

SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

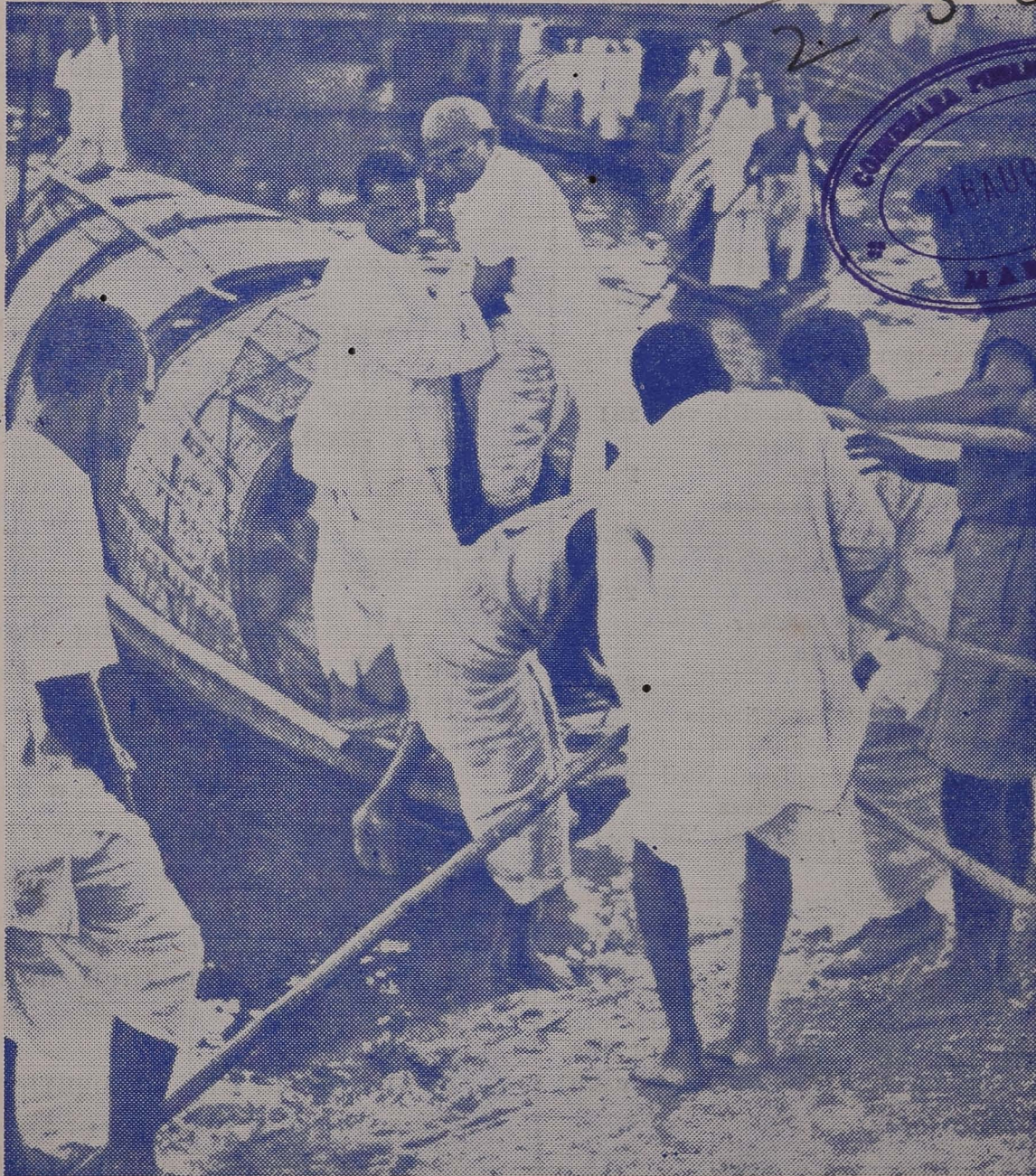


Vol. 2

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GANDHIJI IN NAKHALI YATRA

Photo — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot

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SARVODAYA

S. No. JUNE 1953 24

CONTENTS

The Ideal of Real Village Swaraj	266
— Gandhiji	
Bhoodan Yagna: An Inspired Movement	267
— Vinoba Bhave	
Vinobaji's Opening Speech at Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan (3)	268
The Next Step of Bhoodan Movement	271
— Shankarrao Deo	
The Significance of Bhoodan Yagna	272
— C. Rajagopalachariar	
An American's Discourse with Vinobaji	273
— Mrs Gynavati Darbar	
Sarvodaya and Marxism	275
— S. N. Agarwal	
Gandhian Organisations in America	277
— Douglass Kelley	
Moral Re-armament	279
— John Caulfield	
B. B. C. Tribute to Vinoba Bhave	281
— Hallam Tennyson	
Education for a New Life	282
— Margorie Sykes	
The Creative Society	283
— Wilfred Wellock	
Education for Revolution	284
— Kaka Kalelkar	
Constructive Programme and Bhoodan	286
— Jaiprakash Narain	
Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolution	287
Bhoodan Distribution in Tamil Nad	288
— S. Jagannathan	
Index for Sarvodaya from July '52 to June '53.	289

To Our Readers

With this number **Sarvodaya** completes its second year and the third year commences from July '53.

An index of the articles of the **Sarvodaya** from July '52 to June 1953 is appended to this number. This will give an idea of the general principles which have guided us in the selection of articles and subjects within the limited size of the magazine.

We are aware of the possibility of improving the get-up and printing. We have the pleasure to inform our readers that arrangements have been made to bring out 'Sarvodaya' from the next July number in bigger types.

All efforts are being made to publish the next issue on the 1st July. But we would ask the readers to bear with us for any unavoidable delay of a few days on account of the change over to new types.

We thank all the subscribers and readers for their kind encouragement.

We would like to mention that the scope and features of the **Sarvodaya** magazine can be enlarged if there is substantial increase in the circulation.

Bound Volume of Sarvodaya

Bound Volumes of **Sarvodaya** for the Second year are available at Rs. 5/- each inclusive of postage.

Copies of some of the back numbers of **Sarvodaya** are available at 4 As. each including postage.

SARVODAYA, Devji Colony, TIRUPUR



A PORTRAIT UNVEILED BY
SRI. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
CHIEF MINISTER, MADRAS.

(His speech was published in our 'Sarvodaya' Jan. '53)

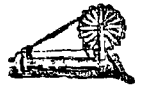


By Courtesy: Government Arts College, Madras.

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The Ideal of Real Village Swaraj

MAHATMA GANDHI

Nine years ago on 2nd September '44 Gandhiji addressed the Trustees of the All India Spinners' Association at Sevagram, after deeply pondering over the part played by the Charkha in his movement for national freedom. In a moving speech he advised the Charkha Sangh to decentralise itself and its activities so that the charkha may take root in the lakhs of villages for achieving real Swaraj. Nine years later, it is the same object that has inspired the Charkha Sangh to totally merge itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh for collectively working for the total decentralisation of political power and for realising economic equality for the masses in the villages. Gandhiji's message given to the Charkha Sangh nine years ago will be the ideal for the Sarva Seva Sangh to strive for. Mr. Tendulkar has included this historic speech in the Sixth Volume of his MAHATMA, from which this extract is taken.

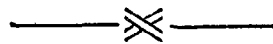
In the first week of September, trustees of the All India Spinners' Association conferred at Sevagram. Gandhi addressing them remarked that the knowledge that the Government could crush the Charkha Sangh, if it wanted to, had affected him deeply. He did not wish to exist at the mercy of the Government. Mercy he would have none except God's. Under the circumstances, would it not be better that he should break up the Charkha Sangh himself and distribute the property of the Charkha Sangh among the villagers? If it had penetrated every home in the 700,000 villages of India, who could crush it? The Government could not imprison forty crores of men and women, nor could they shoot down all of them. Even if one crore out of the forty crores were shot dead that would not retard, but on the contrary would hasten the attainment of their goal. He had told them often enough that they should forget politics and concentrate on the spinning wheel with all its

implications. That and that alone he considered to be true politics, *Satvic* politics. Every village that assimilated the message of the wheel would begin to feel the glow of independence. If the Charkha Sangh was to fulfil his expectations, its members should be the living examples of non-violence. Their whole life should be a demonstration of ahimsa in action and they should have healthy bodies and healthy minds. If they had been what they should be, the villagers would have taken to the charkha most enthusiastically. The problems of communal disharmony and of untouchability, etc., would have vanished like dew before the morning sun. It was in order to enable the Charkha Sangh to attain what it had failed to attain so far that he had suggested breaking it up into its component parts. He would suggest distributing the money that the Charkha Sangh possessed among the able workers who should go the villages with the determination of devoting their lives to the

spread of the wheel. Today Charkha Sangh was a highly centralised institution. Tomorrow it would become completely decentralised. All the workers who go to villages would run their independent centres. The central office would inspect their work and give them necessary guidance, so that the principles for which the Charkha Sangh stood did not suffer neglect. A joint board of the Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh and Talimi Sangh should be formed and it should issue the necessary directions from time to time for giving effect to the new policy. They should consider themselves jointly responsible for the full evolution of non-violence. Its full evolution would mean complete independence. The independence which could bring relief and happiness to the lowliest and the lost could only come through non-violence, that is to say through the wheel. Therefore, if they could make the Charkha Sangh serve that purpose, they would have all his co-operation. If not, they could continue as a mere philanthropic organisation, but that would not be enough

for him. In that case, they must leave him to plough his lonely furrow.

"The Constructive Worker," he said, "must have a wide knowledge and broad vision to be able to give some guidance, even in the sphere of all India politics. Today, we think that our activities can get strength only if Rajaji, that is the Congress ministry, returns to power. If this is the situation, it is far from satisfactory. Why should we look to the Viceroy's palace for finding a solution of the present political deadlock? If we begin to do our work with confidence and faith, the Viceroy will have to come to us. Our work shall be such that the Viceroy will realise that it is impossible for him to rule over us. He will realise that it is impossible to keep us in bondage any more. When 700,000 of our villages will begin work with this faith and energy, our slavery will disappear of its own accord. Every village shall have become self-reliant and free. This is the real swaraj and this alone will bring true democracy."



BHOODAN YAGNA: AN INSPIRED MOVEMENT

VINOBA BHAVE

Acharya Vinoba Bhave addressing a prayer meeting on 4-4-'53, said that if the Bhoodan movement failed, a violent revolution would be inevitable. He believed, however, that God wanted a non-violent revolution in this country.

Acharya Bhave said: "I was asked by a friend as to what I would do in case my movement fails. Usually, such a question never troubles me, because I regard the *Bhoodan Yagna* as a movement inspired by God. A feeble man that I am, I have no abilities to lead such a movement. But I replied that if my movement fails, a violent revolution was inevitable.

"Nothing can happen against the wishes of God, and so if He desires our total annihilation,

He will make our reason fail and make us do acts leading to deluge. His wishes are to-day as clear as daylight. When the children and youth of this nation are singing Bhoodan songs and poor people are donating their lands, it creates an atmosphere for the rich to realise that it is necessary to part with their lands. We cannot but conclude that God wants non-violent revolution alone to take place in this country. That is why He is making me wander from place to place to spread his message.

"Let us realise that God wants this blessed land to make a successful experiment in bringing social and economic revolution by peaceful means. Let us realise this and be worthy of the tasks He has assigned us." ★

(Report of a speech in Giridhi in Bihar on 4-4-'53)

Acharya Vinobaji's Opening Speech (3)

At Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan

On 7th March, 1953

This is the concluding part of Shri Vinobaji's opening speech at the Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan. The first two portions had appeared in the April and May issues of our 'Sarvodaya'.



SARVODAYA SAMAJ AND SARVA SEVA SANGH

Now I shall say a few words about the organisational aspect of our work. We have the two bodies, the Sarvodaya Samaj and the Sarva Seva Sangh. The former will continue to function in name expressing the force of idea and the latter will do the concrete work. Under the combined strength of both we will proceed. The Sarva Seva Sangh will not be a loose organisation, but will be a well-knit one with strong organisational control. The Sarvodaya Samaj will have neither of the above characteristics. It will be a spiritual entity—a free association of individuals whose guiding force in life is the Sarvodaya concept. Now we have to consider how the Samaj will have to carry on its mission. There is no need for us to labour on the administrative aspect. Our work is to stimulate the thinking faculty in the people and make them mould their life under its influence. All the sevaks of the Samaj, whether their names are in the register or not, whether they are present here or not, all of them, should decide to do this work. I have already suggested the village to village and door to door propoganda. Besides, study classes should be organised in all places for the propagation of our literature. Let people study and understand our ideas and ideals and compare them with other ideologies. These will be the activities of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

UNIFICATION OF CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS

The Sarva Seva Sangh, should be made an all-inclusive body of all our different con-

structive work institutions. Of course, I have to admit that we could not achieve much in this line till today even though there was the desire. I feel that unless we do this, we won't be able to fulfil what the people expect of us. The different institutions, working in the old rut, will not be able to generate power in the people. I shall cite an example to illustrate my point. It is not with the idea to find fault. We should realize the defects in us. There is the Hindusthani Prachar Sabha in Wardha. What happens there? Some students, not so many as before, are coming there to study the prescribed courses. The Sabha has made it compulsory that every student should learn both the Hindi and Urdu languages, and also the *Nagari* and the *Urdu* scripts even though the existing atmosphere is not in favour of it. I do not think that this constructive work of the sabha will really help to increase the strength of the nation. I wish that the students coming there would learn not only their main subjects of languages and scripts but also would get some training in agriculture, spinning, cooking etc. There should be homogeneity in every activity.

WORKERS' ILLUSION AND FEAR

The boys who come there to learn the two scripts only, can never contribute to make the nation strong. I am now talking and you are hearing. If your ears are cut and separated from you and my tongue is pulled and kept apart, neither will you be able to hear nor can I talk. You hear as your ears are one with you. I talk because my tongue is one with me. This is only

an example. Our workers, engaged in the different constructive activities do not develop the real strength to bring about the necessary revolution in society which we desire. They do not succeed because they work in water-tight compartments. Of course they do good work but they are under the illusion that they are all separate, working and specialising in a particular ideal. Further they feel that they will not be able to concentrate as much on their particular ideal as at present, if all merge into one institution. They also fear that many other activities will come in which will slaken their drive. Of course, I do admit that in every plan there are some advantages as well as some disadvantages. But considering the sum total of the effect, it will be seen that we will not be able to develop real strength and power which we desire to create in our people unless these different institutions merge in the Sarva Seva Sangh. •

FIVE CRORES OF ACRES OF BHOODAN

At least 5 crores of acres of land should be transferred to the landless labourers before 1957. If all of us concentrate our full attention and energy on this, it can be achieved. By 'us' I mean not the Sarvodaya Samaj sevaks alone, but the Congress men, the Praja Socialists and every one else who accepts the ideal behind the mission. We should achieve success in solving the land problem mainly through *Jana-sakti*—the strength and initiative of the general public. If it materializes 75% or even 50% by the initiative of the people and the rest by legislative measures, I will be happy. If it takes place with cent per cent consent by the will of the people without the interference of State, of course, I will dance with joy.

WE WANT RAMA-RAVANA FIGHT AND NOT BHISHMA-ARJUNA FIGHT

Success in Bhoodan will make the future election, not a fight between parties who have good men on either side. We do not want the Bishma-Arjuna fight, but we want the Rama-Ravana fight. Today there are good people in every party. Could it

not be possible to bring all the good people to one side? A common programme which will bring all the good men together to agree on the fundamentals, will dissolve all the differences. Now the Socialists tell me that I have seized up their programme. I admit and so ask them to help me. The Congress men say that this programme is very good. I would like them also to help me. The Jana Sangh people claim that this work is consistent with Indian culture. If these various parties accept this programme and work for it, there will not be much conflict in the coming election and the best will be elected. If this would happen it would ensure a very strong government. Such hopes I have in Bhoodan. We should not feel content with anything less than 5 crores of acres of land.

SAMPATH-DAN YAGNA

Along with Bhoodan I have initiated another programme—the Sampath-Dan Yagna. Without it, Bhoodan Yagna will not be fully successful. Without its aid the objective behind our programme of economic independence and equality will not be achieved. Even from the very beginning I knew it but I chose to do one thing at a time. Land problem was then the basic problem. The problem of money was only secondary. So I took up the land problem in Telengana when I got the hint and direction from God. Therefore in the beginning I took up only Bhoodan work but later I found that Sampath-Dan also would work along with Bhoodan when I reached Bihar where the land problem has to be decisively solved now. Here I don't desire to deal in full with Sampath-Dan. I would like to mention only this much that we won't take the money (wealth) in our custody. Through it we desire to bring about the decentralization, in its utility—*Karthruthwa-vibhagen*. In other words, our plan is to leave the money in the hands of the donor himself with the instruction to use it as per our guidance. It is not desired to have this movement on a mass scale like Bhoodan. In a restricted way, it will be on individual scale. Through

personal approach, by love we should touch and move the hearts of the individual and his family dependents to take part in the yagna. Those who have offered have promised to give it every month for life. After sufficient investigation and testing alone, I accepted their gifts. I exercised a little control instead of encouraging it. I have with me the names of 40 to 45 such donors. I appeal to you all to release the hoarded wealth and to do propaganda amongst friends through love. Both these movements, Bhoodan and Sampath-dan, are interdependent and complementary.

SUTHANJALI - YARN OFFERING

In addition to these two programmes, there is the *Suthanjali* — yarn offering. It is a thing of great potentiality which we could not recognise yet. Let yarn be offered in memory of Bapu, as a symbol of the recognition of the dignity of physical labour, and with the realization of one's own duty to increase the wealth of the nation. I consider it as a vote for Sarvodaya.

This *Suthanjali* work gives stimulus to our work as it gives us the chance to go from village to village and house to house. It has to be encouraged and if possible we should collect lakhs and lakhs of yarn hanks. It will help us to develop the sense of the dignity of labour among the people.

INSTITUTIONS FREE FROM MONETARY AID

Till now we have been running our institutions with the help of money donations from our sincere, good and sympathising rich friends. But times have changed now. We are living now in the days when the power of labour rules. We must try to start one or two institutions in every province which will run solely with labour contribution and without the need of money. In the early stage we can help them to supplement their need with the yarn offerings we collect. Such institutions will train up real and energetic workers who will engage themselves in the work of our mission. These, in short, are the different aspects of our programme and work. I hope you would bestow

sufficient thought on them and would be guided by them in your future work.

SARVODAYA WORKERS AND "THIRD FORCE"

In conclusion let me give you one word of caution. Our work is not on party lines or on sectarian principles. The word 'Sarvodaya-wala' is a misnomer. You should not use it. We are nothing more than mere human beings as anybody else. The Sarvodaya Samaj is not an organisation in the ordinary sense and we should not allow it to degenerate into a sectarian or party group. We should avoid the use of such terms that such and such a person is a Socialist, such and such an individual is a Congressite and such and such a worker is a Sarvodaya-wala. Others may think in terms of party labels and let them call themselves so, as it may be advantageous to them. Ours is not a party. We belong to the 'Third Force'. By 'Third Force' I mean not that 'force' which international politics calls as that power which stands aloof from both the American Bloc and the Russian Bloc. By 'Third Force' I mean that 'Force' which is opposed to *Himsa Sakthi* (Force of Violence) and which is distinct and different from *Dhanda Sakthi* or State-Force. The first is the 'Violent Force', the second is the 'Government Force' and the third is the '*Jana Sakthi*' (People's Force). We should make this 'third force' strong and keep it free from party politics and sectarianism. To achieve it we should mix and move with the people and identify ourselves entirely one with them. We should always bear in mind that we are simply human beings as any one else. ★

TO FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS

We are thankful to many friends in foreign countries who are interested in **Sarvodaya Magazine**. Some of them are sending their currency notes in envelopes as subscription. We are sorry that they have to be returned as they cannot be cashed here unless they are sent through post-office or through regular banking channels. We request friends to send us money equivalent to Rs. 4 in Indian currency for each annual subscription.

SARVODAYA,

DEVJI COLONY, TIRUPUR, S. INDIA

THE NEXT STEP OF BHOODAN MOVEMENT

SHANKARRAO DEO

Not only did we reiterate at Chandil the great vow of collecting 25 lakhs acres of land for Bhoodan Yagna to which we had pledged ourselves at Sevapuri in 1952, but we also further solemnly pledged that we shall not feel content with collecting only 25 lakhs acres of land in the next 12 months but shall collect 5 crores acres of land before 1957 with a view to prepare a ground for the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj free from exploitation and based on equality.

An expeditionist climbing a peak of a mountain like the Himalayas has a happy experience of having the sight of a peak still higher and is even more inspired to capture that also. Shri Vinobaji secured the first gift of 100 acres in April, 1951. By the time of Sevapuri Conference the people had offered him one lakh acres of land. At Sevapuri the Sarvodaya workers fixed the target of collecting 25 lakhs acres of land for the Bhoodan Yagna in two years. 7 to 8 lakhs out of these 25 lakhs were collected by the time of Chandil Conference. The Uttar Pradesh had nearly finished the quota of 5 lakhs by collecting 4.75 lakhs.

The fact that thousands of land owners big and small donated 7 to 8 lakhs acres of land for the Bhoodan Yagna within a period of one year though a part of that year was spent in creating the necessary faith and right insight regarding the idea in the workers and people at large and in building an organisation for the attainment of the target, itself amply proves that the flame of the Bhoodan Yagna is aglow in the hearts of the public and the Bhoodan Yagna has assumed the form of a national movement.

But for enthusing the movement with vehemence and speed workers making it a life-mission should offer themselves in large numbers. With this end in view the Chandil

Conference called upon those having faith in the idea of ... Sarvodaya and specially the constructive workers to give priority Bhoodan Yagna.

During the last two years there was an incessant propaganda for Bhoodan Yagna through out the country. But it is a common experience that the propaganda is always short of the need. There is a certain stage and time in propaganda when the actual work invigorates. The workers should therefore utilise all their energy and the propaganda and the time for the actual collection of land. We must remember that a great pledge is crowned with success by the combination of an alert body, a concentrated mind and a tranquil heart.

All crop ready for harvest must be reaped this year. Though Chandil Conference has specially called upon the constructive workers believing in the idea of Sarvodaya and youths of the country to devote all their time for the movement, an all embracing policy will have to be followed as the task is to be accomplished through non-violence and change of heart. There are thousands of workers who have sacrificed in this movement and the number is ever increasing. All these donors small or big are all our active workers. The organisers of the regional Bhoodan Yagna Committees should skillfully prepare schemes by which each worker will get work according to his capacity and in his own sphere of work. Each worker should be allotted a definite sphere. He should visit each village in the sphere and should aim at spreading the message of Sarvodaya and getting at least 5 acres of land from each village after the Sevapuri resolution. If each worker works with the firm determination, we can surely believe that the target of 25 lakhs shall be fulfilled before April 1954. ★

The Significance of Bhoodan Yagna

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

Vinobaji has been advising the Bhoodan committees to concentrate on the completion of collection of quota fixed for each province before distribution. Though Tamilnad has collected only about 8500 acres out of its target of one and a half lakhs of acres of land, for special reasons and under exceptional circumstances Vinobaji approved the distribution of about 250 acres of Bhoodan to 55 landless families in Arachalur village. The distribution was done by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar on 17th May '53 under a grand function attended by thousands of villagers.

The Bhoodan Yagna has been accepted and commended as a unique and marvellous non-violent revolution by all leaders and parties. It has drawn the attention and admiration of the leading press of the world. But Rajaji has been studiously reticent on this great yagna. This function presented an opportunity to hear Rajaji's views and have his blessings. His speech is therefore specially important. A brief press-report of the Tamil speech is given below from *The Hindu*.

Speaking at the Bhoodan function at Arachalur village, 12 miles from Erode, on 17th May, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister, said that the Bhoodan Yagna helped to strengthen society and hoped that the recipients of land would endeavour to increase production.

The Chief Minister said many good persons had given lands and many good people received lands and bulls but in between them he and Mr. Subramaniam got the honour of distributing them. Persons, who received land, he hoped, would till it hard and peacefully and without quarrelling with neighbouring landlords. It was a well known fact that for one inch of land the people of this district would go to the courts and if they failed in the litigation, they would resort even to action by themselves. Perhaps for this reason, the Bhoodan function was arranged first in this district bearing in mind the frequent land disputes here. He thought that this movement would help in the creation of the proper approach in dealing with such questions. If the people got joy in getting land, there would be an incentive to greater production.

The former Pattayagar, the Chief Minister said, used to look after cattle and the present Pattayagar had gone a step further in having at heart the welfare of the cultivators themselves. They should all pray that such an attitude continued in their family.

The Chief Minister added that he felt somewhat sorry to hear that gifts from even small landowners had been accepted by the committee.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the agriculturists of Coimbatore district knew the science of agriculture and the usefulness of green manuring well. In fact, he thought there was no need for agricultural demonstrators for this district. It was also due to the scarcity of rainfall in that area that the people had become more industrious and strong. The Chief Minister expressed fear at the idea of the Bhoodan Committee to enlist volunteers because it would give rise to friction and trouble. Volunteers might resort to bullying tactics to get gifts of land and even go on hunger strike if they did not succeed. They might become a nuisance in the sense beggars had been called such in the cities. They should not forget the principles and objectives underlying the movement. One would not easily part with land because it was a highly valued thing. The Bhoodan Yagna was intended for the prosperity of the country and it had attracted world attention because of the non-violent and voluntary way, land was distributed to achieve the principles of Communism.

The Chief Minister blessed all the recipients of land and hoped that they would endeavour to double the production in this land.

Rajaji appealed to the people to become charitable-minded and compassionate which are the basic virtues in human beings and said that the Bhoodan Yagna helped to promote these virtues to strengthen society just as mortar and chunam added strength to layers of bricks used in the construction of buildings.

★

An American's Discourse with Vinobaji

— Mrs. GYANVATI DABBAR

Shri Gyanvati of Rashtrapathi Bhavan, Delhi, was with Vinobaji in the anxious months of his health in Chandil and the following interview is a leaf from her yatra diary.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave is busy translating into action a revolutionary idea. He is seeking to apply the concept of non-violence which Gandhiji tried in the sphere of politics, to the field of economics. His "Bhoodan Yajna" movement which in the beginning was pooh-poohed by some and ridiculed by others, is now attaining the status of a tangible move to remedy unequal distribution of land in India. Walking on foot from village to village for voluntary gift of land, Vinobaji's efforts have started bearing fruit. If the effect of this peaceful way of solving the land problem is being felt today in India the credit goes as much to Vinobaji's firm conviction and perseverance as to the intrinsic merit of non-violence.

Vinobaji's non-violent revolution has also caught the imagination of the outside world. Foreigners who visit India are getting interested in this novel experiment. If it succeeds, and it is bound to succeed—it will be yet another miracle after her non-violent struggle for political liberation to which India will be attracting the world.

Recently, Mr. Ray Magee, an American on tour in India, came to Vinobaji at Chandil to have a first hand impression of his Mission and discuss with him the implications of this Movement. He saw the work practically going on in Bihar and was impressed very much. He got an opportunity to do so during a morning walk with Vinobaji and the following lines reproducing the questions of Mr. Ray Magee and Vinobaji's answers, reveal

how much the foreigners are interested in this and how the method, according to its propagator, can be followed by other countries...

Mr. Magee asked Vinobaji, "Do the people give land to the other people also?"

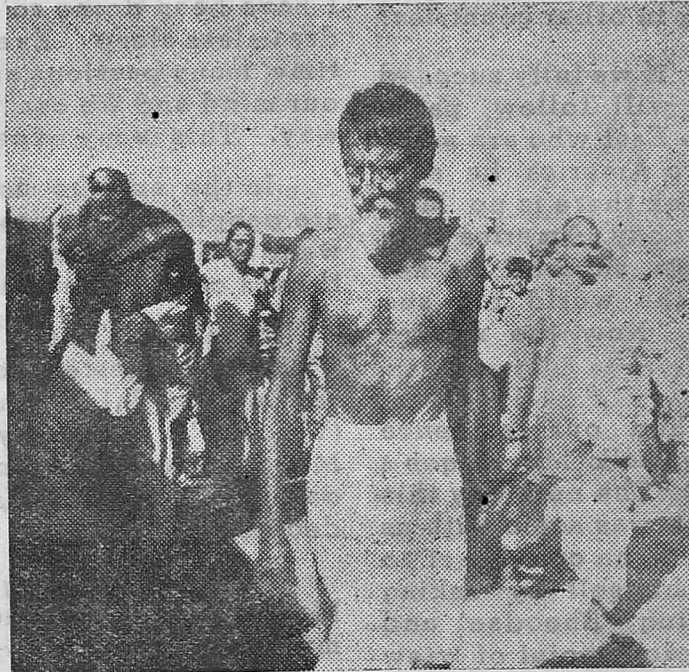
Vinobaji said, "Yes, I have created the atmosphere. I was working alone for two years. Now the people can go and get the land but the people must have faith that one who approached them for the purpose is a right man."

Mr. Magee, "It is really a wonder that the people give their land without any force or pressure."

Vinobaji, "Yes, this is something genuine to India. We have never seen such a thing in any other country. We never take land by pressure and still we get land. Taking on an average that there are 5 members in one family, I say to the people to take me as the 6th member. I

ask the landholders to regard me as an additional heir born to them and give me my share for the benefit of the poor and thus first I want to change the people's heart, then I want a change in their lives and in this way the whole social structure will be changed. This is the decentralization of industry and also decentralization of administration. I won't be satisfied with the redistribution of land, there should be decentralization of administration and industries also.

Mr. Magee, "Do you hope at some point, the Government to express it in Legislation? What do you want from the Government?"



Vinobaji, "The Government is very much interested in it and we have got full support of the Government. Non-violence does not rule out legislation. But it should be legislation backed by public opinion. My plan also envisages legislation at the end. When a proper understanding of the situation is brought about, the legislation can come in at the end. But we must create public opinion and the Government will follow that opinion. A Democratic Government always stands on public opinion."

Mr. Magee, "Why do you take land gift from the poor people also?"

Vinobaji, "Yes, the Communists also ask me the same question. I always say that the big Zamindars and landowners will take a lesson and an inspiration from them. An atmosphere will be created and these people will be our army."

Mr. Magee, "Is there any indication of this movement spreading in other countries?"

Vinobaji, "Of course. if we fully succeed here, the other countries will follow, particularly Egypt and middle East who are much interested. "Referring to America he said to this young man, "I think there is no land problem in America. Today America is in the position that she can succeed in her efforts to bring peace to the world but she has got 'Fear-complex.' Now the masses want peace and not war."

By the time we reached our residence after the usual morning walk Mr. Magee's talk has also ended here. The next day this enthusiastic young tourist was again with us in the morning walk and he could get an opportunity to satisfy himself by asking some questions regarding 'Bhoodan' and Sarvodaya from the religious point of view as he was very much interested in Hindu Religion as a religious minded man. He asked Vinobaji, "The highly ethical nature of Bhoodan and the interest in helping people to solve their earthly problems seems to contradict the Hindu idea that all is Maya and Karma should be performed without bothering for the results."

Vinobaji, "Our teaching of non-attachment is based upon the belief on Maya, that all possession is unimportant."

Mr. Magee, "If you use the idea of Maya to support the programme in this way, one cannot then also say that we must help the people because of their physical needs."

Vinobaji, "We don't help them because they are in need but because we are in need."

Mr. Magee, "Do you believe that God is not only in man but it is also transcendental?"

Vinobaji, "Yes, I believe so, that is my belief."

Mr. Magee, "Does Sarvodaya emphasize the importance of silent meditation for their workers?"

Vinobaji, "We keep silence for one or two minutes before prayer. We keep silence in spinning, even the children also keep silence and we say it is sacrificial spinning. I keep silence from 8 p. m. to 4 a. m. and I finish all duties and work before sunset, then no talk and lecture. It is the custom in our country to give talks after 8 p. m. but I resist this temptation. For the last 25 years I have been doing so and hence I get often, dreamless sleep. Even when it is sleeping time, many passions and temptations worry our mind and we can control them in this way. This is my experience."

In the end he asked Vinobaji, "There are people in America specially youths who want to do sacrificial work in India. Do you think I can be useful in Bhoodan?"

Vinobaji, "Yes, certainly," and then Vinobaji suggested to him to go to Gaya where Shri Jai Prakash Narainji and his (Vinobaji's) Secretary, Shri Damodardas Mundada were carrying on this work of Bhoodan Yajna. Mr. Ray Magee agreed to it and decided to go there.

After our morning walk I talked to Mr. Magee and could know that he was very much impressed. He got a new spirit and new light from this great Saint.

"Gandhi As a Social Revolutionary"

BY WILFRED WELLOCK

An interesting brochure published immediately after attending the World Pacifists' Conference and visiting several Gandhian Constructive institutions in India in 1949-50.

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SARVODAYA AND MARXISM

S. N. AGARWAL

'Sarvodaya' generally avoids articles of contraversial nature. But during the recent past Marxism and Sarvodaya have been considered by many almost as synonyms with very little difference. Shri Kishorelal and Vinobaji had lucidly presented the fundamental difference between both not only in the means but in the basic concept, outlook and values, and the way of life in their book "Gandhi and Marx." Sri Agarwal's article being a further elucidation on the subject is republished from the "Economic Review" of the A. I. C. C. dated April 15, 1953

At a recent meeting in Madura, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa is stated to have observed that "Gandhiji's ideals were already in practice in Russia to a certain extent" and that "though the Russian ideal was not Sarvodaya in the fullest sense of the term, the social order in Russia today very much approximated in certain respects to Gandhian ideals." We are sorry to find that during the last few months the learned Professor, consciously or unconsciously, has been instrumental in creating great confusion of thought in the public mind about the twin ideologies of Gandhism and Communism. It is, therefore, no longer desirable to allow his statements and utterances to go unchallenged.

It is, undoubtedly, true that we are all dissatisfied with the Capitalist way of thinking; Capitalism as a creed and economic philosophy is now dead as dodo. We are also fully conscious of the fact that the prevailing economic conditions in India are far from satisfactory and that the problems of poverty, unemployment and economic inequalities need be tackled with a sense of urgency. Leaders of different political parties are gradually realising the inevitability of Gandhian approach to most of our economic maladies and the dynamic philosophy of Sarvodaya is being increasingly appreciated with a sense of realism and practical commonsense. But to suggest even vaguely that Sarvodaya and Marxism are similar in certain respects and that Gandhism is being followed in Russia is to render great disservice both to Sarvodaya and Marxism. The two ideologies are, indeed, poles asunder and their basic principles are almost diametrically opposed to each other. Shri K. G. Mashruwala, the well-known authority on Gandhian thought, took special pains to write a series of articles in the "Harijan" to strongly repudiate that suggestion that "Gandhism is communism minus violence." These articles have since been published in

the form of a booklet entitled "Gandhi and Marx." "Gandhism and Marxism", observes Shri Mashruwala, "are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike." It is, certainly, a matter for regret that Prof. Kumarappa appears to be, of late, suffering from such a colour-blindness.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has also been repeatedly telling us that the "two ideologies are irreconcilable and the differences between them are fundamental." On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, Vinobaji remarked: "The persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference; one breathed, the other did not." Acharya Vinoba Bhave has stated several times that "ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength." According to him, there is greater similarity between Marxism and Capitalism because both attach great importance to material needs and physical welfare rather than to moral standards and spiritual well-being. Mahatma Gandhi also regarded Bolshevism as "the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization" and stated: "In so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me." Gandhiji always detested this "mad race after money and material goods" and laid great stress on a higher 'Standard of Life' rather than merely a high standard of living.

The fact of the matter is that Sarvodaya and Marxism are basically dissimilar and any attempt to reconcile them is bound to prove futile and even hazardous. To Gandhiji spiritual values were of the essence in all aspects of human existence; to the Marxists, religion and philosophy are the "opium of the poor." The first word of religion," said

Engels, "is a lie." Lenin regarded it as "one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." The Marxists regard Mind as "a derivative of matter." To them the conception of a Soul and spiritual values are, more or less, fantastic non-sense and betray bourgeois mentality. Moreover, Gandhiji attached great importance to the means and methods and never believed in the theory of ends justifying the means. While the Mahatma insisted on Truth and Non-violence even for the achievement of Indian Swaraj, Lenin thought it necessary "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth" for the achievement of his objectives. "Even though Russia has many achievements to her credit", wrote Gandhiji in 1942, "her work will not endure unless her methods are clean." Mahatmaji was convinced that permanent good could never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Writing in the "Harijan" as late as 1946, Gandhiji observed:

"The Communists seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on an outside power."

While Gandhiji firmly believed in "the essential goodness of human nature" and preached the change of hearts rather than the breaking of heads, Stalin was of the definite view that you cannot conquer the enemy without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul.

There is one more essential difference between Sarvodaya and Marxism. To

Gandhiji, democracy was the very basis of a non-violent and Sarvodaya society. Even centralisation of political and economic power was detrimental to the healthy growth of a Sarvodaya State. But to the Marxists, democracy is "a bourgeois conception which the revolutionary proletariat must overthrow" (Lenin). Trotsky also endorsed this view by naming democracy "as a wretched and worthless masquerade." In his book, "The State and Revolution", Lenin made it quite clear that the Communists seek "an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery, even its republican variety. While Gandhiji advocated the establishment of a decentralised socio-economic order based on cottage industrialism and village community life, the Marxists visualise a "dictatorship of the proletariat founded on a highly centralised state and a mechanised, industrialised society. The ultimate aim of Marxism is said to be the establishment of a classless society in which the State shall "wither away." But, as Prof. Aldous Huxley observes in his "Ends and Means", such a highly centralised State "may be smashed by war or overturned by revolution from below; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will wither away."

It is no use labouring the point further. It is clear as day light that the two ideologies of Sarvodaya and Marxism are fundamentally different from each other. Any attempt to create confusion of thought at a time when the two modes of thinking are engaged in a Titanic struggle for survival in India and outside is, to say the least, un-Gandhian. We would therefore, earnestly appeal to Prof. Kumarappa not to allow his personality to be misused by any political group for its own ulterior motives.

★

MY SOCIALISM

"My socialism means "even unto this last." I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their socialism, probably these have no place. Their one aim is material progress. For instance, America aims at having a car for every citizen. I do not. I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to. That does not mean that I want to do any such thing. Under the other socialism, there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body."

"Yes, but there are variations. My socialism in its modified form means that the State does not own everything. It does in Russia. There you certainly do not own your own body even. You may be arrested at any time, though you may have committed no crime. They may send you wherever they like."

GANDHIJI — (From 'Gandhi and Marx' - page 109)

Gandhian Organizations in America

DOUGLAS KELLEY

Our readers would like to know about the organizations in America interested in Gandhian philosophy and work. One of them is The International Development Placement Association which Mr. Kelley and his wife represent. They are now at Sevagram, preparatory to their work in East Africa. We are thankful to Mr. Kelley for his special contribution to 'Sarvodaya.'

It takes the newcomer to India quite some time to learn the purposes and functions of each of the various constructive organizations here. Judging from the questions my wife and I have been asked since we came to India in January, many Indians have even more difficulty — and understandably so — in making sense out of the great collection of American organizations they occasionally hear about.

I have been asked, therefore, to briefly explain the various U. S. organizations of most interest to Gandhians in India.

It should be made clear that since Gandhiji never visited America, and since various aspects of the Gandhian program appeal to interested Americans in varying degrees, there is no single "Gandhian" organization in the U. S. The organization which comes closest to being so, in the writer's opinion, is the Quaker service agency, the *American Friends Service Committee*. For its varied program (including peace education, excellent work to promote better race relations and to end discriminations, international youth workcamps and overseas reconstruction) A. F. S. C. is winning more and more recognition and support among thoughtful Americans.

Let us divide the American organizations working on but one or two aspects of the Gandhian program into four categories those concerned with; (1) non-violence, (2) decentralization, (3) abolition of caste discrimination, and (4) rural constructive work.

1. NON-VIOLENCE

The *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, which is organized in other countries as well as the U. S. is the backbone of the U. S. pacifist movement. Its pacifist education, conducted largely by the Christian ministers who make up a large proportion of its membership, keeps the pacifist ideal alive in America.

The *War Resisters League*, also organized in both Europe and the U. S., is less religious than the F. O. R. in the nature of its opposition to war. Each of these groups has a few thousand members. The *Peacemakers* are a smaller group of "100%" pacifists who counsel even refusing to register with the authorities for possible military service. The *Women International League for Peace and Freedom*, founded by the famous social worker, Jane Addams, is especially strong among Quaker women, and carries on educational work of an internationalist and pacifist nature.

2. DECENTRALIZATION

Unfortunately, even though conservative politicians did much agitation against "centralization in Washington" during the New Deal era of Roosevelt and Truman, few Americans take an active interest in practical measures to encourage decentralization of economic and political power. The co-operative movement is an outstanding exception. The farmers marketing co-operatives are not especially socially conscious, but the farm supply purchasing associations and the city consumers co-operatives, both of which belong to the *Co-operative League of the U. S. A.*, are a real force for decentralization. They also take considerable interest in the co-operative movement in Asia. Dr Arthur Morgan, the former head of T. V. A. whom readers will remember as a member of the Commission on Higher Education in India, is now in charge of *Community Service, Inc.*, which attempts to stimulate a revival of rural communities in America, and publishes literature expressing the decentralist point of view. The *Federation of International Communities*, a new organization of persons living in various experimental "co-operative communities" in America and elsewhere, is interested in contacting co-operative communities and ashrams in India. Ashadevi Aryanayakam addressed the annual meetings of these two organizations while in the U. S. on U. N. business in 1952.

3. ABOLITION OF CASTE DISCRIMINATION

India's caste problem has a close parallel in America's problem of racial discrimination. Much more work against discrimination is being done than most friends overseas realize, and progress is being made. The largest of the many anti-discrimination organizations is the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, with over a million members of all races. Its technique is largely resort to the courts, however, whereas the much smaller but very active *Congress of Racial Equality* is doing an excellent job of using Satyagraha in eliminating discrimination, and in its statements and literature clearly characterizes itself as Gandhian. C. O. R. E. has active local groups in several major cities and among university students. One example of the technique it uses: if a restaurant refuses to serve Negroes and the manager refuses, in negotiations, to change his policy, a group of C. O. R. E. members of both races enter the restaurant and occupy seats as they become vacant. They quietly wait for service, even for hours, and in literature distributed to onlookers explain what they are doing. Victories are being won in this manner.

4. RURAL CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

America's problems of rural development are rather different from India's. For although educational and health services in rural areas of the U. S. tend to lag behind those of the cities, neither mass illiteracy nor serious underemployment are problems. There are a number of organizations concerned in one way or another with some phase of what might be termed "constructive work" in rural America, but no general organization of rural constructive workers such as the Sarva Seva Sangh exists in the U. S.

An increasing number of idealistic young Americans, however, are becoming interested in the possibility of joining in rural constructive work in other countries. They are coming to feel, many of them, that the most important and exciting work in the world today is being done in the villages of Asia, Africa and South America.

The *International Development Placement Association* has been established for the purpose of selecting the best qualified of these young people and sending them out (many as volunteers, some as modestly paid employess) to work with constructive organizations overseas. They will expect to live

simply, learn the local customs and language and get their hands dirty in hard work. In most cases they will stay for two years or more. Many are trained as teachers, social workers, agriculturalists, doctors and nurses mechanics and engineers.

Arrangements are now being made for a number of these young volunteers to come to work with Gandhian organizations in India. Many readers of this article will have met Miss Pat McMahon, the I. D. P. A.'s first volunteer in India, in the course of her walking with Vinobaji. Two others, social workers Bill and Eloise Rowe, have arrived at Sevagram, and a young medical doctor and his wife, a medical technician are expected at Sevagram in the fall. (The writer of this article and his wife, though representing the I. D. P. A., are at Sevagram only for a short time, in preparation for work in East Africa:)

Gandhian institutions interested in receiving young American volunteer workers are invited to write to the International Development Placement Association, 1841 Broadway, New York City, or to E. W. and Ashadevi Aryanayakam, at Sevagram. ★

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MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

JOHN CAULFIELD

It is said that the recent visit of Dr. Buchman with his team of Moral Re-armament created a wave of moral awakening and enthusiasm among the various sections of the city people in India who saw their play and heard their speeches. The characteristic feature of the MRA is that 'it is not an institution, it is not a point of view, it starts a revolution by starting one in you.' The MRA seems to have certain points of similarity with the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Moral Re-Armament came into being in the first quarter of the present century as the answer to a deep need in the life of our times. It came as the answer to division, to the conflicts of plans, parties and personalities, to the failure in moral standards which undercuts our best efforts to improve the lot of mankind. It began when one man, sick of preaching reform to others without result, decided to begin in earnest the reform of his own life by the acceptance of an absolute standard of conduct. His name was Frank Buchman. Thirteen years later, after much travel in different parts of the world (including India and China) and much experience in dealing with men's deepest needs, he began in Oxford to train the men who were to constitute his first travelling team.

When, in 1938, in a speech delivered in the working-class East End of London, he launched his first appeal for the Moral Re-Armament of the nations, Frank Buchman was already a world figure with a growing reputation and, at his back, an experienced force of men and women at work in many countries.

We can, we must and we will (he said) generate a moral and spiritual force that is powerful enough to remake the world.

Thousands responded to his call, and from that time the training of the world force of Moral Re-Armament has gone steadily forward.

MRA has membership, no president or general secretary, no subscription dues. It is a world force with a world answer. In the words of its founder, "Moral Re-Armament is the good road of an ideology inspired by God upon which all can unite." It is an idea that grips and transforms the lives of men and gives them the promise of a new and better world. The promise of MRA is realistic: it goes to the root of the problem and begins world-change with a change in human nature.

"MRA means personal and national moral rearmament," says Frank Buchman.

It stands for a prejudice-free level of thinking. It stands for a common denominator of immediate constructive action for everyone, above party, race, class, creed, point of view or personal advantage. It means honesty, purity, unselfishness and love absolutely, personally, nationally.....MRA means power to change people—our enemies as well as our friends—the other fellow and the other nation. It is good for everyone, but necessary for us.

Frank Buchman's aim has never changed. In 1934 he described it as a new social order under the directorship of the spirit of God, making for better human relationships, for unselfish co-operation, for cleaner business, cleaner politics, for the elimination of political, industrial and racial antagonisms.

In 1949 he said:

Moral Re-Armament has the tremendous unit power that comes from change in both East and West. It gives the full dimension of change; economic change, social change, national change, international change—all based on personal change. It creates the personal opinion that can change the fate of nations. It presents a force adequate to remake the world. It shows how to unite nation and nation, and creates inspired democracy in families, industries, cabinets and nations. It is the inspired living that makes nations think and live.

India's Minister of planning, Gulzarilal Nanda, adds:

MRA will not have done its job until the ideology it represents becomes the most significant and the most powerful factor in political, economic and social thought and action in very part of the world.

And speaking of the next five years in India he says:

We shall be defeated unless we can unite internally to tackle unemployment, poverty and want.

MRA, he says, provides:

A visual education in a way that will unite our people.

The reader is referred to Peter Howard's "The World Rebuilt" for a comprehensive picture. Meanwhile here are a few points:—

It has brought healing to the age-old bitterness between France and Germany. Both these countries have decorated Frank Buchman in recognition of this fact. In December 1952 in New Delhi he was invested by the German, *Charge d' affaires* with the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit.

It has brought peace and understanding to the strike-ridden British docks. In Oct. '51 the London Shipping Trade Journal Fair-play stated:

It was reported that several former active members of the self-styled London Port Workers' Committee—the body which instigated and 'directed' the dock strike in 1949 which cost Britain losses estimated at well over £200,000,000 had since enlisted in MRA and had been instrumental, in that capacity, in averting a similar strike this year.

It is bringing an answer to racial bitterness and injustice in Africa. Last year, for the first time in African history, an interracial conference was held under the auspices of MRA. B. O. N. Eluwa, Under-Secretary of the Ibo States Union (four million members) in Nigeria, a man who has made every possible sacrifice in the struggle for national freedom, proclaims:

"When I met MRA my whole conception of the world was flooded with new light. It is the highest form of patriotism. It is a new civilisation in the making."

Manilal Gandhi publicly stated that he had seen MRA "beginning to unite people and bring peace, unite men above race, class and points of view," and he adds: "It has given us new hope and strength in our dark days."

It has answered many of the problems of industry and between management and labour in the coalfields, steel plants, airlines, textiles and other industries. Where MRA is applied, grievances vanish, conditions improve, and a new atmosphere is created which quickly affects production and wages. A labour leader, on seeing the effect of Moral Re-Armament on the conduct of management in industry, exclaimed:

This goes far beyond what I had hoped to see happen long after the success of the Socialist revolution.

MRA ends class-war by removing its causes. It is the next great advance in the historic progress of the workers of the world.

Anyone who wants to can contribute to the cost of carrying the work of Moral Re-Armament forward. For those who have reason to be grateful for it is natural to contribute materially. For the growing number throughout the world who regard MRA as the best security against atomic war and bloodshed, it is the soundest of all investments. For everyone it is a chance to have a part, great or small according to his possibilities, in securing a better world for future generations of every class and every race. As a matter of historical fact, Moral Re-Armament has always been sustained by sacrifice and self-giving. The full-time workers of MRA receive no pay of any kind; most of them have poured into it every material resource they possessed. Thousands of others make regular gifts to keep them at work.

The basis of MRA in individual life is obedience to God. A time of quiet—half an hour or an hour—every morning before the day begins, and the discipline of writing down the thoughts which come during that time so as to keep a record of the correction and direction received—such are the means by which the men and women of MRA keep their lives as far as they can in tune with the will of God. This implies an unconditional decision on the part of each one to do all that may be asked of him. Nothing is too great or too small. MRA does not ask you to give time or money. It does ask you to put all your time and all your money at God's disposal to be used the way He wants it used.

The world is passing through a period of revolutionary change. New nations are coming to birth or growing to maturity, new forces are at work to mould the future of mankind. Technical discoveries and improvements in communications have transformed the character of society. The sliding scale of moral values to which we have accustomed ourselves betrays us at every turn. Division and confusion weaken and blind us.

MRA means matching the way we live to our highest ideals. It is based on the simple truths that all men accept, and brings with it the climate of freedom and discipline which all men long for. It is for everyone everywhere. No man and no group have proprietary rights in MRA: it belongs to God.

May it not be that this simple but dynamic way of life is destined to provide the missing key to unity for our tormented human race?



Abridged from 'The Indian Review' February 1953

B. B. C. TRIBUTE TO VINOBA BHAVE

Sometime ago the London Times paid its tribute to Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement. The British Broadcasting Corporation had a special programme of 15 minutes' morning talk on 26th April '53 by Mr. Hallam Tennyson. He had met Vinobaji six years ago and found him reserved and an austere recluse. He described in his speech Shri Bhave as an emaciated and reluctant Caesar through whom India was achieving 'the greatest peaceful revolution in History.'

"India always honours one who believes in renunciation of worldly possessions. That ideal finds its echo in every heart. Even industrial tycoons will sometimes throw up everything and be prepared to live in a mud hut. It was Gandhi who first demonstrated the powerful effect of renunciation of wealth for human service.

"Hundreds of people offer Bhave their cars so that he can get more work done, but he refuses their offers. Peasants cannot afford cars and Bhave knows better than to break the magic which binds him to the peasants. It is not only the poor who regard Bhave as a man of God but the rich as well.

"But he is not unduly tender to the susceptibilities of the rich. From each landlord he refuses to accept anything but one-sixth of his best property.

"To the Communists he says: If you give up class hatred and work for the good of all, I would be the first to join you.

"Leading Communists have also given up land. He has put quite literally in practice his ideals of reaching the divine spark which he believes all people possess.

"He has taught himself sixteen languages so that he can better talk with the people. Like India's ancient sages, he has acquired his strength through renunciation."

After describing Bhave's early life, Mr. Tennyson recalled how at his mother's death he had refused to attend the funeral because the fire would be lit by a Brahmin.

Gandhi told him to simplify his life and he vowed to wear only one article of clothing at a time and forego salt. "He has avoided pride of poverty. He hasn't asked anyone else to follow him. He retains his striking serenity.

"On his mission fellow pilgrims share his strict regime. Scenes at villages when after prayers Bhave discusses land redistribution with landlords arouse an atmosphere of evangelical fervour."

Mr. Tennyson concluded: "Bhave shuns publicity. He will almost certainly tick me off for talking like this about him. He is no mere imitator of Gandhi. He rarely speaks of Gandhiji in public. He burns with a steady and separate light. He believes in the future of humanity. He once said: People call this an age of sin and degradation, but how can that be? I, a mere humble devotee of God, have been entrusted with thousands of acres as a free gift.

"Bhave is the embodiment of India. When I first met him I thought him reserved, almost remote. His simple, unsophisticated words fall oddly on the jaded ears of Europe. My last glimpse of him was the same as the first—he was squatting outside his mud-hut with a group of peasants around him accepting his guidance and help. He was talking to them in his usual courteous way. I thought it will be the same day after day until he dies. I thought his message is not limited to the country where he was born.

"The Twentieth Century is rich in jet aircraft, but poor in saints."

From 'Indian Express' dated 30th April, 1953

EDUCATION FOR A NEW LIFE

MARJORIE SYKES

This is a brief note received from Shrimati Marjorie Sykes of Talimi Sangh, Sevagram Wardha, who attended the Annual meeting of the Conference of Educational Associations held in London in December last.

The Annual meeting of the Conference of Educational Associations held in London in December brought together about 4000 people from 40 different associations, and concentrated their attention on a matter of basic importance to every teacher in every kind of school—how far is education helping or hindering the attainment of true well-being? The theme chosen for the Conference was "Moral Values and Social Problems", and the presidential address was given by the distinguished medical psychologist Dr. J. A. Hadfield. His main contention was that "freedom" does *not* mean moral laxity, that on the contrary an adequate standard of moral values is essential to the development of a fully integrated and stable personality. This standard must be achieved by self-discipline based on character training; it cannot be soundly based on fear. The Conference spent most of its time in discussion of practical ways of raising moral standards; every school activity was covered including hand-writing as an index of character and values.

In some ways even more interesting and fundamental issues were raised a few days later at the North of England Education Conference at Newcastle. Dr. C. I. C. Bosangnet, Rector of King's College Newcastle, spoke of the relevance of education in the present situation of the English people. He made three points of special interest to workers in Basic Education:-

1 If the English, a trading nation, are to survive, they must themselves set the new fashion of plain living and hard work.

2 Education must enable the new generation to understand the nation's plight and also equip them with the technique and the character to dominate its difficulties.

3 Education should be more closely allied to paid employment; the factory, floor and lecture room should be extensively combined.

From Switzerland comes another report reminding us that all over the world people

are awake to the true meaning of work and seeking to organise it for human betterment and not merely for mechanical efficiency. The following record of a speech at Zurich by M. Jean Fourastier appeared in the French-Swiss Journal "L'Essor" :-

"What must a business undertaking give to those who work in it? We believed for long that the workman hired out his services or sold his labour as one hires a room or sells goods that the workman comes to the factory to earn his living. As life had two parts, a time for living, and a time for earning it. In reality I am living even while I am earning my living. Men do not come to our workshops and offices only to produce what is needful for the life of the nation; they are not there only to earn their living, they are there to live.

"The true hope of the twentieth century is not that technical progress shall continually increase the volume of production: the true objective of the scientific organisation of work is not merely to overcome the material obstacles to human action. No, the fundamental problem is that of man's life in society. In insisting on the primacy of *human relationships*, the science of labour organisation, of all the sciences of this era offers us the greatest field of hope." ★

'Sarvodaya' for Schools

The Director of Public Instruction, Madras
in his R. C. No. 78. N/53 dated 11-3-'53

has been pleased "to notify to the Officers of the Educational Department that the journal 'KHADDAR MALAR' is now being published under the revised name SARVODAYA (both in English and Tamil versions) and that it may be intimated to all Secondary and Training Schools."

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TIRUPUR

THE CREATIVE SOCIETY

· WILFRED WELLOCK

Mr. Wellock has argued to prove that the civilization born of the Industrial Revolution has debased humanity morally and spiritually in his six Orchard Lea Papers. In the seventh he concludes that small Agro-Industrial Communities of about 3,000 with decentralised political and economic freedom, completely self-sufficient and self-contained will form the basis of the new social order assuring all cultural and spiritual freedom for the development of the human personality and a creative society. This is akin to our ideal of Gram-Raj or Village-Raj. The following is a part of the 7th Orchard Lea Paper.

To-day, a civilisation burdened with permanent war from which it can find no way of escape, with colossal military expenditures which increase its destructive power but destroy its vision, with ideological conflicts which its growing materialism cannot resolve, and with a mechanistic way of life that is gnawing the moral fibre of the people and transforming them into inert totalitarian masses, cries aloud for deliverance.

This civilisation, born of the Industrial Revolution, is nearing its end; its enthusiasms and impulses are weakening, and as it wilts, despair grows, for there is no obvious alternative to it. Until recently no one dreamed that the new prosperity could require an alternative. It is now only too evident that events have moved too fast for reflection and rational action. Before a sane judgment could be passed on one invention, another had captured the public imagination and outpaced the prophets, whose warnings thus fell on deaf ears. In consequence, the Western colossus of a mis-guided science is heading for destruction.

Once man's inventive genius was directed to the exploitation of steam power, events moved with a momentum which swept society off its feet and countless institutions and values into oblivion. The way of life of entire nations, their industrial techniques, their social relationships, their economic and political structures, their social and religious outlook and also their values, changed with bewildering rapidity.

No wonder, then, that this era of unparalleled prosperity has produced bigger problems than it can solve by its present social philosophy. In the problem of permanent war we pass from prosperity into the adversities of power politics and the tragedies of moral decay.

To-day the pace of events is quicker than ever. In the space of twenty years, under the pressures of "necessity" the West

has broken down its moral defences in shameless fashion. It now supports obliteration bombing of civilian populations, even by napalm and atomic bombs. And worse weapons are in preparation. The mass migration of innocent people in war, and the "liquidation" of undesirable people in peace are further evidences of our Western decline. Forty years ago such things were unthinkable.

Why are they now possible? A little reflection reveals that they are the logical outcome of a cash economy and a materialistic way of life. Our age is suffering from a wide variety of spiritual deficiencies which mainly arise from the non-use and mis-use of man's creative genius.

The Industrial Revolution is often described as a great creative era, but it is true in a very limited sense only. Throughout its history, and never more so than to-day, the creative functions of the Industrial Revolution have been performed by small groups of experts and technicians, the "back room boys," etc., while the great body of workers have been condemned to varying degrees of repetitive labour. The farther the "division of labour" principle was carried, the more completely repetitive became the labour of the masses. This is the antithesis of the creative society.

A second qualification of that claim arises from the fact that the primary aim of most creative achievements was maximum saleability and profitability of what was produced, and thus the capture of markets. In other words, the making of money and the creation of social and political power had precedence over all such spiritual aims as the making of a beautiful world, or country, a cultured, sensitive humanity, and a satisfying life.

In such a civilisation the only reward of labour is money, whence the executive classes aspire to live in affluence, with top-grade education for their children, while the

repetitive workers naturally organise themselves to secure maximum economic security, the assurances of the Western State and some degree of luxury and excitement as a set-off against the dreary monotony of their work-a-day existence.

Strange to relate, there has been only one outstanding creative era in the history of Western Europe. It lasted from the tenth to the sixteenth century, after which it waned and eventually petered out under the impact of the Industrial Revolution. The civilisation produced by the latter is already in decay. When it began to break up in the first world war, there were promises of a new world. But no new world appeared, for the obvious reason that no one realised what a new world implied. We now know that it implies a new man, the creative man of a creative society, who must supersede the mechanised mass man of our time.

Our age must therefore devote itself to the task of evolving a creative society. It will be slow work because it involves supporting spiritual ideals and values with appropriate cultural, social, political and industrial form, organisations and techniques.

We have already seen that small agro-industrial communities of varying sizes, averaging, say, 3,000 inhabitants, are an essential condition of a creative society. The industries would as far as possible be small-scale. Many can be small-scale even now, but the demand for qualitative production would stimulate invention to that end and bring back many handicrafts which cheap, shoddy production forced out of existence. In the United States one hears many stories of inventions suitable for the small workshop which the big combines bought up in order to prevent their use.

The cultural basis of the new order would insure that the aim of all production was high quality. Each industry would be run by a co-operative group who would share the responsibility for the design and quality of whatever was produced, and decide the kind and amount of machinery they would use. As the level of taste in the community rose, techniques would change and new forms of skill be evolved.

All production would strictly conform to the demands of health as in the production and preparation of food, or in the making of such things as shoes, chairs, e. g., which should take account of the human

anatomy and so enable people to perform their functions with ease and pleasure.

In due course these communities might achieve forty or fifty per cent of self-sufficiency. They would also think about limiting their growth, and of encouraging the development of similar communities in their areas.

Having found the reasonable size for a fully integrated, largely self-governing community, the next step would be to form a region consisting of some fifteen or twenty similar communities. In this area a much higher percentage of self-sufficiency would be achieved by the dove-tailing of industries, etc. The formation of a Regional Council would greatly enrich the life of the entire area. The organisation of the local economic life would constitute the core of community and regional politics, which consequently would be vital and absorbing.

Obviously a new system of local Government would be called for. At first, *ad hoc* Committees would work in consultation with the existing local Councils, but later on quite new bodies would be needed, the functions of which would be determined by the need.

These changes, so simple in appearance would constitute a revolution in the disposition of power. Both political and economic power would pass from the central Government to the localities, that is, directly to the people, which is where it should be in a true democracy. Moreover, as in the new economy the tendency would be for the local communities and the regions to be as self-sufficient as was reasonably possible, centralised power would tend to decline. This would be all to the good, as it would restrict the volume of world trade and so reduce the tensions which lead to war.

These conditions would afford maximum political and economic responsibility and creative opportunity to every member of the community. They would thus make possible the creative society we seek which would overflow with ideals, aspirations and enthusiasms. These it would naturally attempt to express in every form of production and in every art. Each Regional Council would found a cultural centre where various regional Festivals would take place and where special training would be available. Every village would also have its cultural centre. Boundless opportunities would thus exist for the fullest expression of the human spirit, while the religious and cultural institutions would expound the doctrine and the values of self-giving.

EDUCATION FOR REVOLUTION

KAKA KALELKAR

The following is the message in the form of a letter to Shri Jugatram Dave on the occasion of the Fourth Sammelan of the Gujarat Nayi Talim Sangh held in Gundi in Ahmedabad District at the end of February. This is a timely emphasis on the revolutionary object of Nayi Talim and reminds the workers in the field of the great task that lies ahead.

The agriculturists tilled the land. They were getting training by working on the land. The same was true of craftsmen, artisans and traders. Those who liked languages learnt them. The astrologers, vaidyar, musicians themselves made arrangements for their respective studies. No national plan was thought of in this regard. None the less, the whole country was educated and enlightened.

The lure of government service in our country is very old. The ambitious always looked out for government service. Their aim was more for acquisition of power than wealth. There was no assurance for the safe continuation of the office. Hence there was a tendency to earn as much as possible during the tenure of one's office, to put one's relatives and castemen into the posts and do some acts of public benefit or the like.

The fabric of society has now entirely changed. We had become used to the changes that have come in the wake of foreign rule because we are used to it for long. We do not care to find out their advantages and disadvantages. Everyone seeks his own advancement and further his prospects through education. We have not cultivated in full our ability to do service. Those who learn for the sake of knowledge or service are very few. Pursuit of knowledge, perfection of proficiency and ability to increase the happiness and health of mankind have been upto now rather a monopoly of the foreigners.

In such a state of affairs the leaders who thought of the wellbeing of the nation put the ideal of service before the people. Swami Vivekananda and Gandhiji tried to give practical shape to it. Nai Talim was born out of this. Not the vocation of self-interest but the avocation of general good. That was the basis of the new system. What we have to think now is as to how it can become nation-wide. The three-fold objective of the new education is (1) all round development of individuals (2) all round progress of

society and creation of a new social order which would facilitate all round development of human virtues. We have also to devise ways and means to attract the youths in large numbers to this kind of education, bearing in mind that in doing so we do not lower our ideals.

We cannot forget that majority of people go after that system of education which secures the sanction of the government. Even when there was foreign rule and we were successful in arousing the popular feeling against government, even then people were hankering after government sponsored education. Now there is no more foreign rule. There is today no inconsistency between the service of the country and government service. Even in such a situation, it is clear, people will be running after state-patronised education. So, the necessity has arisen for the people who think of public good to see that the Government should be influenced by the system of education they advocate.

Surely we have attained self-rule in the sense that there is no foreign rule now. In spite of this, real rule of the people is not yet established here, though the reins of power have come into the hands of our popular leaders. The reason is that our education is still in the hands of such people who believe in seats of authority and today in charge of the old system of education. That system was primarily meant for the advantage of middle classes and upper classes. They have been successful in defeating idealistic forces by their pet argument that they cannot shut their eyes to realities. Taking advantage of the intellectual lethargy of the educated class they are strengthening the old system.

Naive and blinded populace say that they would give their children that education which has the Government's sanction. In this regard the Government is in the hands of the officials who swear by the old system.

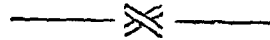
These people were a bit frightened at the advent of Swaraj. They had begun to speak in favour of the system propounded and worked out by Gandhiji and accepted by Congress. If they did not do that there was the danger of losing their jobs, position and prestige. But they soon found out that the political leaders had no faith in that system. Hence they soon rectified their error and reverted back to their old game.

In a situation like this our main task is to make experiments with a system of education designed for the common good, to create good individuals, to convince the people about its importance and to influence the government without in any way being obliged by it. The task today is more difficult than it was in the days of British rule. Hence we must proceed with intelligent experiments independently, and explain to the people wherein lies their real interest and mould public opinion. If the congress leaders of today have no interest in the system we should prepare independently for bringing about the revolutionary change.

The principles of Basic Education have been much discussed. As the teachers gain experience in the field and do social work, there will be improvements in the system.

With that, I have thought it more important to draw attention to the fact that we have to prepare for a revolution. "Revolution through education and education for revolution", should be our motto today.

This is my message. Now I give some practical suggestions. In the old system importance was given to books. After that Bapuji started the tradition of work, and education for work. Both the systems were one-sided. On finding this defect Bapuji started Nai Talim, for developing intelligence through work. In spite of this our people do not keep in mind our ideal of developing intelligence. We have not cultivated even such intelligence as needed for discussing the ideals for the reconstruction of new society. We have not understood the differences between Sarvodaya, Communism and other ideologies; Sciences, arts and philosophy we have not at all touched. There is no leadership in us. We have to find answers to these and we should train our children in such a way that such doubts may not arise. We must have a thirst for general knowledge and philosophy. By such means we shall learn better the art of doing public work and we shall be better qualified to lead the people. (Translation from Hindi)



Jaiprakash Narain on Constructive Work and Bhoodan

(The following is a press report of his speech at Sevapuri Ashram, Banaras,

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, the Praja-Socialist leader, said at Sevapuri Ashram on '3-4-'53 that the time had now come when he must take to constructive work in right earnest and try to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth as a step towards building a self-sufficient and prosperous rural India.

Addressing a meeting at the Ashram, about 25 miles from Banaras, Mr. Narain said that the party, to which he belonged had been so far organising political activities and agitations. But recently their belief in constructive work had been strengthened. Their constructive work would instill confidence and that would lead to the establishment of a new society, he added.

Mr. Narain said that even after the attainment of independence, no concrete progress by way of making the lives of people happy could be made. Still there were people who said that it was not desirable to make changes and the progress of gradual reform

should not be obstructed. The emancipation of the masses, he said, could not be achieved without distributing the national wealth on a just and equitable basis. He warned that, if they missed the present opportunity, the future might not give them another chance.

He advocated the way of truth and non-violence for bringing about a change in the society and said that no amount of violence or corruption of political power could help to reach the goal. A new order in society could be brought about not by political activities, but by real constructive work in villages.

Mr. Narain pleaded that the Bhoodan Yagna of Acharya Bhave could be of great help in building a new society. He appealed for offerings of one crore acres of land towards the Bhoodan Yagna which, he said, were required to make the Yagna a success. He requested the land-owners to part with their lands willingly. ★

Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolution

The following is an important resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh at its meeting in Sevagram from 25th to 29th April '53 on the general policy and programme of the Sangh immediately after the merging of the All India Spinners' Association in the Sangh.

Shri Dhirendra Majumdar, the President of the Charkha Sangh placed before the Sarva Seva Sangh a statement embodying his proposals of a scheme and programme for the future set-up of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj also placed a detailed scheme for the form and function of the organisation. Discussions continued for two days and the following are the decisions.

1. KHADI CENTRES TO BE DEVELOPED INTO SAMAGRA SEVA CENTRES

Among the numerous khadi centres that are now functioning in the country, as many centres as possible, should be converted and developed into Samagra Grama Seva (all round village service) centres with the object of establishing village raj.

2. GO-SEVA AND TRAINING CENTRES

Similarly all Go-Seva (Cow-protection) centres and educational training centres that are now working separately, be developed on the same line with the outlook of all round village development.

3. PRIMARY VILLAGE UNITS

Primary village units shall be established and developed wherever competent workers are available. The question of constituting district, provincial and zonal regions is deferred for the time being. The village units for Samagra Seva shall be for the present directly responsible to the Head Office of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

4. PROGRAMME OF WORK

All priority and importance will be given to the programme of Bhoodan Yagna work. All other activities can be even restricted a little in favour of the Bhoodan work.

5. NAMES OF CENTRES

All the present centres under the Sarva Seva Sangh shall be called as SARVA SEVA SANGH CENTRES. So also all Kathayi Mandals and similar independent centres managed by local people be called SARVODAYA MANDALS.

6. JANA KENDRA OR PEOPLE'S CENTRES

Excepting Vidyalayas and institutions run for research and experiments, all centres that will be established in future shall be managed by and under the direct initiative and responsibility of the local people and not directly by the Sarva Seva Sangh. In other words, let those centres that will be organized through the Sarva Seva Sangh in future be run by workers and worked under the responsibility and leadership of the people of the locality.

7. OUTLOOK AND OBJECTIVE OF THE WORK

The objective behind establishing the peoples's centres shall be to impart education to the people. Therefore all the existing centres directly under the Sarva Seva Sangh shall carry on their activities with the same objective. This is also the view of the Basic Education.

* * *

The following are the members of the Executive Board and the different Sub-Committees.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH

- 1 Sri Srikrishnadas Jaju.
- 2 " R. R. Keithan.
- 3 " Vallabaswami.
- 4 " Reghunath Rao Dhothre.
- 5 " Dr. Profulla Chandra Gosh.
- 6 " Shankerrao Deo.
- 7 " J. C. Kumarappa.
- 8 " Radhakrishna Bajaj.
- 9 " Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe.
- 10 " Jugathrambhai Dhawe.
- 11 Srimathi Ramadevi Choudhary.
- 12 Sri Shiddaraj Dhadda.
- 13 " Akshaya Kumar Karan.
- 14 " Laxmi Narayan
- 15 " Dhirendra Majumdar.
- 16 " Guruswami Nadar.
- 17 " Balavanthrao Deshpandae.
- 18 " Balkoba Bhave.
- 19 " Manohar Diwan.
- 20 " Narayan Desai.
- 21 " N. Ramaswami.

INDEX TO ARTICLES IN SARVODAYA

From July 1952 to June 1953

The following is the index of the articles in the second year of Sarvodaya under authors in their alphabetical order.

Name of author and article	Page	Name of author and article	Page
ACHARYA VINOBAJI		BHARATANANDA alias MAURICE FRYDMAN	
Speech at Kashi-Sevapuri Sammelan	5	Revolt and Revolution	37
Bhoodan Day by Day	29	Chartered Merchants	83
Appeal to Workers	51	Houses of Earth	114
Place of Satyagraha in Democracy	52		
One Hour School for Adults and Children	56	DHIRENDRA MAJUMDAR	
The Sarvodaya Samaj	73	Control of the Mills	131
Appeal for Sevaks	76	Sarvodaya Yatra — An Appeal	151
Appeal to Students	100		
The Atom Bombs - High Road to Destruction	101	DILKUSH B. DIVANJI	
The next step to Bhoodan	124	School Children and Planning Commission	116
Sarvodaya — The Eternal Dharma	149		
The Concept of Sarvodaya Samaj	150	DIWAKAR R. R.	
Yarn offering for Sarvodaya Mela	152	Glimpses of Gandhiji	19
Instruction to Behar Workers	152		
Sutrakoot Parvad for Sarvodaya Mela	170	DOUGLAS KELLEY	
Institutions Cannot bring Revolutions	173	Gandhian organisations in America	277
In Memory of Bapu	197		
At Chandil Sarvodaya Sammelan (1)	219	EDMOND SZEKELY	
" " " (2)	242	Cottage Economy - A Way of Living for the Atomic Age	59
" " " (3)	268	Requirements of a National Economic System	180
Appeal for Sampath-Dhan	228		
Appeal to Rajahs and Maharajas	248	GANDHIJI	
Guide to Sampath-dan	198	Mass Production & Production by the masses	2
Message to Tamilnad Bhoodan Conference	23	Should Khadi be Sold to These ?	15
Appeal to Political Sufferers to Offer their land-gift	24	Vow of Voluntary Poverty	26
Bhoodan Yagna: An Inspired Movement	267	The Fallacy of Handloom Weaving	42
		Sarvodaya & Utilitarian Formula	49
ACHARYA KRIPALANI		My Kamadhenu	50
Revolution and National Genius	21	Origin of Sarvodaya	50
		Is Khadi Economically Sound?	75
ARUNACHALAM K.		Bread Labour	97
Sevagram Basic Education Conference	161	A Call to Youth	98
Voluntary Communities in America	189	Equal Distribution	121
		No Labour, No Meal	148
ARAVIND GHOSH		Real Economics	169
Foundation of Indian Life	133	Contents of Swaraj	193
		The Handloom and the Charkha	194
BIRENDRANATH GUHA		Non-violent Economy	218
Vinoba - The Non-Violent Revolutionary	109	Machinery	241
		The Ideal of Real Village Swaraj	266

<i>Name of author and article</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Name of author and article</i>	<i>Page</i>
GREGG RICHARD		MARJORIE SYKES	
Which Way Lies Hope?	112	Earth, the Mother of Everyone	72
GYANAVATI DARBAR Mrs.		Education for a New Life	282
An American's Discourse with Vinobaji	273	MASHRUWALLA K. G.	
GUPTA P. P.		Ananda K. Coomaraswamy	34
The Five Year Plan and Our		Indo-American Agreement	53
Cattle Wealth	17	MEHTA P. J. Dr.	
HALLAN TENNYSON		Gandhiji's Life in South Africa	245
B B. C. Tribute to Vinoba Bhava	281	MIRA BEHN	
JAIPRAKASH NARAIN		Birthright for Self-Sufficiency in Cloth	44
Constructive Work and Bhoodan .	286	The All-Round Madness	63
JAGANNATHAN S.		MANU GANDHI	
Bhoodan Yagna in Tamilnad	164	Bapu My Mother	123
Bhoodan Distributions in Tamil Nad	288	MUKHARJI P. B. JUSTICE	
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PANDIT		Gandhiji's Non-Violent Technique for	
Bhoodan Movement	222	Mass Dynamics and World Peace	61
JOHN CAULFIELD		NEKSATKHAN S. M.	
Moral Rearmament	279	An Interview with Wilfred Wellock	9
KEITHAHN R. R.		Bhoodan: A Revolutionary Movement	129
The Students: Parasites or Pioneers?	87	NARAYANA NAMBIYAR	
Rural Reconstruction at the		Naturopathy - an Appeal	64
United Nations' Level	236	Standard of Living	259
KANU GANDHI		NARAYANASWAMI K. S.	
Gandhiji's Daily Spinning Yagna	99	The Handloom in America	185
KAKA KALELKAR		PAUL S. CAMPBELL Dr.	
Gandhiji's Technique of Action	104	A New Force for Remaking the World	251
Education for Revolution	285	SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU	
KUMARAPPA J. C.		Government and Khadi	135
Russia and China	39	Should a Khadi Lover Seek	
Non-Violence - The Root of Peace	58	patronage for other Cloth ?	186
The Chancellor of Gujarat Vidyapith	80	A new chapter in the	
KUMARAPPA BHARATAN		Development of Khadi	199
Community Projects and American Aid	155	A Poser to the Madras Govt.	249
LEON BENSIMAN		SRIMANNARAYAN AGARWAL	
Service Civil International	182	Economics of Bhoodan	177
LOUIS FISCHER		Sarvodaya and Marxism	275
Message of Gandhiji	127		

<i>Name of author and article</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Name of author and article</i>	<i>Page</i>
RAJAGOPALACHARI C.		SURESH RAMABHAI	
Bullock vs Electricity for Agriculture	44	The Special Values of Cows' Buttermilk	43
Message for Compost Week	105	Vinoba - The Apostle of Bhoodan Yagna	90
Gandhiji - A Source of Inspiration	153	Vedaranyam Kasturba Kanya Gurukulam	94
Faith and Philosophy in the Atomic Age	176	Seva Sadan at Perur	138
The Significance of Bhoodan Yagna	272	The Fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan	233
RABINDRANATH TAGORE		SIDDARAJ DHADDA	
That Heaven of Freedom	147	Control of the Mills for the Production of Cottage Industries	107
RAMACHANDRAN G.		SIVASUBRAMANIAM N. S.	
Gandhiji and Torn Dhoty	55	Economic Holding or Self-Sufficient Village Economy?	35
ROBIN MUKHOPADHYA		Mechanisation in Agriculture:	
The Work Camp Movement	57	A challenge to human and animal power	88
RAMACHANDRA RAO S. K.		Money Economics: A menace to Humanity	205
Sarvodaya - Its logic and technique	203	SREEDHARAN S. M.	
RUTH FRY		The Individualistic Doctrine of Gandhiji	66
Victories Without Violence	160	SAHASRABUDHE A. W.	
ROBERT TRUMBULL		Love Thy Neighbour	69
The God Who Gives Away Land	40	The New Movement of the Charkha Sangh	77
RADHAKRISHNAN S. Dr.		VAIDYANATHAN K.	
The Function of University	159	Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra in Hyderabad	93
Food, Clothing and Shelter for all	188	VISWANATHAN H.	
SAROJINI NAIDU		Bee-keeping	231
My Father, Do Not Rest	145		246
Dr. C. S. S. SARMA		VASANT NARGOLKAR	
Honouring Gandhiji	207	The Unique Bhoodan Movement	210
SHANKARRAO DEO		WILFRED WELLOCKX	
The Bhoodan Movement	14	Revolt and Reconstruction	31
Popular Response for Bhoodan	32	The Economics of a Peaceful Society	157
Progress of Bhoodan Movement	81	A Spiritual Challenge to Enslaving Fear	208
The message of Bhoodan Yagna	102	The Values of the Small Community	229
Bhoodan Yagna: Answer to Some questions	125	Man and the Machine	253
Next Step of Bhoodan Movement	272	The Creative Society	283
SWAMI ANAND		WILLIAM & KATHLEEN GREENE	
Twelfth February	172	The Kodaikanal Seminar	11
SCHARFFENBERG W. A.		WATKINS W. P.	
Working of Prohibition	257	The Co-operative Movement in India	174
		WARRIER, IKKANDAN	
		An Appeal to the Public	163

BOOKS BY J. C. KUMARAPPA		Rs.	As.
Why the Village Movement?		3	8
Economy of Permanence Part I		2	0
-Do-	II	2	0
Gandhian Economy and Other Essays		2	0
Philosophy of Work and "		0	12
Science and Progress		1	0
Peace and Prosperity		0	8
Blood Money		0	12
Europe through Gandhian Eyes		0	8
Present Economic Situation		2	0
Our Food Problem		1	8
Banishing War		0	8
Currency Inflation, Its Cause and Cure		0	12
An Overall Plan for Rural Development		0	8
Stone Walls and Iron Bars		1	8
Organization and Accounts of Relief Work		1	0
Unitary Basis for a Non-Violent Democracy		0	10
Women and Village Industries		0	4
Magan Dipa		0	8
A. I. V. I. A. : OTHER BOOKS			
Rice		1	8
What shall We Eat? (J. P. Patel)		3	0
Oil Extraction		3	0
The Oil Mill vs. the Ghani		0	2
Palm Gur (Gajanan B. Naik)		1	0
Soap Making (K. B. Joshi)		1	8
Paper Making		4	0
A Questionnaire for Rural Surveys		0	4
A Questionnaire for the Survey of Village Industries		1	8
Magan Chula		0	8
Grinding of Cereals		0	8
Guide to Maganwadi		0	3
Views of Maganwadi		0	8
Whither Constructive Work? (G. Ramachandran)		0	10
Economics of Peace — The Cause and the Man (S. K. George & G. Ramachandran)		10	0
NAI TALIM LITERATURE			
Basic Education, Its Principles and Practice (Marjorie Sykes)		0	6
7th Conference		0	6
Basic Education in Bihar—1 Set		2	14
Suggestions for a Post-Graduate Training Course in Nai Talim		0	8
Nai Talim at Sevagram		0	4
Educational Reconstruction (Gandhiji)		2	0
The Latest Fad—Basic Education (J. B. Kripalani)		1	8
Syllabus for Pre-Basic Teachers		0	12
Pian and Practice (Shanta Narulkar)		1	8
Higher Education in Relation to Rural India (Arthur E. Morgan)		0	8
The Rural University		3	0
Nai Talim Sevagram—Album (English)		2	8
Do (Tamil)		1	4
Cardboard Modelling		0	5
Compost Latrines: Their Value, Construction and Use		1	8
"Boimondau"—A French Community of Work (Claire Hutchet Bishop)		0	8
Common Ailments of the Village (Vasanthi Behen)		0	8
Nai Talim and the Social Order (Wilfred Wellock)		0	8
One Step Forward		2	8
Two Years of Work		2	8
The Story of Twelve Years		0	4
Basic School Syllabus — Grades I - VIII		1	8
Revised Syllabus for the Training of Teachers		1	0
" Grades I - V		1	8
Seven Years of Work		0	8
Picture and Programme of Adult Education		0	12
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