCTION BY THE MASSES IN THEIR HOMES

"Oh yes, mass production, certainly," observed Gandhi, "but not based on force. After all, the message of the spinning wheel is that. It is mass production, but mass production in people's own homes. If you multiply individual production to millions of times, would it not give you mass production on a tremendous scale? But I quite

understand that your 'mass production' is a technical term for production by the fewest possible number through the aid of highly complicated machinery. I have said to myself that that is quite wrong. My machinery must be of the most elementary type which I can put in the homes of the millions. Under my system it is labour which is the current coin, not metal. Any person who can use his labour has that coin, has wealth. He converts his labour into cloth, he converts his labour into grain. If he wants paraffin oil, which he cannot himself produce, he uses his surplus grain for getting the oil. It is exchange of labour on free, fair and equal terms — hence it is no robbery. You may object that this is a reversion to the primitive system of barter. But is not all international trade based on the barter system?"

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

"And look, again, at another advantage that this system affords. You can multiply it to any extent. But concentration of production *ad infinitum* can only lead to unemployment. You may say that the workers thrown out of work by the introduction of improved machinery will find occupations in other jobs. But in an organized country where there are fixed and limited avenues of employment only, where the worker has become highly skilled in the use of one particular kind of machinery, you know from your experience that this is hardly possible. Are there not over three millions unemployed in England today? A question was put to me only the other day: 'What are we going to do with these three millions unemployed?' They cannot shift from factory to field in a day. It is a tremendous problem."

NOT A SWORN ENEMY OF MACHINERY

"Some people have the impression," the journalist said, "that you are a sworn enemy of machinery in general."

"That is quite wrong," said Gandhi, "Spinning wheel is also machinery. It is a beautiful work of art. It typifies the use of machinery on a universal scale. It is machinery reduced to the terms of the masses."

"So, you are opposed to machinery, only because and when it concentrates production and distribution in the hands of the few," finally summed up the journalist.

"You are right," said Gandhi, "I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me."

(From 'MAHATMA - LIFE OF MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI' Vol. 3 - by D. G. Tendulkar - published by Times of India, Bombay - Price Rs. 25)

★ **Kashi-Sevapuri Sarvodaya Sammelan** ★
VINOBAJI'S SECOND DAY (14th April '52) SPEECH

NO REST TILL THE MISSION IS FULFILLED

For the last one year you have been seeing me roaming about like the horse of the Aswamedha Yaga. Now friends suggest that I may take some rest here. This reminds me of the words of Hanuman, "Until I fulfil Rama's mission, where is rest for me?" Where is time to take rest for one who is engaged in good work? Due to this Sammelan I had to stay here for three to four days. It is not for rest. Daily new experiences come to me and by that I learn new things. Among those, the greatest is this: The humbler we become, the greater will be the success and purity behind the work. Without humility it is impossible to achieve our object through pure means. So I daily pray to God "Be whatever Thy Will, make me merely Thy tool." Gita has taught us that we should do our work without any expectation of the result whether it be less or even nil.

I AM A BIKSHU AS WELL AS A CLAIMANT

A Bikshu (beggar) gets more on some days and less on other days. He has trials every day. In my own capacity I claim I am a 'bikshu' and do begging every day. But as a representative of all the poor in the country, I claim land as a matter of right. Thus I do this work of a double nature, i. e. one of begging and the other of claiming a right.

In my individual capacity as a beggar, it produces its own effect on me sometimes. At times I feel delighted or excited. Then I think and realize that that day is lost for me and spent in vain. Both exubance and excitement are evils. I feel peace only on those days when my mind keeps the balance. Those days alone, I feel, are well spent.

SOLEMN DECLARATION AND THE STRENGTH BEHIND IT

We have made the declaration here today to collect 25 lakhs of acres. It is a serious and solemn one. We desire to give all this land to the landless poor. But we have neither the authority nor the power with us. There is not an inch of land with us. Then, on whose strength do we rely to achieve it? It is on the strength of those who own land. We should feel that we are 'they' and they are one with us. If we really desire to give, then they will also feel so. And we should identify ourselves completely with the

landless. So we are on one side one with the landlords and at the same time on the other side one with the landless. There is no conflict in the interest and well-being of both. The well-being of one is in the 'giving' and that of the other is in the 'taking.' We are devotees of both. We have to reduce ourselves to nothing in their presence.

SURRENDER OF THE EGO

We have to do this work in all humility. If we develop the spiritual force within us, good results will then follow. We should get rid of all selfishness and conceit. i. e. to annihilate the ego in us. If we aim at full success then the soul within us should act, that is, the 'we' in us should be completely surrendered.

THE TARGET OF 5 CRORES

When I came here to U. P. two to three persons like Baba Raghavadas and Karanbhai etc. joined me. What little work could be done here is through them. There was then a conference at Mathura. I had no idea that they were going to make a declaration there. They were thinking of taking a decision there to collect 10 lakhs of acres of land for U. P. Then I said, "Ten lakhs are too much. My target for the whole of India is only 5 crores. This land of Ganga and Yamuna is only one-fifth of the whole of India. So U. P's quota is only one crore" and I told them to collect only 5 lakhs for the first instalment. I estimate that there are 30 crores of acres of cultivable land in the whole of India. If a family consists of five members, then Daridranarayan should be included as the sixth one. So this sixth member is entitled to one sixth i. e. 5 crores on the whole.

RAJABHOGAM (KING'S OR STATE'S DUE) IS THE SIXTH SHARE

It is the custom amongst us that the King should be given one sixth. Our king is the Daridranarayan—the poor. There is their blessing on us. They nurse and feed us. By their grace we live. By giving to the poor this one-sixth we keep up the rule of our ancient justice and there is their gratitude. Thus he should be taken as the extra one member to every family of five.

There is a story of Mohammed. He was wandering in the forest with two of his disciples. Then an army of the enemies

came nearby. The disciples said, "The enemies are many in number, we are only three." Mohammed replied, "We are not three. We are four. The fourth is not visible, but He is strong." Similarly I tell people "You are not five only in your house. There is also the sixth there and he is the Daridra-narayana who is strong also."

ONE SARVODAYA FAMILY IN EACH VILLAGE

In U. P. there are over one lakh of villages. If 5 acres can be collected from each village, then it will come to 5 lakhs of acres. Then in each village a Sarvodaya family can be established. I cannot say that the problem can be solved or not by this 5 crores. The solution is in the hands of God. *I have no contract!* My work is only to create an atmosphere. The responsibility of the future rests in God's hands and He will fulfil it.

CREATING THE ATMOSPHERE

If one Sarvodaya family is established in each village then it will create there an atmosphere. Wherever I go I make the people to consider me as their son or brother and leave a share for me in each family. And till today I have got 75,000 acres of land in U. P. Another 25,000 acres I have received from other provinces, and the total is one lakh.

PEOPLE'S SYMPATHY AND CO-OPERATION

Besides this one lakh of acres of land there is another thing of greater importance that I could receive from the people. That is their sympathy and co-operation. The U. P. Provincial Congress Committee have appealed to the people in U. P. to give all help to this Bhoodan Yajna. They observed a Bhoodan Week even. At Delhi, our Rashtrapathi, (the President) offered some of his lands to this Yajna. I consider it as a great blessing. He is a living embodiment of the culture and civilization of our land. Baba Raghavadas himself offered some lands. He had no lands with him, but some days back he received some allowance as a member of the Assembly and with that money he decided to buy land and offer. Besides, our revered Rishi Tandonji has bestowed on us his blessings. When he came to Paunar two years back he told me of his plan and I liked it. What is being done at Paunar is a model of it. I hope that Tandonji will guide and direct the work in this province of U. P. I had a hint of it when I was talking with Alagurai Sastri, the Secretary of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee. Shri Sastri is a very humorous man. He said, "All the other workers of our Province are engaged

in the important work of election. In our place there is only one individual who is unemployed and his name is Purushotham-das Tandon!" Today we have got his blessings. Pandit Jawaharlalji has demonstrated his sympathy through his letter of message. Acharya Kripalaniji, the K. M. P. Chief came here and gave his blessings. His colleagues are now our co-workers. In many places, the Socialist friends co-operated with us. One of their responsible workers was with us for two months. The Communists in one or two places presented us with welcome addresses. They said that by this method of my work success would not come and that they would be happy if it succeeds. The communists are sincere and they have the good quality of 'realism.' I had a little experience of it here in Uttar Pradesh. In one place we got lands through a communist friend. So I hope that, if not today, on some other day we will be able to carry conviction to the communists and have them also along with us. Because they have the desire in their hearts for service. Like this in many places the socialists, the communists, the Jana Sangh, all these people are assisting us in this work.

SARVA SEVA SANGH

All these facts I have given you for information. The Sarva Seva Sangh has accepted them. The Sarva Seva Sangh is the institution that has to do the actual work. Sarvodaya Samaj is only a brotherhood of co-thinkers. Sarva Seva Sangh has no party politics in it. They discuss about political matters but do not actively partake in it. Their activity and work is that of active service. Now they have made this declaration to collect 25 lakhs of acres.

They appeal for love and social co-operation. They have made the declaration not entirely depending on my strength, or that of their members, or of the Sarvodaya Samaj, but on the strength of everyone in the country. The benevolence of the rich and the earnest desire of the poor will give them strength to fulfil it. The co-operation of every one is necessary for the success of the mission. Our Rishis have taught us that the same one God resides in the rich as well as in the poor. The Grama - Panchayats, Government authorities, all of them can partake in this mission and contribute their mite.

NO KIND OF IMPROPER PRESSURE

Extreme caution is necessary. There shall be no kind of improper coercion on those who own lands to make them offer it

to the Yajna. People tell me that wherever I go, more work is done and that is due to my presence. Moral pressure is the natural result of man's humility and good behaviour. In fact it is not pressure, but influence. It is the influence of Ahimsa (non-violence). Such an influence is necessary for the progress of our work.

OBJECTION TO THE WORD 'DAAN'

Some friends object to the use of the word 'Daan' ('gift') in this work. Scholars in the science of words never give up old words. They instil new meanings into them and add more force to them. They understand the dignity and sense in them. Now people who have no right of estate over them, have begun to abuse and misuse them. Why should we think that they have the right to abuse the words 'Daan' (gift), 'Upakar' (service), 'Daya' (kindness), 'Sanyas' (renunciation) etc. and we have no right to use them in the accepted good sense? Again, some friends say "We do not like the word 'Daan', we dislike the word 'Upakar', we are not pleased with the word 'Sanyas' " and yet they do not create any new similar good words to substitute them. If we go on giving up old words, then our shastras and the treasures hidden therein, will be lost to us one by one. We have to preserve the old words, paint them brighter and instil new and good sentiments and force in them. Our ancient philosophers are experts in this art. Shri Sankara, explaining the word 'Daan' has said, "*Daanam samvibhag.*" Shri Sankara was no economist. Yet 1300 years back, he gave it this meaning which any economist of today will respect and accept. Samvibhag means, "There shall be no injustice or conflict in division and there shall be equality in distribution." In this definition Sankara has shown us the knowledge he got from our ancients.

In our country 'Daan' is considered as one of the items of our daily duties of life. 'Daan' means that one should not allow 'Dhan' (money) to remain with him. Just like a foot-ball, it should be passed from one to another. It should be equitably distributed by constant circulation. In fact there is no necessity at all to give a new meaning to this word. We see bad meaning in the word 'Daan' because we have no knowledge of our ancient culture, neither do we care to understand and practise it. In Gita, Yajna (sacrifice); Daan (gift), Thap (penance) these three words are mentioned. If we were to leave out these three words, then there will be nothing left in Gita. Our life then will

become dull and useless and we won't be able to do any work at all.

Gita teaches us this art of instilling new meanings in old words. All of our leaders who were brought up in our ancient culture and loved its civilization, drew all their words from our ancients. Tilak Maharaj drew all his words from Gita. Gandhiji also did the same. Our philosophers like Sankaracharya, Ramanand etc. took inspiration from Gita. Even Gnaneswar, the great revolutionist and *avathar purusha* quoted Gita as his authority.

QUALIFICATIONS OF BHOODAN WORKERS

In this Bhoodan Yajna gentleness and purity of mind is the real approach. Every one in the country is entitled to do this work. But, free from the expectation of the results, the worker should dedicate himself and everything of his life to this cause. He should be very humble and surrender completely the 'ego' in him. There *should not be a harsh or rude word in his speech*. If all join together and exert their full mite, then this work is possible. Every one in the country desires it and there is the thirst for it. My one prayer to God is this: "If Thou entrust me with this work, then free me from all egotism and make me fit to do it." *We should not insult any. We should respect all. We should enhance the prestige of every one.*

ABSOLUTE CONCENTRATION NECESSARY

Unless there is absolute concentration in our thoughts and acts this work will not succeed. Even though I am daily attending to my other duties, I centre all my thoughts on this work alone. New lights come to me as I proceed on. I am myself surprised to know from where they come. These new discoveries make me realize more and more the strength of that 'Paramathma' (God). Every human being is capable of this realization and become humble.

BHOODAN WORK ALONE MAKES EVERY OTHER WORK FULL AND COMPLETE

It does not mean that workers who are already doing other items of constructive work, should give them up. We do not give up the work of eating. We do not give up spinning or wearing clothes. We do not abandon sleep. All this work we do daily. We do not give up any one of them. But all of them could be made full and complete only if we take up this Bhoodan work also. We should not think that we shall work for this if there is any leisure left after attending to all other duties. While eating, drinking and

spinning we should with concentration think of this Bhoomidan and work to advance it. This work is possible even in deep sleep. It is not an easy thing to get deep sleep. Our brain will not work if we do not sleep well. Sleep means peace for the mind. If it is there, then the Bhoodan Yajna work will progress well. It has to be taken that the day's work was not properly done if deep sleep did not come. All this means, in short, that we should exert all our Yoga-Sakthi (power of meditation) in this Bhoodan Yajna.

Just a week before I proceeded on from Delhi, I had an attack of fever. I had no knowledge of it in the beginning. When the people came to know of it, they called for the doctor. The doctor advised me to take Quinine. Then I said, "It is only a guest who has come. It will stay for three days and then will go away" It happened so. Thus without any medicine the fever disappeared. The people gave me the advice to take rest but to me rest is to advance forward, because I have identified myself with the work.

COTTAGE INDUSTRY AND BOYCOTT OF MILL GOODS

That part of the declaration relating to the boycott of mill-processed article is an important one. People ask me whether all the work will be over with the distribution of land. I say that with the distribution of land our work begins only. Earth is the mother who supports us. But land alone is not enough. Along with that there should be the cottage industry. Patil Sahib raised this question "If every one is employed in agriculture, then all industries will dwindle

down." My reply is that we will not give land to those who have their own occupations. To state in terms of the present order of society, the oil-monger will be there, the dhobi will be there, the blacksmith, the weaver the cobbler, all of them will be there. There is no idea to give them lands. *Those who have no occupation in life, those who desire to do agriculture work and know how to do it, to them alone land will be given.* If we do not make such a discrimination, even our Prime Minister can ask for land.

EVERY ONE SHOULD DO SOME AGRICULTURE WORK

One fact I do not wish to keep back from you. My ultimate objective and hope is that in our ideal order of society, every man shall be an agriculturist. Every one shall come in contact with nature. Even an administrator of law will do four hours of agricultural work. The rest of his time he will attend to the legal work. It will never be the order that one man should do the same work all throughout. I am really happy to hear what Tandonji stated before you. I too desire that every house should have a compound attached to it. Then the inmates can have the right and opportunity to work in the garden and produce enough vegetables for the family. Besides, there will be enough space to have clean lavatories etc. If this happens, as Tandonji hoped, the cities will naturally wither away. Tandonji has got the scriptural support for this hope. In our scripture Indra is called "Purandar." Purandar means one who tears asunder the cities. A day will come when that scriptural objective is achieved and Tandonji's desire fully realized. Then earth will have peace.

Free rendering from Hindi Original



INTELLECTUAL AND MANUAL WORK

MAHATMA GANDHI

Question :- Why should we insist on a Rabindranath or Raman earning his bread by manual labour? Is it not a sheer wastage? Why should not brain workers be considered on a par with manual workers, for both of them perform useful social work?

Answer :- Intellectual work is important and has an undoubted place in the scheme of life. But what I insist on is the necessity of physical labour. No man, I claim, ought to be free from that obligation. It will serve to improve even the quality of his intellectual output. I venture to say that in ancient times Brahmins worked with their body as with their mind. But even if they did not, body labour is a proved necessity at the present time.

"Harijan," 23-2-47

An Interview with Wilfred Wellock

S. M. NEKSATKHAN

Shri S. M. Neksatkhan of Bombay who is now on a study tour in England on co-operation and other subjects has sent the following interesting interview with Mr. Wilfred Wellock on the problems of the day which face the nations of the world. Mr. Wellock has made it clear that the only way to save the world from war is a balanced non-violent self-sufficient economy of Gandhian conception.

'THE KHADI WORLD'—THE NEED OF THE DAY

Q:- How do you like *the Khadi World* which is devoted to Sarvodaya? Its readers will be interested in knowing something about your recent activities.

A:- Yes, I like *the Khadi World*. I believe it is precisely the kind of journal that India is needing in the most critical transitional period. During the next twenty years India will make or mar her future, lay the foundation of a great and enduring civilisation or follow in the footsteps of the materialistic West, only to end in social revolution and in a world war that will to all intents and purposes put an end to civilisation. Mass-production Industrialism sacrifices man for quantity of goods and transforms him into a machine and mere consumer of goods and services, a bundle of uncontrollable appetites. Qualitative production on the other hand, makes man the master of the machine and so ensures the culture of human personality of persons whose spiritual qualities keep the body under control. The economy of the former ends in destruction and death, that of the latter in creativeness and abundant life.

FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH GANDHIJI

Q:- When and in what way you got interested in Gandhiji's life and work?

A:- My first knowledge of Gandhi was derived from several articles in "Unity," published by John Haines Holmes in New York and also a pamphlet by him which gave a descriptive account of his life and work in South Africa. This set me on a quest which never ceased. I then wrote to Indian publishers, in particular Ganesan, and got various pamphlets including Indian Home Rule. This was in harmony with my own thinking and writing and of course, it increased my enthusiasm still more. It was in the twenties that I first discovered Gandhi was moving in the direction of decentralisation and development of small communities. It was in Hind Swaraj that Gandhiji stated that Western

civilisation as it was manifesting itself was a satanic civilisation and which in due course would be self-destroyed. I learnt little more about Gandhiji's industrial and economic policy until I came to India in 1949, still acquired Gandhiji's writings I could get hold of, but these dealt chiefly with the development of non-violence as a principle for the winning of Swaraj. I followed closely the development of Gandhiji's non-violent techniques. This was natural because the winning of Swaraj was the immediate and all absorbing problem and this was reported in Britain because it was connected with British politics, we also heard a good deal about such matters as Gandhiji's championing of the depressed classes, the freeing of the women of India and the opposition to caste privileges. Things like these we knew but not the details of his Constructive Programme.

REVELATION DURING PACIFIST CONFERENCE

Q:- The World Pacifist Conference revealed to you much more about Gandhiji than you could expect to know about him from here, I suppose?

A:- Yes, the most interesting part of the Conference was at Shantiniketan where we spent most of the time listening to the close associates of Gandhiji. We knew from them the close relationship between Gandhiji's concept of Swaraj and the principles of non-violence and his concept of a peaceful social order and how to realise it. We learnt that in Gandhiji's view war was simply the outward manifestation of inward contradictions, within society and within individual person. Thus the causes of war had to be sought in the way of life and habits of the people. Thus landlordism in India and predatory capitalism in the West were leading to the same results. After the founding of the Communist State of Russia fear of communism has gradually become the second cause of modern wars. It now almost completely determines the politics of Western World. It is for producing far more

costly and ghastly preparations for war than what the struggle for the markets ever did. But, of course, it must be remembered that the rise of Communism is due to a predatory capitalism and an equally ruthless landlordism. Both Communism and capitalism are in practice materialistic systems which, together with the military systems to which they have given rise, are resulting in world shortages of food and raw materials which are leading towards world economic breakdown and indeed the Third World War, unless a saner social order can be brought into being.

The Indian associates of Gandhiji thus demonstrated that the conditions of peace in India as in the West were basically the same. My contribution to this problem was to show that just as decentralised economy was necessary to save India, it was also necessary to save the Western World from the perils into which Western Industrialism had carried it. East and West must therefore come down to a common programme.

GANDHIJI'S MESSAGE TO THE WEST

Q:- In what way did you try to interpret Mahatma Gandhi to the West after you came back from India?

A:- When I came back from India I disclosed these comparisons showing how Gandhiji had tried to save India. I explained Gandhiji's idea of the causes of war and of his efforts to prevent India from adopting western Industrialism with the "way of life" that goes with it, how instead he was working for a set up in which responsibility was so universally shared that the people had full control over their personal and social lives. Thus by raising the quality of village life men can develop their creative power which is not possible in a highly centralised system.

Britain and other western powers cannot carry on any longer the economy they had built up through the Industrial Revolution in the past, because all the primary producers throughout the world were now taking responsibility for producing their own goods and are now importing machinery to this end. In order to get that machinery they are reducing the import of manufactured goods to the lowest possible limit. Therefore, the world markets of the western powers are dwindling rapidly in the near future. Hence they will be compelled to adopt a reasonably balanced economy as between agriculture and industry. That is to say, a largely self-sufficient economy would in future be

developed in every country, throughout the world.

Q:- Is there any evidence of changed outlook in the Pacifists that war has many causes and that nothing except a total change of social structure is the only solution of lasting peace?

A:- Yes, quite strikingly. Naturally, so fundamental a change in outlook as this question implies, cannot be accomplished in a day. But once a few make it, others begin to have confidence in their own misgivings about the old way of seeing things. I find the evidence in the letters I receive advising me of conversion. Also in the meetings I am asked to address on my own interpretation of things, but most of all in the growing number of persons who are changing their values and in conformity with this change, their lives too. They are moving out of the money values of our materialistic civilisation into the spiritual values of a creative concept of civilisation. I am now more hopeful than I have been for a long time. Groups are now being formed of creative peace makers, Peace Builders etc.

REACTION ON WESTERN PATTERN OF ECONOMY

Q:- What are the likely effects of these changes on the present pattern of Western Economy?

A:- At present, the Western Powers, including Britain, shrink from facing these new facts because of their revolutionary implications. They hope against hope that somehow they will be able to secure their necessary markets. It is therefore unlikely on the present showing that many changes will be made until the old order shows signs of complete collapse they will then have to face the inevitable. If it turns out that they have delayed too long, there may be a social revolution. But if they act in time, they may suddenly realise that it is possible to adopt largely self-sufficient economy which will free them from the necessity of struggling for world markets, but will enable them to think in terms of a civilisation of high quality, with quality production and maximum development of human personality. Western mass production for cheapness has led to a situation in which the standard of living is determined by the amount of men's wages and the amount of goods and services they can consume. This is sheer materialism, the gospel of 'Eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die.' It implies growing demands for goods of every kind and vying as

to who shall have the best and the most of everything. This is proved by the high standard of consumption. However, the total available volume of the earth's resources is not sufficient to keep pace with the present rate of consumption, especially today when the awakening in the impoverished East justly demands its fair share.

WILL IT LEAD TO A WEST-EAST CONFLICT?

Q: Will this not lead to a West-East conflict?

A: Yes, It will lead to a more terrible conflict than the world has ever known, which in the age of atom bomb may easily hurl the world to the doom, unless both East and West realise in time that a peaceful world and an enduring civilisation cannot be achieved on the basis of a devouring materialism, such as exists in the West today and stands in danger of spreading to the ends of the Earth. The question is, can this spiritual interpretation of life prevail in this time?

THE CREATIVE REVOLUTION

Q: You have painted a dark picture but you do think there is a way out. You would say, 'take it, that it is the Gandhian way as revealed in his Constructive Programme for the East, and what I think you call the Creative Revolution, for the West.' They are

both based on the same human and spiritual concept; aren't they?

A:- Yes, absolutely. In the present situation, the only hope of mankind is in controlling its appetites and desires by means of spiritual values. These values can be best developed in small communities. The deepest satisfactions in life come from the expression of the human soul in the material things which constitute the environment of a civilisation. So, what we need is to produce the conditions in which the creative powers of man will find their greatest scope and satisfaction. Those conditions involve small communities which have complete charge of their way of life. These communities will co-operate for the purpose of exchanging ideas and enriching the common lives. Production will be in the hands of small groups. Everything produced will be of the highest quality, because education will teach that such production only will yield the qualities of mind and soul which are necessary to the achievement of abundant life. Quality and beauty will characterise everything that is produced. And to produce a useful and beautiful thing is to produce a beautiful soul. Man is what he does and he does according to what he believes in his inmost heart.

★ **THE KODAIKANAL SEMINAR** ★

WILLIAM AND KATHLEEN GREENE, Wardha

Seminars and training camps for students and others who have dedicated themselves for the reconstruction of Free India are a common feature today. Some camps are run under too much regimentation and discipline without any time or opportunity for free study and creative thinking. The following is a report of the Seminar at the hill station of Kodaikanal in South India under the guidance of Rev. R. R. Keithahn who has mastered the art of running Seminars and camps. The programme followed here and the suggestions given will be helpful to all those who organise such Seminars and camps in revising their method and technique.

During the month of April, the Friends Service Units sponsored two International Peace Seminars in India; one at Kodaikanal, the other at Dehra Dun. These Seminars were similar in organization and purpose to other Friends' Seminars being held in America and Europe during the summer months. The purpose is to bring together students and teachers from as widely different geographic backgrounds as possible to discuss the impediments to world under-

standing and world peace. This does not mean that only international problems are dealt with, because the home, the village and the nation are also arenas in which conflicts occur to the jeopardy of peace.

THE KODAIKANAL SEMINAR

A concrete example will illustrate how these Seminars function. The Kodaikanal Seminar may be taken as typical, although there is variety from one Seminar to another. The Kodaikanal Seminar was under the

direction of the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, from Gandhigram. There were six staff members, most of them college teachers, who were responsible for presenting material, guiding the students in their reading, and leading discussions on the general topics of the Individual and the Family, the Individual and the village, the Individual and the Nation, and the Individual and the World. Of primary importance, of course, were the thirteen students from colleges in Calcutta, Mysore, Bangalore, Madras, Madura and Ceylon with varying experiences and backgrounds.

For two weeks discussions were held at the Kodaikanal Ashram. During that time the Seminar was able to invite missionaries and other local people to give their personal experiences in China, Austria, England, Palestine, and Negro America. The final week of the Seminar was spent at Gandhigram. There it was possible to study actual village problems and to discuss Basic Education, Women's Welfare, and Rural Reconstruction with people who are actually engaged in such constructive work.

In addition to study and discussion, religious worship, work and recreation played important parts in the daily programme. Each morning at six the Seminar members gathered for an hour of silent meditation; each evening at six they again came together for inter-religious prayer and meditation. As far as possible, students did the necessary daily work, serving at table, washing dishes, cutting vegetables, sweeping floors and cleaning rooms. This "bread labor" was based on the conviction that one can neither have personal dignity nor insight into the problems of the working classes without doing menial labor oneself. Finally there was free time after 4 p. m. for sports or hiking, and after supper organized programs of games, singing, or informal talks about customs and habits of different parts of India.

It is natural to ask what precisely these Seminars accomplish. Few would claim that they have much influence on politicians or statesmen, even where the findings are given some measure of publicity. If these Seminars have any lasting effects it is in the lives of those who attend them. They are three such effects: (1) a broadened outlook, (2) an experience of creative learning and (3) change in attitude.

A BROADENED OUTLOOK

Like college students everywhere, Indian students tend to be provincial in

their outlook. Serious study and discussion can increase their knowledge of other parts of India and of other nations. Fellowship or community living probably does even more than study and discussion in this regard. Living face to face with Indians of different cultures and mother-tongues, with members of different religions, with foreigners from Europe, America and other nations of Asia, brings understanding better than books or talk alone. The adjustments, which each individual must make are instructive. By adjusting one's taste to common kitchen, one not only learns to live in the wider community but also begins to appreciate the difficulties of others in similar circumstances.

A second stage in this broadened outlook is a better understanding of one's place in society, an increased consciousness of how people are related to one another. Too often we think only of how the environment is related to us. The Seminars help us see things in their proper relationships without this egocentricity. For example, Seminar study can lift the veil which hides rural India from the huge number of college students who think only of the cities.

CREATIVE LEARNING

The second important effect which these seminars can have is a better way of learning. The educational system in India does not encourage independent thinking; rather, it reduces the student to note-taking and memorization, and prevents him from developing that self-confidence and critical intelligence which it is the purpose of genuine education to produce. In many ways the Seminars help the student to develop creative thinking in discussion; this is more important than well formulated conclusions. The student is encouraged to relate his own knowledge and experience to the specific problems discussed. He also learns to examine critically the statements made by adults or older students. At Kodaikanal it was found that the younger students did more thinking when, for discussion hour, they were separated from the more experienced students. Their interest in any subject increased as they took a more active part in the discussion. Fellowship on an equal footing with elder members was also an important factor in giving the younger more encouragement to express themselves.

CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

It should be emphasized that the Seminars do not try to "convert" people from their political, economic or religious

positions. What it does try to do is to replace prejudice and closed-mindedness with understanding and tolerance. Some students came to Kodaikanal hating Communism; others were decidedly anti-American. Discussion of America and of Communism gave these students a greater understanding of each. Ultimately they learned to appreciate the American's or the Communist's point of view without by any means adopting that view. Their opposition became based on understanding rather than unreasoning hatred. This new attitude is the only one upon which peace, local or international, can be constructed. Increased appreciation of rural India was also a very important thing for the students to gain. This was acquired both through an intense study of the importance of rural India and through field study in the villages near Gandhigram.

Lecturing very seldom causes the listener to change his attitudes; where he disagrees he simply closes his hearing and thinking. But discussion, properly conducted, can lead the student to a point where he is forced to see the contradictions in his own position. The method of Socrates remains the most efficacious tool in education. Fellowship can also help to change attitudes. The presence of likable Americans and Communists probably did more than discussion to demonstrate that an opponent can be a reasonable, sincere human being.

POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS

The perfect Seminar must not only have members from different geographical areas, but must include people representing the major forces in the world today, American, Communist and Gandhian, between whom

(Continued from page 14)

for himself and carry out this work therein in accordance with Vinobaji's method. Every worker should so arrange his programme that within these two years he can expect to visit every little village of his region at least once and personally deliver the message to the people there.

VINOBAJI'S YATRA

It was decided at Mathura on 1st November, 1951 to collect 5 lakh acres of land from Uttar Pradesh. Vinobaji has been touring the Province for reaching this target. He will be touring for about 2½ months more in that Province after the conference. Thereafter he will stay in U. P. at one place for about 2½ months of the rainy season. He expects that the U. P. target will be reached by that time. After the end of monsoon, he

understanding must be brought if there is to be lasting peace. The limitations of the Kodaikanal Seminar came largely from its personnel. Although the different provinces of India were fairly well represented, there was little difference in the background of the members, all of them coming from middle-class homes sufficiently wealthy to give them college education, none of them very close to farm or factory problems. Moreover, the students could not make the best use of the Seminar opportunity because of the poor training which Indian colleges had given them. They brought all of the evils of the system; remoteness from actual experience of economic conditions in India, meagre knowledge of the world and of the Indian village, tendency to sit passive and record the words of others or to display knowledge rather than use it. As is indicated above, some of these can be minimized if the Seminar seriously seeks to solve them.

In conclusion it might be stated that India is an excellent place for such Seminars. Not only is the need for such stimulation acute, but it is one of the few countries in the world in which problems can still be discussed without animosity. It was most heartening to see that the student with communistic idea was, after the discussion, as completely accepted in fellowship as any other member. Opposition in discussion did not carry ill-will into the Seminar fellowship itself.

It is greatly to be hoped that in addition to the Friends other groups will see the value of such Seminars and will in the future sponsor them in other parts of India.

THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

proposes to enter Bihar and tour through it till the next Sarvodaya Conference which is expected to be held somewhere in that Province in February, 1953. The Bihar workers have expressed their intention to obtain 4 lakhs acres of land from their Province by that time. We should all concentrate upon this work in our respective Provinces also according to the same method, and should hope rather to overreach the target fixed for that Province than keep under it before the date of the next Conference.

I myself propose to walk in parts of every Province, except U. P. and Bihar, during the period. I earnestly hope that I shall get the co-operation of all my countrymen in this work. ★ ★ ★

★ THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT ★

Appeal to Provinces to fulfil the Target

SHANKARRAO DEO, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh

Dear Friends,

You are aware, that we resolved at Sevapuri to obtain gifts of 25 lakhs (2.5 million) acres of land in the course of the next two years. On the day following this resolution, we proceeded to take two steps.

COMMITTEE FOR EACH PROVINCE

The first was to appoint a Committee for every Province. In choosing its members, our effort was to appoint only such people who had a moral influence upon the people of their province and enjoyed their confidence, and who would perform this duty with a pure motive. For convenient and easy disposal of work, the Committees are generally small ones, consisting of only 5 to 7 members each. The resolution directed that the Committees shall be appointed with the approval of Shri Vinoba. For such of the Provinces for which it had not been possible at Sevapuri to appoint a Committee or all the members for it, the Sarva Seva Sangh was authorised to do so with the approval of Shri Vinoba. So far Committees have been appointed for all the Provinces except Andhra, Kerala, City of Bombay and Mysore.

TARGET FOR EACH PROVINCE

The other step was to fix a target for each Province for the fulfilment of the total target of 25 lakhs acres. Such targets have been fixed for all the Provinces except Assam, Orissa, Karnatak, Kerala, Gujarat, Bombay city, Mysore and Saurashtra.

Immediately after returning from Sevapuri to your own Province, you were required to do two things: (i) to appoint a Convener of your committee; and (ii) to convene a Conference of such people of your Province as sympathised with this mission, and were expected to give their hearty co-operation to it. The principal object of such Conference is to obtain the consent and co-operation of the people of the Province to the resolution made at Sevapuri. A general programme and division of work among the members and friends for carrying out the mission throughout the Province should also be decided upon in this Conference. Responsibility for carrying out each item of the work should be entrusted to definite individuals.

TWO ITEMS OF WORK IN VILLAGES

There are two main items of work which have to be carried out under the Sevapuri Resolution: namely, (i) to obtain land-gifts and distribute them to the landless, and (ii) to encourage village industries. Both of them are to be carried out mainly in villages.

THE DUTY OF THE URBAN PEOPLE

But that does not mean that there is nothing to be done in urban areas. There are so many people in towns and cities, who own lands in villages, or who, even if they do not possess their own lands, can purchase them from those who have and make a gift of them for this cause. They should be approached and appealed to for doing so. Further, they can also contribute in cash or kind for providing the resourceless recipients of land-gifts with implements, tools, wells and the like to enable them to cultivate their lands advantageously. This part of Bhoodan-Yajna is well adapted for urban areas, and should be attended to.

A MORAL MESSAGE

The altar of the *Bhoodan-Yajna* is in the villages. Hence the plan of our work must be so laid that we shall come into direct touch with the people, and convey to every village the message of the *Bhoodan-Yajna*, which is a gospel for awakening the sense of social equity of the people. Even as hundreds of lights might be kindled from one lighted torch, so it must be with the propagation of a moral message. The other torches are kindled by being brought into close contact with the lighted one. Similarly in order to carry this message, we must meet the people directly. Accordingly, Vinobaji has adopted the method of the walking tour in order to propagate his message.

APPEAL WITH HUMILITY AND LOVE

And even as the lighted torch touches the unlighted one very gently, our appeal to the people must be made with great humility and love in order to touch their cords. This is the best and most effective method and *sevaks* and workers should follow it as fully as possible. With this object, I had suggested at Sevapuri that every member of the Committee for each Province and every *sevak* should select a definite region.

(Continued on page 13)

★ SHOULD KHADI BE SOLD TO THESE? ★

THE DUTY OF KHADI WORKERS

MAHATMA GANDHI

A Khadi worker writes:

"I give below a recent conversation between the manager of a Khadi Bhandar and some customers. Should Khadi be sold to such persons?"

"Q:- 'Is this yarn spun by you?'"

"A:- 'No. I have bought these 8 hanks for Rs. 10."

"Q:- To a second customer: 'Are you able to spin all this yarn?'"

"A:- 'No. This is spun by my daughter. We sell yarn too at the rate of 12 annas per hank.'

"Q:- To a third: 'You cannot buy Khadi unless you produce the requisite quantity of yarn.'

"A:- 'It does not matter. So long as I cannot get the yarn, I will buy uncertified Khadi.'

"Q:- To a fourth: 'Why do you buy Khadi?'"

"A:- 'Because it is easy to procure.'

"Q:- To a fifth: 'You are not a regular wearer of Khadi. What will you do with what you have bought?'"

"A:- 'Today Khadi is looked upon as being in the fashion.'

"Q:- To a sixth: 'You do not spin yourself. From where then comes this yarn?'"

"A:- 'A good friend of mine always provides me with yarn.'

"Q:- To a seventh: 'Why do you always wear either silk or wool Khadi?'"

"A:- 'Because I do not have to give yarn for these.'

"Q:- To an eighth: 'You have bought a large quantity of Khadi. What will you do with it all?'"

"A:- This will last me two or three years. After that it will be seen whether I can get any or not."

The above questions and answers are revealing. If the new policy in regard to Khadi is correct and Khadi customers are of the above nature, it proves the necessity for the abolition of the Khadi clause from the Congress constitution. It is worthy of note that the questions and answers concern eight persons. The Charkha Sangh need not cater for the needs of a single one of them. The Spinners' Association exists only for the poor. Those who wear Khadi, do so either for the sake of the poor or for winning Swaraj or both. The eight customers mentioned above are concerned with neither. If the Charkha Sangh is to prove the rightness of the ideal for which Khadi stands, then its workers must be loyal enough to the new policy and not fear even the closing down of the sales Bhandars. They must have the strength to bear any consequences in order to set right the mistakes of the past.

The above conversation also holds a warning to the managers of the Bhandars to be wide awake. They should become experts in the science of Khadi and be prepared to teach the customers the inner meaning of Khadi with patience and humility. This may take time but it is worth-while. If there is faith in the power of Khadi I have no doubt that we shall remain steadfast and thereby inspire others to the belief also. But if workers themselves lack faith then the claim for Khadi will fall to the ground.

I have taken for granted that the conversation has been truly reported.

"Harijan," June 9, 1946

A TRUE NAI TALIM TEACHER

The teacher of *Nai Talim* will be a craftsman educationist, not merely one for the sake of his pay. Pay or salary is a bad word. He is a workman worthy of his hire. His wife and children too will also be workers. Only thus will true co-operation be born. Only thus can *Nai Talim* spread in every village in India.

GANDHIJI — "Harijan," 9-11-'47

★ Vinoba Bhave — 'A Typical Product of India' ★

'A Man Equal to the Challenge of his Times'

Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement is attracting the attention and admiration of many nations of the world. Here is an extract from the paper "India and Israel" which describes Vinobaji's movement as an unique one and characteristic of the genius and culture of India. Writing under the caption "India remains a land of wonders" The paper pays a rich tribute to the work and mission of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

India, cannot be gauged by Western standards alone. Machines and technical implements may change the face of this ancient country which in the course of time may conform in outside appearances with other so-called modern States. But all this will prove a thin veneer only on the unfathomable spirit of India, where great changes and developments are still possible today and will be possible tomorrow—without the help of technical devices, without the whole regalia of modern civilisation.

There is one man on a walking tour in these days. From village to village he goes, clad in his simple *dhoti* bent upon his stick. He collects land—land from big landowners for distribution to landless labourers. There is no force behind him; no law of any kind comes to his assistance. His sole and only weapon is his personality, his simplicity and his ability to appeal straight to the heart of the hardest people.

More than one hundred thousand acres have been given so far to this great land reformer — and this figure is rising day by day.

This man, who is making news today, is Acharya Vinoba Bhave, one of Gandhi's disciples. His success is unbelievable—at least in countries where the whole complicated machinery of a democratic State has to be moved in order to achieve similar results—and unbelievable likewise in countries where the strong might of dictatorial power is needed to uplift the poor at the expense of the wealthy.

There have been many men in India's history whose pilgrimages have changed the face of the country. The latest and, but for Gautama Buddha, greatest example was Mahatma Gandhi. No Indian will easily

forget the autumn of 1947 with the terrible days of frenzied slaughter following partition. Nowhere was the position more desperate than in Bengal's Noakhali district at the time when Gandhi started his walking tour through the countryside. He walked without arms and without escort. He spoke to the people and there was peace and an end of the fratricidal slaughter.

Vinoba Bhave is 56 years old. He follows in his life ancient Hindu traditions and as an ascetic is under a vow of celibacy. Gandhi very early already discovered the great potentialities of his disciple and chose him to start the civil disobedience campaign in 1940.

The Government of India is trying hard to effect a land reform and to overcome vested interests and legal hurdles. It is the great achievement of Vinoba Bhave to keep the need for land reform constantly before the public eye — and to prove by his deeds that it is possible to regenerate India's village life by providing the class of landless labourers, which has grown to dangerous proportions with land providing food for their under nourished families.

Vinoba Bhave has proved that the true India can be stirred by selfless, humble men—without the trappings of governmental power.

Vinoba Bhave would certainly be the first man to indignantly protest against his being placed on a par with his great master. But Gandhi's equal or not, he is important evidence that Gandhi was not unique, but was a typical product of the India which in her own inimitable way in every crisis produces a man equal to the challenge of his times.

★ THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND OUR CATTLE WEALTH ★

A CRITICAL STUDY AND SUGGESTION

P. P. GUPTA

THE PROBLEM OF GRAZING GROUND

The chief cause of our abundant cattle wealth in the past and their maintenance in rich and excellent types was the presence of plenty of good grazing ground for their use. Their quality has deteriorated ever since grazing grounds began to be converted into cultivated land for growing food for human beings without making the alternative provision of producing sufficient fodder for the cattle. As recently as 50 or 60 years ago good cattle were available in South India, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Punjab and Sind, because good pasture lands were available there. Today our cattle are so under-fed and deteriorated that most of them have become a burden to the society. No one seems to consider seriously how it would be possible to replace the food lost by our cattle, when the land which used to produce fodder and grass for them has been utilised for growing food for man and cash crops. The Government too, does not seem to have a clear idea of the problem as it exists in India. The authors of the Five Year Plan have failed to make provision for growing sufficient good fodder for cattle reared and used by those engaged in agricultural work.

BULLOCK POWER OR MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE ?

It is impossible to maintain even the present low agricultural production in India without keeping the bullock and his family in proper condition. If the intention of the authors of the Five Year Plan was to eliminate bullock power gradually and mechanize agricultural operations, they ought to have stated it clearly. Otherwise, they should have recognized the usefulness and importance of cattle by providing for the production of sufficient fodder of the desired quality for them in the draft plan. In order to tide over the present difficulty, tractors may be used temporarily to supplement the bullock power to a limited extent for breaking new land and eradication of weeds. But, as a general policy, clear expression should have been given to the importance of the bullock, and provision should have been made to produce sufficient food for our cattle and their develop-

ment in each and every organization created to increase agricultural production. They should also have chalked out a plan in it for maintaining the cattle in a fit condition preferably on the same lines as suggested for Human Agricultural Worker on page 107 of the plan.

THE PRESSURE ON LAND

We would be deceiving ourselves if we believe that the yield of food grains could be improved merely by reclaiming a certain acreage of land and adopting other measures for improvement without providing sufficient food to cattle. The plan states on page 76, that during the three years ending 1949/50, compared to the period immediately preceding the war, the yield per acre of food grain crops decreased from 619 pounds to 566 lbs. They have not assigned any convincing reason for this. It appears that the position of manure supply during this period was practically the same as before the war and irrigation facilities were better but still the yield per acre was reduced. The reason seems to be that the total cultivated area increased but the number of bullocks did not increase in the same proportion. Besides this the pressure on land for food and cash crops was so great that sufficient fodder crops could not be raised and other sources of fodder supply also decreased. This resulted in the under-feeding and under-nourishment of the bullock, its inability to cultivate the land to the extent it did before the war and the sowing of crops without proper preparation of seed beds which ultimately brought a reduction in yield. This fact is confirmed when we see that tractors are being used in increasing numbers for the last few years not only for breaking new land but also for ordinary cultivation work.

There is a great scope for improvement of food production and commercial crops. At present there is a difference of 2 to 10 times between their average production and the highest production in India. The average production in India of wheat is about 8 maunds, rice about 10 maunds, and sugarcane about 300 maunds in an acre, while

their highest production per acre is more than 50 maunds, 100 maunds and 3,000 maunds respectively.

THE MAGICAL EFFECT OF FODDER CROPS

The following extract from an article recently published in an important journal describes how the introduction of fodder crops produced wonderful results in other countries.

"In Italy where until very recently, an average farmer in the rice tract was as poor and ill-fed as his counterpart in India, the introduction of pastures of rye grass and clover and lucerne, in rotation with rice, magically improved his lot. He now keeps more livestock in his farm, sells the extra milk in the market and gets doubled rice yields. In South Africa, Elephant Grass, Rhodes grass and Guinea grass paved the way to lucrative agriculture. The introduction of burseem (Egyptian clover, a very good leguminous fodder) laid the sound foundation of agriculture in Egypt and enabled her to secure a prominent place in the cotton world. In Australia, the discovery of subterranean clover (a fodder crop) marked the beginning of a new, ever flourishing agricultural era and enabled her to become one of the greatest exporting countries in wheat, wool and milk products. In the U. S. A. when discussing increased production, one hears frequent reference to Kentucky, Blue grass, crested wheat grass, Dollis grass, K u d z u Vine, Lespedezas, Vatches and clovers (all fodder crops)."

These examples are so striking that they should be a source of inspiration to us in India in our drive towards self-sufficiency. What is required therefore, is a fundamental change in our outlook on fodder crops and the recognition of their utility in fulfilling at once the needs of soil, animal and man and therefore helping us in creating a healthy and prosperous nation.

MECHANIZATION NOT A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION

Mechanization of agriculture is not a practical proposition. Apart from the question of manufacture of so many tractors, their equipment and spare parts, there is no fuel oil in India and we shall have to depend upon foreign countries for its supply. If the transport of these stops due to any cause like the outbreak of war, or strike, or some similar circumstances we shall be nowhere. Moreover mechanization of agricultural operations would centralise agricultural production which stands completely decentralised

at present. Our Nation is starving for want of more milk and its products but if mechanization of agriculture is adopted, it would become impossible to maintain even the present milk production. The other alternative of rearing female cattle for milk and killing the males for meat is impossible in India. Our soil is starving for want of humus. Farm yard manure in the form of compost or otherwise is the best means for supplying the same. We shall be creating an additional problem of supplying humus to the soil, if we decide to mechanize agriculture and discard our cattle. The Sindri Artificial Fertilizer Factory is not going to help us in the absence of proper supply of humus to the soil.

NO PLAN FOR CATTLE AND THEIR IMPROVEMENT

The chapter devoted to animal husbandry in the Five Year Plan does not do justice to the subject. In paragraph 4 of the five year plan it has been admitted that "better feed can be produced by popularisation of mixed farming which in some cases will involve some diversion of the area under foodgrains to fodder crops. This reduction in the area will, however, be more than counter-balanced by greater yield due to better-fed bullocks working more efficiently and increased supplies of milk and milk products." The authors of the plan have recognized the principle of growing fodder for cattle even at the expense of diverting some foodgrain crops area to fodder crops but have not suggested any means to implement it. A detailed programme for growing proper food for our cattle and their improvement should be chalked out and included in the animal husbandry section as has been done for Agricultural Workers in the previous chapter

SUGGESTION OF A PLAN

It may be planned on the following lines:

1. The growing of a minimum quantity of fodder should be legally enforced, in the first instance, in those areas in which the level of feeding bovine cattle is found to be relatively low. State Governments should take early steps to determine such low feeding pockets in their territories and fix a suitable minimum feeding standard, care being taken to provide also the requisite administrative machinery.

2. A minimum feeding standard for cattle should also be prescribed for cattle used or reared on farms such as registered farms, cooperative societies farms etc.

★ GLIMPSSES OF GANDHIJI ★

GANDHI SEVA SANGH

R. R. DIWAKAR

The three years between 1932 and 1935 were years when there was a real trial of strength between the Congress and the Government. The latter had perfected its technique of repression and what it had failed to do or shrunk from doing in 1930-'31, it did with a vengeance in 1932-'34. Gandhiji along with Sardar Patel were clapped in jail early in January 1932.

Gandhiji came out in 1933 as a result of a fast but under a self-imposed vow not to engage himself in politics for a year. He devoted his time entirely to the Harijan tour that he undertook throughout India. There was talk in Government circles that Lord Willingdon felt elated by the thought that he had killed the Congress for good. It was, therefore, with confidence that he ordered the elections to the Central Assembly in 1935. What a surprise must it have been for him when he saw that 88 per cent of the general seats were captured by the Congress! The Congress though suppressed was very much alive, having taken root in the hearts of the millions of men and women of India.

PARLIAMENTARY PROGRAMME

Gandhiji always gave greater importance to work outside the legislatures and the elected bodies. But he too had realized that what was called the parliamentary programme 'had come to stay.' It could not

any longer be ignored. The general elections in the provinces according to the Government of India Act of 1935, were to be held in 1937. After long discussion with his colleagues he ultimately gave his consent for contesting the elections. The Congress could not afford to ignore the three crores of voters that had been enfranchised. They had to be kept within the fold. If I remember correctly, it was Rajaji who advanced this decisive argument which appealed to Gandhiji.

ORIGIN OF GANDHI SEVA SANGH

Though he agreed to the use of the legislatures Gandhiji never slackened his emphasis on constructive work outside them. The Gandhi Seva Sangh was, therefore, organized mainly on the initiative of Shri Jamnalal Bajaj and wholly through his efforts, and all tried workers who had served in the constructive field joined it. The question of giving a more definite shape and form to the Sangh was discussed some time in 1935 and it was decided to hold annual conferences at different places, in different provinces, when workers could stay together for a week and exchange notes.

SATYAGRAHA AND AHIMSA

There was an interesting discussion at Sevagram as regards the definition of Satyagraha and *Ahimsa*. Gandhiji refused to define Satyagraha. He said it was incapable of definition because it was ever growing.

(Continued from previous page)

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN AND OUR CATTLE WEALTH

3. It should be made compulsory to grow some fodder crops, preferably a legum, in between the food or commercial crops. It will also help to form a suitable rotation of crops.

4. A progressive cattle welfare policy be followed. It should be designed with a view to improve the rearing conditions and development of cattle, particularly in matters such as allotment of suitable area for growing green fodder for cattle, supply of drinking water, and suitable site for stabling cattle on collective basis. Beneficial legislation such as the one relating to the maintenance of a suitable bull in a village for breeding purposes should also be made

and applied. Facilities should be provided for disposal of surplus milk and its products produced there. Further, through suitable awards, prizes and in other ways encouragement should be given to inhabitants in the area to rear their cattle properly and to improve them. It should be the States' endeavour to produce among persons engaged in agricultural and cattle rearing pursuits the types of leadership and an understanding of the requirements of the cattle for keeping them in fit condition for the needs of the village community as a whole without which reorganization of the rural economy on lines described in the report may meet with serious difficulty. ★ ★ ★

We suggested that Satyagraha may be regarded as an intense search after truth through *Ahimsa*. But Gandhiji would not be satisfied with that. He said, it was too vague. He would not be satisfied unless the concrete shape and form in which *Ahimsa* was to be practised was also included in the definition and in the objects of the Sangh. Ultimately he had his way, as he always had, and he got the eleven vows of *Ahimsa, Satya, Asteya, Brahmacharya, Asangraha, Sharirashrama, Asvada, Bhayavarjana, Sarvadharm Samanata, Swadeshi* and *Sparshabhavana* specified as defining Satyagraha and the object of the Sangh.

In regard to the use of the word, *Ahimsa*, I observed that it was a negative concept unlike 'Love' or 'Charity.' I pleaded for the use of the word 'Love' or '*Prema*.' Though he seemed to agree with me at the outset, it was only to reject my plea the more strongly later! He said the word 'Love' or '*Prema*' was quite good and sweet, but it had baser associations with passion or desire. He argued that our animal nature being prone to *Himsa* we have to begin our *Sadhana* with abstinence from *Himsa*. *Ahimsa* was only seemingly negative, because its inevitable result was a positive attitude. He had used the word for thirty years; a host of ideas had become inextricably associated with that word, now transfigured by Gandhiji's practice of what he regarded as its content.

Gandhiji's arguments were unassailable. Still in the constitution of the Gandhi Seva Sangh as amended in 1935, the words, 'which included *Prema*' appear in brackets after '*Ahimsa*.'

THE FIRST CONFERENCE

The first Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference held in 1936 at Savali, a khadi production centre of Maharashtra, proved a huge success. Many workers from all over India who had gathered there found it a rare experience. Gandhiji was there of course, and he devoted one full hour every day to clearing doubts and answering questions. That was an education in itself.

CAPITALIZED FUNDS

He was against capitalized funds. He said the real capital to support a worker was the confidence and the good will of the people. For the Sangh, constructive activities were to be articles of faith. Truth and non-violence must not be accepted only as policy nor played with; they were to be the very breath of the Sangh.

The Congress may abandon either or both but the Sangh could never do so without dying. Only if the Sangh lived up to its ideal would it reach the final stage of Satyagraha, the acme of constructive effort, that would confer on it the capacity to offer civil disobedience with irresistible effect.

LEGISLATURE IS TO SUPPLEMENT REAL RURAL WORK

Regarding legislatures, he said that work in the assemblies should only be to supplement substantive work in the villages. The members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh had better not enter legislatures nor even the Congress organization if thereby they could avoid rivalry and bitterness.

The Gandhi Seva Sangh met again at Hudli in 1937. Many far-reaching decisions were taken at this Conference. One of the important questions discussed was whether members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh should be allowed to contest Congress and other elections. After prolonged discussions a 'permissive resolution' was adopted.

OFFICE ACCEPTANCE

A still more important question was the one of acceptance of ministerial offices in the provinces. Gandhiji evolved a formula at Hudli. He said, only if Governors of provinces declare they would not interfere with the ministry in their day-to-day administration, would the Congress be justified in accepting office. For more than three months the controversy raged, and ultimately Gandhiji's formula was accepted in a modified form and the Governors were supposed to have entered into a gentleman's agreement with the Congress ministries not to interfere. Congress thus demonstrated that it would never accept power which was illusory, nor tolerate interference in the legitimate discharges of its duties when in office.

On the last day of his stay at Hudli, we had organized a mass meeting of villagers. But unfortunately it was not very successful on account of the unmanageable crowd. Next day he was to leave the place. I visited his hut at about ten at night and lo, he was cleaning it himself and making up his bed. There was no one else in the hut. I seized the carpet from his hands to spread it for him. He looked at me and smiled. I helped him to make his bed, and then took leave of him as I was to start for Hubli next morning with Sardar Vallabhbhai.

REVOLUTION AND NATIONAL GENIUS

ACHARYA KRIPALANI

Gandhiji's non-violent political revolution has created a hope among the nations of the world that India could give a lead to the world by solving its own economic and social problems in the same way as it did achieve political freedom. The constructive workers especially would have felt greatly puzzled when they hear often unqualified praises showered on China and Russia even by distinguished men. Acharya Kripalani's article in the "Vigil" of 31st May, 1952 and the leading article in the "Harijan" of June 14, 1952 have come in time dispelling the doubts of many Sarvodaya Sevaks. The article from the "Vigil" leaving the introductory portion is reproduced here for our readers.

Recently the opinions of the various official and non-official delegations who have been visiting Russia and China are freely ventilated through the press for the information and education of the Indian public. This is natural, and if the information were judiciously given and accepted it may prove not only instructive, but also beneficial for the advance of the country. Unfortunately, however, the opinions are given in a form which leaves on the mind the impression that if only a revolution on the lines of Russia or China could be staged in India and a similar regime reproduced in this country, all will be well with us. Such a view is both psychologically and historically untrue and, if persisted in, will instead of helping cripple our efforts at reform.

(Continued from previous page)

THE DISSOLUTION OF GANDHI SEVA SANGH

The Conference of the Sangh continued to meet for a few years thereafter till the last one at Malikanda in Bengal. The Sangh as such was dissolved in 1939. It was suspected by some leaders that the followers of Gandhiji were using the Gandhi Seva Sangh for political purposes. Bapu did not like it to be said of the Sangh that it was in any way exploited. Since members of the Sangh were allowed to take part in the elections they were observed to contest against each other in some cases, and that led to rivalry and jealousy. So Bapu decided, and wisely too, to dissolve the Sangh. He who built the institution could claim the right to break it when it did not serve its purpose. Later, in 1948, none but he could have said, "Dissolve the Congress!"

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(From 'Glimpses of Gandhiji' (Hind Kitabs)

CAN'T BE TRANSPLANTED

Revolutions are not made to order, nor do they arise in a previous social vacuum. Of course in every case there must be the background of an unsatisfactory social situation. How people react to such a situation to bring about desirable changes must depend upon the 'basic social personality structure,' as the sociologist would call it, of the country or the nation concerned. It will depend upon the moral, political, economic and social values that particular groups hold and live by. Every revolution in history is, therefore, a unique affair. It cannot be transplanted in other lands. The two revolutions in England, the one bloody and the other peaceful, were quite different in pattern from the French Revolution. The American Revolution was again quite different from the English and the French. Similarly, revolutions in other western lands did not follow the pattern of England, France or America. Of course, as in all historic phenomena there are common traits and factors. But the peculiarities of each are too significant to make them reproduceable in a different atmosphere and under different social circumstances. The earlier western revolutions introduced in the countries concerned capitalist democratic regimes. But even when the objective was the same there is a variety of types. The centralised capitalist democracy of England, France and America are different from the similar types, for example, in the smaller Scandinavian countries. Even if the objective before, say, the erstwhile colonial lands, were, the establishment of Communist regimes each of its variety will be different from the others. As regards India, the national objective, so far as one has emerged, is not the establishment of Communist regime. The goal is and can only be the establishment of such an equalitarian social order as will

make for effective democracy, now impaired by capitalist economic inequality and imperialistic aggression.

THE AIM OF MARX AND ENGELS

The government of the people, for the people and by the people must be made possible and effective. That, I believe, was the aim of Marx and Engels. This equalitarian democratic goal can only be achieved in each country in accordance with the genius of particular nations, their past history and their 'basic personality structure.' It is, therefore, regrettable that our learned visitors to Russia and China, in their writings and press interviews on the changes in these countries, give an impression that the only way for our social salvation is to transplant the foreign revolutionary plant in the Indian soil and it is bound to grow and prosper here. Even in botany this is rarely possible. Soil, climate, water, wind, sunshine have all their peculiar elements to contribute to the transplanted plant. Sometimes it is even impossible to transplant except as a hot-house experimental growth. While our learned visitors to Russia and China believe that we can reproduce like revolutions here, our government and capitalists believe that only through centralised industry under a capitalist order can we produce the plenty of the West and raise the standards of the masses. Both these views are not only historically wrong but are likely to lead us astray from our natural course of evolution.

J. C. KUMARAPPA'S IMPRESSIONS

The other Indian observers of Russia and China should miss the points I have mentioned above is not so surprising. But it is most surprising that Shri J. C. Kumarappa who is a great interpreter of Gandhiji's philosophy and who is officially in charge of some of the experiments being carried on in Gandhian reconstruction, should give an impression that there is nothing indigenous which for us can be a better substitute than the Russian and Chinese regimes. I do hope that only the form of J. C.'s writings gives such an impression, but that in fact he has in his mind different plans of social reconstruction about which he is carrying on experiments in Wardha.

LESSONS OF OUR FREEDOM FIGHT

Not only should India find her own solution to her problems, but I feel that her

problems cannot be satisfactorily solved otherwise. Take for instance, our struggle for political independence. Such struggles were carried out successfully in many lands in the West and the East, establishing political democracy. But he will be a poor student of history who would fail to recognise the uniqueness of the pattern of the Indian struggle. In aim, method, as well as in the nature of its leadership, strategy and tactics, there were significant details in which the Indian struggle differed from other political revolutions. We will be entitled to say that the success attending the Indian struggle was chiefly due to the new factors that were introduced and worked out in accordance with the genius of India's people or her, 'basic personality structure.' Even before Gandhiji placed before the nation his new method and technique there was a type of struggle going on. But it was on western lines. It seemed to take the nation nowhere. Rather it created much misery and general frustration without rousing the nation to any appreciable degree of political activity and enthusiasm and the necessary sacrifice for the cause. Our independence movement gained point and momentum only when we worked in accordance with the genius of our people. If we have to peel a vegetable or carve a piece of meat we can do it best only in conformity with its basic structure or else, we shall make a mess of the job. If we have to swim with the least effort and trouble and with the best results we must study the direction of the current and the prevalent wind. This is what is called in the Geeta action in accordance with one's Swadharma. Swadharma is true for nations as for individuals. This, however, does not mean that we have to learn no lessons from others' experiences; but the main pattern of action must be in accordance with our basic character and personality. In our social reconstruction after political independence has been gained, I feel, if we forget this point, we shall be doing so only at our peril. The very uniqueness of our struggle for independence prescribes for us to a great extent the pattern that must be evolved here.



Bhoodan Yajna Conference in the South

THE TAMIL NAD BHOODAN CONFERENCE

The Tamil Nad Provincial Bhoodan Yajna Conference was held at Madurai on the 21st and 22nd June '52. It was opened by Sardar Vedaratnam and presided over by Shri. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, the ex-Chief minister of Madras. About two hundred and fifty constructive workers interested in the Bhoodan Yajna from all over Tamil Nad participated in the conference.

Shri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh attended and addressed the conference on the Sarvodaya ideology. He explained the principles and the high moral technique behind the Bhoodan Yajna of Vinobaji for the establishment of economic equality through non-violence.

Under the guidance of Shri Shankarrao Deo a Provincial Bhoodan Committee was formed with Shri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Sardar Vedaratnam, Shri N. M. R. Subbaraman and others to carry on the Bhoodan Mission in Tamil Nad. Shri Shankarrao Deo will inaugurate the Bhoodan Yatra in Tamil Nad from Rameswaram on the 2nd October 1952, (the Gandhi Jayanti) and will conduct the Yatra for one month covering two or three districts. In the meanwhile the Tamil Nad Bhoodan Committee will carry on the propaganda and prepare the necessary atmosphere for the Bhoodan Yajna.

The Committee consists of the following:-

1. Shri. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar,
2. " A. Vedaratnam,
3. " N. M. R. Subbaraman,
4. " C. Perumalswami Reddiar,
5. " K. V. V. Giri,
6. " Munagala Pattabhiramiah,
7. " N. Ramakrishna Iyer,
8. " S. Jagannathan.

The Conference endorsed the two resolutions of the Sarva Seva Sangh passed at the Kashi-Sevapuri Sarvodaya Sammelan. By the first resolution it appealed to Tamil Nad to help in the Bhoodan Mission as the only non-violent solution to the land problem and for realising the Sarvodaya order of society. It was resolved to collect 1½ lakhs of acres for Bhoodan in Tamil Nad. The second resolution reiterated the logical necessity of the decentralised cottage industries for establishing economic equality and called on the public to take a pledge to

boycott all articles of food and cloth processed through centralised industries which deprive the masses of their right and opportunity for employment.

Towards the end of the conference many offered land for the Bhoodan Yajna. The names of the donors and the extent of land offered are given below:

	Acres	
Shri. N. M. R. Subbaraman:	50.0	W. L.
" Mookkiah Mandradiar, Thandikudi, Batlagundu:	25.0	"
" A. V. V. Mathurakavi Reddiar, Vadakkamp- patti:	1.49 0.12	D. L.
" Natesa Poraiyar, Pudur, Nagapattinam Taluk, Tanjore Dt:	0.19	
" V. S. M. Rajaramaier, Madurai:	11.0	W. L.
" V. S. M. Mohanram, " :	11.0	"
" S. Paramasamy, " :	0.50	"
" Sundararaj, Kallandhiri:	1.0	"
" K. S. Sankaran, Batlagundu: "	5.0	"
" A. Thayumanavar, Nathamkoilpatti: "	2.0	D. L.
" A. S. Ramudu Iyer, Madurai:	3.0	W. L.
" V. Muthu, M. L. A., Usilampatti, Madurai Dt:	5.0	
" S. S. Ramasamy, Koothakudi:	2.47	
Total	117.77	

W. L. = Wet land: D. L. = Dry land

VINOBAJI'S MESSAGE TO THE TAMILNAD BHOODAN CONFERENCE

The following is the free rendering of Vinobaji's Hindi message sent for the Tamil Nad Bhoodan Conference:

"It is the duty of the Sarvodaya Sevaks to deliver the message of Bhoodan to each house in every village. The cooperation of all belonging to any party will be available and we should make all efforts to secure that. Shri S. Jagannathan (of Gandhigram) who was in our Bhoodan Yatra during the last four months has observed the way of love and devotion in which the Yajna is carried on. I believe that the land of the Cauvery and

the Vaitai rivers will not lag behind in fulfilling the mission that the land of the Ganges and the Jumna is doing. I am endeavouring to identify myself with the Tamil brothers through their Tamil literature. Even during my Bhoomidan Yatra in Uttar Pradesh I am studying the *Kural* every morning. I appeal to the Tamilians to consider me as one among them and to render full cooperation for the Bhoodan Yajna."

*Barabhangi Village (U P.)
6-5-'52*

VINOBAJI'S APPEAL TO POLITICAL SUFFERERS TO OFFER THEIR LAND

Vinobaji has issued the following appeal in Hindi to the political sufferers who have received free gift of land from the Madras State, on the occasion of the Bhoodan Yajna Conference at Madurai on the 22nd June '52. This is the substance of the same:

"It will be undoubtedly a glorious act if the political sufferers who have received land from the State offer the same for the Bhoomidan Yajna. It would be a different matter in the case of those political sufferers who personally cultivate the land with their own labour. But it will be a stain on their honour if those who do not personally cultivate to keep the land in their possession.

"They will incur no loss if they surrender the land for Bhoomidan Yajna. On the other hand their dignity and prestige will stand enhanced. They should free themselves from the avarice of possessing a thing which they cannot directly use. This is just the time when they should part with it in favour of others. As I am now dictating this message the great poet who sang '*Janda Uncha Rahe Hamara*' is hearing my message and fully supports my idea. By doing only such sacrifices our flag will remain flying aloft."

THE ALL-KERALA BHOODAN YAJNA CONFERENCE

The Kerala Bhoodan Conference was held at Ernakulam on the 23rd and 24th June presided over by Shri Shankarrao Deo. Besides constructive workers from Travancore-Cochin and Malabar, Messers Ikkanda Warriar and Krishnakutty Menon, former ministers, and many others attended the conference.

Shri. K. M. Achuthan Ezhuthachan of Ottapalam and Shri. C. K. Ramaguptan of Malabar donated each one acre of land for Bhoodan Yajna.

The conference discussed about the plan of carrying on the Bhoodan mission in Kerala and appointed Shri. R. Srinivasan and Shri. K. Janardhanam Pillai to form a central committee for Kerala in consultation with the Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh. The target for Kerala was fixed as 25 thousand acres.

PROGRESS OF THE BHOODAN YAJNA

Vinobaji started his Bhoodan Yajna on the 18th April 1951. Till 18th April 1952 when the fourth Sammellan of the Sarvodaya Samaj was held at Kashi-Sevapuri the total land received as offerings is 1,02,363 acres from 4,936 persons owning land. From 18th April 1952 up to the end of May 1952 2,500 persons have offered 75,200 acres of land. Thus the total land offering comes to over 1,77,500 acres. These have been received from the following provinces, mostly during Vinobaji's Yatra and partly through post.

Telengana (Hyderabad)	17,500 Acres.
Madhya Pradesh	7,000 "
Vindhya Pradesh	1,000 "
Rajasthan	1,000 "
Madhyabharat	2,000 "
Delhi	1,000 "
Gujarat	2,500 "
Orissa	1,000 "
Madras	7,000 "
	40,000 "
Uttar Pradesh	1,37,516 "
	Total 1,77,516 "

THE BHOODAN QUOTA FOR PROVINCES

Vinobaji and Sarva Seva Sangh fixed 25 lakhs of acres as the nation's target to be reached within two years. The quota for the various provinces was provisionally fixed as mentioned below:-

Andhra 1 lakh; Uttar Pradesh 5 lakhs; Tamil Nad $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; Punjab 1 lakh; Bihar 4 lakhs; Bengal 1 lakh; Maharashtra 1 lakh; Madhyabharat 1 lakh; Rajasthan 2 lakhs; Vindhya Pradesh 40 thousand; Delhi 10 thousand; Hyderabad 1 lakh; Himachal Pradesh 1 lakh; and Kerala 25 thousand. The quota for Utkal, Karnatak, Gujarat, Bombay and Mysore, etc. is yet to be determined.

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