

SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



Vol. 2

March 1953

No. 9



Photo - Kanu Gandhi — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot



THE MONTHLY DIGEST MAGAZINE OF THE AKHILA BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH



SARVODAYA

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TO OUR READERS

The Next issue of the 'Sarvodaya' will be published on the 6th April with full texts of the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan speeches of Rajen Babu, Vinobaji, and Jaiprakash Narain.

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 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.

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CONTENTS OF SWARAJ

— MAHATMA GANDHI

In a conversation with Louis Fischer, the American journalist, Gandhiji explains his conception of "India of 700 thousand villages."

"You see", Gandhi began, "the centre of power now is in New Delhi, or in Calcutta and Bombay, in the big cities. I would have it distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages of India. That will mean that there is no power. In other words, I want the seven hundred thousand dollars now invested in the Imperial Bank of England withdrawn and distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages. Then each village will have its one dollar which cannot be lost.

"The seven hundred thousand dollars invested in the Imperial Bank of India," Gandhi continued, "could be swept away by a bomb from a Japanese plane, whereas if they were distributed among the seven hundred thousand shareholders, nobody could deprive them of their assets. There will then be voluntary co-operation between these seven hundred thousand units, voluntary co-operation — not co-operation induced by Nazi methods. Voluntary co-operation will produce real freedom and a new order vastly superior to the new order in Soviet Russia. Some say there is ruthlessness in Russia, but that it is exercised for the lowest and the poorest and is good for that reason. For me it has very little good in it. Some day this ruthlessness will create an anarchy worse than we have ever seen. I am sure we will escape that anarchy here. I admit that the future society of India is largely beyond my grasp. But a system like the one I have outlined to you did exist though it undoubtedly had its weakness, else it would not have succumbed before the Moghuls and the British.

"I would like to think that parts of it have survived, and that the roots have survived despite the ravages of British rule.

Those roots and the stock are waiting to sprout if a few drops of rain fall in the form of a transfer of British power to Indians. What the plant will be like I do not know. But it will be infinitely superior to anything we have now. Unfortunately, the requisite mood of non-violence does not exist here, but I refuse to believe that all the strenuous work of the last twentyfive years to evolve a new order has been in vain. The Congress Party will have an effective influence in shaping the new order, and the Muslim League will also have an effective influence."

"I would like you to pursue this idea of the symbolic seven hundred thousand dollars," Fischer suggested. "What will the villages do with the dollar that has come back to them from the Imperial Bank of England?" he asked.

"One thing will happen," Gandhi asserted. "To-day the shareholders get no return. Intermediaries take it away. If the peasants are masters of their dollars they will use them as they think best."

"A peasant buries his money in the ground," Fischer suggested.

"They will not bury their dollars in the ground," Gandhi said, "because they will have to live. They will go back to the bank, their own bank, and utilize it under their direction for purposes they think best. They may then build windmills or produce electricity or whatever they like. A central Government will evolve, but it will act according to the wishes of the people and will be broad-based on their will"

"That state, I imagine," Fischer said, "will then build more industries and develop the country industrially."

"You must visualise a Central Government without the British Army," Gandhi said. "If it holds together without that army, this will be the new order. That is a goal worth working for. It is not an unearthly goal. It is practicable."

"The Indian Parliament" March '48

THE HANDLOOM AND THE CHARKHA

— MAHATMA GANDHI

Since the broad-cast speech of Shri C. Rajagopalachariar on 11-6-'52, in support of the handloom cloth, the place of Charkha and Khadi seems to have receded yielding all prominence to the handloom cloth. Gandhiji, the author of the khadi movement took to weaving first and later he was compelled to the discovery of the Charkha as the sole protector of the handloom. Shri Jajuji has critically analysed the pros and cons of Rajaji's proposals in an article published in our January issue. Later, on 25th Jan., '53 Rajaji's proposals were mooted for a discussion at Gandhigram Study Circle, Madura Dist., in so far as it affects Khadi. We are giving below copious extracts from Gandhiji's own writings on various occasions with the background of their contexts, which will give an emphatic answer to the issues arising out of Rajaji's proposals.

1. The Sad Plight of the Handloom

... The hand-loom industry is in a dying condition. I took special care during my wanderings last year to see as many weavers as possible, and my heart ached to find how they had lost, how families had retired from this once flourishing and honourable occupation. If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants, and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages as are not locally producible.

Young India, 14-2-1916



2. A Charkha in every Home and a Loom in every Village

The friend has forgotten the central truth that the wheel furnished occupation and a small income to the millions who must have an additional income if they are not to starve. It is not possible to put up a hand-loom in every home. A loom in every village, a charkha in every home is the formula. *If a spinning mill is put up in every taluka, it will result in nationalizing the exploitation of the many by the few.*

Young India, 26-6-'24



3. I first became a Weaver and then a Spinner

...I first became a weaver in 1915. I told you that I became first a weaver and then a spinner. I have woven with these

very hands both foreign yarns and our mill yarns. But you will excuse me for claiming to know more than you do the secret of this business. As I was sitting— I can point out the spot where I was sitting— as was I sitting at my hand-loom weaving cloth, certainly not half as fine as any of you perhaps weave, but as I was sitting at my loom, *I was considering for myself where I should be and where thousands and tens of thousands of weavers should be when mills were organized enough to weave that kind of cloth themselves.* And as I was thinking of this thing my heart went out to the millions of starving sisters in our villages, and I began, as I was weaving, to think of the lot of these sisters. I became sad and disconcerted, and together with my companions I began a diligent search for some spinner who would teach us hand-spinning, and I began also to find whether there was a single village where I could find hand-spinning still going on. I knew nothing then of the fact that there were some sisters spinning in the Punjab. But as despair was creeping over me, I took shelter under a brave widow of Gujarat. She was working in the cause of untouchables. I shared this deep sorrow of mine with this great sister, and I charged her to wander from place to place in Gujarat and not rest content till she had found those sisters, who still had the art of hand-spinning in their possession. And it was she who discovered at Vijapur in Gujarat a few Mussalman sisters who were prepared to spin if she would take their yarn from their hands. From that moment began the great revival which is now covering over fifteen hundred villages in India. *And it was after this discovery that I decided not to weave a single thread of foreign yarn or mill-spun yarn in the Ashram of which I happened to be in charge.*

LET US NOT MIX UP MILL-YARN WEAVING WITH THE CHARKHA MOVEMENT

I place for your consideration yet another important fact. If you will study the history of the hand-weaving movement in India, you will discover that at the present moment several thousands of weavers have been obliged to abandon their trade. Weavers all of your own trade, Saurashtras, are to-day working in Bombay as scavengers. Weavers in the Punjab are some of them hired soldiery and some of them have taken to the butcher's trade. And so you will understand why I cannot possibly endorse your recommendation. That does not mean that you may leave off weaving mill yarn from to-day. *You do not need encouragement from me. But I venture to suggest to you that it is to your interest not to ask me to mix up this mill-spun yarn weaving together with this movement which I am leading in all humility.* And it is equally to your interest to support this movement so that, if it becomes stable, prosperous and immovable, every one of you would find a respectable living. I therefore suggest to you that, if this hand-spinning movement grows apace, it is likely that it may be of help to you."

(In reply to an address at Madurai by the Saurashtras requesting Gandhiji to encourage hand-weaving even through foreign yarn or mill-made yarn.)

Young India, 13-10-'27



4. Handloom vs Spinning Wheel

Apropos of the contention often thoughtlessly advanced that the handloom is the only thing worth preserving and that it can only be preserved through the use of mill-spun yarn, Shri C. Balaji Rao writes :

"An effective answer to those who in order to belittle the charkha would exalt the hand-loom is given here. 'Lord Curzon was voicing the opinions of his departmental scientific advisers when he declared at the Delhi Durbar that it was inevitable that the hand-loom should be superseded by the power-loom, just as the hand punkah was being superseded by the electric fan.'"

Of course Lord Curzon's dictum need not be accepted as a conclusive answer, if the longevity of the handloom can be sustained through mill yarn or any other means save the spinning wheel. *And these pages, I hope, are daily making it clear that hand-spinning can save the hand-loom in spite of the prediction of Lord Curzon. Indeed, if the wheel regains its ancient status in our national life, the hand-loom*

and many other domestic industries must revive automatically.

Young India, 23-2-'28



5. Convert the Handloom to Handspun Yarn

We ought to be able to convert all these hand-looms to the use of hand-spun yarn, but we are powerless to do that to-day. Our charkha yarn to-day is neither of sufficient strength, nor is it produced in sufficient quantity. So long as we cannot produce hand-spun yarn that will stand comparison with the mill yarn in strength and uniformity, the hand-loom weaver will refuse to handle it and for very good reason too. In the first place, the employment of weak and uneven yarn reduces the quantity of cloth that he can turn out in a given time, and thus affects his earning capacity. Secondly, the hand-loom weaver to-day has specialized more or less in higher lines of production while our output of hand-spun yarn of a fine count is extremely meagre, and that too is confined mostly to Andhra. The solution of the difficulty involves a complete mastery of the khadi science. But I am not asking anybody to tackle this problem to-day. It can for the present wait. There are a number of other problems which will have to be successfully tackled before we can cope with the question of the handloom. Only let it be borne in mind that this problem will have to be successfully tackled before the dream of universalizing khadi is realized.

Harijan, 17-4-'37



6. How to save Handloom Weavers

...There are not today half as many handloom weavers as there were, say, twentyfive years ago. There was a time when, as the spinning wheel spun the whole of the yarn required by the nation, the hand-loom wove all the cloth required. When the mills were established the spinning wheel all but died out for the very simple reason that it gave a paltry return and was never a whole-time occupation. But the loom offered stubborn resistance, for the reason, among others, that it was a full-time occupation by itself and paid the weaver enough to eke out a living. When the spinning mill came, the weaver fell back upon it for his hanks of yarn. He even welcomed the change because he could get more evenly spun and stronger yarn. Little did he know that he was to become perfectly helpless if the mills for any reason could not supply him with yarn. Unlike the village spinner the mill-owner

dictated the price of his yarn. By and by the weaver who wove simple, patternless khadi could not withstand the mill competition, and he died. And for the past few years the weavers of fancy cloth has felt the pressure from weaving mills. Public taste is slowly but surely changing. If the mills cannot exactly copy the patterns woven by the village weaver, they can, as they do, produce new patterns and by efficient advertising attract customers. Therefore several thousand Orissa weavers are idle for want of custom. A similar cry came to me the other day from Ahmednagar, a strong weaving centre. My advice to them all was that, if these weaving families would but introduce carding and spinning in their homes, they could be wholly independent of mill yarn and enlist the never-failing assistance of the A. I. S. A. It might be that the weavers might not earn as much as before because of part of their time being given to spinning...

Let it be borne in mind that the weaver, in introducing spinning and carding in his family, has to go in for very little outlay. The wheel he already has. It will no doubt require some improvement. He has to invest in a carding bow costing a few annas ...

Harijan, 20-8-'38



7. Hand-spinning and Hand-weaving inter-dependent

Shri Appa Patwardhan writes:-

"The Bombay Government spend a large sum in helping weavers. They have appointed a marketing officer and salesmen. They give loans. Yet the weavers cannot compete with mills, and in my opinion the expenses incurred do not bear fruit. Moreover the weavers use foreign yarn as well. Side by side with this fruitless help the Government tender some help to khadi also. I do not know how far this divided loyalty is justified."

I have always held the opinion that help to the weavers who use foreign or Indian mill yarn is a waste of money and effort. Experience has not changed the view. Nor does it change because in certain provinces the Congress rules. I hold this view because the disappearance of the weaver of mill yarn is a question of time only. In the nature of things it cannot be otherwise. *The weavers' only hope lies in a universal revival of hand-spinning. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are inter-dependent, never hand-weaving and mill-spinning.* I have therefore suggested that, if hand-spin-

ning cannot immediately supply the weavers' requirements, they should be induced to introduce hand-spinning, carding, etc., in their own families, if they will not become spinners themselves. Now that in several provinces the Congress rules, the saving of the weaver becomes easier. Thus the Government can encourage spinning on a wide scale, guarantee the loss in khadi sales as the State guarantees the foreign railway companies. It is the primary duty of the State to guarantee employment of its choice to everyone in need of it. This includes the weavers also. If during the transition stage it is found impossible to guarantee weaving for every weaver, the State has to find him some other employment, profitable alike to the State and the individual. It should be borne in mind that the possibilities of hand-spinning have not yet been explored by any Government. I am of opinion that such investigation will yield startlingly encouraging results. *My arguments undoubtedly assume the elimination of all mills from consideration. No industry, indigenous or foreign, can be allowed to increase unemployment and thus harm the true interest of the community as a whole.*

Harijan, 9-9-'39



8. Charkha — the Sole Protector of the Handloom

Question: "By insisting on the use of certified khadi only, you have delivered a very severe blow to the Muslim weavers on the land who are mostly using mill yarn, and on the other to the consumer who is thus induced to purchase certified khadi which is notoriously dear. ... I appeal to you to remove this double hardship by sanctioning the use of hand-woven mill yarn khadi."

...Khadi has as yet made little impression upon mill yarn weavers. What it has done is to provide occupation to those Hindu and Muslim weavers who were thrown out of employment by mill competition. *Those weavers who do not take to weaving hand-spun are cutting their own throats, because the natural consequence of the spread of mills will be the destruction of weavers as it has been that of hand-spinners.* The hand-loom weavers who have held their own are pattern weavers. If khadi became universal, Muslim and other weavers who are today weaving mill yarn would, as a matter of course, take to weaving hand-spun. *Thus there is no case of khadi ever hitting a single weaver. In fact it is his sole protection.*

Harijan, 9-3-'40



(Italics & para heads ours)

IN MEMORY OF BAPU

— VINOBA BHAVE —

(From a Hindi speech delivered in the prayer meeting on 30th Jan., '53 at Chandil, Bihar)

People desire that I should talk something today. But my heart is full. Still I shall try to say a few words. Five years have elapsed since Bapu left his mortal body. Everyone, be he an avatar (incarnation) or an ordinary being, will have to leave the mortal frame. But avatars disappeared leaving something behind. What they left behind was the essence of their life. We hear of the great avatars, Sri. Rama, Sri. Krishna and Sri. Buddha, born in India. We hear of Zarathustra, Jesus and Mohamed, born outside India. But we have not seen anyone of them. Of course people of their days had seen them and handed down their sacred memories to us.

SUCH MEMORIES - FOR OUR BENEFIT

Many of us got the chance to see Bapu's life. Some of us were fortunate enough to live and work with him. Some have indeed transformed their lives accepting the way of life he showed us. Led by him the whole of India got independence. Now we do something every year in memory of him. His soul does not gain anything by it. He attained the highest state by his supreme deeds. It is to our good only we remember him and his deeds.

Now we should search our minds and see what we have gained by our remembering him all these five years. What have we achieved in our personal life, in our social life? What have our society, our nation which calls him as the Father of the Nation, achieved by it? Have we purified our personal lives? How far have we tried to tread the path he advised? We have to ponder over all these. We should attempt to follow his teachings to the best of our ability.

THE DISCOVERY OF CHINTAMANI

When he was alive, I was in his Ashram for 32 years. Then I spent my days in contemplation and meditation and was serving the poor villagers under his direction and guidance. After his departure, people desired and I too felt the necessity that I should move about. So I started on a tour. First I travelled by rail and saw about half of India. I thought that thus I would be doing some service too. But all along I was in search of that which can bring about that social revolution fundamentally aimed at by Bapu — that non-violent revolution. At last I discovered the *chintamani*. It is the Bhoo-

dan and the Sampath-dan Yagna which I have placed before you. I call it *chintamani* in its full sense. *Chintamani* is that which can give everyone what he necessarily needs. Bhoodan Yagna and Sampath-dan Yagna are such programmes of work which if advanced, will fulfil in entire the aim and purpose of all the other constructive programmes which we have been doing till now. All other constructive items of work will certainly die if the Bhoodan programme is not immediately carried on. Therefore for the last two years I was all immersed in that work, though I was constantly carrying on the other constructive activities for the last so many years. I do believe that I am doing the same work that Bapu would certainly do if he were alive today in this independent India.

UPLIFT OF THE POOR-THE CALL OF THE DAY

I wish that all workers to whichever party or group they belong, should forget their differences and join in this work. They should decide to devote one to two years at least entirely to this work. Then they will see and enjoy the real worth of independence which we have not yet begun to taste. It will not be enjoyed so long as the poorest of the poor in the land is not lifted up. He has fallen to the lowest level from where there can be no further going down. So it is becoming difficult for him to rise up. I find no effort is being tried today to lift him up. If these men at the lowest rank are raised then the rest, those above him, will automatically rise up. But what we see now is that the benefits of all the activities carried on today go first to the good of those who are at the top, then to the middle class and only last to those at the bottom. Our Sarvodaya method will enable them who are at the lowest rank to enjoy the benefits first.

FORGET DIFFERENCES. JOIN IN WORK

Bapu thought of Charkha, Harijan service, village industries, nature cure treatment and Basic education. He laid his hands on all these and worked at them with the main objective to reach immediate relief to the poor. In these days there is the lack of such an outlook and few think in that line. The Bhoodan work and the Sampath Dan programme, both have such a fundamental approach. So I appeal to all workers to forget their party labels, sink all differences and join hand in hand to work for the advance of this cause.

TO THE BENEFIT OF ZAMINDARS ALSO

Besides to the workers, I appeal to all big zamindars and land-holders to consider this Bhoodan work as their own. Till date it fell to my lot to go to them and collect land-gifts. Two years have passed now and I can make a claim on them to come out of their own accord and give lands. They should themselves take up the cause and work for it. It is not enough they voluntarily come and offer lands; they should also go about asking others to offer. I believe and I hope they will do it. My appeal will touch their hearts and they will realize that this movement is equally to their benefit as it is to that of the poor. It is nothing but Sarvodaya — the rise of all for the welfare of all.

TAKE THE VOW OF WORK

I am happy to state that some of them have already taken up this work. Now their number is few, but it will increase. Bapu did consider the rich as trustees of the poor. Now let them begin to serve the poor and thus prove the words of Bapu and gain the confidence of their poor brothers in the land. As I said before a few alone have come forward to serve in the cause of the poor. There are others who still harass them. With folded hands I entreat them: "Brothers, desist from such acts. This will pain the Lord of All. And He will get displeased. His displeasure will make every one suffer." We are *baktas* who repose faith in God and not mere rationalists. We believe in the teachings of our Rishis (Seers of old). My mind senses that our past sins are the sole cause of all the present day famines and sufferings in our country. Let us give

up the practice of sins and pledge ourselves, today to do good to all. Let us not wish to do anything which will bring misery to others. In addition, may I appeal to you all to devote all your time and energy for this Bhoodan Yagna work till the land problem in our land is solved. I wish you may resist the attraction from the several other activities. Let us take a vow to dedicate ourselves entirely to this work. I have already taken the vow and often repeat it. Now again before God, before Bapu and before you all, I repeat it again. I wish my friends also will take a similar vow. Then we will see this land of ours full of blessings and happiness. See, what a revolution will result then out of it!

For two years only we have been doing this work. In fact I was working alone for one year. The second year I got some friends to help. The Sarva Seva Sangh has accepted this Bhoodan work and made it their own. The Congress, the Socialists, the Jana Sangh, all have expressed their sympathy. Even now they are only expressing their sympathy. Till date with this little effort we have received 5 lakhs of acres. If we calculate on the basis of an average of Rs 200 per acre it can be estimated that wealth amounting to ten crores has reached the poor. Money fluctuates and disappears, but land is stable and steady. If all of us unitedly concentrate in this Bhoodan Yagna work then we are sure to achieve the economic revolution that we aspire for, in an air of peace and love. These are my prayers to Him: "May He bless us, our friends and brothers with the inspiration and concentration to fulfil this work."



GUIDE TO SAMPATH-DAN — ACHARYA VINOBA

1. Each donor should keep the Sampath (the money gifted) with himself. If necessary it can be kept in a bank.
2. Whatever be the share that one donates, it should be given for life. Therefore it should be with the concurrence and consent of the responsible members of the family.
3. The Dan should be free of all charges i. e. free and freed from all liabilities.
4. The use and expenditure of the amount should be as per my instructions.
5. The amount received every year will be spent in that year itself. There is no reason to keep any balance, for the work to be done in the country is so extensive that whatever that is received will at once be spent on it.

6. At present I think of utilising this amount for three important programmes of work, (a) for the supply of seeds, bulls, wells etc. to those landless agriculturists to whom land will be distributed, (b) to give some service - allowance to the self-sacrificing workers for their maintenance and (c) for the propagation of good literature.

7. I desire to gain personal intimacy with the lives of those who offer Sampath-dan. So those who wish to associate themselves in this Yagna should send to me some information about themselves.

I will be writing more and more on this as and when occasion arises.

(From Hindi)



A New Chapter in the Development of Khadi

— SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU —

1. With the constitution of the Khadi and Village Industries Board by the India Government, Khadi and Village Industries enter a new phase of their development. In the present article I shall be writing only about Khadi. Speaking generally, most of the State Governments have always been giving some financial help to the Khadi, though looking to the magnitude of the work to be done, it was only nominal. But now by levying a cess on the mill-cloth, the India Government seems to have decided to render substantial help to Khadi industry.

2. Inaugurating the first meeting of the Board the Prime Minister said in the beginning that the first thing which occurred to him on the occasion was why they did not take this step four or five years ago. He did not provide an answer to this query though he realized the mistake. When substantial political power first came into our hands, Gandhiji was still with us. Proposals and schemes for the promotion of Khadi were then placed before the Governments and the authorities. We had then the advantage of a favourable atmosphere and the popular feeling of a strong regard for Khadi. If those in authority had seen their way to encourage Khadi at that time, Khadi could have made tremendous progress. Now all those favourable circumstances are lacking and special efforts will have to be made to secure them. To think that the cause of Khadi can prosper merely on the strength of money will only prove itself a delusion.

3. Khadi being costlier than mill-cloth its marketing presents difficulties. If on the other hand its prices are brought down to the level of mill-cloth, huge losses will have to be incurred. That will necessitate excessive cess on the mill-cloth which the Governments will not like. Besides it will not conduce to the right attitude in regard to Khadi. Therefore for the present it is proposed to make it available to the consumers without adding administrative overhead charges. Our experience shows that these overhead charges come to about two or three annas per rupee. Hence it is proposed to allow a discount of As 3 per rupee. Even then it will cost more than mill-cloth. Under the circumstances it cannot be sold unless there is a sentiment in its favour. Inasmuch as it is intended to provide

employment to the unemployed through hand-spinning, it will not be proper to curtail its production in the event of reduction in the consumption of cloth. On the contrary, we have to try for its maximum expansion.

4. After Independence, there were many who thought that Khadi had now exhausted its utility and there was no more use for it. They argued Mahatmaji had linked Khadi to our fight for freedom and so it prospered. These friends seem to have forgotten that Mahatmaji had asked for a permanent place for Khadi in our economy. He considered it to be the symbol and the foundation of the Sarvodaya social order. But this will hardly appeal to those who have no faith in Sarvodaya itself. The lovers of Khadi however still cherish that aim. Their approach to Khadi and village industries is different and they are carrying on Khadi work in their own way, especially from the point of view of self-sufficiency in cloth. The Government did not pay proper attention to Khadi so long. Now under the pressure of the situation they seem to have come to the conclusion that hand-spinning is necessary for solving the widespread unemployment and underemployment. The interest of the Governments is limited to that only. Even so, sentiment for Khadi will be necessary in order to ensure its consumption. The Charkha Sangh has made some suggestions to the Government to this end. It remains to be seen how far the Government will accept them. One thing is clear: It is the duty of all of us and the Government to create a favourable atmosphere for Khadi. We need sacrifice and industry in order that the nation may go ahead and Khadi can act as a potent means of inculcating these virtues.

5. Owing to the exigencies of the situation some of the main khadi workers have accepted to become the members of the Board. Some friends have raised an objection that since Khadi really aims at something which is different from the limited aim of the Government, the presence of the front-rank Khadi workers in this Board will cause needless misunderstanding, and may lead to the alienation of the lovers of Khadi from its real aim. The fear is not unfounded. The Charkha Sangh decided to

change over from commercial to self-sufficiency Khadi in 1945 when Gandhiji was still with us. And though in view of its usefulness as relief measure, it was not considered advisable to stop commercial production all at once, it was clearly understood that the Charkha Sangh would progressively withdraw from this side of its activity. Work in respect of the commercial Khadi then came to be entrusted to other institutions in the field, if such were available, and in their absence to the new ones which were created for the purpose. The present position is that except in Tamilnad, in all other provinces, the Charkha Sangh has curtailed its commercial Khadi work to a very great extent. It is being carried on now by certified institutions. In case of Tamilnad too, efforts were made to build up a new institution to take over the work, but there was no success. The newly formed Board will work for an expansion of Khadi on a big scale and since those who have been in Khadi work so long, are specially conversant with its working, it is quite proper to enlist their help. On the other hand it is also true that with workers occupying themselves with this side of Khadi work, there may come about a slackening of the hold on the real aim of this work. But Khadi had both these aspects from the outset, first rendering relief to the unemployed poor and next propagating the ideal of self-sufficiency, which is essential for the Sarvodaya economic order. For solving the widespread unemployment in the country there does not appear to be, for the present at least, anything more efficacious than hand-spinning. Any measure which promises relief to the unemployed should be welcomed by all. Under the circumstances, when the Government shows its readiness to introduce Khadi on a big scale, how can the Khadi workers refuse to help them? Of course we should take care to keep our hold on the true aim of Khadi, despite our association with this venture. And in case of a conflict between the two, we should be prepared to shed our attraction for mere expansion and concentrate on our goal. As it is, one cannot, at this stage, foretell how things will develop. Only time will show that.

6. With the formation of the Board, the Khadi workers will have to shoulder new responsibilities. Khadi will be produced on a big scale. Efforts should therefore be made to meet all other difficulties, except the high prices which are unavoidable and

which hinder its sale. Up to 1935 every attempt was made to strengthen the position of Khadi: Designs and varieties were developed and it was made artistically attractive so as to satisfy the taste of the various classes of buyers. Then for several reasons the progress stopped. In the last few years even the texture has deteriorated. We will have to introduce all those improvements again, so that the customers may buy willingly. The Governments are expected to purchase a lot of Khadi for some of their departments. It is necessary that the Khadi supplied to them keeps to the mark consistent with their needs. All these improvements are to be effected without any corresponding rise in the cost; everything has to be done economically. One more warning would seem to be necessary. Government is going to provide financial aid in various forms. Care should be taken to accept it and expend it in complete conformity with the rules evolved for the purpose.

7. We will have to be careful about one thing more. Because of the fall in the sale of Khadi, new production has very much gone down. Now if the Board succeeds in pushing up the consumption, the production will again go up before long to four or five times its present quantity. At the centres where there is large-scale hand-spinning, it will not take long to step up the production. But after it has reached the limit, further expansion can be achieved slowly because it takes time to train new spinners, to secure tools to them, and to let them improve the quality of yarn. These limitations will also apply to new centres. Therefore great caution has to be observed in a speedy stepping up of the production. The yarn will be crude which in its turn will adversely affect the quality of the cloth produced. Not only that, it may lead to far more dangerous result: there might be fear of resorting to mixed Khadi, i. e. admixture of mill-yarn. Therefore as soon as production outstrips the capacity of the centre, the management will have to be alert and so plan things as to preclude such a fear. The Charkha Sangh has devised, from its long experience, certain measures which may be adopted with advantage in fighting this evil. Even apart from all this, it is essential to be careful about the purity of Khadi at a time when production is on the increase. Production of Khadi is a far-flung affair spread over a number of villages and the admixture of mill-yarn will spell its complete failure.

The Five Year Plan & Khadi and Village Industries

The Government of India has constituted the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board to draw up a programme and evolve a machinery for the production and development of Khadi and village industries. The Five-Year Plan makes a financial provision for Khadi and cottage and small-scale industries — rupees 2 crores annually for khadi and 15 crores during the Plan period for other cottage industries. These funds will supplement those in States' plan for these purposes. Prime Minister Nehru inaugurated this Board on 2-2-'53 at Delhi.

PRESIDENT RAJEN BABU'S MESSAGE

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in a special message said: "Hand-spinning and handloom industry were for centuries the miraculous fountain from which flowed the river of gold and silver into our land and enriched the life of our teeming millions in the countryside. It was an evil day for our vast millions when this industry as also other subsidiary village industries were ruined under the political pressure of foreigners. Since that day, the progressive impoverishment of our people began and darkness and despair descended into their lives. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, had clearly perceived this historic truth, and so has made the spinning wheel the main instrument of the revivification of the Indian spirit and the awakening of our people. By doing so, he restored the broken link of our history and infused our people with new courage and confidence in their future. Indeed our freedom struggle revolved round it, and we were able to win in the end because the home-spun thread of Khadi had joined the hearts of our village and city people to produce irresistible mass energy. Besides, Khadi was a symbol of true democracy in the eyes of Mahatmaji, for he was convinced that democracy could exist in human life only when economic and political power were both decentralized.

"I am, therefore, glad to learn that an All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has been constituted to continue this great work of mass regeneration through the spinning wheel and other village industries. May I send the Board my good wishes for its success in this noble mission."

PRIME MINISTER'S SUGGESTION

Prime Minister Nehru said that such a Board should have been set up four years ago. Although the delay had caused him surprise, he was glad that a beginning had been made at least now. When the Board was about to be constituted, one of his friends had suggested that the Prime

Minister should be closely associated with it. He liked the idea but he was told that rules and regulations forbade association of the Prime Minister with such organisations and institutions. The Prime Minister's presence in such a Board would have only a show value. He, therefore, wrote to the sponsors of the move that he would not like to be directly associated with the Board. He would, however, give all the help that was needed to the Board.

Gandhiji, said Mr. Nehru, had laid particular emphasis on charkha, khadi and village industries. Charkha was made by him as an economic and revolutionary symbol for the people. It became a weapon in the hands of the struggling Indians to secure economic uplift and stage a political revolution. The nation profited by it enormously politically. With the gaining of freedom, the political aspect had disappeared and with one of its two pillars thus knocked off, it had to stand only as the bulwark of economic benefits to the people. Every effort must, therefore, be made to strengthen this economic significance of khadi and village industries.

NEED FOR SELF-HELP

In the final analysis, said Mr. Nehru those who were now concerned with the work had to prove—they should work sincerely to prove it—that the economic utility of khadi and village industries still remained an important factor in the country's well-being. No institution could progress unless it had its inherent strength. Nor could any institution flourish if it depended entirely upon the help of others or the Government. Government would of course render necessary assistance but the need for encouraging and developing its own inherent strength was there. He had often heard of complaints that the Government was not helping institutions of this character. There was no point in blaming the Government. The progress and the future of the Board depended on the strength of the movement and unless the economic foundation involved in the work

was strengthened, it could hardly make progress. The work might take five or ten years. They should not despair at it; it was worth labouring for.

All these matters were of course interconnected with the larger issue of the Economic Policy of the country. In the fast changing world, one had to adjust to the changing conditions and no one could afford to remain static. But some orthodox economists did not realise that none could live in isolation and work exclusively. The outlook of many had to change along with the changing conditions in the world.

Emphasising the need for a dynamic approach in dealing with the development of khadi and village industries, Mr. Nehru pointed out that the nation benefited immeasurably from Khadi during its freedom struggle. The effect of adopting the charkha as a symbol and khadi as an instrument was immense in the country's political struggle.

WELFARE STATE

"In my own mind, an idea is growing daily that the yardstick by which one can measure the economic progress of a country is the extent of employment. We have been talking of having a welfare State. A welfare State is one where every citizen is a partner, sharing its benefits and responsibilities equally. Every citizen must realise that he is actually a partner in the State. People must have full employment. How could there be a welfare State if people could not get employment? For the unemployed, the welfare State has no meaning. The biggest problem before the country is, therefore, unemployment of young men. This question has got to be solved. It is a social disease and it has to be checked and removed. Some people think that this problem would be solved if the country maintains the present rate of progress but I feel we have to place a greater emphasis on the question of solving the unemployment problem. Khadi and village industries have a great role to play in this sphere of solving unemployment."

BIG INDUSTRIES V. VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

"I do not foresee any conflict between big industries and village industries. If a country wants to maintain its independence, it has to develop industries on a large scale. The need for big industries is there and those industries must be State-owned and State-controlled. This need must be co-ordinated with the development of small industries. I think, for a country like India,

there is a considerable scope for the expansion of big industries. These industries cannot, however, solve the problem of employment. There still remains a big field for the setting up of small-scale industries. The small-scale and village industries will help in solving the unemployment problem.

"The issue, therefore, is not merely the advancement of the cause of Khadi and village industries. In it is involved the advancement of the cause of the nation and the wellbeing of the people. This should, therefore, be dovetailed into the general planning for the people as a whole."

THE CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS

Shri V. L. Mehta, Chairman of the Board, in the course of his speech said:

"The main objective that governs the Commission's attitude on this subject is, I believe, the discharging of the State's obligation to provide employment to the growing number of the unemployed and under-employed in villages. It is, however, pointed out that village industries will have the best chance of developing on the basis of local demand. But, as the Commission notes, a programme of village employment has to be part of a larger employment programme. A common production programme for every industry is what is aimed at which necessarily involves the idea of the exercise by Government of control over the organized side of an industry. What forms such control can assume is set forth in general terms by the Commission, but I presume it will be part of the duty of a body like this Board to place before Government from time to time, suggestions about the restrictions that may have to be imposed. It is not the interest of a section, those engaged in a particular village industry, that should weigh in the determination of policy in this respect, but the broader interest of the national economy as a whole. We, the members of this Board, propose to approach our task in this broad spirit, but distinctly inspired by a belief in Khadi industries and village industries being accepted necessarily as an integral and essential part of any national planning.

"I shall now take the liberty of referring to a few details. In their orders relating to the setting up of this Board, it has been laid down that the Board will work in collaboration with the All-India Spinners' Association and will establish contacts with State Governments. It will be the duty of the Board, as early as possible, to place itself in

communication with State Governments and unofficial bodies operating in their areas. It is with their support and, wherever possible through their agency that the plans that are approved for the development of Khadi and other village industries can be worked out. It would be a travesty of the conception of

a decentralized economy if the Board were to attempt to run the production units itself. It may, however, have to shoulder direct responsibility in the field of research and, to a certain extent, for the extension of facilities for training in the industries sought to be developed."

SARVODAYA — ITS LOGIC AND TECHNIQUE

— S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO —

(Research Assistant in the Dept. of Social Sciences of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore)

The word *Sarvodaya* was coined by the Father of the Indian Nation to translate "Unto This Last," the expression borrowed by Ruskin from the Gospel according to St. Matthew (XX: 14) for the title of his great work, in which he pleads for the ideal of morality in political economy. *Unto This Last* was one of the formative forces in the life of Gandhiji, who analyzed the work into three basic ideas — the good of the individual is contained in the good of all; the equal worth of all vocations in so far as they yield a livelihood; and the excellence of manual labour. The other two of the trinity of influences that stirred and propelled Gandhiji were Tolstoy's philosophy of "bread-labour" and the doctrine of disinterested action taught in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Creatively contemplating these teachings, Gandhiji discovered the supremacy of the two principles of truth and non-violence and interpreted the meaning of human existence in their light. He experimented with the application of these principles to man's corporate and political life. The full significance of these experiments can of course be judged by history alone. But one of the immediate and tangible consequences of Gandhiji's career was the emphasis on ethics in the political emancipation of our country and this has prepared the ground for translating into action the teachings of Ruskin, Tolstoy and the *Gita*.

Gandhiji in his life time initiated many a constructive programme calculated to improve the lot of all Indians. He dismissed as short-sighted the Western policy of "the greatest good of the greatest number;" his programme envisaged the greatest good or welfare of all (*Sarvodaya*). And in carrying this programme to fruition, he insisted that

the means were at least as important as the end; hence his emphasis on right conduct.

This is reflected in the economic plan he proposed for our country. The four fundamentals on which this plan rests are, in the words of Shriman Narayan Agarwal, simplicity, non-violence, the dignity of labour, and human values. It is, however, not a plan for the Government to push through, although the Government can make a substantial contribution to its implementing. It is rather for every man to appreciate and execute.

Gandhiji strove to revolutionize the thinking habits of the people to accord with the best traditions of our culture, for thus alone is to be ensured the building of real democracy. *Sva-rajya* is a very ancient expression, and its meaning is not restricted to political autonomy; it is more naturally employed in our philosophical literature to signify self-sufficiency, self-reliance, a sublime state of human existence where one fears not another, seeks nothing but is absolutely self-contained. *Apnoti Svarajyam* is equivalent to "He has realized the God-head." This is the ideal of all religious endeavour and the genius of Gandhiji asserted that this was the ideal of our political and social endeavours as well. The means to realize this sublime end must doubtless be equally sublime. The message of the Upanishads: "By renouncing alone is immortality gained," crystallized in the doctrine of *anasakti-yoga* (the discipline of disinterested action) of the *Gita*, suggested to Gandhiji the gospel of service (*seva*). All the constructive programmes he initiated were inspired by this principle of selfless service for the welfare not of one party or section of

the people, but of all. The lofty purpose for which this great son of India lived and died was *Sarvodaya*.

This meaning of the Mahatma's advent in Indian history was recognized by a handful of close but silent followers of his, who assembled in Sevagram in March 1948 and decided to launch the Sarvodaya Movement of which indeed the Mahatma was a living embodiment. They were persons of high integrity, who had made great sacrifices for the cause of the country, who had dedicated their lives to constructive work and who never cared to step inside the portals of power. Dr. Rajendra Prasad (whom the country later managed to make her President), Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Shankarrao Deo, Kaka Kalelkar and Kishorlal Mashruwala (who recently passed away) were among the well-known people present. They decided that *Sarvodaya* was to be a movement only; there was to be no organization, lest it degenerate into a party or a sect; it was to have no membership in the usual sense of the term. *Sarvodaya* emerged as a brotherhood (*Samaj*), open to each "who had faith in Gandhiji's teachings and ideals and who tried to give expression to them in his or her own life." Adherence to the *Samaj* was to be ratified only by one's own conscience; one was always at perfect liberty to describe oneself as belonging to the movement so long as one accepted the Gandhian ideology and practised it in actual life, irrespective of whether the leaders of the movement were aware of one's doing so or not. The person thus identifying himself with the movement was to designate himself not as a *sadasya* (member) but as a *sevak* (worker). "While," in the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "every *sevak* will be free to do the work that suits him best — of course consistent with the teachings of Gandhiji — he will not do anything in the name and on behalf of the *Samaj*."

Therefore it is that "the *Sarvodaya Samaj* will not act as an organization, it will not undertake any work or programme by itself, although all *sevaks* are expected to be doing something or other in furtherance of some constructive work." Every April an annual conference of all *sevaks* is to be held, and on February 12th *melas* (fairs) are to be arranged at places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed in holy waters. For these congregations, attendance is altogether optional and such of the *sevaks* as choose to attend must come as pilgrims, making their own arrange-

ments. Here the workers meet, exchange ideas, relate experiences and thus strengthen their faith in constructive work and prune it with wisdom. They are bound by no sort of organizational control or party discipline.

...One of the greatest achievements under the auspices of this movement, one still in process, is the *Bhoodana-Yajna* launched by Acharya Vinoba. The secret of the economic welfare of India lies in our agriculture; and agriculture has suffered in our country because of the system of land-holding; the creation of vested interests by favouring loyal Zamindars who are only absentee landlords; excessive subinfeudation; land in the hands of non-tillers and tillers possessing no land; and similar evils. This has invited the doctrines of Communism to gain ground in India.

...The *Gita* declares: "He who only *eats* and does not *give*, is a thief! "And the donor does not grudge his gift, for he acquires merit therefrom: in fact, he thanks the one who receives it. Vinoba tells the land-donors that what they are doing is a sacred rite, a *yajna*. And when a saint of such sterling purity as Vinoba begs on behalf of the landless, who dares to refuse? He objects, however, to any sense of meanness which goes with beggary or the air of superiority which goes with almsgiving; he points out that the donor is only rectifying to some extent the previous misdeed of monopolizing the possession of that which belongs to all. There has been a marvellously enthusiastic response to Vinoba's call, and beyond doubt the pleasant revolution that has been inaugurated thus non-violently has proved a formidable challenge to Communism in India.

Kaka Kalelkar pleads for the creation of a new culture of *Sarvodaya* in the life of humanity, co-ordinating various lessons of history. And the Sevagram resolution seeks "to strive towards a society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for the development of individuals as well as groups". Vinoba describes *Sarvodaya* as a revolutionary *idea* — to be thought over and acted upon. In this world, torn by violence in thought, word and deed, darkened by the clouds of distrust and hatred hanging over mankind, in this thickening gloom, *Sarvodaya* is indeed a ray of tender light promising health and life; it is a sure balm for ailing humanity. But will man heed wisdom?

"The Aryan Path" February, 1953

Money Economics — A Menace to Humanity

— N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN M. A. —

"Money has no invariable and constant value of its own, and has only helped the less honest to come to the fore-front. If human values are to predominate, money has to be pulled down from its seat of authority. When it disappears, and in its company avarice and deceit vanish, human society will prosper and transform itself into a heaven on earth."

THE ORIGIN OF MONEY

Happy should have been the primitive days when money was not created. Man worked with his limbs and got all his necessities in return. The able-bodied worked and kept well the old and infirm and reared the children. It was all work, direct return and consumption. He produced his own implements and reared his cattle when he felt the need for them. When his needs multiplied he put in more labour to produce them. When one had more of anything with him, he gave it to the one who needed it and got back from him what he needed in return. The production and possession of more than needed by one naturally led to the institution of property. But natural things have a short life and undue accumulation of anything is not profitable. Then money came in as a measure of value of things. This simple measuring rod of value—mainly of human labour—has now out-grown its small stature and has assumed a form of its own, and has become the chief motive of all human activities. Thus the created money has become the master of the creator.

MONEY MECHANISING MAN

This created money has a magic power for propagating itself, for he who has it, is enabled to make more of it, and he who has not it never gets at it. It has become capital and multiplies without human effort. It has a price — interest — for its temporary use. Mere possession of money assures its owner all the necessities of life without any labour on his part. It helps its owner to command the labour of others and to make a profit out of others labour. Money out to make profit breeds faster in the production of non-essentials. Likewise it encourages the consumption of non-essentials. It mechanises man and changes his attitude and behaviour. The human touch everywhere has disappeared before money motive, and the finer instincts have yielded place to money craze. This money craze pulls down all; the non-

monied become automatons, while the monied become the devils ravaqing human society.

LABOUR AND MONEY

Money coming in between labour and its produce has revolutionised values. It has now ceased to be a constant measure of value, especially of human labour. The labour spent in producing the primary needs of man is valued low, while labour expended in the production of non-essentials is valued high. The labour involved in creating money is valued most. The banker gets the highest wages while the farm labourer gets the lowest wages. In between these range the wages of others, the general rule being the most essential labour getting the least in terms of money. Thus money has totally lost its original function and has turned topsyturvy all human values.

GAMBLING IN MONEY VALUES

Money after its long evolution has now a thousand forms, not one having any intrinsic worth of its own. The nickel and bronze coins, the currency notes and the negotiable instruments have all been given values which are not constant. The value of money is being so constantly manipulated by those who create it. The price indices, the trade balances and the schemes of financiers all go to vary the value of money. But the general tendency is to increase money and to lower its value, but the manipulations in its value is such as to help the monied to get more of it to the detriment of others. The expansion of money helps to create a false sense of prosperity though facts go against it. Now we are told that the per capita income of an Indian is about Rs. two hundred and fifty, many times more than what it was before the war, but the fact is that while many had enough to eat and to wear, there, we have to live on short rations now. Lacking the primary necessities of life we are led to believe that we are on the road to prosperity. The increased money wages of the labourer only serves to console him in

his poverty. The expanding services of the State to the citizen in terms of money come to nothing when actual services are counted. This money with varying values plays havoc with the debtor and the creditor, making both of them lose the sense of morality.

MONEY BREEDING PROPERTY INSTINCT

The property instinct of man is given a great fillip by money. Before its inception man could keep only a little of his necessities, for nature allows its produce life only for the short duration needed for its reproduction. Money with almost a permanent lease of life and as a commodity which can be conveniently and safely kept, helped man to convert his produce into money and to build his property. Man can conveniently keep any amount of money, can conveniently send it to any corner of the world, can buy any property anywhere and get its yield to his own place. There are convenient devices for all these transactions. While one having a few heads of cattle or a few bits of land is proclaimed a man of means, one having millions can easily pass for a beggar. This convenience has made all money-mad, one vying with the other to gather and to keep more and more of it. To the extent that it gathers with one, the others are the losers, for however manipulated money has to ultimately base itself on human labour and its produce. So money helps one to gather the fruits of others labour in so many surreptitious ways, which in main is the cause of all the miseries of humanity.

THE DOUBLE LOSS TO THE TILLER

The insignificant and the unknown peasant with his small extent of paternal land and his humble cottage will lead a happy and prosperous life if not for the interference of money. He works hard and gets from the generous nature all that he needs, but money does not leave him alone. His hard work and bumper harvests leave him poorer and starving, caught in the meshes of money economy. He has to use money to buy his needs and in selling his surpluses. Both ways he is made to lose, for the merchant who helps him in both the transactions makes more money than the peasant. Caught in money economy he deals with others in terms of money, for he is not allowed to deal otherwise. He has his money obligations—taxes and debts,—and to meet them he parts with his produce in a hurry and gets very little of its real worth. Money economy infuses in him a

false sense of profit and prompts him to go speculating. The more he stoops to it, the steeper becomes his fall. The money prices of his produce are so unsettled that they always leave him the poorer. Speculation forces him to borrow, which he has to return with interest. If he borrows when prices are high and when the prices go down his crash sets in and he is forced to take leave of his land. He is too humble to understand the variations in the value of money, and those who manipulate it are the least inclined to consider the interests of the peasant. From the village merchant to the tax collecting Government all are bent on taking away from him more than what is due from him. The manipulations of the currency is the game of the magnates who are out to exploit the money-less. The peasant is impoverished not by his lack of industry, not by a ungenerous nature, but by the money economy. This ultimately leads him to part with his land. After disposing of his paternal land, he walks out into the strange wilderness in search of a living. In this venture, thousands perish while one comes out successful.

VINOBAJI'S MOVEMENT

Vinobaji's attempt to replace money economy by labour economy though in the limited sphere of his Ashram is born of the appreciation of the danger to humanity ruled by money economy. The real factor to be counted should be labour expended in producing the necessities of life. If it were so, there may not be much variation in the value of things. Now we find labour spent in the production of sugar is valued more than that of the labour in manufacturing jaggery, while that in the production of rice—the food of man—is valued least. The weaver who weaves cloth gets considerably less than what the tailor gets for his cutting and stitching the cloth. The poor school master—the maker of the future citizen—stands no comparison to the lawyer who in turn pales into insignificance before the Cinema Star. Money wages increase for labour which confers no real benefit to humanity. Money has no invariable and constant value of its own, and has only helped the less honest to come to the fore-front. If human values are to predominate, money has to be pulled down from its seat of authority. When it disappears, and in its company avarice and deceit vanish, human society will prosper and transform itself into a heaven on earth.



HONOURING GANDHIJI

- DR. C. S. S. SARMA

How would you discharge the duty and honour of having been Gandhiji's contemporary? Do you know that there are many things which you can do, which do not cost a single pie to preach or practise?

(1) You may just decide to speak the truth and shame the devil; (2) You can get up early in the morning at least if not hours before the sun-rise; (3) You can be punctual; (4) You can pledge yourself to be tolerant in thought, word and deed; (5) If you cannot fast now and then, at least you may eat just what you want and no more and do not waste or throw away food and see that your children too observe this; (6) You may travel light and travel 'third' and endure the extremes of weather,— having been born in a country which has all sorts of climates and conditions to harden the human constitution; (7) You may, if you have that much will, practise self-control as the best form of birth control; (8) You may mentally picture to yourself that Triple-Monkey-Miniature, the group that symbolically closed their eyes, ears, and mouth to symbolise that they would not see, hear or speak evil; (9) You may say Ram Dhun, relax and regenerate at the same time; (10) You may at least learn to study, sympathise with or even beg to serve that curious creature, the 'common man', the dumb-driven millions of India, the landless ryot, the oppressed worker, the man who cannot get even a single square meal a day all through his dreary existence.

We turn now to those items that cost a little. (1) Of course there is the self-spun and self-woven Khaddar; (2) You can, little by little, reduce your wants, and aim at "non-possession absolute" at some distant date; (3) You can give not a mere 10 days' pay, but anything you can spare for the numerous all-India objectives for which he sold autographs, auctioned souvenirs, made forced marches and melted the minds and lightened the purses of millionaires; (4) You can adopt a Harijan boy or girl and bring them up as a member of your household without coercion, mental reservation or hypocrisy or expectation of any return and even in the face of ingratitude, as a species of racial atonement; (5) You may engage a tutor and learn Hindustani in both Hindi and Urdu script; (6) You may carry a time-piece as an inexorable reminder that not only time spelt with a capital T, is money: but time is God; (7) You may travel about and use your

holidays in less sophisticated nooks and corners of your orbit, to get the rural bias, and the village uplift bias in their proper setting and help others to do so if you are yourself handicapped or under some duress; (8) You may plant a garden or otherwise produce with a little investment something, whatever your present means of livelihood and if you are a public servant try to show that service and sacrifice guide you in thought, word and deed; (9) You may read and distribute copies of the 'Gita' to your friends and relations on any important occasion; (10) If you have not given up intoxicating drinks, you can punish yourselves by putting the equivalent in cash into a savings bank and earmark it to a good cause (This applies equally to your indulgence when tempted to any other dissipation e. g., the races, women, shooting, excessive cinema-going).

There are also calls to practise Gandhiji's tenets on the heroic style and stature; (1) You can sell all and follow him as the Nehrus did; (2) you can rush with the armour of non-violence and the buckley of Truth into the thick of the battle and fall bleeding and martyred or fight on till you have a breath left; (3) you can turn yourself to be a Tolstoyean peasant, living the plain life and thinking high, and spread an illuminating, loving kindness in the environments where God has planted you; (4) you can turn Apostle and carry his message first-hand to countries where the great name has been heard and requires to be de-legended and humanized and brought to bear on live problems as the master architect talked, discoursed, commented and annotated to the uttermost detail; (5) Gandhiji's single, simple recorded voice was on God and its emphasis on whomsoever heard it was on the "altered life and conduct" of the man. He was at once converted and illuminated and endowed with grace. You may imitate Gandhiji like unto a Thomas a Kempis' Redivivus and whatever your cross, you may take your cross and work, for sure, there is no crown without its cross.

Above all, contemplate at all hours of the day and night on this eventful and epochal man born in the Bharata Bhumi, amidst portents for good and evil and the mixed heritage of many a culture and tradition which a world symposium pondered deeply over to discover its meaning and message.

From "SWATANTRA" Jan. 24, '53

A SPIRITUAL CHALLENGE TO ENSLAVING FEAR

WILFRED WELLOCK

Wilfred Wellock has been writing a series of articles in what he calls The Orchard Lea Papers developing the ideas in his brochures 'The Challenge of our Times: Annihilation or Creative Revolution?' etc. So far, four Papers have come out with the following titles: No. 1. The Supreme Crisis of our Civilisation, No. 2. The Economics of a Peaceful Society, No. 3. The Transition from a War to a Peace Economy, No. 4. A Spiritual Challenge to the Enslaving Fear of Russia. A portion of the fourth Paper is given below. All these Papers are obtainable from Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur. (Price as. 2 each.)

THE TWO POWER BLOCKS

THE IMMEDIATE outstanding world problem is the communist-capitalist [and socialist] impasse, symbolised in the Russian and the American power blocks, with many Eastern nations swaying in an uneasy independence between them.

It is outstanding because it is commanding and consuming the genius, the labour and the natural and spiritual resources of many nations, determining their way of life, narrowing their horizons, retarding their development and jeopardising the future of their young men of military age; and it is immediate because the manifold demands of a war economy are damaging almost beyond repair the material, political and social fabric of the greater part of the world. Expanding armaments, instead of resolving the impasse are frustrating humanity's spiritual powers and destroying the hope of saving Western civilisation, while should the military stock-piles now being amassed ever come into action — and who can control fear in times of intense crisis? — man's future on this planet need not concern us, as his loss of grip on basic realities will have destroyed his power and his right to survive.

SPIRITUAL BANKRUPTCY

That impasse need not and ought not to have arisen, and it has done so only because of the spiritual bankruptcy of the Democratic Nations and the consequent breakdown of the world's economy. The real enemy of mankind to-day is not communism but the fear of it, and the materialism from which that fear springs, and which even now is preventing the anti-communist block from challenging communism with an effective alternative.

The entire policy of "containing" Russia, or communism, by means of colossal military power, is the product of fear and of spiritual

impotence, for which reason it is doomed to failure. What in fact the Western nations of the American block are doing is to combat an ideology which owes its origin to the evil fruitage of their own ideology, with means which defeat their own ends. Peace and fear are incompatibles. The victories of fear turn out to be spiritual defeats, as two world wars have proved.

REVOLT AGAINST PREDATORY CAPITALISM

To these nations Russia is the black beast of the modern world. But to hundreds of millions in the Near and Far East she symbolises deliverance from the tyrannies of local potentates who, in league with Western Imperialism, have for a century carried out a policy of ruthless exploitation. Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, and General Franco are among the latest allies of that imperialism.

It is necessary to see communism in its true perspective, that is, as one of many revolts against a predatory capitalism that is now in process of disintegration. Among those revolts, in Britain, e. g., were Trades Unionism, the Co-operative Movement, Chartism or the struggle for political democracy, and socialism.

These revolts, however, while achieving a measure of success, have failed to uproot the basic evils in capitalism, especially the materialism which has equated the good life with material possessions and power, maximum consumption of goods and services, and subjugated spiritual, creative and human values to those of money.

CALL TO MAKE AMENDS FOR THE PAST

A revolution of a different order must be tried. In Orchard Lea Paper No. 2 I outlined the economic, industrial, social and cultural changes which would be necessary if world peace and well-being were to become a reality. I would now add a further

condition, that of making amends for the wrongs of the past and adopting a policy of generosity and faith. The Imperialist Powers owe to most of the nations of the East and of South America, and to Africa, a sacrificial act of penitence and recompense for a long period of ruthless exploitation of millions of helpless people. The system still continues in places, but even in the areas where it has ended, its evil effects and the bitter memory of its cruelties remain, and as long as they do so they will place in the hands of Russia a weapon equal to the military power of many armies.

The Western nations of the American block possess the means to destroy that power. Military might cannot do it: already it has failed. The fear which inspired that might is as powerful as ever, and is capable of turning into panic at very short notice.

FEAR, A GREATER EVIL THAN WAR

Gandhi said that fear was a greater evil than war, probably because fear destroys faith in spiritual agencies and thus renders war inevitable. Who can calculate the harm that has been done by the fear which American hysteria has generated since 1949?

The vast schemes of armaments expansion under the pressure of American Aid since that date may justly be described as "Operation Fear."

THE WAY OF FAITH

The triumph of fear is the death of faith. The way of faith in our time demands that the genius, the energy, the material, mental and spiritual resources of mankind be transferred from military objectives into constructive, world-rejuvenating enterprises of many kinds. Such enterprises, boldly conceived and operated, would give to mankind precisely the tonic it needs, and for lack of which it is losing its grip on reality and preparing for its own destruction in a war of weapons of unknown killing and destructive power. That destructive power in the grip of fear generated at new high pressures, will in a time of crisis pass out of man's control.

Were such a task undertaken joyfully, in the spirit of a great crusade of international dimensions, it would transform the fear of communism and Russia into a mighty victory over materialistic communism and capitalism alike, break down all the barriers of race, creed and colour, and herald a new era of creative living, and thus of personal, national and international relations.

ENSLAVING FEAR

The Colombo Plan and the Point Four programme are to-day little more than apologetic appendices of a military policy which, inspired by an enslaving fear is sapping the energies and poisoning the blood and the spirit of the very nations which ought now to be using their immense wealth and their boasted accomplishments to nourish, rehabilitate and inspire the world's depressed populations as the first step in the inauguration of a new creative era.

In such a situation Russia could do no other than accept the challenge and try to go one better, which would be all to the good. Some nation must take the lead in transferring the energies, interests and enterprises of mankind from destructive, fear-determined ends to constructive, faith-determined ones. If Russia should beat us in these enterprises, all credit to her. Let the issue from now on be: who can build the most beautiful and satisfying civilisation and the finest types of human personality!

GANDHIAN ECONOMY

The Western Powers should even now be organising a series of conferences with the social, spiritual and political leaders of the depressed nations to discuss the kind of civilisation they would like to build, and how they could best be helped to build it. It must no longer be assumed that the economic and industrial policies and techniques of the west are sacrosanct and should be adopted everywhere. In India, for example, the followers of Gandhi are trying to develop an economy and a civilisation based on Gandhi's concept of Village Republics — well-integrated agro-industrial villages, self-controlled and largely self-sufficient. Their industries would be small-scale, based on new industrial techniques and small co-operatives.

This concept, I have discovered, appeals very strongly to Eastern peoples generally and also to Africans, who, like the former, regard Western industrialism with considerable misgiving. It is, therefore, possible that along the lines of the Gandhian economy India would evolve a pattern of civilisation which would become universal for the reason that it laid chief stress on the culture and development of the human person, the common man and everyman, and the subservience of money values to spiritual and human values.

THE CHOICE BETWEEN FAITH AND FEAR

In the crisis of communism, as in all crises, there is a choice between two diametrically opposed principles, faith and fear and it is most significant that fear of communism is strongest in the United States, the wealthiest and most militarily powerful country in the world. In this faith-bereft age, day-to-day events change the thermometer of fear considerably, but especially in the United States, where it is liable to fly to danger point very quickly, a fact which brings into question the fitness of the United States for world leadership.

Huge armaments tend to make fear the most powerful emotion in a nation, whereas reliance on justice, moral courage, righteousness and truth strengthens the faith, the integrity and the spiritual power of men and nations. By the latter means Gandhi completely overcame the South African Government in 1913. To-day confronted with a much wider attack on the principle

of racial unity in South Africa, that method is again being adopted, even by Africans, who may later apply it on a staggering scale in defence of racial freedom. Moreover when Gandhi launched his policy of non-violent resistance to British rule in India, it was in opposition to a policy of terror which had already taken root. His way of faith in truth and justice triumphed over that of fear and violence, and ultimately over the might of Britain.

Fear is the defeat of the spirit as love is its triumph. All powerful emotions such as fear and love tend to mould those who experience them in the pattern of what is feared and loved. Men study so closely the things or persons they love and fear that they cultivate and embody their qualities, and so become like them. Moreover, love and worship stimulate the creative impulses and fortify the mind, whereas fear and hatred stimulate the destructive instincts and disintegrate the mind.



THE UNIQUE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

— VASANT NARGOLKAR —

I came across the following while reading the Bible. It refers to the activities of the apostles of Jesus Christ after his crucifixion and to the effect of their preaching on people:

"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common... Neither was any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid down at the apostles' feet: and the distribution was unto every man according as he had need."

This was about 1950 years ago. The passage struck me as very unusual for two reasons. The similarity of the last words in it with those in the very desirable Marxist ideal of "from everyone according to his ability to everyone according to his need!" is very striking indeed. Secondly, the incident described bears a very close resemblance to the unique movement of the Bhoodan Yagna started by Shri Vinobaji. It seems that ideas, like some recessive characteristics in

biological evolution, have also a tendency to reappear or to be reborn in different contexts and in different degrees of magnitude and intensity.

The Bhoodan Yagna movement is unique because it is completely free from any trace of hatred and violence. This is all the more remarkable against the background of the Communists' efforts in India and their achievement in Russia and China in the matter of redistribution of land without compensation. In fact, as Vinobaji is never tired of pointing out, the movement aims at achieving something much higher than mere peaceful redistribution of land. He wants to appeal to the nobler instincts of not only the rich but also those who are usually classed as belonging to the middle class and the poor. He would induce them to give their mite as well in the sacrifice, in the form of money if they are landless or in the form of voluntary free labour if they are also poor. For they too are in need, though in a much smaller measure of the preaching which gently persuades them to give up notions of private property and personal gain, to live for a larger ideal and to work for the sake of the community as a whole. The movement

is undoubtedly grand in conception and without a parallel in history. If it succeeds, India will have marched another step forward in the fulfilment of her mission of proving to the war-weary world the efficacy of non-violent solutions of the many small and big problems which plague the world today.

And yet it will be admitted that it is a big If. In spite of the uniqueness and the unexpected success which has attended the movement during the limited period of about two years, it is feared that the movement may not gather sufficient momentum to fulfil its objective within a reasonable period. I have all along felt that there is a flaw in the movement which has made it lop-sided. I had ventured to draw Vinobaji's attention to it twice during the Sarvodaya Conference held at Sevapuri last year.

We may not lose sight of the larger perspective and the larger objective which Vinobaji has in mind. It cannot, however, be denied that the success of the movement largely depends on the change of heart of the numerous big landlords who are expected to donate one-sixth of the entire land in their ownership to Vinobaji. Apart from the walking tour and the prayer meetings, the main programme naturally consists of approaching the landlords with a view to inducing them to voluntarily part with their lands. It has been the experience up till now that people are prepared to donate land to eminent Gandhians like Vinobaji and Shri Shankarraoji, to a few leading constructive workers and to well known political leaders like Shri Jayaprakashji. Hundreds of other constructive workers, however, have nothing better to do than make personal appeals to the landlords to make some contributions to the Yagna in view of the leaders' visit to some particular town or village. Steeped in the age-old culture, the people everywhere look upon Vinobaji or Shri Shankarraoji with traditional reverence similar to that shown to high priests of the yagnas of old. On all occasions whether in private or public meetings these high priests of the unique modern yagna are greatly honoured. And rightly so. For they are looked upon as representatives of all that is good in the old culture as well as of that in the new classless society yet to be born. They are in a way apostles of Gandhiji trying to spread his message after his death as did those of Jesus Christ. Hence their word and presence carry conviction with landowners and turn waverers into willing donors.

The next who share the honours of the day on such occasions are naturally the landlords who of their own accord or under moral pressure from local workers perform the ennobling act of renunciation of a part or the whole of their landed property. Their names are announced with great eclat. In exchange for the material loss they gain what is spiritually more valuable, the respect of their neighbours. None would grudge them the honour, for it must be remembered that they have succeeded in overcoming the possessive instinct in some measure, not under the threat of law, nor of physical violence but under moral persuasion only. The whole atmosphere at the Bhoodan meetings is certainly elevating and evokes the nobler sentiments in all who gather there.

But one feels that still something is lacking which, as I have said earlier, results in the lop-sidedness of the movement. And in my opinion, it is this. The donee or the landless cultivator is nowhere in the picture except as a passive receiver of land whenever it comes to be distributed. There is no room left in the present procedure for the active participation of the landless labourer. He is merely one among the spectators and admirers. In fact, however, it is for his sake that the whole movement is started. He has for centuries been deprived of the fruit of his labour. It is not for the restoration of any abstract principle of justice that Vinobaji conceived the idea of the Bhoodan Yagna. His intension was and still is to immediately make the land available to the actual tiller. His Gopal, just as much as Gandhiji's Daridra Narayan, is not a superhuman deity but the starving toiler in the fields. This Gopal, this tenant or landless labourer is for all practical purposes a non-entity in the present programme of the movement. Having no role to play except that of a silent spectator and passive receiver, he has no sense of achievement and no joy which results therefrom. He is not called upon to make any effort to recover what he has been wrongfully deprived of. The priests and the hosts do everything for him. He is expected only to continue cultivating the land, though, of course, more industriously and more scientifically than before now that it is transferred to his name.

Anything that is acquired without any effort on the part of the donee, not only loses part of its value in the donee's eyes but robs him of an opportunity for self-expression and development of personality.

The movement offers unlimited opportunity for development to the priest and to the host. This is, in fact, one of its main justifications as against the alternative Communist method of hatred and violence which degrades morally and spiritually all the three parties involved, namely, the wrong doer, his victim and the victim's saviour, in as much as all the three resort to deceit, cruelty and murder.

In order to remove the lop-sidedness of the Bhoodan Yagna movement and to make it more dynamic, it is, therefore, necessary to devise ways and means to fully associate the tenants and the landless labourers with it. It is then alone that they will realize their stakes in the success of the movement.

Constructive workers are already engaged in doing work with regard to one or the other item of the Constructive Programme amongst the villagers. As a preparation for active participation in and promotion of the Bhoodan Yagna movement they should make a list of the tenants and landless labourers in the area in the vicinity of their centre of work. They should move amongst them, listen to their grievances, try to give them, whatever relief is possible under the existing law, plead and represent their case before the landlord, the government and the people at large. When as a result of constant and close association with the constructive workers, the tenants and the landless labourers have learnt to shed fear of the landlords and of the government, the former will be truly ready to receive the message of the Bhoodan Yagna. In the Bhoodan

meetings, it should be made a point to invite, not generally but specifically, all those who have been and are cultivators but who are still landless. They should be honoured for their past and present services to the nation in as much as they have been supplying all of us with food under the most difficult conditions of work and life. They would thus be encouraged to produce more in future. Today for want of voluntary support of the landless, the Bhoodan Yagna movement is limping. When we succeed in winning their active participation, the movement will stand on its own legs and would make rapid strides. In other words, it will proceed from objective to objective through its own inherent dynamism. Till then the movement, in spite of its uniqueness, will remain restricted and will be an expression of the non-violent force of the few strong-willed elite among the Gandhians, but never of the common people who have learnt to shed fear. ★

(The Bhoodan yagna is essentially a voluntary movement of penitence and change of heart among the 'Haves' to do sheer justice to the 'Have-nots.' What is mentioned as a flaw and a drawback by Sri Nargolkar is, in our opinion, the special characteristic of this yagna. This is yet in its early stage and as it progresses to the stage of distribution among the landless it will naturally evolve into a mass movement of the 'Have-nots' for their rehabilitation. Till then, it behoves us to do our best to widely propagate the basic ideas and objectives of this unique and marvellous movement. — Ed.)

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NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

The beatification of Mgr. Apor, Bishop of Győr in Hungary has been under consideration at the Vatican.

When Allied troops entered Győr in 1945, many women sought shelter in the Bishop's residence.

A number of soldiers demanded entry. Mgr. Apor stood guard and refused to move. Several shots were fired and the Bishop was killed on the spot. The soldiers then went away.

What a classic example of non-violent resistance. If Mgr. Apor had tried to defend these women by physical violence he could not possibly have saved them. As it was he sacrificed his life for them and the soldiers were so moved by this they left the women unharmed.

— Michael J. Randle

In "Peace News" - Jan. 2, '53.

All - India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Chandil

The All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan commenced its three days' session at Chandil (Bihar), on 7th March, '53. The conference was convened by the Sarva Seva Sangh. The President Babu Rajendra Prasad, Shri Vinobaji and thousands of Sarvodaya sevaks, were present. The proceedings began with sacrificial mass spinning.

Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar, President of the All-India Spinners' Association was proposed to the chair. Babu Rajendra Prasad spoke for a few minutes. He said that the realization of the great ideals for which Mahatmaji lived and died is the objective of the Sarvodaya movement and exhorted the sevaks, "Go ahead with the noble task."

Shri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh made a touching reference to the death of Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala. He presented a printed report of the activities of the Sarva Seva Sangh during the last year. He also announced the collection of 8 lakhs of acres of land for the Bhoodan till date.

Shri Vinobaji spoke for nearly 1½ hours. In clear terms he explained the basis of an ideal society and the ideology and programme of work for the Sarvodaya sevaks. He pleaded for the division of responsibility and the decentralization of power in all spheres to ensure a sound social and economic system. Compulsory spinning for every villager, he said, should be a qualification for the right of citizenship. Since villages are the life-giving centres in India, village planning should be preferred to National planning. He reiterated his determination to collect the 5 crores acres of land by 1957.

SARVODAYA PAKSHA & MELA IN TAMIL NAD

In Tamil Nad from 31st Jan. to 12th Feb. batches of workers belonging to the Bhoodan Committees, Charkha Sangh, Kathai Mandals, Basic Education Institutions, Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tamil Nad Constructive Workers' Samithi, and similar other constructive work institutions, engaged themselves in doing intense propaganda for Bhoodan, for Sarvodaya literature, charkha and khadi, village industries, village sanitation and preparation of compost manure. In Madras a batch of workers after visiting 15 villages reached the Beach on Feb. 12th and celebrated the Mela there. 691 hanks of yarn were received towards offering. Near Chidambaram another Mela was held. 666 hanks of yarn were received as

In the afternoon session Shri Jaiprakash Narain exhorted the students to leave their schools and colleges and work for the movement for one year; if not, at least for three months of the vacation period. He has put his heart and soul in Bhoodan work and has already collected about 10,000 acres. He addressed his party members in the party meeting to put all their efforts in the Bhoodan movement for one year at least

The Sarvodaya Exhibition was opened by Shri Gopabandhu Choudhary.

On the 2nd day there were a number of group meetings of the sevaks. In the open session Shri Shankarrao Deo appealed to all Sarvodaya workers to concentrate on Bhoodan. Many sevaks spoke of their experiences and announced the land collections made by them. Shri Kumari Mala, daughter of Shri Damodardas Mundada, the youngest speaker of the day announced amidst cheers the collection of 162 acres for Bhoodan in 13 days by her party of girls.

On the final day, the Sarva Seva Sangh placed a resolution appealing for country-wide prohibition and congratulating the Bombay and Madras Governments for introducing prohibition in their States and called upon the other State Governments to follow their example at the earliest.

Vinobaji, in his closing speech on the day advised the sevaks not to take any extreme sides in their attitude to the Five Year Plan and the Community Project of the Government and to support the Government in all its good and sound items of welfare work. With Vinobaji's speech the conference concluded.

offerings. 6 batches of workers after touring in some villages in Tanjore district reached Srirangam and participated in the mela there.

From 4 different centres, 4 groups of sevaks toured in about 200 villages in Ramnad dist. 5 batches of workers from 5 different centres toured in about 70 villages in Madurai dist. These two district workers went to Rameswaram on 12th Feb for the Mela. 2300 hanks of yarn were offered. 4 batches of workers started from 4 different centres and visited about 70 villages in Tirunelveli dist. and collected about 119 hanks of yarn.

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NOTES AND NEWS

MR. BEVAN AT GANDHI GRAM

Director, Gandhi Gram, Chinnalapatti, Madhurai Dist. reports as follows:

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, member of the British Cabinet in Mr. Atlee's Government, paid a visit to Gandhi Gram at 11 p. m. on 27-2-'53.

After being received he was taken around the Institution. He evinced a great interest in the activities going on.

Later he addressed a gathering consisting of the students and workers of Gandhi Gram and a number of people from the nearby villages, for a few minutes.

Stating that the great kindness and hospitality with which he was treated while in India made him feel deeply humble, Mr. Bevan went on:

"This is the first time that a member of the British Cabinet that existed after liberation of India has paid a protracted visit to India. I have, therefore, been all the more affected by the, if I may be allowed to say, intensity of the affection I have received because it is clear that the Indian people are only too ready to forget what we are not too eager to remember. It is, therefore, so pleasant to realize that the friendship that exists between the ordinary men and women in India and the ordinary men and women in England is much greater, than that which exists between any other peoples in the world. Now I am here after having a long fight to come here. I want to see whether work has been done or merely talked about. Now it seems to me that what you are doing and what you are going to do is in some respects the most important work in the world. I think, perhaps it is not easy for you to appreciate quite how important it is. You are so near to it that perhaps you do not see in the proper perspective.

"We are very anxious in Europe to find out whether India can transform her society, her present population, backward way of life, with more advanced methods without having to resort to the coercive methods which have been adopted in other countries.

"There is obviously a very great gap between the urban population of India, especially some of them, and the peasantry of India. The less that gap is narrowed the greater the civilization. You have certain advantages which we do not have. And the

most important one is that you started later than we did. So you can benefit by all the mistakes we made. And no one can say that we have not made many. Also the Soviet Union has made many mistakes. So also China is inclined to make mistakes. So India can show us the way. What she has to do is to prove them that free men and women by the use of free institutions can raise the material standard of life and maintain the essential virtues. I wish you all success in your work. I hope you will be able to resist the greatest of all temptations — that is you will not separate the ordinary village from the village you have made here. With good luck it may not be long when I shall come again to India, and I hope to see all this transformed into normal Indian village life."

Mr. Bevan left Gandhi Gram for Madhurai at 11-45 P. M.

ALL INDIA KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

The Board, at its sittings in Delhi on the 2nd and 3rd March, '53 is reported to have made the following proposals:-

1. Shri Pranlal S. Kapadia is appointed as its member secretary.
2. Two sub-committees were proposed, one for khadi and the other for village industries, to draw up the programmes and budgets for the year and also to frame rules for the recruitment of staff prescribing their qualifications, experience etc.
3. A grant of Rs. 9 lakhs as subsidy to the A I S A for 1952 and a loan of Rs 30 lakhs for the purchase of cotton for the Khadi production programme for the next year were proposed.
4. Two sub-committees were proposed (i) to conduct a rapid survey of the existing arrangements for the training of artisans and instructors and (ii) for the extension of facilities for research, in connection with the development of the ten village industries mentioned in the Five Year Plan. The Board with a view to provide contacts, decided to call informations from State Governments regarding the work of development of village industries and the production and the sale of khadi and also the machinery provided by those Governments for the purpose.

IMPROVED CHARKHAS

We invite special attention to the following improved models of Charkhas, which have attracted the attention of Charkha Sangh from both its own research department as well as from individuals, who have been carrying on independent research.

1) *Bapu Charkha I*: On which spinning can be done by both hands.

2) *Bapu Charkha II*: The same as No. I but with one spindle only.

(These two models are invented by Shri Naqindas Parekh of Bardoli Ashram, Gujarat)

3) *Ekambaranathan's Model*: (A) Hand driven: four spindle charkha, which can be run by the hand.

(This is invented by Papankulam Sri Ekambaranathan of Tamilnad.)

4) *Ekambaranathan's Model*: (B) Pedal driven. Four to eight spindled charkha with pedal fittings.

(This is Sri Ekambaranathan's model, but improved and developed by Shri Nandalal Patel of Wardha)

All these four models of charkhas were exhibited at the Sarvodaya Pradharshini at Nanalagar, Hyderabad. A short description of all the models are given in a leaflet published by the All India Spinners' Association, Sevagram, Wardha.

★

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN NEWS**ASSAM**

In North Laxmipur district Sreemathi Amalprabha Devi and Shri Bhuvanachandra Das toured and received about 100 bighas of land-gifts, and 2 pairs of bullocks. In Sivasagar district a shibir of 10 workers was held. Bhoodan work is being actively carried on by these workers in the villages. In Tejpur and Nangau districts 5 pairs of bulls and 700 bighas of land were collected as gifts.

UTKAL

Shri Gopabandhu Choudary completed his tour in Cuttack district where the inhabitants of Manpur village offered all the lands of the village for Bhoodan. Sreemathi Ramadevi and Iswarlal Vyas are touring in Baleswar district. Shri Viswanath Patnaick toured in Koraput district. Shri Saratchandra Maharana along with the district convenors toured in the districts of Sunderghat and Sambalpur. The total collections for the month amounted to 844.46 acres, 6 bullocks and 17 maunds of grain.

MYSORE

In North Bangalore taluk in the village Gunoojur, a Bhoodan Conference was held on 28th Jan. Shri Kadidhal Manuppa, the Revenue Minister, inaugurated the function. 23 small land-holders offered 21.50 acres of land and 4 pairs of bullocks on the occasion. The workers are carrying on active propaganda in the different taluks.

PUNJAB

Sreemathi Rameswari Nehru presided over the Hissar District Bhoodan Parishad. Shri Satyabala in the company of Shri Ganeshlalji and other workers is touring from village to village, spreading the message of B h o o d a n and has so far collected more than 2000 bighas of land. Shri Ratan Anmol Singhji has sent a gift deed of 101 acres to the Provincial Bhoodan Committee.

RAJASTHAN

Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra in Rajasthan was very successful and it yielded results beyond the expectation of the workers there. Kisans, as well as Jagirdars, labourers as well as employers, all alike actively took part. The students on their own initiative took enthusiastic interest. About 18,000 acres of land-gifts were received.

MAHARASHTRA

Shri Shankarrao Deo, after completing his tour in Rajasthan, began his Maharashtra Yatra on the 24th Jan. He toured in East Khandesh for about 15 days and received 1500 acres of land-gifts. Then he proceeded to Vidarbha and was touring there till 1st March. Shri Annasaheb toured in 21 villages of Sholapur district and collected 76 acres. Shri Appa Saheb Patwardhan undertook a tour in Ratnagiri district and received about 1100 acres. The total collection up to 15th Feb. in Maharashtra is 4198 acres of land.

BIHAR

The provincial Congress workers are busy doing active propaganda in the villages to collect their declared quota of 4 lakhs of acres before the Sarvodaya Sammelan. The people of Siadih village offered the whole of their village land to Bhoodan. In the whole of the province the collection up to 25th Feb. is one lakh of acres.

During the convalescent days of Vinobaji several members of his party scattered themselves in the different villages in order to spread the message of Bhoodan from door to door. Sri M. G. Venkateswaran of Tamil Nad, who joined Vinobaji's party early in the Bhoodan movement, with his colleague Sri Diwakerji began touring in the villages of Buddha Gaya in the 1st week of Jan. Within 6 days they received 200 acres of land from 60 donors. During the next week with the co-operation of the local Congress and Praja-Socialist workers they collected another 250 acres. Till the 7th March the total collection made by them in Buddha Gaya dist. is 7500 acres.

UTTAR PRADESH

Distribution of lands has been started in many districts. Babu Purushotamdasji Thandon, Baba Raghavadasji, Shri Karan Bhai and others are engaged in Bhoodan tours to complete the quota of 5 lakhs before the Sarvodaya Sammelan.

MADHYA PRADESH

Shri Dada Dharmadikari, Shri Dadabhai Naik and others are carrying on intensive propaganda in the districts of Vidarbha. The total collection in the province up to 25th Feb. is 12,595.75 acres.

KERALA

Under the auspices of the Calicut Taluk Bhoodan Committee, Shri Vishnu Bharatheeyan* in the company of some workers toured in many villages in the taluk for a fortnight (30th Dec. to 16th Jan.) and collected 62.76 acres of land.

*We regret for our slip in the previous issue 'Keralaleeyan' for Bharatheeyan.

TAMIL NAD

In the districts of Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramnad and Coimbatore, Bhoodan Yatras were well-organised by the local leaders. Batches of workers toured on foot through a number of villages spreading the message of Bhoodan. Mass sacrificial spinning, collection

of Bhoodan, sale of khadi and Gandhian literature of the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya were the most important items of their programmes.

On the 17th Jan. Sri S. Jagannathan, convenor of the Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee with a band of Tirunelveli district workers started on a Yatra from Cape Comorin in Travancore State. The party reached Koilpatti on the 12th Feb. The total collections of land for Bhoodan for the period is 1246.65 acres from 219 persons. Three persons offered 1/6 of their landed property. There was also a Sampath-Dan of Rs. 2349 per year. Kadayannallur Sri Subbaya Mudaliar alone offered Rs. 2000, 1/20 of his income per year. Besides these a donation of 16 pairs of bulls was also received.

Again, on 16th Feb. Sri Jagannathan started on another Yatra in Periyakulam taluk of Madurai district. Sri V. Guruswami, the taluk convenor did a great deal of spade work beforehand in the area. The Yatra was inaugurated by Sri Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Provincial Congress Committee. The total collections in the taluk for the 12 days was over 320 acres.

Sri. R. Krishnaswami Naidu, M. L. A., organised and led the Bhoodan Yatra in Srivilliputhur taluk of Ramnad district. The party started on 30th Jan. and toured till 12th Feb. in 110 villages and did intense propaganda for Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. They sold over Rs. 800 worth of khadi, enrolled 61 subscribers for 'Sarvodaya' magazine and received land-gifts of 161.44 acres. The Charkha Sangh worker Sri R. Venkitakrishnan took a very enthusiastic part all through in the Yatra.

In Erode taluk Sri T. P. Ramaswami in the company of a fairly good number of workers started a Bhoodan Yatra on 30th Jan. The party visited till 10th Feb. 143 villages addressing meetings and spreading the message of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. In all places the party was well received by the local people and collected 156.87½ acres of land, 13 bulls and a Sampath-Dan of Rs. 200 per month, Rs. 100 from Sri Meenakshi Sundaram, Chairman of Erode Municipality, and the other Rs. 100 from Sri Dr. L. K. Muthuswamy. The Charkha Sangh workers and members of the Praja-Socialist Party also joined the Yatra.

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