

# SARVODAYA



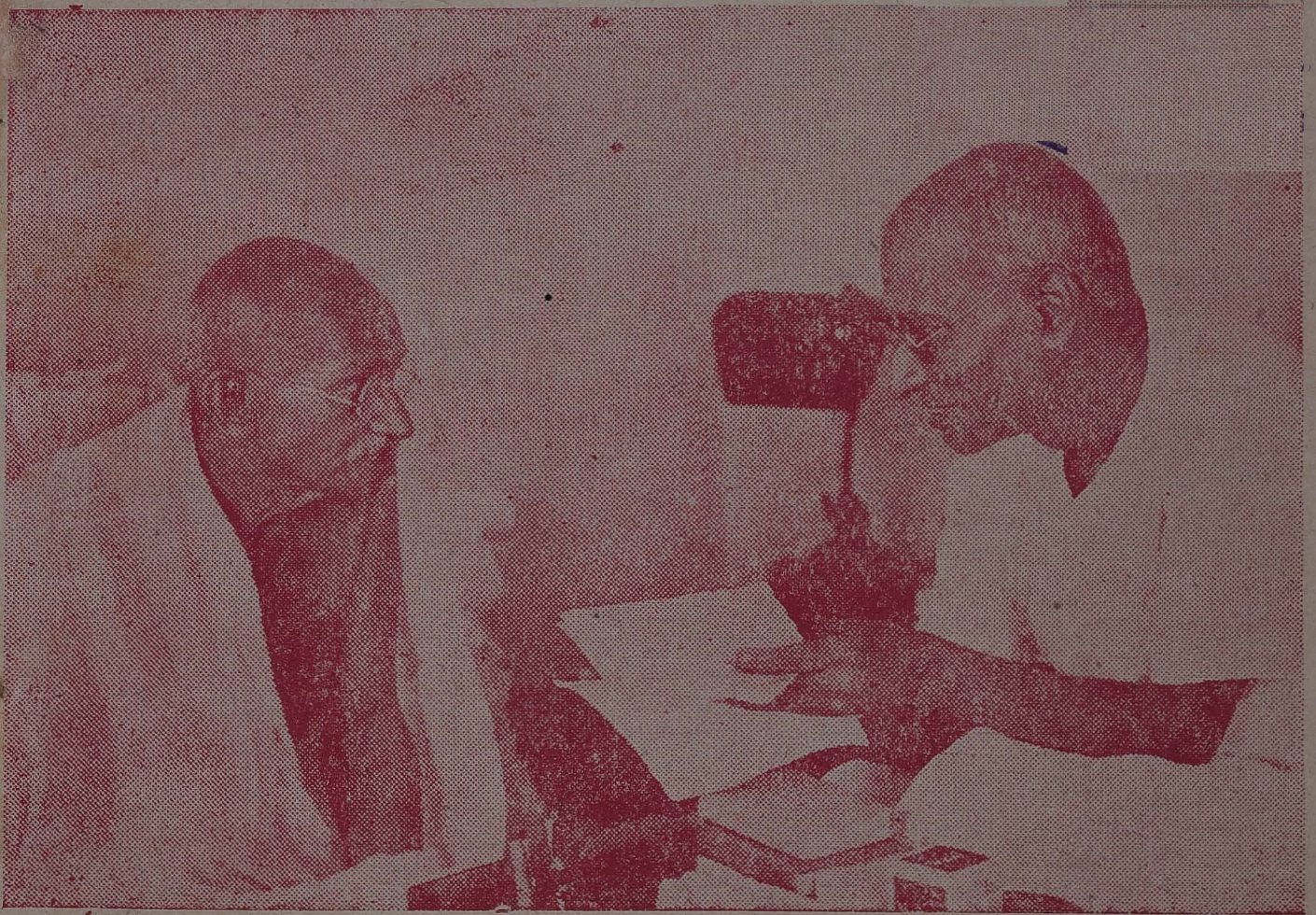
(with which "The KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



Vol. 2

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No. 3



*Photo - Kanu Gandhi — Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot*

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DAKSHIN BHARAT PRAKASHAN OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH



The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has so far published under the Charka Sangh 52 books in Tamil and 5 books in English on Gandhiji's Constructive programme particularly on khadi, his life, his writings and Sarvodaya Ideology. Several books have run the second edition and a few have had their fourth edition. The Prachuralayam has sold more than a lakh of copies of its publications. Our readers are familiar already with the Tamil monthly magazine *Khaddar Malar* which is now published as Sarvodaya in Tamil. This will be completing its fifth year in September.

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Bhoodan News

Published on the 1st of every month

## Sarvodaya and The Utilitarian Formula

MAHATMA GANDHI

A votary of *Ahimsa* cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realise the ideal. He will, therefore, be willing to die, so that the others may live. He will serve himself with the rest, by himself dying. The greatest good of all inevitably includes the good of the greatest number, and therefore, he and the utilitarian will converge in many points in their career but there does come a time when they must part company, and even work in opposite directions. The utilitarian to be logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist will even sacrifice himself.

(*'Young India,'* 9—12—'26)

## MY KAMADHENU

## ORIGIN OF SARVODAYA

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

I know that I have been ridiculed by some people for calling the spinning wheel a gateway to my salvation. But even so may a person who makes himself a little ball of clay, gives to it the imposing name of Parthiweshwar Chintamani, and concentrates on it all the faculties of his being in the hope of 'seeing God face to face' by that means, be sneered at by those who do not share his faith in the life-giving power of his image. But would he, madly bent as he is on attaining self-realization, give up his worship on this account? No. On the contrary he will strive on without flagging till success crowns his efforts, as in the end it must, while his detractors will only be the worse off for their gibes. Similarly, if my conception of the spinning wheel comes from a pure heart, it will become to me the means of my salvation. A faithful Hindu's ears will automatically turn to the direction where Ramanama is being repeated, and for the time being all the evil passions will subside in him. What does it matter if the repetition of that divine name fail to produce any impression on others? A Hindu may not be in the least affected by the cry of *Allo ho Akbar*, but a Mussalman is roused by it. Similarly, a pious Englishman, the moment he is reminded of the presence within him of God, will be able to restrain his passion and compose himself for the time being. As is the spirit behind worship, so is the fruit thereof.

It follows then that, even if the spinning wheel be in itself nothing and the virtues that I have attributed to it exist only in my imagination, it will still prove at least to me my Kamadhenu, i. e., Cow of Plenty. I think of the poor of India every time that I draw a thread on the wheel. The poor of India today have lost faith in God, more so in the middle classes or the rich. For a person suffering from the pangs of hunger, and desiring nothing but to fill his belly, his belly is his God. To him anyone who gives him bread is his Master. Through him he may even see God. To give alms to such persons, who are sound in all their limbs, is to debase oneself and them. What they need is some kind of occupation, and the occupation that will give employment to millions can only be hand-spinning. But I can instill my faith in the potency of hand-spinning in the

During the days of my education I had read practically nothing outside text-books, and after I launched into active life I had very little time for reading. I cannot, therefore, claim much book knowledge. However, I believe I have not lost much because of this enforced restraint. On the contrary, the limited reading may be said to have enabled me thoroughly to digest what I did read. Of these books, the one that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life was *Unto This Last*. I translated it later into Gujarati, entitling it "*Sarvodaya*" (the welfare of all).

I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life. A poet is one who can call forth the good latent in the human breast. Poets do not influence all alike, for every one is not evolved in an equal measure.

The teachings of *Unto This Last* I understood to be:—

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's, inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.
3. That a life of labour, i. e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. *Unto This Last* made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and the third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice.

*Autobiography, Pt. IV, Ch. XVIII*

.....

minds of the toilers of India not by making speeches but only by spinning myself. Therefore I have described my spinning as a penance or sacrament. And, since I believe that where there is pure and active love for the poor there is God also, I see God in every thread that I draw on the spinning wheel.



(Young India 20-5-1926)



## VINOBAJI'S APPEAL

To Workers in Congress and in Constructive Institutions.

*On 2—8—'52 in his-prayer speech at Kasi Vidyapith, Vinobaji appealed to all political parties and the workers in the constructive work institutions to come to a definite decision to concentrate all their activities on Bhoomidan Yagna, if they are to bring in a revolution in society and to improve the condition of the masses.*

### TO CONGRESS WORKERS

Now the people have elected you to govern the country. This means that you are entrusted with the responsibility to relieve the suffering of the poor. This Bhoodan Yagna is the work for it. Hence you cannot keep quiet. It becomes your duty. If you forget your responsibility, then you forfeit your claim to represent the masses. You bring in the name of Gandhiji. Mere words will not be enough. You have to translate them into action and this Bhoodan work gives you that field for it. I can say that if Gandhiji were living to-day, certainly he would have been doing this work. For years I have lived with him. I have understood his ideas and digested them. Hence I think I have a claim to invite you all to be active participants in this work.

### TO K. M. P. AND SOCIALIST FRIENDS

Friends of the K. M. P. and socialist parties, you also desire and work for a revolution in the present order of society. If you really desire to bring relief to the suffering masses, decide now to set apart at least two to three years for this Bhoodan work and concentrate all your activities on this alone and make it a success. Then you will find that the masses will be behind you.

### TO WORKERS IN THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK INSTITUTIONS

For the last 32 years I have been doing constructive work. I have immense faith in it. This Bhoodan work is the highest of them all. The branches will bear leaves and fruits if only the roots are given water. If we succeed in this Bhoodan work, then our activities in the various institutions will bear fruits. Or else they will become dull and ineffective. Along with all the activities which I have been doing in the constructive field. I now do this work also. Constructive work is a continuous work and it has to be daily carried on. I may tell you, from my experience that since I began to concentrate my attention on this work, I could carry on the other items of constructive work with greater strength and effect. It is because this work inspires the people and

make them really active and they desire that our ideas should really be translated into action successfully.

Today a Vaidik Brahmin well-versed in Astrology came to meet me. He discussed many things about Astrology with me and I listened with interest. But in the end he said "We are daily praying to Kasi Viswanath 'may you be blessed with success in your Bhoodan Yagna.' Why should this Vaidik Brahmin pray so? Because this Yuga-Dharma inspires the heart of all good people. Even though some people do not take active part in it, there is their sympathy and that will certainly be a contribution to its success.

Hence I appeal to you all interested in the constructive work and those who contribute to the Sarvodaya Ideology and in particular to those who are actually in the field of constructive work as workers, to come forward and take up this work. You will find that to give work for relief to the suffering masses, forms an item in the declaration of the objectives of all parties in India. By this Bhoodan work we can achieve these three-fold objectives of (1) reviving the culture of our land, (ii) regeneration of our society and (iii) the non-violent revolution. There should be no delay. Decide at once and join hands.

Our people are dying of starvation. Food-grains are being imported from various places outside. Not only that, people have become victims to diseases also. This is not a desirable state of affairs and such conditions should no longer be tolerated. We should bring in relief without delay. The people are looking to us and in all directions. And Bhoodan Yagna is the only means that can solve the problems. Mother Earth should be made to flow like Mother Ganges. To-day she is static. If we really desire, she can be made to flow. Whoever that desires to cultivate, should get her without any delay.

(Summarised from a Hindi report)

## Place of Satyagraha in Democracy

— Vinobaji —

*Commenting on a certain Satyagraha campaign Pandit Pant stated that "Satyagraha can have no place in Democracy." A friend invited Vinobaji's opinion on this. In his post-prayer speech at Kasi-Vidyapith on 5-8-'52, Vinobaji explained the meaning, the approach and the technique behind Satyagraha.*

After the exit of Bapu, the practice of Satyagraha is only in words. We now find people resorting to it in the form of 'fasts unto death' with a motive or design to obtain a certain thing or with a view to bring in coercion and thus bring the opponent to agree under compulsion. We see these methods used in every minor affair even. When so many other methods and ways are open before them to achieve the desired end, and much work ought to have been done and has to be done which is within their power to do, but without bestowing any thought on it or making efforts worth the name, these people did undertake fasts unto death. On many such occasions I had to intervene and persuade them to withdraw. As far as I remember not a single 'fast' since the exit of Bapu, was found justifiable. Thus we see this weapon of Satyagraha is being misused by people on all and sundry occasions. So it is quite natural that thinking people around are opposed to such Satyagraha.

### TRUE SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha is the power of love. On an ideological basis it cannot be accepted that it has no place in democracy. Otherwise it will come to mean that in democracy there is no place for love. True satyagraha will at once win the heart of all. It will enter the heart of the opponent like the "Ramaban". But the individual who uses it must be pure hearted. In other words, there must be Ram to use "Ramaban"

### PRACTICE OF SATYAGRAHA

(1) Hence the first prerequisite is that the individual who resorts to it, should be one who is quite truthful, impartial, and absolutely in selfless service of the people.

(2) The motive before him should be pure and selfless service for the good of all.

(3) He should have, before he resorts to it, attempted and exhausted all other means and methods which are within his

power of action. He should himself understand and also make the opponent understand the injustice of the latter's conduct and acts. In spite of all these, if the opponent does not change his heart and remains adamant, in such a situation, Satyagraha can then be resorted to.

(4) In such circumstances with a really agrieved heart he can offer Satyagraha with all tenderness and kindness. This right, no order of society or system of Government can take away from any individual.

### SATYAGRAHA IN DEMOCRACY - VERY RARE

But in any place where there is the right to vote for every individual, and the Government is according to the wishes of the people, there will arise only very few chances for Satyagraha.

For example, suppose that I am to offer Satyagraha to-day for getting lands to the landless poor. If I begin to fast and say that I won't take food till all the poor in the country are given land, even though my desire is very pure and my devotion to the cause is sincere, even then my step in that direction now is a wrong one. Because before I venture on this step I have to do many other things. I have to create the atmosphere. I have to gain the sympathy of the people. I must in all love persuade landlords and collect as much land as I can and distribute them to the poor. In addition to all these I must proceed on with the full faith that I will certainly get lands if I appeal to the good sense of the people. Without doing all these things, if on the other hand I simply undertake a fast unto death now in the name of Satyagraha, then I will not be a Satyagrahi but only a Dura-grahi. Under such a circumstance it is open to any one near me to say that in democracy there is no place for Satyagraha, and that I am not a Satyagrahi.

### SERIOUS PENANCE

Now coming to real Satyagraha, the whole life of a truthful man is one of Satyagraha. He practises it always in all his acts through out his life. He goes step by step. It is possible that he may resort to a final Satyagraha to end his life. But it will be good if such occasions do not happen often. We should not create such occasions in society to witness such serious penances of saints. We should listen to and obey the words of good people. We should not give them occasions for mental agony and force them to punish themselves by such Satyagraha.

(Condensed from a Hindi Report)

# INDO - AMERICAN AGREEMENT

## A Critical Study of the Implications

K. G. MASHRUWALA

*"It is virtually a charter to U. S. to establish herself in India first as trading concern, and then as India's political boss. The Govt. of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U. S. all its administrative machinery and to become its advertising agency". Thus writes Shri Kishorilalji in the course of his introduction to the booklet Agreement or Slavery Bond by Shri Suresh Ramabhai on the Indo - American Agreement of 5th January 1952.*

Often a transaction or public event which does not immediately create a great sensation in the public and is practically neglected even by the general politician or economist proves later to have been the turning point in a nation's history. It plants a weed, which after sometime, grows rapidly spreading itself far and wide, going deep into the soil and smothering everything in its vicinity. It looks harmless and even pleasant in the beginning, but ultimately when it begins to exert the influence on its surroundings, it would already have become too late and too difficult to get out of its entanglements.

The Agreement signed between U. S. and India on 5th January 1952 has appeared to Shri Suresh Ramabhai and many of us a transaction of this type.

The Government of India having entered into it with great deliberation and evidently on the advice of experts, is naturally completely satisfied with its achievements. Not a few of the leading dailies and economic organs of industrialists also have given it their blessings.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's deep concern for bringing about the economic regeneration of India at the quickest possible pace is well - known. He is impatient with lethargic people who are easily satisfied with a little advance here and a little achievement there. He has great faith in modern technical science and wants it to be fully employed in India for the economic advancement of the country. He wants to see India undertake and complete projects as grand as any in any part of the world. There is no doubt that India is capable of doing all this. Who does not know her past achievements and her position as the

leading nation of the world for centuries in every field of life? We are descendants of the same people, on the whole intellectually well - developed, and given adequate opportunity, guidance and means, there is no reason why we may not achieve as much again.

For more than two centuries past, enormous wealth has been drained away from India into foreign lands, and she has been bled white. It is not possible, Pandit Nehru and many others probably feel that India can rebuild her prosperity with the aid of her own resources. At any rate it cannot be done at any thing more than a snail's pace. If we can obtain, by way of either loan or gift, funds or materials needed by us for developing our country, consistently with our national independence and self-respect, no sense of either timidity or vanity on our part should prevent us from seeking, negotiating or accepting such aid. There is nothing intrinsically wrong or immoral in it. People enter into partnership and loan agreements every day in their private life and still retain their individuality and equality of status. Whether doing so will put a person in a position of subordination to the other party in matters outside the sphere of agreement depends upon the quality of self-confidence possessed by him. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, perhaps, feels that it would be cowardly on the part of India to reject aids or loans undoubtedly needed by her, merely from the fear that the acceptance of such aids may render her incapable of preserving her independence in national or international affairs. Pandit Nehru has more than once shown his independence of spirit, and why should he think that any Government succeeding him will not be able to do so equally well? No doubt, there

is some risk, but none can achieve much without risks.

This is theoretically a valid attitude. But it is not in conformity with the actual experience we have in the private life of individuals or the political history of nations. On the contrary, the general experience is that a debtor becomes subservient to the creditor in every manner. He loses all initiative and freedom to decide his course of action. The consequences of disobedience to the will of the creditor or the benefactor are so grave that he does not dare to take the risk.

A study of the Agreement of 5th January 1952 and of some of the secondary agreements that have since been signed in pursuance of it, shows that the risk to which India has become exposed through these is so grave that the Agreement may well prove to be virtually a bond of slavery. I need not repeat what those risks are, as they have been well described by Shri Suresh Ramabhai in his booklet. The risks are not only economic but also political and psychological. The psychological risk that I refer to is the possibility that at least two opposite types of complexes might be created in the people: that we cannot live without the goodwill and friendship of America; and that (as a strong reaction against the first) we must run into the Communist camp in order to liberate ourselves from the first. The very thing, which is sought to be avoided by U. S., might happen, with greater impact by agreements of this type. The drama of China and Korea perhaps might be re-enacted in India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's sincerity of purpose is not to be doubted. He has confidence in himself, confidence in the innate capacities of our people, and faith in the role which India must play in future as a great nation of the world. He believes in the unity of the world, in the abolition of war and peace. He believes that this is possible only through non-violence and not through armaments. That he cannot run away from the war machine in the immediate present is a concession to the realities of the situation and not an acceptance of the proposition that peace can be saved by piling and perfecting destructive weapons. But simply because he has to make these concessions and cannot face up to all the implications of his faith, he does not want to run away from his duty.

On the economic programme, frankly, it seems to me that Panditji's thinking is not quite clear. He does not love centraliza-

tion and regimentation; but he appears to me to have almost a superstitious faith in the power of the machine, of scientific appliances and of the economy of mass production. Production by the charkha, village industries and bullock plough methods, appear to him, perhaps, as of too rudimentary nature to be considered seriously by the Government of a great Republic, with a population of 36 crores of people. Hence, he is indeed earnest to industrialize the country. He does not seem to agree with those who think that war and large-scale industrialization are almost inseparable companions.

Due to this attitude of his, he is constantly attracted towards gigantic schemes, and has launched so many of them. Some of them have been disastrous failures, and in some others, the Government has been cheated by its own officers, advisers, technicians and others. One of the greatest and costliest lessons of the schemes has been that we have proved ourselves to be too much depraved in moral character and wanting in love for our country. Other considerations apart, our national regeneration cannot be achieved merely by heavy economic reconstruction. The moral reconstruction of our country on solid foundations is even more important and basic than economic reconstruction. The latter should follow step by step in the wake of the former.

But, great though the losses have been on account of failures and dishonesty in connection with various schemes, they are most of them only isolated transactions. The present agreement is a continuous process. It is virtually a charter to U. S. to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern, and then as India's political boss. The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U. S. all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency. U. S. officers, employers etc. will be allowed to live in India and move and mix with the people of India without being subject to even civil laws of India. Who can prevent them from propagating any political or social views they please, and creating factions in India? The next elections might well be a rivalry among U. S. sponsored, U. S. S. R. sponsored, and purely Indian parties.

I am in entire agreement with the principle that the whole world is one; that, after all, it is but human and natural that one section of mankind should help another in times of need, that he who has much should



# GANDHIJI AND TORN DHOTI

## An anecdote from Gandhiji's Life

— G. RAMACHANDRAN —

"There was a time when as a student in London, I took ten minutes to dress my hair. Now I only need half a minute for my entire toilet" said Gandhiji, as he hurriedly stepped out of the 3rd class compartment at Virudhunagar Station, during his tour in Tamilnad.

This story belongs to one of Gandhiji's Tamilnad tours. Gandhiji has said that next to the Punjab it is in Tamilnad he draws the biggest crowds. The Tamilians just adore him. The train was steaming into Virudhunagar. The station was already visible in the distance, besieged by a huge multitude. Gandhiji woke up from a little nap in his third class compartment. He has the rare trick of snatching ten-to-fifteen minutes' naps on his journeys which are very often crowded with public meetings. He jumped to his feet tightening his little loin cloth round his waist.

One of his party caught sight of a fair-sized tear in his loin cloth, and said to Gandhiji: 'We are almost at the station. You have hardly a minute to change.'

'Why change?' queried Gandhiji as he quickly stepped into the bathroom to step out again a moment later. There was no longer a tear in the loin cloth. He had worn his dhoti the other way about. As he swiftly gathered up his spectacles, watch and

*(Continued from previous page)*

share his surplus with him who has little and that both the giver and the receiver should feel blessed. Grand achievements and scientific advance should not be inconsistent with peace. But it is clear that the motives of U. S. in aiding Europe and Asia are not so altruistic as are needed for such an attitude. They are frankly made for organizing an anticommunist front. Equally similar is the attitude of the Communists. These two are at daggers drawn against each other, and each tries to spread its tentacles over other peoples for their own ends, and not out of any brotherly love. So long as this is the attitude of these two ambitious countries and their collaborating nations, we must rebuild our country by our own efforts. It is better to be slow in our progress, than to put up a facade of progress, when behind it there is only a state of bankruptcy that may lead to civil strife or international warfare.

other personal belongings the train pulled up at the platform. As he was about to alight he turned with a smile to the member of his party who had spoken to him and remarked: "There was a time when as a student in London I took ten minutes to dress my hair. Now I only need half a minute for my entire toilet." Then he stepped out and was ready for the reception.

It was during this tour that Gandhiji perfected his technique of snatching ten-and-fifteen minutes' naps in a speeding motor car. He did the tour in a 'Master Buick' placed at his disposal by a Madras automobile firm. In the seat at the rear there was a contraption like a tiny bed on which he would curl up and go to sleep. He addressed five or six public meetings a day on the question of Harijan emancipation.

As the car drove him from one meeting to the next, he would ask Dr. T. S. S. Rajan who was in charge of the tour - 'Well, Rajan, what is the next item, a ten-minute or fifteen-minute nap?'

Occasionally, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan would answer with a twinkle in his eyes: 'No, Bapu, the next item is a big one; a real good thirty-minutes' nap.'

'Oh, what a luxury!' Gandhiji would remark, and the next moment he would be fast asleep as the Buick, to the steady roar of its engine, tore up mile after mile. It was a miracle how Gandhiji would wake up right to the minute as the car pulled up at the next halt. He would arise refreshed and step straight on to the platform at the next place of meeting. Legend has it that Napoleon used to sleep on horseback. The Napoleon of India's non-violent struggle not only slept in a speeding motor car, but to an exact schedule between mammoth public meetings. And make no mistake about it, he did not merely rest himself during these famous little naps; he slept as they say, like a log of wood!

*(From "A Sheaf of Gandhi Anecdotes" published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay)*

# ONE HOUR SCHOOL FOR ADULTS & CHILDREN

— VINOBAJI

Vinobaji, in the course of his talk on 26-7-'52 to the students of the Besant College, Kashi, placed the proposal of one-hour's school every day for all children and adults among the poor so that within a short time every one in our country may get educated. The following is condensed from a Hindi report of the talk received from Shri Damodardas Mundada.

Some people think that the people in India were remaining illiterate and uneducated since thousands of years. This is not true. In Upanishads, there is a passage wherein a king states, "In my land there is none who is not educated." So even in those very ancient days, the State in our country considered it its Dharma (duty) to impart education to all. Not one caste alone in particular received this benefit but everyone. Though education was traditional among the Brahmins, every member of all the other classes had equal opportunities to learn.

It was pointed out by Annie Besant that in Bengal, before the advent of the English, for every 400 children there was a school. This means that every village had a school. These schools were run by the village Panchayats. The village Panchayat was the controller of all the industries and the trade of the village. The Panchayats were Sovereign governing units and the villages were then very prosperous and healthy. Under the British administration these village industries were ruined with the result the Panchayats also broke down.

It might be that in those ancient days everyone in the village did not know to read and write. Yet they had general education. They learnt through hearing and listening to lectures and discourses which were conducted by the wise men of the village in a common meeting place. Our ancients laid great emphasis on the art of learning through 'hearing.' Our ears never get tired or spoiled or weak by any amount of listening. But our eyes get weak and spoiled if we read too much. By this method of learning through listening, knowledge goes straight to the heart and gets easily assimilated within. In short, the effect is like that of an injection.

In ancient days our saints did establish great Universities in our land. These Universities were not like those of the present day involving expenditure of crores of rupees and huge capital. The greatest among them was the one established by our great saint and poet Shri Tulasidas. He wandered from village to village, carrying

the message of Ramayana, reading and explaining it with full devotion to thousands of people gathering to listen to him. The effect was that even those who did not know to read and write could get the benefit of its study. By such easy and simple methods people could be taught Literature, Dharma, Bhakti, Social Science, Political philosophy, the ways of the Administration of justice, in short, knowledge in all affairs of life and world. Many good and wise people like Saint Tulasidas spent the whole of their lives in the service of the masses thus imparting free and easy education to all. Sitting under a tree, or in a maidan, they read and the people with devotion listened in rapt attention. In return for these services, the teachers received simply some grains when the crops were harvested. Of course, the villagers supplied them the necessary cloth also spun and woven by them.

Even to-day it is possible to impart education through this very same method. If one-hour's school is conducted at night in every village the adults can listen without any strain and learn a lot. Much will not be gained by teaching them to read and write. Besides such discourses on Ramayana and similar other books, lectures and talks on agriculture, hygiene and sanitation, social science, nature-cure treatment, history of the world and its current events, can also be arranged for their studies.

It is bad to keep children all through the day in schools. The poor man's children cannot afford to be there all through the day. For them one-hour's class every day in the morning will be useful and effective. During this one hour they can be taught well in reading and writing. They can be taught of things that are related to the work in which they will be engaged during the rest of the hours of the day. This method will help the children to attend to their classes in the morning and after that attend to their work in which they are to be trained by their parents during the rest of the day.

If we try such simple methods of education, we can educate everyone in our country within a short period.

# THE WORK CAMP MOVEMENT

ROBIN MUKHOPADHYA

The work of Service Civil International is indissolubly linked up with the name and life of its founder Pierre Ceresole. This organization arose out of the turmoil and tragedy of the 1st World War, with the aim of "creating a real and lasting world-wide comradeship through voluntary constructive service." In spite of slow progress, S. C. I. grew as an International organization which could cross frontiers and render service of a practical nature whenever need demanded or in the event of a natural catastrophe. It offered its first service in India during the period of 1934-37 in Bihar by helping in building new villages in the place of those shattered and devastated by the great earthquake and consequent flood in North Bihar.

Since 1950, S. C. I. has again responded to India's need by organizing work camps in places such as, (1) Faridabad New Township Colony, (2) The Khajjiar Project Himachal Pradesh, (3) in the flood and quake devastated parts of Lakhimpur district in Assam and (4) the Harijan Colony in Ahmedabad.

An article in *Harijan* by Horace Alexander on such international work camps, in India created in me a desire to do some practical work of this kind; and I was on a look out for some such organization. Ultimately I found this, and joined it as a volunteer in a camp working in the district of Lakhimpur.

## NATURE OF CAMPLIFE

We are at present (April '52) engaged in rebuilding schools by personal manual labour for 7½ hours for five days a week and for 5 hours on Saturdays. A holiday is observed on Sunday. The work begins at 5 a. m. and ends at 5-50 p. m. with breaks for lunch and rest. Camp duties such as, cleaning of lamps, chopping firewood etc. are shared by all the volunteers. Volunteers have come from such countries as England, Switzerland, France, Finland, and also from Madras, Assam and Bengal. As we cannot deny the necessity of actual physical work, so also we cannot deny the necessity of healthy recreations. We relax our tired muscles after the day's hard work either by games, or by singing songs in the evening of various countries of the world, or by having discussion on diverse subjects between ourselves and sometimes with the

villagers too. Subjects for such discussions know no limit. They vary from Gandhism, Gandhian organizations in India, international language problem of work camps in Europe, Disarmament, World Peace etc. Thus we freely exchange our thoughts and ideas and get to know each other more intimately. This is on the whole an inside picture of the camp.

## PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS

Work camps are places not for holiday recreations (in words of Pierre Ceresole) but places for manual work in the truest sense. It is here that I have felt with my body and mind the real meaning and taste of that high idea of "declassification," an idea which is one of the urgent and fundamental questions today. To identify ourselves with the millions of 'have-nots' we must not stop by declassifying in words only, but make an active de-classification through work. Here is an open field for such a transformation. Who will deny that 'work' is the *sine-qua-non* of our country at present? I have felt through working with my hands that if all the hands of thousands of able-bodied young men and women of our country could be called on and canalised in such ways, surely we can bring an overall change in our present rotten state without looking and praying indefinitely to the State for help. Here I have felt that if we desire our rightful place in the free world of tomorrow, we must also be worthy of it. Here it is that I have realized that we are free citizens of India, having mixed with other free people of the world and observing their manners, discipline etc. in every day life. It is also here that I have found the ever growing world-wide understanding for the Gandhian movement and the way of life. Standard of diet is fairly higher than that of ordinary Indian meals.

The underlying idea which I want to emphasize is that if the present deadly habit of 'gossiping, criticising, and doing nothing' of most of our young men and women, educated or uneducated, can be replaced by installing in their minds a work spirit through short term constructive camps then we would go a long way to achieve our ultimate goal. Volunteers may be utilised

*From a speech at the Shantiniketan session of*

*The World Pacifists' Conference held in December, 1949.*

## Non-Violence — The Root of Peace

— J. C. Kumarappa —

We shall have to consider the various types of violence. Violence does not necessarily mean stabbing somebody. Truth and non-violence must be the basis of our relationship with our fellowmen. Our relationship now is not based on truth or non-violence. Periodical conflict cannot be avoided as long as there is violence within ourselves. We find the sources of violence (1) within men, (2) from resources of nature; we have sources of violence, (3) in production, (4) in distribution, (5) in exchange, (6) in consumption and (7) in our social group working as a democracy. Until we recognise these sources of violence in these things we cannot banish war. We know the symptom but we have to trace the cause. Unless we do that we shall never be able to find a remedy. Gandhiji's constructive work is based on non-violence and truth. It is not pure 'Pacifism'. It is trying to destroy the roots of violence, namely, untruth and dishonesty, in our everyday life. Consider the way in which King David looked at the water of the well of Bethlehem; if he had drunk it he would have been guilty of cannibalism—drinking the blood of those young men.

Gandhiji's idea is that work is not an evil; it is a blessing from God. Work has

*(Continued from previous page)*

as 'Land Army,' or for building small roads, bridges, or digging wells in the villages; these are works immediately needed for our people and can be done by voluntary and vast youth forces, which are going to waste day by day for lack of proper outlets and handling.

If some of our present constructive workers give a country-wide lead on this line by organising work camps, we can achieve double results, since it is both a nation-building and youth-making movement. Periods of such camps may vary from one month to three or six months. Sources of finance and working raw materials are also points of consideration. With all humility I invite the attention of our leaders to this type of work. ★

The law of love will work, just as the law of gravitation will work, whether we accept it or not. For, the force of non-violence is infinitely more wonderful and subtle than the material forces of nature, like for instance electricity. — GANDHIJI

a reaction on man and that reaction is more important than the material manifestation of work. It is here that you find the roots of Basic Education. Work has a creative faculty in it. Basic Education is built on this theory of work. Those who ask for leisure are asking for a curse. We call the food we eat a balanced diet only when it has everything that is necessary for the human system. Under division of labour in factories and centralised industries work is not a balanced diet for men. One man is doing the same routine every hour, every day of his life. Work under such circumstances is drudgery.

Life becomes one whole according to the principle underlying village industries. In the factories, workers become nervous wrecks and it is a nervous wreck that finds recreation in alcoholic drink. Family life, commerce, pleasure and leisure are all integrated in work in the village industries. Under the capitalist system there is nothing to provide an intellectual recreation for men. Prof. Cyril Burt said that in the last forty years the intelligence of the British race had gone down at an 'alarming' rate. There is discipline also under the village industries scheme, but the discipline you get here is different from military discipline. Military discipline does not come from within, somebody orders and the soldier takes the order. In the village industries scheme it is purely self-discipline, on which democracy can be based. Cottage industry is not to be understood as any charitable or philanthropic work; it is part of a social work.

# COTTAGE ECONOMY

EDMOND SZEKELY

## — A Way of Living for the Atomic Age

This is an extract from a book with the above title giving the comparative advantages of Rural Cottage Economy over the Urban Industrialised Economy after a careful scientific study of an experiment of 36 families in France. The analytical table shows that the Cottage Economist has to work for the satisfaction of his food-needs for only 20 days at home and 9 days outside saving 67 days, while the city-man has to work for all the 96 days outside home, in a year.

Some years before the war, in France, I watched and supervised an experiment in "cottage economy" started by thirty-six families who had the idea that they would like to enjoy a more independent and freer life, then and there, rather than to wait upon the realisation of grandiose schemes for the transformation of the economic system. The table given below summarises the average result obtained by the twenty-seven surviving families, and enables a comparison to be made with the economic activities of the average city man.

*"The Cottage Economist is a progressive thinker, not a reactionary. By his way of living he asserts his opposition to the present economic and political system with its manifold defects. He is a constructive member of society, not an anarchist. He has no desire to destroy things indiscriminately, so he will not become the tools of any destructive or subversive movements."*

### ANNUAL NUMBER OF WORKDAYS REQUIRED FOR SATISFACTION OF NEEDS

Need	* CHAOTIC ECONOMY		COTTAGE ECONOMY			
	No. of days	% of Total	Domestic Production	Additional Earnings	Total No. of days	Days Saved
Food	96	32	20	9	29	67
Shelter	51	17	4	4	8	43
Clothing	48	16	11	10	21	27
Fuel, Light, Water	15	5	4	8	12	3
Misc: Necessities	30	10	5	5	10	20
Savings	30	10	5	5	10	20
Superfluities	30	10	—	—	—	30
Ann. Total ...	300	100	49	41	90	210

Let us see how does it meet the requirements of an optimum economic system

#### SATISFACTION OF MATERIAL NEEDS

The material needs of the smallholder will be undoubtedly met more perfectly than those of the city man. In particular, his food supply will be far more health-giving: fruits and vegetables will be richer in vitamins and minerals and free from arsenical and other sprays used in commercial agriculture. The milk from his goats, the eggs from poultry and the honey from his bees will all be really wholesome foods, not to be compared with the adulterated and devitalised products sold in the city shop. Clothing

and shelter, at a fraction of a cost in the city will be perfectly suited to the smallholder's needs.

#### SECURITY

The subsistence smallholder living on his productive unit will definitely have and feel more security than the city dweller all the time fearful of losing his job or his investments. The triple action of big business, labour unions and government decides for the latter for his life. But the smallholder will not be very much affected by inflation, by depression or by strikes and lock-outs. He is his own producer, distributor and consumer combined.

\* The Author means city economy.

### ECONOMY

The smallholder certainly gets the maximum results with the minimum effort. If he can get what he needs with ninety work-days a year, his opposite member in the city requires three hundred, he is at a definite advantage.

### HEALTH AND VITALITY

It is obvious that a man living outdoors on a smallholding and working for three hours a day in the fresh air and sunshine will enjoy far better health than the city man bent over the desk or machine.

### DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL APTITUDES

The city man, working within the mechanistic frame of the present system, tends to lose his innate abilities and in time becomes a machine himself. It is difficult for him to relax and to think for himself instead of absorbing the ready-made opinions of radio, newspapers and the hoardings. The smallholder's life, on the other hand, involves a variety of creative activities. Work in the garden with plants and trees will enable him to observe the laws of nature, while other manual work will develop his ingenuity and resourcefulness. His work will not be monotonous, and his outlook on life will be fresher and more original.

### LEISURE

In the daily life of the smallholder's work, hobbies, distractions, pleasures and education coincide. What he does is also an education. Under the new cottage economy education is a permanent process, continuing throughout life. New problems and situations are constantly arising and needing solution. Theory and practice are closely connected, instead of there being a long period of absorption of facts, followed by an educational vacuum.

### IMMEDIATE PRACTICABILITY

Escape from the present chaotic economic system is difficult for the average city man. Political solutions are slow and uncertain. The initial outlay required for a smallholding is comparatively small, and transfer to the new way of life may be gradual. Little by little a man can emancipate himself from the wage-earning system and begin to lead a life of independence in the country.

### IMPROVEMENT OF HUMANITY

As more and more people take to this new way of living, it will begin to have collective consequences. To maintain life on a subsistence holding is an economic and

educational act. It makes people think, it demonstrates practically the possibility of a more complete and freer life. They will have more time to think about human society and its problems. A person who has under his hand what is necessary for the satisfaction of his needs cannot be influenced so readily as the city man to serve the interests of financial or political interests hostile to the public interest. The cottage economist is a progressive thinker, not a reactionary. By his way of living he asserts his opposition to the present economic and political system with its manifold defects. He is a constructive member of society, not an anarchist. He has no desire to destroy things indiscriminately, so he will not become the tools of any destructive or subversive movements.

### CO-OPERATIVE LIVING

More often than not, subsistence smallholding leads to co-operation, the development of which is healthy to any society. A group of smallholders can patronise or form a consumers' or general supply co-operative society for goods of the second category which they do not produce themselves. Essential groceries, garden tools, feed, fertiliser and other domestic and garden needs can be satisfied more economically in this way than by individual purchase from a profitmaking concern. As already mentioned, co-operation in the purchase of land can also save money. The smallholders can also unite to produce co-operatively some of the second category articles which they do not make individually. A community workshop with simple power tools can turn out furniture and other articles needed by the settlers. At a later stage, local homesteaders' co-operatives can group themselves in regional co-operatives or national co-operatives, for exchange of products, increased economy and protection of their common interests.

### IMPROVEMENT OF TERRESTRIAL NATURE

The new way of life definitely contributes to the improvement of soil and ultimately of the climate. With a knowledge of natural methods of gardening and arboriculture, the smallholdings scattered over the country can become the foci for practices which will restore the present widespread destruction of fertility.

### ACHIEVEMENT OF A REVOLUTION

There is a final and important point to be made. It is a law of nature that the transformation of an organism is a gradual

process. It is not something which happens from one day to the next. The cells of the human body change approximately once in every seven years. If we live wrongly, the new cells will be no better than the old ones which they replace. But if we begin to live in accordance with the laws of health gradually a healthier and stronger organism will emerge. Eventually the number of new vital cells will outnumber the old diseased cells and there will be a state of health in the body. The same is true of society. There are no short cuts to the transformation of society or of economic system. Nor can man be turned into an angel overnight. His present living habits and ways of thinking are too deeply rooted for such a thing to be possible. Therefore the transformation of present society will also be gradual, in accordance with the natural law of slow, progressive change.

From this point of view the solution proposed is at no disadvantage compared with other more sweeping proposals of a political or economic character. There have been revolutions in human society, but these have never brought the results which were expected of them. They never go so far as their creators and supporters hope and they are always onesided. The subsistence small-holding approach respects this law of nature. It is a gradual one. *The units of the cottage economy will be little healthy cells springing up in a sick social organism.* Since they represent not only economic but also biological values, they can, under favourable conditions of development, play an extremely important part in the reconstruction of society and the regeneration of man.

[From COTTAGE ECONOMY — A WAY OF LIVING FOR THE ATOMIC AGE by Edmond Szekely  
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## Gandhiji's Non-Violent Technique For Mass Dynamics and World Peace

**Justice P. B. Mukharji**

(OF THE CALCUTTA HIGH COURT)

The Architect of the political destiny of India is Mahatma Gandhi. Within the quarter of a century broadly a period of 25 years from 1921 to 1947, he created a new Nation in the world. He rescued political philosophy, thought and action from the sterility of fruitless conflict of capitalism, socialism and communism, that sits as a blight on human endeavour and well-being.

His was a message and achievement, whose principles and technique were unique in their conception and perfect in their execution. He brought a new force and a new ideal of service and action in politics and human society. No man in the history of the world fought for and achieved political freedom for a whole continent of a diversified people without firing a shot, without secret societies, without malevolence, and without using an army. He did all this and more. He removed the widespread foreign domination by a process which left the foreigner and the Indian without bitterness and malice.

Gandhi applied three main principles to achieve this unprecedented result in the world's history of building a Nation. His first principle is that nothing is politically right which is morally wrong. You cannot have something politically permissible and morally indefensible. To him Government of man is in its essence more a moral problem than a political one. He believed that no Nation was good enough to rule over another Nation, for the process of ruling provides a situation where both the ruler and the ruled became morally degenerate. Gandhiji's second political principle is that means determine the ends. No Nation according to him was justified in adopting a morally disqualified means to achieve

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A Speech on the Independence Day  
at Calcutta —

taken from *Amirta Bazaar Patrika*  
16th August '52

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political freedom. In the fight for freedom the means that a man or a Nation adopts in the process of becoming free, determine the character of that ultimate freedom.

#### NON VIOLENCE AND AHIMSA

No enduring and noble ends have been achieved by ignoble means. To him the journey was as much part of destination as the destination itself. Force and violence cannot be conquered but only suppressed by force and violence. Non-violence and Ahimsa were his new technique of action and attitude. The ultimate conquest of violence can only be by non-violence. Gandhiji's third principle of political technique is one of mass action. He discovered and employed three different instruments for action. The foremost was Satyagraha. Next was non-co-operation. The third was civil disobedience. According to him they were all instruments of moral value but could be used to defeat oppression and servitude in every form. Satyagraha represents the mental and the moral resolution and the righteous spirit to combat evil in political, economic, social and individual spheres. It is mistaken, often in western ideology as akin to passive resistance but is not so in reality. Gandhi distinguished the two in his report to the Commissioners of the Indian National Congress by saying that passive resistance does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's ends but Satyagraha rejects and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form. The instrument of non-co-operation was the next stage after the resolution. The idea is that if you see evil, do not fight it with evil but non-co-operate with it so that its ultimate defeat is ensured without degrading the victor and the vanquished. If a social or political or economic order is forced and whose laws are considered to be evil then disobey such laws and such order and it is the moral duty to do so. But in disobeying them, you must not adopt the means of violence and hatred towards the individual who operates such laws and order. He must learn to take without protest the punishment that is consequential. By such suffering the psychology is created which defeats the evil.

#### THE WEAPONS HE USED

These are the three graded instruments that Gandhiji employed as being the substitute of war and all that goes with it. Never before in the history of the world were moral principles employed for what had so long been regarded as the amoral spheres of politics, economics and sociology, all

aspiring for the governance of man. Here is a new technique for mass dynamics and mass regeneration that Gandhi presented to the world. It requires enormous self-discipline, but its refreshing novelty is that it is not the discipline of an army; it is not the discipline of the rifle-shooter; and it is not the discipline of the armament manufacturers. Between the man and the machine he preferred man and his insistence on man in preference to machine has very often been misunderstood.

#### WORLD PEACE

To me it appears that this is the only solution to achieve peace in this world. You can never hope to establish peace by means of war. War will always leave the vanquished with the rancour and bitterness of defeat which are bound to burst in new violence and new war and it leaves the victor with that sense of power which it is not to submit to discipline and responsibility.

That is the defect of war as an instrument of peace. The lessons of history have not been learnt. The problem is waiting on the agenda of the world's history for a solution. Gandhiji has offered the solution. The international treasury of moral values is almost empty and if we are not to be betrayed by the counterfeit money that fills its vaults the Gandhian wealth is the only resources.

Gandhiji offered a leadership whose quality was matchless. His appeal was to nothing transitory and ephemeral but to the fundamental and the eternal. He was Emerson's Representative Man. He was the very soul of India. He was also the true embodiment of India. He personified India's achievements and her aspirations. Gandhiji was India's emblem. He epitomised India as none before and after him has done. He bridged the gulf that separates the leader and the followers. Upon that bridge there was no difference. He dressed as the poorest and the lowliest of Indians. He lived the life of the common man of India and understood him more than anybody else has done. If Gandhiji voiced India's deepest needs he also interprets her deathless message of friendliness to all, of fearlessness, courage and faith. We Indians believe that the rise of India is not merely the birth of a Nation but is the momentous event upon this earth to begin an entirely new chapter where we promise and swear that peace will not be a mere item in the agenda of the diplomatic conclaves of the world but a fact operating throughout the globe.



## The All Round Madness

— MIRA BEHN —

*Mira Behn has been touring on horse-back from village to village in Uttar Pradesh carrying the message of "Bapu Raj" or ideal "Gram Raj." She exposes in this speech how the village industry is strangled and the villagers are exploited and caught in the clutches of the mills and traders.*

In the May number of Bapu Raj Patrika I appealed to you to throw off the madness of selling all your cotton, on giving up its cultivation, and buying your cloth requirements from the bazaar. I explained to you how, in that way, you had fallen into the hands of the exploiting businessmen, who do not care about your welfare, but only want to make as much money as possible at your expense.

Cloth being needed by all people, at all times, it comes next in importance to grain. I therefore took up the question of cloth first. But there are many other things of yours which these businessmen have now got under their control for their own interest. Let us consider some of them.

First we will take oil, because this is an important thing for the nourishment of both yourselves and your cattle. Formerly the oil seeds used to be crushed in the villages and you used to have pure, fresh oil and rich oil-cake in return for your seed. Now you sell your seed to the mills, buy from the bazaar very inferior oil, which is neither pure nor fresh. It is bad for your own health and for that of your cattle. At the same time there is no longer available in the village the rich oil-seed-cake from the *Ghanis*, and if you take the trouble to buy oil-seed-cake from the bazaar, it is wretched dried up stuff with no nourishment in it.

This is just like the cotton affair. You labour in your fields and produce a beauti-

ful pure thing, which you sell to the businessmen and buy an inferior thing in place of it. In the matter of oil and oil-seed-cake, just as with cloth you can no longer control either the quality or price. What the businessmen choose to sell to you, you have to take, or go without.

In this oil trade matters have reached such a pitch that the businessmen mix<sup>o</sup> in the pure seed any sort of thing which they think can be passed off without detection and by which they can make more money. You may remember there was a regular scandal about two or three years ago when people and cattle began falling ill through taking mill-pressed mustard oil. At that time all our calves in Pashulok became sick, and two actually died before we discovered that it was the mustard oil which was at fault. It was only after we had managed to install oil *ghani* that we could safely give our cattle oil or oil-seed-cake. When we started these *ghanis* there was an immediate demand from the public for pure cooking oil.

In connection with this unprincipled oil trade, a very wicked development has taken place, and that is the production of Vanaspathi ghee. As you know, it looks like real ghee. But it has none of the valuable qualities of ghee nor is it so whole some to eat as pure vegetable oil. The result is that those who eat it do not get proper nourishment, and their health suffers. Most people have no idea of the extent to which mill-made goods damage human health. I will give you some interesting information about this in a later Patrika.

Then there is a most regrettable thing which has happened, and that is that many of you who keep cattle in the villages, have learnt the evil trick of mixing this vegetable ghee with pure ghee, with the result that it is now-a-days almost impossible to obtain pure ghee anywhere. Only people who make their own ghee at home can be sure of having the real thing. So the health of the nation goes from bad to worse. Think of your grandparents, and then look at your own children, and you can see for yourselves how great a change for the worse has come over us.

As a result of selling your oil-seed to the businessmen, it has become almost impossible to obtain either pure oil or pure ghee. Am I not right when I say this is also madness?

Now let us consider sugar. In this respect the Government and the millowners between them have made a horrible mess of the whole thing. In the first place, in order to satisfy the avaricious demands of the millowners the Government has introduced a new variety of cane which yields more juice than our *deshi* variety but the quality of which is very inferior — not only inferior but actually harmful to the health. If its products (juice, gur, sugar, etc.) are taken freely they produce *itching* and other troubles, which was not so with the products of our *deshi* cane. Then the sugar-mill owners have banded themselves together into an Association for your exploitation and their own advantage. Your village products have been thoroughly crushed and you have been squeezed into a regular trap — you have been tempted to make agreements with the millowners, and you have become completely under their control. This Spring, when I rode through the villages of Western U. P., everywhere the Kisans were weeping over their sugarcane which was standing uncut, because the millowners had suddenly stopped buying. Not only that — in many cases

the millowners had not paid for cane which they had received from the Kisans, in spite of the custom that the Kisans should be paid within 24 hours of delivery at the mill.

The Government officials and the Ministers do not like to do anything to hurt the interests of the capitalists; so it is always extremely difficult for you to get your grievances heard in such matters. The ins and outs of this huge mill-sugar industry and all the favours that it gets from Government at your expense, are unknown to the general public. But this much you know, that your village industry has been strangled, and you are yourselves caught in the clutches of the mills, who like great poisonous spiders sitting in the midst of your fields have entangled you in their widespread webs.

Is this not another madness? Of course it is all madness, but a madness which has led to such a situation that you will not be able to shake it off without changing the very foundations of the present Government and installing in its place Bapu Raj.



## NATUROPATHY — An Appeal

— K. R. NARAYANAN NAMBIAR, B. A., B. L.

Naturopathy, as a system of nature-cure for all human physical illnesses and as a method of living conducive to the preservation of physical health and strength so long as life lasts, stands supreme in its own eminence and efficacy. In olden times, our ancestors, especially orthodox higher caste people were living such a life and were free from physical ailments and incapacity. Indigeneous systems of Ayurveda as a treatment for diseases, however, were slowly developed and came to the help of people in rare cases of illnesses. They however were cheap and consistent with the economic capacity and day to day life of the people at large and did not depart far from the principles of natural life. When western civilization came into the country in the

wake of modern English education things began to turn topsy-turvy. The Britishers brought in Allopathy and its numerous allies and with all the administrative influences at their back forced, as it were, their propaganda amidst people and ultimately Allopathy has become mainly the accepted and authoritative system of treatment and sanitation etc. Even after the departure of the British from India and the attainment of political freedom, neither the people nor the Government of the country appear to give a moment's attention to this serious problem.

Health of the people, both public and private is fast deteriorating and still, the Government and the governed are pursuing the so-called civilized western methods of

treatment and sanitation at enormous expenditure with no appropriate good results even of temporary nature. On the other hand, the remedies seem to aggravate the malady and there is a huge hue and cry for expansion of Governmental activities in preventing and curing people's diseases.

Indigenous Ayurvedic medical practitioners have been trying and succeeding in emulating their Allopathic brothers in their money accumulating spirit. On the whole the condition of our teeming millions of villagers has become very pitiable.

These systems of treatment have become prohibitively costly and the poverty of our masses does not allow them to approach these medical practitioners. The prices of their medicines and the unregulated rates of their fees are appalling and no ordinary person can undergo a treatment at their hands without coming to ruin in all ways. Further more, the disastrous after-effects of these systems of treatment are so apparent that a cure effected by them cannot usually be called a cure at all.

Considering all these factors and out of love for our villagers, Gandhiji, himself a naturopathic doctor and having full knowledge of, and faith in the nature-cure system, had adopted in his life, both private and public, principles of that cure. In fact in his constructive programme intended mainly for the village people, treatment of diseases by natural methods occupies an important item. Thus in effect, naturopathy has become one of the main planks in the Sarvodaya movement. I am not sure, however, whether the leaders or the followers of the movement are giving as much attention to the matter as it urgently demands and deserves.

As a practitioner of naturopathy for the last 30 years the experience of the present writer as well as that of many other practitioners have brought into light numerous difficulties that stand in the way of successfully carrying on the treatment. First and foremost stands the absolute ignorance of the people at large regarding the fundamental principles and philosophy of this system of cure and the basic principles of health and sanitation. The Government and government encouraged propaganda more or less goes counter to these principles. The interested and selfish propaganda of these bodies allures the people and drives them

to Allopathic methods. The second obstacle is the impatience of the people to get a sudden and theatrical cure of their maladies. Invariably the patients go first to the Allopathic or other medical practitioners and after trying all other methods, with their completely shattered health and fully emptied purse they resort to Naturopathy. The result is that now they require infinite patience and time to regain their health and normal strength. In many cases, the cure will appear to be impossible at this stage.

Another difficulty is that when patients resort to Naturopathy practices in course of time on account of the sudden increase of vital power, the so-called curative crises appear and symptoms of existing troubles and some troubles entirely new appear by which the patients are thoroughly upset and they rush to other systems of treatment.

These are some of the difficulties. The Sarvodaya workers must have to carry on an earnest propaganda. A few model Naturopathic clinics have to be established in various selected, convenient centres in villages. All Naturopathic physicians have got to organise themselves, first, to advance the cause and secondly, to counter the evil propaganda carried on by the strong, well-organised and powerful opponents. I appeal to all concerned to exert themselves a little bit in these lines.

*My nature-cure is designed solely for villagers and villages. Therefore there is no place in it for the microscope, X-rays and similar things. Nor is there room in nature-cure for medicines, such as quinine, emetin and penicillin. Personal hygiene and healthy living are of primary importance. And these should suffice. If everyone could achieve perfection in this art, there could be no disease. And, while obeying all the laws of nature in order to cure illness if it does come, the sovereign remedy ever lies in Ramanama.*

'Urli Kanchan' 2-8-'46

— GANDHIJI

# THE INDIVIDUALISTIC DOCTRINE OF GANDHIJI

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S. M. Sreedharan, M. A.,  
PROFESSOR IN HINDI,  
TELLICHERRY

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The tenets of Gandhism can be summed up in one sentence... "Look to the individual." In this era of allround centralisation and all-pervading standardisation this plea for individual development may seem a little out of tune with the times. The time is when men are being compelled to behave and to act in a particular way without any reference to his individual aptitudes and when punishment is the inevitable consequence to disobedience. The Fascism, Nazism and Communism all sacrifice the individual for the nation or society. Even democracy is degenerating into dictatorship of the party leaders and the party whips. In such circumstances it is worth-while to examine the real worth of the individualistic doctrine of Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhiji's individualistic principle must be distinguished from the *Laissez Faire* of the nineteenth century. "Every individual works for his greatest advantage. The sum total of this maximum advantage of individuals must be the maximum national advantage." So went the teachings of Adam Smith and his followers. They never thought in terms of society. The reaction in the form of various totalitarian cults was the inevitable result. Thus the individual and society were considered to be always at logger heads, never in compromise, very often irreconcilable. Gandhism is a synthesis between these two seemingly hostile elements. We should not call it a *via media*; because that term involves concessions. Gandhiji never made any concessions in fundamentals. He wanted that individuals should grow to their fullest stature in conformity with the requirements of society. In Gandhism the relation between the two is complimentary and not supplementary. He was opposed to the idea of individuals subjugating the social machine on the one hand and the social roller crushing down the individual on the other hand,

The method which Gandhiji advocated for this reform of the individual was one of discipline, tolerance and accomodation. He had no faith in violent super-imposition of

changes from above. Changes will be permanent only if the inspiration for change comes from within ... not from without. You can stretch a piece of rubber by pulling both the ends. But the moment you withdraw your hand the rubber goes back. So is the case with human development. You can impose your ideals on others by means of force, but the effect will be momentary. They will change not because they themselves want a change, but because others want it. Gandhiji advocated revolution of life, to be sure. But he insisted that the individual should be nonviolently initiated into the act of revolution.

His programme was to teach the individual responsible ways of living and this is possible only when the individual becomes a willing and active partner of social life and progress.

Gandhiji placed before us a varied programme for the improvement of the country in all its aspects. He was not only the liberator of our country, but also a spiritual preceptor, a social reformer and an economic theorist. In fact he was an allrounder and in this respect he bears striking contrast to many of the great men of the past who were either the one or the other. Even a lay examination of Gandhiji's plans proves that his primary objective was to teach the individual to feel responsibility, observe rules of discipline and work selflessly with the collective welfare of the whole of humanity as the goal. Clearly the education of the individual is possible only through selfless, self-disciplined and responsible action. This fundamental change in the outlook and character of man can effectively be brought about only when he is made to realize, on his own accord, that the social organization and even his very existence depended on its attainment. Man must bring about a synthesis between his personality and the social relations that he is obliged to have. If the social ship is wrecked on the Inchcape Rock of personal caprices, the individual drowns himself. On the other hand, if society is made the sovereign, then life becomes a

concentration camp. In either case mankind has no future. Gandhiji showed us how we can sail clear between these two whirlpools of damnation.

Gandhiji hallowed politics with the doctrine of Satyagraha which is nothing but self-renunciation, forbearance and self-control. His Ahimsa was not the weapon of the weak. Only the strongest can wield it. To pardon when you have power to punish, to suffer yourself rather than make others suffer, to love even your enemies—this is possible only to those who have an adamant and self-conscious will-power. Each act of violence is both the cause and effect of another violence. That the good and the noble will ultimately win is our philosophy and Gandhiji embodied in himself the true spirit of India's enduring optimism. Persuasion was the weapon — not coercion.

Gandhiji endeavoured to wipe out the dirt of Hindu social laws through appealing to innate goodness rather than social boycott or irresistible compulsion. He identified himself with the low-born, called them God's men — Harijans and Daridranarayana. He saw God not in the palaces, but in the humble cottages of the poor.

Coming to his economic theories, we recognise that here also his appeal was to the inherent God in man. He wanted everyone to do manual labour. He advised the rich to regard themselves as trustees of the poor. A time shall come when man will experience the indomitable and the ever-burning in him, when he will feel self-confident even in loneliness, when all pessimisms will end and then is the beginning of the Golden Age of Gandhian philosophy. Man's progress—spiritual as well as material—is not a day's achievement. It is a continuous stream flowing from the unknown to the known 'Be faithful to what you profess'—this was his message to man.

His theory of Village - Republics and decentralized administration are but means to develop in men responsible and creative activities.

Such was Gandhiji - - Our Father, Our Leader, Our Master whose footsteps we are trying, in our own humble way, to follow in the Sarvodaya Campaign. His Fire shall be our Fire for ever and this shall be the noblest homage we offer to our departed General.



## - Mangrouth Village -

### The 'Magneto' of Love in Bhoodan Yagna

Mangrouth village in Hamerpur District, U. P. has attained an immortal place in the Bhoodan Yagna movement. It has got a brilliant history behind. It was here the first signals of the 1857 Revolution were sighted and the British stationed their troops. Then it became the vital centre of the Revolutionary Party's activities. In the Satyagraha movement of Gandhiji it played a brilliant role. Now in this Bhoodan movement of Vinobaji it has declared and shown in actual practice that 'all land belongs to Gopal (God).' Thus it has won the laurels in perfecting to the ideal. All the 66 owners of this village offered all their lands, about 1,300 acres, to the Bhoodan Yagna. The offering took place the moment they heard the message from the lips of Vinobaji. Vinobaji, in fact, did not go to this village. The people met him for Darsan in a place just two miles off on his way. They took with them just 101 acres as a token present to him. Vinobaji accepted the offer. In a few-minutes-speech he placed the ideal "All land belongs to Gopal." Then he proceeded on. The people on their return assembled again to decide as to what they should do further. Dewan Satrughna Singh, a sincere and selfless worker, wholly devoted to the service of the people, belongs to this village. But he was then away to another place. They sent word to him and waited till 12 O' Clock in the night when he returned. They said "We have got the gift-deed ready. We authorize you to take this gift-deed and offer it to Vinobaji on our behalf."

Today in Mangrouth there is not a single individual who is landless. All the 'have-nots' have become 'haves.' The people have decided to do voluntary co-operative farming under guidance from Vinobaji. They have begun the cultivation. They hope to make the village a model.



# GUIDE TO BHOODAN YAGNA

*The following are the instructions of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha, issued in consultation with Vinobaji, for the guidance of all Bhoodan Samithis and workers. (Summarised from a Hindi circular sent by Sri Vallabaswami, Joint Secretary.)*

## DANA-PATRA AND ITS EXECUTION

(1) The provincial committees should prepare the gift-deeds in duplicates. The donor and the attesting witnesses should sign in both.

(2) The provincial committee should send these documents to the Sarva Seva Sangh office, Wardha, by registered post, in order to get them formally accepted and endorsed by Vinobaji.

(3) After formal acceptance, they will be returned to the Provincial Samithis.

## LANGUAGE OF THE DANA-PATRA

(1) In Hindi-speaking areas, the language of the document should be in Hindi with Devanagari script. The Sarva Seva Sangh office, Wardha, will supply these printed forms.

(2) In other places the provincial committees shall make arrangements to get the forms printed with one side containing details printed in the local language with the local script and the other side in Hindi with Nagari Script. The donor and the witnesses should sign on the face where the local language is printed, and the worker who gets the document executed, or the committee which is authorized to receive it, should fill up all the necessary details such as the full name and addresses of the donor and the witness etc., on the other side in Hindi Nagari Script.

## WORKERS AND COMMITTEES

(1) The provincial committees can form district committees. Both these committees have the power to receive land donations.

(2) The provincial committee can authorize even individuals to collect lands for the Yagna. The names of such authorized persons should be published from time to time for information to the public.

(3) All individuals, in their personal capacity can meet friends and acquaintances and do propaganda, but they should not receive Dana-Patra unless specifically authorized for the same by the provincial committee.

## NO COLLECTION OF MONEY IN THE NAME OF THE MOVEMENT

(1) Neither the provincial committees, nor the district committees nor individual workers should collect money in the name of Bhoodan-movement from the general public.

(2) Those persons who have no land with them, yet desire to offer land by purchasing, should themselves purchase the same and offer.

(3) No money should be received towards the offer of wells by any. The offerer should be informed that he should spend all the amounts required for the construction and digging of the same.

(4) In short, the Dana should be only in the form of property of articles and not in money.

## DISTRIBUTION OF LAND-GIFTS

(1) No local distribution committee should be thought of being formed in the beginning. The initial work is that of collecting and for this the help of all the local people should be fully harnessed.

(2) Separate committees for distribution shall be formed and they alone have the power to distribute lands. In Bhoodan Yagna, distribution work is the most important one and hence the maximum care has to be taken that the distribution is done in the most proper and just method and land is given only to the really deserving persons.

(3) Land should be distributed only to those who have not a bit of it with them. After providing every landless person in the locality, if any remains that balance can be distributed to those who have got some land in their possession.

(4) If the offered land cannot be distributed before the cultivation season begins, then the donor himself has to keep it in possession, pay the tax and attend to cultivation. After the harvesting is over, he is entitled to recover all the costs incurred by him. He is expected to hand over the balance to the local committee. ★

# LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR

A. W. SAHASRABUDHAE  
Secretary, Charkha Sangh, Sevagram.

Today Khadi Sales have fallen down and heavy stock has accumulated in sales centres. This has led to difficulties to give work to the spinners and other artisans. Production had to be curtailed even in famine-stricken areas. In the history of the Charkha Sangh, situations like this arose not now alone, but on two or three prior occasions. Then wages of the artisans had to be lowered and the stock disposed off at reduced prices. Lovers of Khadi and Charkha Sangh workers had also to resort to hawking from house to house. Khadi-lovers suggest similar means and methods even now.

But these are only temporary means. We have to find out a permanent remedy. Even in surplus production areas only 10% of the population spin and 1% weave. They use some Khadi and the balance had to be sent to the towns for sale. "Production in villages and sales in cities" was the conventional method till today. In fact, it is the prime responsibility of the villagers to give first preference to the cloth produced by their own neighbours in the same village. If any surplus remains after meeting the local needs, that alone should be sent to the towns. But this does not happen today. Because the village people do not think it their duty to give work to their neighbours in the village. Each one cares for his self alone. No one thinks of the common welfare of the whole village as a social unit. The villager does not feel that he has the moral obligation to view the whole village as one common family and identify his personal interests with the common interest of all in the village as he does in his own family where he shares equally with other members all sufferings and happiness.

So long as this selfish way of life continues and the community feeling is not developed, cottage industries will not thrive and the disposal of khadi stock will not be simple and easy. So the workers of the Kathayi Mandals have to work among the villagers to make them feel conscious of their responsibilities and mutual obligations. Then only constructive work will be uni-

versally welcomed and we will progress in the realisation our objective "the welfare of all."

The boycott of machine-made and centralized industry products of food and cloth is only one aspect of the work. But there is the positive side of the programme which is to inspire in the village people the real mental approach to work and live for the welfare of all in the village. This is the central principle of the economics of Khadi and Cottage industries.

It is the duty of all Charkha Sangh workers and of all others who believe in Sarvodaya ideals to work for the creation of such an atmosphere in the village society. If this is achieved then Khadi and cottage industries will survive and the economic difficulties of our land will be solved.

(Condensed from the Hindi 'Kathayi Mandal Patrika')

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## A. I. S. A. SANCHALAKS' MEETING

for Intesive Work in Gandhi Jayanthi

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The situation described and the urgency to tackle the root causes for the same as explained in the article by Shri Sahasrabudhae were the main subjects discussed at a meeting of Tamil Nad and Kerala Sanchalaks of A. I. S. A. under the guidance of Shri Krishnadas Gandhi at Tirupur on 19th and 20th August '52. A provisional programme of intensive campaign among the villages in and around the spinning and weaving centres of the A. I. S. A. during the Charkha Jayanti was discussed and decided. In furtherance of this programme two regional conferences of Khadi workers, Khadi lovers and other constructive workers will be held in Srirangam and Palghat on the 16th and 18th September respectively. The intensive work is expected to commence on 2nd October '52 the 84th Birthday of Gandhiji.

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# Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

## Report of Work and Programme

The annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Gandhi National Memorial Fund) was held on Sunday, the 27th July at New Delhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shri Jagjivan Ram, Shri Shriram, Mr. A. P. Benthall, Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Dr. Gobichand Bhargava and Shri Laxmidas Purushottam (Secretary of the Trust) attended. Shri G. V. Mavlankar, Chairman of the Trust, presided.

### FINANCIAL

The total donations received by the Nidhi amount to Rs. 10.95 crores while disbursements aggregate over Rs. 1 crore, of which about Rs. 52½ lakhs were disbursed in 1951. Two independent Trusts are established from out of the earmarked sums handed over by the Nidhi to the respective Boards of Trusts. One is Sabarmati Ashram Preservation Trust which is to look after the establishment and maintenance of one of the four museums of Gandhiji. The other is Jute Mills' Association Gandhi Memorial Labour Hospital in the Jute Area of Bengal. Further Budget Allocation of Rs. 1,08,06,375 proposed by the Executive Committee was approved by the Trustees.

The Nidhi expects to spend about rupees one crore and a half on all the various types of physical memorials of Gandhiji and the remaining approximating rupees eight and half crores are to be applied for advancing important items of Gandhiji's constructive programme, the principal of which are as detailed below.

The Activities of the Trust have been of two kinds: (1) Memorial by preservation of places, records, etc. (2) Memorial by preservation of constructive activities as desired by Gandhiji.

### MUSEUMS

The Nidhi has decided to establish four Gandhi Memorial Museums - one each, at Rajghat (Delhi), Sabarmati Ashram (Ahmedabad), Sevagram Ashram (Wardha) and at Madurai, the cultural centre of South India, where the greatest historical temple was thrown open to Harijans as a result of Gandhiji's efforts. The Nidhi has been granted by the Government of India a plot opposite to Gandhiji's Samadhi at Rajghat. Levelling of the land is taken up and plans are being invited from architects the world over through a prize competition.

Each of the Museums will consist of a library containing all Gandhian and other literature, articles of personal use of Gandhiji, Photo copies of Gandhiji's letters and writings with facilities to scholars and workers to read and study the same.

### MEMORIAL COLUMNS

About a hundred memorial pillars with suitable inscriptions are to be erected at places all over India where momentous events of Gandhiji's life occurred. Designing for this purpose is under consideration.

### GANDHI FILMS

The Nidhi has collected the best film material on Gandhiji from India as also from England and U. S. A. Mr. Herbert Marshall, a well known British expert and Shri Chandrashanker Shukla, one time sub-editor of *Navajivan* and *Harijan* are engaged in producing documentary films out of this material with the help of the Government of India's Films Division at Bombay.

### GANDHI GHARS

The Nidhi wishes to establish Gandhi Ghars i. e. centres of allround village development for the realisation of Gram-Swarajya or Ram-Rajya as visualised by Gandhiji. An All India 3-months camp was organised as an experimental measure at Vedchhi (District Surat) last summer where 40 village workers joined hands to work out detailed plans on the basis of actual field surveys to two villages. As a result of this experiment the Nidhi has decided for the present to begin with maintaining workers at village centres of their choice where they will work for an all-round uplift of the people.

### PRESERVING GANDHI'S CORRESPONDENCE AND RECORDS

The records received from Sabarmati Ashram Trust are already Photo-stated and micro-filmed and now the Chairman has appealed to all persons in India and abroad who possess letters from Mahatma to send them to the Nidhi for preservation through these processes for the benefit of the future generations. Photo copies or originals are returned to the sender as desired by him. Arrangements exist for keeping confidential matters under seal.



### 84TH CHARKHA JAYANTHI APPEAL TO KATHAYI MANDALS

*We appeal to every Kathayi Mandal to resolve to spin a minimum of 100 hanks of yarn during the 84th Charkha Jayanthi, from 16th September to 2nd October '52 and send the report of the actual yarn hanks spun, to the Sanchalak's office of the Charkha Sangh.*

SEVAGRAM }  
5-8-'52. }

SANCHALAK.  
KATHAYI MANDAL VIBHAG A. I. S. A.

#### GANDHIAN IDEOLOGY

Presentation of sets of Gandhian literature to libraries, particularly in rural India and of national eminence in foreign countries, publication of cheap editions of Gandhiji's writings in provincial languages, prize schemes for preparing Students' series of Gandhian literature, are some of the measures being taken by the Nidhi's Gandhi-Tattwa Prachar Samiti for promoting the spread of Gandhian Ideology.

#### OTHER ACTIVITIES

Basic Education, Village Industries, Naturopathy, Work for Women and Children (Kasturba Trust), Khadi, Welfare of Harijans and Adivasis and Bhoodan Yagna are the main activities that were and continue to be promoted by the Nidhi through grants-in-aid to institutions and also through direct work by the Nidhi's provincial branches as also through All India constructive institutions founded by Gandhiji or by his close colleagues. They have been given grants of over Rs. 8/- lakhs till now, the total of grants to them during 1951 amounting to Rs. 4 lakhs. Chief among these institutions are All India Village Industries Association, Hindustani Talimi Sangh and Sarva Seva Sangh of Wardha, and Harijan Sevak Sangh and Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh of Delhi. Besides, the Charkha Sangh has been advanced a loan of Rs. 8 lakhs for stocking cotton for Khadi production. A substantial grant was given to Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust to maintain the work that is carried on in provinces whose Kasturba Fund quota has been exhausted.

The Bombay Branch of the Nidhi is doing good pioneering work in the field of village industries. A small scale Gas-Plant converting cow-dung and waste refuse matter and a Japanese Bone digester yielding bone-meal, glue and tallow, are two

examples of the experiments carried out by the Branch. These simple devices are being worked upon to adapt them to furnish decentralised power and manure for the villagers' need. Encouraged by the popular support received, the Branch is launching upon a scheme of Tad Gur and Neera production this year.

#### INVITATIONS TO YOUTHS

Service-minded capable young persons determined to dedicate themselves to the cause of the villages of India are cordially invited by the Nidhi to serve as its workers in villages. Suitable arrangements for their training and maintenance after training will be made by the Nidhi. The honorarium offered is Rs. 75/- to 150/- per month.

#### LEPROSY RELIEF AND CONTROL

About a crore of rupees have been set apart for eradication and control of leprosy. The Nidhi does not propose to start Leprosy Homes or Camps but the scheme is to take advantage of existing Homes and spread about in surrounding areas with the help of medical and social workers to search and treat all cases therein so as to check the spread and meet the evil at its very door. About fifteen control schemes are to be launched in various parts of India in the near future. A service of Medical and Social Leprosy Workers has been started by the Nidhi. The leprosy Organisers Training Course run by the Nidhi at Dattapur, Wardha will begin with a second batch from October this year.

(Condensed from the report)

#### BHOOMIDAN RECEIVED UP TO 8-8-1952

Province	No. of Donors	Acre	Cent
1 Uttar Pradesh	11,123	3,03,612	18
2 Hyderabad		18,131	56
3 Madhya Pradesh		8,290	17
4 Madras (Andhra)		7,000	00
5 Gujarath		2,569	60
6 Madhya Bharat		2,000	—
7 Delhi		1,124	50
8 Utkal	436	1,000	—
9 Rajasthan		1,000	—
10 Sowsashtra		1,107	16
11 Tamil Nad		118	77
12 Punjab-Pepsu		61	—
13 Bengal		32	31
14 Maharashtra		31	50
15 Bihar		15	—
		11,559	3,46,093 75

## BHOODAN YATRA NEWS

### VINOBAJI'S BIHAR YATRA

Shri Vinobaji will start on his 58th Birthday, 12-9-'52, from Kasi on his walking tour to Bihar Province. He will enter the District of Sahabad on the 13th. The Sarvodaya Sammelan of Bihar will be held during that time. In Bihar Vinobaji's tour will extend to about 2000 miles. He will camp in about 170-175 places. Shri Laxmi Bhabu, Sanchalak, Bihar Khadi Samithi and his colleagues Shri Dwaga Babu and Vythianath Babu will make arrangements for Vinobaji's tour.

### SHRI SANKAR RAO DEO'S YATRA

Sri Sankar Rao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, started on a walking tour on August 1st from his Sadan Kshethra Saswad Asram, Poona. Shri Chintaman Sastri, Shri Prema Batam Kantak, Shri Mahaganvaker Golae etc. accompanied him. On the first day, 7½ acres were offered. In the subsequent 4 days 3½ acres were received from poor peasants. Each Taluk promised a quota of 1,000 acres. Daily he walks 10 miles. Again on 26th Aug. Mr. Deo accompanied by Mr. Ramakrishna Dhoot, Secretary of the Sarvodaya Sangh, Hyderabad, commenced another tour in Hyderabad. The tour is expected to last till September 24.

### MAHARASHTRA:

Under the guidance of Shri Sankar Rao Deo a conference was convened. A Committee consisting of Shri Anna Saheb (Secy, A. I. S. A.) Shri S. M. Joshi (Socialist Leader), and Pherodiaji, was formed to organise the work. They decided to collect one lakh within a year from Maharashtra. 150 acres were immediately collected.

### MADYAPRADESH

Sri Dadabhai Naik, convener for M. P. called a conference of all the prominent members of the different parties—Socialist, Jana Sangh, K. M. P., Congress, Worker's Party. Sri Jajuji explained in detail the non-party nature of the bhoodan Work. On 3-8-'52 Sri Jajuji with Sri Dada Bhai Naik and Appaji Gandhi, started on the Bhoodan Yatra. 150 acres are collected so far.

## Earth the Mother of Every one

(MARJORIE SYKES)

The following is a fairly close English rendering of a poem by one of the best known Hindi poets, Shri Maithili Saran Gupta, inspired by Vinoba's pilgrimage:

Fickle is Lakshmi, unstable for ever,  
wayward as lightning flickering gone.

Constant is Earth the mother, whom  
never may any man take for himself alone.

How many sons of Man, your brothers,  
are cheated of bliss.

They have no part in the land, who  
then shall answer for this?

Now is the God-given moment, now  
will the gift avail.

Give for their sakes, of your riches,  
let justice and mercy prevail.

Glory is yours for the gathering now,  
like ripe fruit fallen before you strown.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom  
never may any man take for himself alone.

A prophet, a leader is with us, the  
pathway of right to make straight.

Could there be greater good fortune  
than this which is now our fate?

Behold, the merit you sought for hath  
come of itself—O heed!

For the call of Life, unheeded, of death  
may be the seed.

Yes, where the sap of Truth springs  
not, there is the blight of poison thrown.

Constant is Earth the Mother, whom  
never may any man take for himself alone.

('Harijan,' 8-3-'52)

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