

SARVODAYA

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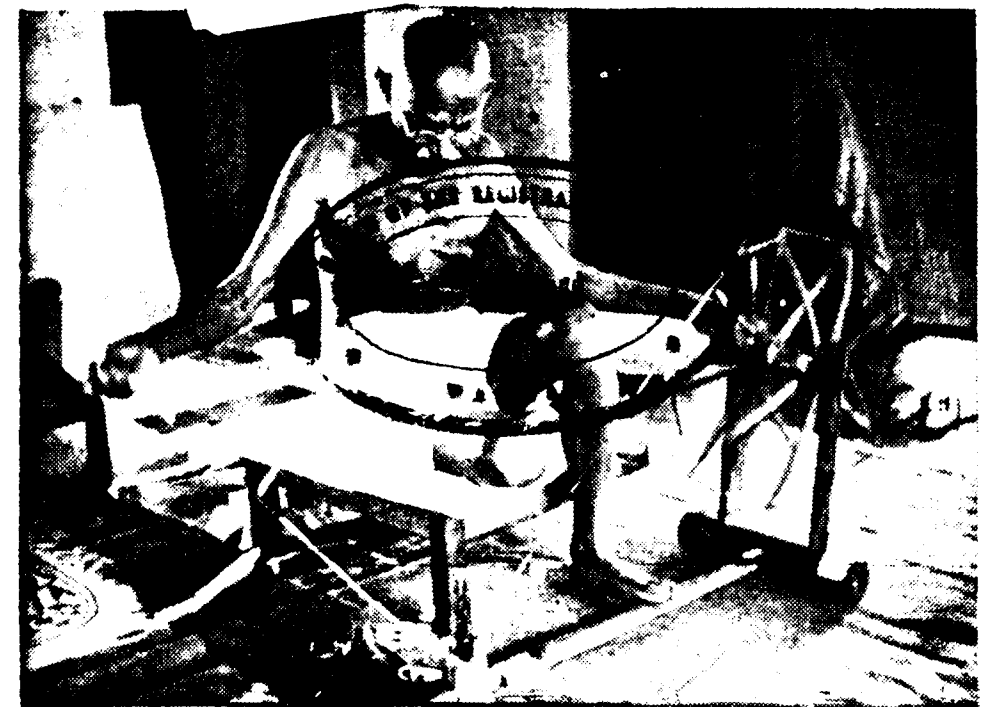
(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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Mahatma Gandhi is trying on the simple and cheap charkha, made entirely of bamboo. There is not a nail or screw. It can be made by anyone easily wherever bamboo is grown and easily available. But there are certain specifications of measurements to be followed. They are available at Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur, Calcutta, or the Khadi Bhandar of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

THE MONTHLY DIGEST MAGAZINE OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH

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Gandhi And The Atom Bomb

Margaret Bourke-White, of Life Magazine, had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi on the day he was assassinated. The following is part of the conversation which is reported by the interviewer to have taken place between them:

Americans, I told him were also filled with forebodings, particularly about the atomic-bomb. "How would you use non-violence against the atomic-bomb?" I asked.

"Ah, ah", he answered, "How shall I answer that?" After a moment he said, "by prayerful action."

"You would pray while the planes are overhead?" I asked.

Gandhi shook his head. "I said prayerful action. I would come out in the open and let the pilot see that I had not the face of evil against him." Gandhi paused. "The pilot would not see my face at such a height", he said, "but that longing in our hearts that he won't come to harm would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened."

From "Peace News" — 31 July, 1953

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(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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THE DISCOVERY OF THE CHARKHA

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

The second October is the 85th birthday of Mahatma Gandhi known as the Charkha Jayanti or the birth of the Spinning Wheel, the symbol of freedom and non-violence. Gandhiji was not opposed to machinery as such as long as it is subservient to every man's welfare without being used for exploiting or enslaving him. The following extracts from a handy book "The Ideology of the Charkha," a compilation of Gandhiji's writings by Sri Srikrishnadas Jaju, describe the romantic discovery of the Charkha, "which is itself a machine" to serve as the tool of man whose body is again "a delicate piece of machinery" in the words of Mahatma.

On being asked by a friend on 20th September, 1928 as to when and how exactly he re-discovered the charkha, Gandhiji replied:—

"It was in London in 1908 that I discovered the wheel. I had gone there leading a deputation from South Africa. It was then that I came in close touch with many earnest Indians—students and others. We had many long conversations about the condition of India, and I saw as in a flash that without the spinning wheel there was no Swaraj. I knew at once that everyone had to spin. But I did not then

know the distinction between the loom and the wheel, and in Hind Swaraj used the word loom to mean the wheel. This is what I have said in the concluding chapter of the booklet:

"We will get nothing by asking. We shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the effort and that strength will be available to him only who

1. "If a lawyer will give up his profession and take up a hand-loom (spinning wheel);

8. "Although a doctor, will take up a hand-loom (spinning wheel);

10. "If a wealthy man will devote his money to establishing hand-loom (spinning wheels), and encourage others to use hand-made goods by wearing them himself."

The book Hind Swaraj written by Gandhiji in 1908 is well known. In that book we find the quint-essence of all his teachings which he subsequently placed before the nation in greater detail. In Chapter XIX of that book entitled,

Machinery we find the root of the spinning wheel. The following are a few illustrative sentences:—

"When I read Mr. Dutt's Economic History of India I wept; and as I think of it, again my heart sickens. It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester that Indian handicraft has all but disappeared.

• Published by Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur — Price As. 14; Postage extra

Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin. The workers in the mills of Bombay have become utter slaves. Those who have amassed wealth out of factories are not likely to be better than other rich men. It would be folly to assume that an Indian Rockefeller would be better than the American Rockefeller. We need not, therefore, be pleased with the prospect of the growth of the mill industry. We do not despise the mill-owners. It would be too much to expect them to give up their mills but we may implore them not to increase their number. Whether the mill-owners do this or not, people of their accord can cease to use machine-made goods. It is not possible that all people will begin to do all these things simultaneously. We must first make a resolve and then work will begin according to it. In the beginning one will do this, then ten, thereafter hundred and so the number will increase. What the leaders do, the people will follow. We need not wait until we carry others with us. We should begin to actually do a thing as soon as we feel it should be done."

MAN AND MACHINE

In 1924 this subject was made clearer in answer to some questions.

Question:— Are you against all machinery?

Answer:— How can I be when I know that even this body is a most delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine; a little toothpick is a machine. What I object to is the *craze* for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call 'labour-saving' machinery. Men go on saving labour, till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few but in the hands of all. To-day machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but

greed....The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man. For instance, I would make intelligent exception. Take the case of the Singer Sewing Machine. It is one of the few useful things ever invented.

Ques.:— In that case, there would have to be a factory for making these Singer Sewing Machines, and it would have to contain power-driven machinery of ordinary type.

Ans.:— Certainly. I am socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalized or state-controlled. The saving of the labour of the individual should be the object and honest humanitarian considerations and not greed, the motive. I would welcome any day, a machine to straighten crooked spindles.

Ques.:— If the Singer Sewing Machine and the machine for straightening crooked spindles are to be accepted as exceptions where will this claim of exceptions end?

Ans.:— Where the machine instead of helping will begin to encroach upon man.

Ques.:— Then should exceptions include also the bicycle, the motor car, etc?

Ans.:— No. Because they do not fulfil the primary needs of man. Going over long distances with the motor speed is not an unavoidable necessity for man. On the other hand the needle is a necessity in life.

As an ideal I shall discard all machines. I shall desire even the destruction of my body if it is not helpful to my salvation. From that point of view I shall give up all machines. But they will remain because they are as unavoidable as the body itself. As I said before, this body is a fine machine. But we must reject it if it proves an obstruction to the highest spiritual attainment. I think that on principle nobody can differ from this proposition. The utility of the body is only to the extent that it is helpful to the realization of the self. Exactly the same is the position of the machine. ★

RIME MINISTER NEHRU'S APPEAL TO USE KHADI

Khadi The Symbol of Kinship with the Masses

In a message to the "Economic Review," fortnightly journal of the Economic and Social Research Department of the A. I. C. C., Mr. Nehru observes:— Many of us have believed in Khadi worn it for a large number of years. It is for us the livery of freedom in the midst of our struggle and, at the same time, something that put us on a level with the common man in India, whose welfare was the main object of our endeavour. Our country, unfortunately, has suffered from a multitude of castes. They still continue and bedevil our politics and our social life.

In addition to these castes of old, we have other divisions in our social life due to economic differences and to get rid of these has been and is our objective. The Constitution of India has emphasised this in its Directive Principles of policy. But that is a big question involving basic changes in our entire social fabric. We move in that direction no doubt, but the pace does not appear to be fast enough.

However that may be, there are some things which each one of us can do, and one of these is to put on and use khadi and thus lessen, at least, the outward barrier of clothes which separates the well-to-do from the poor. Khadi, at least, brings an element of kinship with the vast masses of our people. It produces an atmosphere of comradeship and common endeavour.

In addition to this it helps, to some extent at least, in tackling the problem of unemployment. I do not mean to-day that this problem will be solved by our wearing khadi, but we do help somewhat in this way and the consciousness that we are responsible for solving this problem of unemployment is ever with us.

This problem of fuller employment has become now a major problem of today

for all of us. We have to tackle it on a multitude of fronts. But it is becoming increasingly recognised that a major way of tackling it is by the encouragement of village and small-scale industries.

Khadi is one of our principal village industries and khadi is a symbol also not only of the freedom that we sought and that we have won, but of that kinship of spirit and removal of barriers among all our people, which is so important.

Therefore, let us wear and use and encourage in every way khadi. This applies to all of us, whatever our grade or function might be and whether we are officials or non-officials.

More especially let us do this on this anniversary which brings such a host of memories to us, Gandhi Jayanti Day.

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN COLLECTIONS (UP TO 5-9-1953)

Province	Target acres	Received acres
Assam	25,000	1,349
Andhra	1,00,000	7,097
Uttar Pradesh	11,00,000	5,11,417
Utkal	1,50,000	18,118
Karnatak	50,000	1,100
Kerala	25,000	6,500
Gujarat	75,000	16,765
Tamil Nad	1,50,000	14,000
Delhi	10,000	7,500
Punjab-Pepsu	1,00,000	2,134
Bengal	2,00,000	116
Bihar	32,00,000	10,75,217
Madhya Pradesh	2,00,000	52,420
Madhya Bharat	1,25,000	48,771
Maharashtra	1,00,000	8,655
Mysore	1,00,000	984
Rajasthan	1,00,000	2,17,866
Vindhya Pradesh	40,000	3,467
Saurashtra	9,000	8,000
Himachal Pradesh		1,350
Hyderabad	1,50,000	63,982
Total	60,09,000	20,66,808

Impetus to Khadi Production & Sale

President Rajendra Prasad & Prime Minister Nehru's Appeal

It is now nine months since the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board was constituted for rapidly expanding khadi production and sale on a nation-wide scale for solving the problem of poverty and unemployment of the villagers. At a special conference held recently to give a stimulus to khadi activities, the President, who is himself a regular spinner, impressed on the audience about the special economic and human values of khadi. The Prime Minister Nehru's speech will make it beyond doubt that the Government is all serious about the development of khadi in the Five-Year Plan.

The meeting, held to consider ways and means of popularising khadi, was convened on 29th August, '53, at the instance of the President and was attended by the Prime Minister, the Vice-President and members of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

Dr. Rajendra Prasad suggested at an informal meeting of Ministers and senior officers of the Central Government here yesterday that the Government should issue instructions that all their departments, excepting the Police and the Army should make all purchases of spats, napkins, towels, curtains, dusters and other things from khadi Bhandars. "If that is done, I think there will be a great fillip to the khadi movement, not only because a great deal of khadi will have been purchased by the Government, but also because it will have a great effect on the people, he said.

The President said that if the sale of khadi could be ensured, there would be no shortage in its production and supply.

Dr. Prasad said that what was needed was to stimulate the use of khadi, not by force or coercion but by willing co-operation, by appreciating the fundamental facts about the economics of khadi. The economics of khadi were based on certain fundamental facts of life in the country. India was an agricultural country. However large or however small the holdings of an agriculturist might be, he and his family could not get full employment throughout the year. If the hours

and the days which were thus wasted by the agriculturist and other members of his family could be utilised, he said, enough khadi to clothe the whole country could be produced.

"I can tell you from my personal experience that one hour of spinning a day yields enough of yarn sufficient to give us as much cloth as we in India are using to-day on an average, that is to say, 15 to 20 yards per head. I think if you take that aspect of khadi into consideration, the question of cheapness or dear-ness would not arise at all, because it is the result of labour of the people in their idle hours.

"If women could use their spare time in spinning, they would be able to get a sari without practically any expense at all except for the cotton."

The President referred to the unemployment problem in the country and said khadi had created a great amount of employment. On the other hand, a single man in a mill looking after spindles threw out of employment 200 men. From that, it could be judged what a tremendous amount of unemployment a mill created in a single day. It was, therefore, necessary that "when we think of khadi, we should think of the unemployment or under-employment of a large number of people who cannot get any other employment. If we look at it from that point of view, you will agree that any subsidy that can be given to it will not be wasted."

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH

The Prime Minister, Sri Nehru, said that whatever one might say for or against

VINOBA BHAVE'S 59TH BIRTHDAY

PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD'S MESSAGE

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's 59th birthday was celebrated on Friday, the 11th Sept., '53 at Rajghat. President Rajendra Prasad was present on the occasion. In

a written message in Hindi, Dr. Prasad said:—

"Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna will not succeed completely until adequate facilities are provided to those who are given land. That is why Vinobaji has started the *Sampath-dan* Yagna along with Bhoodan."

Referring to the *Koop-dan* (well-gifts) movement, Dr. Prasad said it was gratifying to note that there had been an enthusiastic response from the public for *Koop-dan*.

"I hope and trust", the President said, "that this movement will also become popular like Bhoodan. I expect that all of us will participate in this and support it."

(Continued from previous page)

khadi, there was no doubt that it did afford some relief to the unemployed and the under-employed. There was poverty and misery in the countryside and the khadi industry was a good enough source by which the poor villagers could supplement their meagre incomes.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU'S MESSAGE

A message from Prime Minister Nehru was also read on the occasion:—

"Vinobaji through his long walks in the country has instilled a new life among the people. His voice in connection with the Bhoodan Yagna has re-

sounded throughout the country; many have heard it and have responded to it according to their capacity.

"He has told us about *Sampath-dan* in order to help those agriculturists who are given land. He had made a special suggestion to sink wells. The peasant will not be able to profit much without the means of cultivation. We require wells urgently throughout the country. I hope that people will ponder over this

new message of Vinobaji and assist in this programme of construction of wells."

The President announced a gift of two wells. Pandit Nehru has also made a symbolic gift of one well. ★

Pandit Nehru said that khadi had a peculiar appropriateness for the country. It fostered or, at any rate, suggested a feeling of equality, among the high and the low. In view of all these things, the Prime Minister thought that khadi should be patronised by as large a section of the people as possible. *



VINOBAJI WALKING WITH HIS PARTY

SAMPATH DAN (Money - Gift)

ACHARYA VINOBA

There is evidently a misconception about Sampath-dan or gift of wealth. The Sampath-dan is not simply donating a lump sum on the spur of the moment for a cause and forgetting it later. But it is a commitment up to the end of one's life to set apart a portion of one's wealth and income for spending himself as per directions of Vinobaji and rendering account from time to time. The moral and ethical basis of Sampath-dan and the total transformation of the life of the donor that is implied in it and the new social order evolved are explained in the following speech of Vinobaji.

Our *Sampath Dan* is of great importance. The Communists criticise me and say that Vinoba wants neither land nor money, he will be satisfied if he gets a piece of paper. I value the property only as much as I do this piece of paper which records the giving away. We will have it written on this paper by the donor that "so long as I am alive I shall give a specific portion of the expenditure on my family as charity. I will set aside a share even if I earn only half of my needs." Let people share their food with them even when their needs are met only half, is my request. We will only give them directions as to how they are to utilise the money. The money will remain with them. We believe that all the wealth is ours and it is kept distributed amongst all. We do not object even if anybody gives one-sixth or one-tenth instead of one-sixth. We desire only this much thinking to come into vogue, that there is an additional member come into family and it is part of our duty to support him. When this gains currency, some five or ten people will join together, contribute shares and help the worthy person wherever one is met. They will give what in English is called honorarium, that is the beneficiary will not have to bend low. Under these circumstances the beneficiary will neither indulge in wasteful expenditure nor take more than what he urgently requires. In this both he who gives and he who takes will be blessed; the donor will be moved by a noble feeling of duty and respect for others.

Therefore if you adopt a life of renunciation as did Valmiki and Tulasidas

your literary creation will gain popularity. The alternative is that you become agriculturists or engage in some smaller industry or other. Thirdly, the Government should help; but it has not yet gained stability; I mean, its ideas have not yet become stable. Let it gain its balance first. The fourth thing is *Sampath Dan*. Where there are fifteen thousand households, if each contributes one-fifteenth part of its income one thousand families can easily be maintained. That is, a town like Gaya alone can support the families of one thousand poets and scientists, who serve society. We should cultivate and develop this method.

The poet should neither be pampered nor starved. Nor should he be artificially fed. The poet should secure substance as naturally as a child gets its mother's milk. But if the mother feeds the child with her flesh, the child cannot take it. Therefore the poet should not become dependent on others; it will result in his life getting dried up. He should get just enough to keep his body and soul together and his mind in trim. Alms-receiving was in vogue in ancient times. But I do not like it; because the giver does not give out of faith. Moreover those who give nowadays do so because they cannot help it and want to get rid of the bother by throwing a few grains or coins and shower abuses. So alms-taking is ruled out. Let *Sampath Dan* step in instead. Let all people, old as well as young, take part in it. He who takes food should give away a portion of it. Out of that portion can these servants of society be conveniently maintained. (From *Bladi*)

Bhoodan Conveners' Conference

ACHARYA VINOBA'S ADDRESS

The Conveners of the Provincial Bhoodan Committees met on the 5th and 6th September at Khadi-Gram in Bihar in the presence of Vinobaji to review the progress since the Sarvodaya Sammelan and discuss the further programme. Out of the target of 25 lakhs of acres before April 1954 more than 20 lakhs have been received, three-fourths of which have come from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh alone. A brief press report of the speeches of Vinobaji, Sri Shankarrao Deo and Sri Jaiprakash is given below.

The conference of conveners of the Bhoodan committees in the different provinces and other prominent Bhoodan workers was held on Sept. 5, to consider the progress so far made and devise ways and means to attain the objective. Representatives from 19 States attended the conference. Among them were Sri. Jaiprakash Narayan, Shankarrao Deo, Ikkanda Warriar, ex-Chief Minister of Cochin State, Dharendra Mazumdar, Ashadevi Aryanayakam and others.

Vinobaji's Review

In course of his address Vinobaji said that they had met there six months after the Chandil Sammelan, during which period they had worked ceaselessly, overlooking personal hardships and inconveniences which sometimes came in far greater measure than he himself had to face. And God had rewarded their efforts with commendable results. In Bihar they had seen how big landowners were now coming forward to do whatever they could in their own way, for they were gradually realising that in Bhoodan lay their interest as much as that of the poor and landless. He saw the hand of God in all these.

The speaker stressed the utmost need for all working with unity and co-operation. He very feelingly mentioned how they all belonged to the very large family of Gandhiji who gave his protecting and loving care to all and whose dreams they were now trying to realise. As for himself, he could say that it was he who had

infused in him the spirit of service. Hence, they should try to sink all differences and work on this common programme.

Let every worker, Vinobaji said, consider himself a zero, a trifling nothing, and look upon others as numerical digits and seek the latter's co-operation. Then their own efforts would bear a multiple value, just as with the support of a numeral even a zero was invested with a value which increased manifold after each addition of it.

PROBLEM OF EVICTION

Referring to the problem of eviction that was going on at various places Vinobaji said that his was quite a different approach to this problem than that of others who also took up the cause of the tenants. He did not want to go into the question of this or that party's right to any particular land, or to sift the merits of a case and dispense justice. He wanted to have the work done with love. He would persuade the zamindar to give back the land to the landless Kisan who had been ejected and count his act as an act of *Dan*. He would ask people not to put forward their claim before him but to examine their own faults. For claims were made before law courts. They would succeed if they worked on this line. But he felt that work was done to the extent required.

Computing at the rate of donation that had been given during the last six months, Vinobaji said:

"We can complete the target of 5 crores by 1957, if we put in five times as much effort as we have done during this

period. Does the country not have even so much of energy and capacity? Then why should they despair?"

PROPAGATION THROUGH LITERATURE

Emphasising the need for propagating the idea and thought behind the Bhoodan movement, Vinobaji said that they should go to every village and carry the Sarvodaya literature. Without increasing circulation of the literature if they said, they had tried their best for "change of heart," it would sound hollow. Considering the value of work, Vinobaji said that the result of what had been done so far was quite satisfactory.

Dilating a little more on this point Vinobaji said, some people often asked if we failed even after doing all these what would be the next step. This question did not occur to his mind. But he would like to say to such persons that he had the weapon of Satyagraha with him.

DISTRIBUTION

Concluding Vinobaji cleared the doubts raised on the question of distribution. He said that it was such a big problem that all workers would be required to give their time and energy to fulfil this work. Nobody would have any cause for grievance that his services were not accepted in the work. The rules that he had formed for distribution could not allow the workers to show any favour to anybody. Of course, mistakes might be made.

Jaiprakash Narayan

Sri Narayan said, that the youths should be made to understand the revolutionary possibilities of the movement, and then they would be attracted towards it. He suggested the holding of camps for this purpose.

Referring to the difficulties experienced due to the attachment of workers to parties, Sri Narayan said that this factor could not be expected to disappear soon. He personally felt that it was possible to change the shape of society without the instrumentality of political party. But

many other Socialists did not accept this idea. They argued on the basis of the Marxian theory that parties stood for different classes. And so long there were classes, parties were bound to exist. If the Bhoodan movement succeeded in establishing a classless society then a party would not have to be organised as an instrument of evolution.

Shankarrao Deo

Sri Shankarrao Deo reminded the workers of the resolve they had made at Sevapuri and suggested that every worker should make a resolve to go on a walking tour and collect donations on the basis of a programme drawn up for six months.

Vinobaji Answers Questions

Replying to question, Acharya Bhavé said that the ejected Kisan must not leave possession of the land. But nobody should try to exploit the situation for political purposes. As for those landowners who retained a large acreage even after donating one-sixth of their total holdings, he said that he would again ask them for donations till the land problem was solved.

SAMPATH DAN

Regarding huge properties, Acharya Bhavé said, his thoughts were more clear about it than about the land problem. Just as land was sought to be given to the landless as a matter of right, similarly the properties of the moneyed class had to be used for supplying the needs of the tiller of the soil.

"We have to demonstrate," he said, "that non-possession produces social strength. It has been so far shown to produce individual strength among the virtuous."

The Centre of Swadeshi

Immediately after my return to India in 1915 I discovered that the centre of Swadeshi lay in *Khadi*. If *Khadi* goes, I contended even then, there is no *Swadeshi*. I have shown that the manufacturers in Indian Mills do not constitute *Swadeshi*. To that belief I cling even to-day.

"*Harijan*," June 29, 1947

MHATMA GANDHI

SARVODAYA — A NEW CIVILISATION

— JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

Shri Jaiprakash Narain toured in six districts of Tamil Nad with Shri Kamaraj, President of Tamil Nad Congress Committee, from 15th to 31st August for propagating the Bhoodan Yagna. He addressed several meetings. The following speech at Madras on 15th August gives a concise exposition of the underlying philosophy and the revolutionary implication of Vinoba's Bhoodan Yagna. During this fortnight land-gift of 5218 acres was received besides gifts of Rs. 26,318 as Sampath-dan, 42 pump-sets, 343 ploughs and 24 bulls.

The movement is a unique one. As regards its aims, technique and philosophy, barring the Indian national movement for freedom, there is no parallel to it. It has been common expectation that after the winning of freedom, Gandhiji's technique of non-violent struggle would be used to create a social and economic revolution. There was no evidence, however, that that hope would be fulfilled. But in the gathering gloom, Acharya Vinoba Bhavé had lighted a new torch and that light is spreading throughout the country. It is the Bhoodan Yagna movement.

Gandhiji brought about a political revolution through non-violent means. To many who had the privilege of watching Gandhiji's experiment at close quarters it was doubtful whether the same technique could be used for a social and economic revolution. Vinoba Bhavé is to-day showing them how that could be made possible. One characteristic of a revolution was that a change took place in the first instance and then those who came to power created a legislation which put the seal of legal approval of the State on those changes brought about by mass initiative. Vinoba Bhavé is trying to bring about an equitable distribution of land among the landless workers through the initiative of the people and not through legislation.

There is no reason to believe that India would not be able to have a successful non-violent economic and social revolution. Redistribution of land, is

only the first step in this non-violent revolution, the question of land being the most important thing which affects a large section of the people of the country. This question has been taken up first in the hope that if this problem is solved, the other problems will be easy of solution. A climate would have been created, a psychological revolution would have taken place which would have made it possible for other economic and social problems being tackled in the same manner if the problem which affects five hundred thousand villages of this country is solved. Therefore, it is not a question merely of getting a few hundred thousand acres of land, but one of starting on a new path which would end in Sarvodaya, the creation of a new civilisation and a new society in which there is no exploitation.

The Communist activities in Telengana, aimed at violent economic change, had achieved nothing. Such attempts are bound to fail. If there was an attempt to establish by violence social and economic justice that attempt would be met by the superior violence of the State.

I am sure, situated as the people are in this country, no violent attempt on their part is likely to succeed. And if it succeeds, it will not be the masses who will come into their own, but it will be those who by the end of the revolution have come to possess the most effective means of coercion. A Society free from oppression and exploitation and based on love and co-operation could not be established without faith in the essential

goodness of man. Vinoba Bhave started the Bhoodan movement with faith in the essential goodness of man and, therefore, in this sense, the Bhoodan movement is not merely an economic and social revolution, but also a moral revolution. It is a movement which aims at moral regeneration. The Communists are idealistic people and they aim at the equitable distribution of land. But they are using means which are bound to defeat the end. They could not establish justice and create a new society based on justice by any methods which temporarily reduce the human being to the level of a brute.

I am myself one of those who had doubts about the Bhoodan movement. I felt at one time it would take five hundred years to solve the problem of redistribution of land by that method. But I was converted by what Vinoba Bhave has achieved. Vinoba Bhave, through his non-violent movement, has now nineteen lakh acres of land given as gifts and has also created a humanising climate.

They should organise this movement efficiently, approach landlords and ask for gifts. We have collected a little over nineteen thousand acres in Tamil Nad. Our target for the whole of India is five crores of acres and for Tamil Nad one-and-a-half lakhs of acres. This is one-sixth of the total acreage of cultivable lands in the country and in Tamil Nad respectively. I hope that we would be able to reach the target within 1957. To those who are pessimistic, I would like to say that if it happens to fail, there is the next step which Gandhiji has taught them. They would apply the same technique which Gandhiji applied in the national struggle for freedom. The next step would be non-co-operation. What Vinoba Bhave is doing to-day is merely an application of Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship to the land problem. A psychological revolution has now taken place. It was double-edged in the sense that those who have lands are being per-

sueded to believe that the land does not belong to them but belonged to the community or society and should be used for the social good. It is a means of livelihood and not a commodity for buying and selling. A landlord should have for himself an extent of land which is necessary for his family. On the other hand, the landless are told that they are not getting the lands as gifts or charity. It is denied to them by society and that is a social injustice. This injustice is now sought to be removed. The non-violent technique is being applied to-day to the land problem. Tomorrow it might be applied to the industries and commerce. Because the land problem is the biggest, it is taken first. If that problem is first solved, the other problems would be easy of solution.

I appeal for support to the movement from students. Though students should normally confine themselves to studies, in an emergency they should be able to set aside all other considerations and devote themselves to the cause.

(Adapted from 'The Hindu' - 18th August, '53)

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THE MAHATMA'S LESSON

VINCENT SHEEAN

Vincent Sheean, the American writer, who was greatly attracted by the power of Mahatma Gandhi's personality had two intimate conversations with him on the two days prior to Gandhiji's demise on some fundamental topics like 'Ends and Means' and 'The Bhagawad Gita'. These conversations have inspired the author's immortal book "Lead, Kindly Light." The author has again gone into the depth of certain obscure side remarks of Gandhiji during the discussions in an article that recently appeared in the FREE WORLD-Number Two of the U. S. I. S. for which we acknowledge our indebtedness.

When I consider what I learned from a brief acquaintance with Mahatma Gandhi at the very end of his life, I am abashed. The fact is that he taught much, and greatly; and it seems to me that I learned little. Perhaps there are many in India who will understand what I mean. His immeasurable kindness and goodness bestowed upon me, in only two conversations of length, some intimations of essential and final truth. From this I derived a notion of what ought to be, and of what he had laboriously caused to be within his own soul, but when I try to apply it, I fail. His answer to this would be, as I know, "Try again." It was always his answer, and perhaps the most important thing I did learn from him in the most practical sense was to try again: never give up.

The Mahatma knew nothing of me when I came to him. Mr. Nehru had told him a few facts—that I was an American writer and that I wanted to ask him a series of questions over a fairly extended period of time about the nature of truth. He received me without a question of any sort, just as he received countless others throughout his long life, merely to give whatever he could give. He was prepared to take me with him to his *ashram* at Wardha and to give me a little time every day for the next few weeks to reply to my questions. He was to have left for Wardha on the Monday, as everybody knows, and was killed on the preceding Friday evening at the prayer ground in the garden of Birla House. I

was there that evening; our third conversation was to have taken place after the prayer meeting, and I intended to ask him on that occasion some questions about the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, particularly the Sermon on the Mount and its application to daily life. Tolstoy's book, "The Kingdom of God is Within You," had deeply influenced Gandhiji in his youth; it had merely puzzled me; I wanted to ask him how this sublime series of statements could practically apply to the life of all men, as I knew it did to his own.

These questions were never to be asked. The ones I did ask on the first two days were based upon the Bhagavad Gita. Essentially I wanted to know how the righteous battle could produce a disastrous result; essentially his reply was that, however righteous the battle might have been, if it employed evil means it could only have a disastrous result, because by the employment of evil means it ceased to be righteous.

He was at great pains to make clear to me every step in his argumentation on ends and means. This was, I think, the exact center of his whole doctrine and comprised within it his ethics, his historical idealism, his social justice, and even his economic theory. The identification of means with ends went so far that he was afraid (on the second day) that he might have made it too absolute and took the trouble to explain that he recognized their separation in the temporal sense—i. e., that means naturally preceded ends in time—but in no other. He was, of

course, eminently humane even in this, recognizing all the possibilities of human error, all the weaknesses of the body; but on the essential point, the identity of the nature of means and ends, he was adamant.

This was, in short, the body of his teaching for me. But have I *learned* it? I do not know. When I carelessly or thoughtlessly use means that should not be used I can excuse myself easily enough, but when I do it deliberately—as happens to many of us from time to time—I remember the Mahatma and am ashamed. It seems to me that I did not really learn that lesson or it would be impossible for me ever to depart from the Mahatma's ethics.

And yet I have heard from many others who knew him far better than I did that they, too, are not able to keep to the hard, good, and great rule of the identity of means and ends. It requires a discipline beyond the capacities of most people, I think, under the prevailing conditions of life. It also requires a great deal of intellect. We may embark upon a course without in the least realizing where it is going to lead us; this is a purely intellectual phenomenon. And along the way we may be compelled by what has preceded or by the surrounding circumstances to employ means which, at the outset, we should have rejected flatly. In midstream we tend to grasp at any spar, and the judgment of good and evil vanishes. These things, which the Mahatma would have called weakness, are very common in all our lives. We cannot all be as strong as he was. For the fact of the matter is that Gandhiji was not only the best and wisest man any of us have ever known, but he was also the strongest: he got his strength through the unrelenting struggle of fifty years, plus—plus—

Well, plus what?

Plus something hard to define, but which, for lack of a better name, we are accustomed to call genius. He had genius

of the rarest kind, that which is both instinctively and explicitly religious. The Indian people recognized this long before he knew it himself (if indeed he ever really knew it.) They were calling him "Mahatma" long years ago, even before he returned home from South Africa, and even, to tell the truth, against his will. He tried to be a severely practical man and would always turn aside from any great historical matter to attend to the simplest problems of hygiene, education, agriculture, or health for others. All India knows this, and all India knows that there never was any power on earth that could interfere with his day of silence or his hours of prayer. What did this strength come from, if not from the most deeply rooted and imperative religious instinct?

Now, it is a characteristic of all genius in whatever category it may appear, to throw off sparks from a deep-buried fire, a fire so deep that its existence must be supposed rather than proved. Thus the slightest and simplest anatomical sketch by Leonardo da Vinci, for example, reveals the hand of a master. The late Mr. Bernard Shaw could hardly make a remark about the weather without giving it some especially memorable turn or point. And when the child Mozart composed little processional pieces for the organ at the cathedral in Salzburg—just little churchly marches so that the Archbishop could get up the aisle from the door to the altar in dignified fashion—these trifles, too, are masterpieces.

Gandhiji's genius was not in the least aesthetic. He liked to write and speak plainly, so that the largest number of people could understand, and he cared little about form as such. He declared and believed that the greatest artists the world had ever seen were Jesus of Nazareth and the Prophet Mohammed, Upon Whom Be Peace, because these created the work of art with their lives.

But, without caring or bothering about formal styles and the like, he did have an extraordinary way of throwing

out these sparks from a hidden fire. And when I say I doubt if I truly learned his lesson about ends and means, I have to add that I did learn a great many smaller lessons, less comprehensive lessons, from just these little sparks. They could be side remarks, what the judges call *obiter dicta*, perhaps in an undertone, or they could be statements aside from the main stream of his discourse, but they were the kind of thing that stays in the memory forever.

I shall give two characteristic examples of this kind of teaching.

The first concerns a French writer who had once quoted Mahatmaji as saying that he would sacrifice even his country to the truth. The Mahatma told me this and then said, looking at me earnestly and very closely through his spectacles: "He omitted to add that I also said that *the contingency could not arise.*"

There was no opportunity just then to get this statement amplified, and three days later Gandhiji was killed. I have thought of it very often indeed in the years since and at times have consulted others as to what he meant. My own interpretation, upon considerable thought was this: that any man's truth is, to a very large extent, perhaps to something approaching totality, bound up with the country that gave him birth, formed his mind, created his identity. Therefore it is quite impossible for anybody to sacrifice his country to the truth, because it would be like sacrificing the torso for the sake of the arms: neither would survive: *the contingency cannot arise.* I asked Sarojini Naidu if she agreed with this interpretation, and she, who knew the Mahatma so well and so long, said that this was no doubt what he meant. It is a lesson of the utmost significance, and I think I may say that I have learned it.

The second example of this kind of teaching—what I call "sparks"—concerns the iniquity of suicide.

For decades in the Western world

great fasts had been widely misunderstood. They were regarded as a form of political pressure, a way of making Governments or parties accept peaceful concessions or solutions to historical problems. There were some occasions in the 1920's and 1930's when this cynical view seemed justified in the objective result, since, as a matter of fact, Gandhiji's fasts always did end by concessions from Governments or parties. It was not understood in the West that Gandhi's fasts were invariably a form of prayer accompanied by unceasing prayer and themselves a manifestation of prayer. It was not understood how very far this humble suppliant was from either suicide or the threat of suicide: how in his Vaishnava tradition and his own family life, fasting had always been not only a discipline but an entreaty.

In talking to him on January 27, 1948, I was asking about the "inner voice" and its imperative function at the beginning and the end of each of these great fasts. He told me how it spoke to him and how he had to obey when it spoke.

"After that," he said, "I could not continue to fast—"

Then he leaned over very close to me, in that swooping motion peculiar to him, and added the decisive words, peering at me to be sure that I understood them:

"—without committing suicide."

From his tone, from the context, from his manner, and from his look I understood that he regarded suicide as a monstrous iniquity, a tremendous sin, and that never at any time in his entire life had he considered it for a moment. And truly, this gentle saint who would not kill a fly or mosquito would have been paradoxical indeed if he had ever thought of taking his own life.

Now, these two examples of "sparks" consist of extremely few words, and not very exceptional words at that. But

their lesson is tremendous, in the whole historical context. If I can never sacrifice my country to the truth (or to what I feel or imagine to be the truth), and if at the same time I cannot possibly commit suicide, then what is the command? The command is obviously to live, under the existing conditions, doing what can be done (I suppose) to improve them but with no escape route open either intellectually or in objective fact.

Let us see for a moment what this means on the external plane and whether it does square with the known facts of Gandhiji's life. My country has a government. (Here I use the words "I" and "my" and so on just as Gandhiji did, meaning "one," the generical term, a human being.) This government may adopt courses of policy with which I disagree. I may disagree at will, and in a free country I may express that disagreement freely to anybody who will listen. I cannot, however, in any respect "sacrifice my country to the truth"—I cannot renounce or abjure my country; I am it and it is I; my disagreement with a policy is merely an intellectual dissent, not an act of separation. (And obviously in free countries such as the United States there will never be any government policy with which some large minority of the inhabitants does not disagree.) In the result there may often be times when I am compelled by circumstance to support courses of which I disapprove, for this precise reason, which we may call the inseparability of the citizen from the city.

Does this meet with the known facts of Gandhi's life? I think it does. He has told us that in 1914 he did not feel justified in opposing the war between Great Britain and Germany, pacifist though he was, because he accepted the protection of the British Navy in peace and war, and other institutions of the British Raj, and therefore saw no logic in parading an opposition to the war. Thirty years later the whole situation had changed and he did oppose the war

against Germany and Japan, not because he had any regard at all for Fascism—far from it—but because India had been put into war without being consulted in the matter at all.

We find, I think, at every stage of his life this inseparability from India. He was India; India was Gandhi. That is what he means by *the contingency could not arise*. Even after the liberation, it is quite conceivable that the independent government of India might have done some things not to his liking and not in accordance with his principles. (All will remember the case of cloth rationing). If this had been so, or if he had lived to find it so, he would never have made any attempt at separation from either the policy or its consequences. He might pray and fast for India, but he could never dissociate himself from India in any way.

In the matter of suicide, which is another form of separation from society, his abhorrence was perfectly clear to me and constituted a whole sermon. Self-destruction is, he was saying, one of the greatest of crimes; you have no right even to contemplate it; this life is to be lived out to end, come what may.

And, finally, I believe I learned from Gandhiji that no man can be the judge of his own life's value either in its living out or in its termination. Walking up and down the floor in his room at Birla House he said to me (and this, of course, is paraphrase, but very close to his actual words):

"I have a fever. I am dying. I send for the doctors. They make injections of certain drugs—say sulfa drugs—and restore my life. What does that prove? It may be that it would be better for humanity for me to die."

Having said this in all solemnity, he eyed me severely and asked:

"Is that perfectly clear? If not I will repeat it."

"No, sir," I said. "I think I understand it."

He was making a firm declaration for nature and God—for that which, in historical circumstances, bears the aspect and sometimes even the name of destiny. It has always seemed to me probable that he knew the fate he was braving even as he spoke. I had been convinced for many months that what awaited him was martyrdom, and I had the feeling on that day that it might be very near at hand. What he was telling me was that any strange or unusual or inconsistent attempt to save or protect his life (the parable of the doctors with sulfa drugs) would be worse than useless, because it might interfere with a higher value. There are times, he was saying, when death itself can be a form of life, can give or renew or restore life, and at such it is better—or anyhow more valuable to humanity—to die. He said this with the utmost bravery and conviction. It is difficult for me to suppose that he meant anything except what I have outlined above, a readiness for the sacrifice and a profound knowledge of its value.

For, of course, the final *satyagraha* of Mahatma Gandhi was one of the great voluntry sacrifices of the world's history. It staved off, I think, disasters of unimaginable gravity. All in India who remember that day will not need to be reminded of how every warlike word and gesture ceased. In the world situation of that moment, the disaster which Gandhiji's death prevented might (and I think would) have resulted in a general war involving all countries. The subcontinent of India is not Korea; it cannot be "localized."

So, if I try to sum up, three years and more later, what I believe I learned from Gandhiji, I have to confess that much of his ethical teaching, revolving around the identification of means and ends, is too hard and too high for me. At the same time I perceive that some tremendous truths of human existence were conveyed to me in irrefutable form by his gentle, quiet, and half-whispering voice. The law that life must be lived

out inseparably from the social organism in which it is cast comes first. With it goes the conviction (and it convinced me too) that no man can judge the value of a life or of a death: this is destiny. And in addition to all this, I think I must also add that by knowing Mahatma Gandhi I learned one historical truth of the utmost magnitude, which is that religious legend (or anthropological, if you like) must invariably correspond to or result from a truth that lived on earth. That is, I used to regard most of what I read about the Lord Gautama Buddha, Jesus of Nazareth, and the Prophet Mohammed as legendary. I still believe there is much legend. But I also know, having seen Gandhi, that each legend originated in a truth, because nothing save such a truth and such a life can call forth the worshipful and sacrificial impulses of hundreds and hundreds of millions. No mere invention could do it. Thus, having seen Gandhiji, I know now, and believe in the Lord Gautama Buddha, the Lord Jesus of Nazareth, and the Prophet Mohammed Upon Whom Be Peace.



HAND-SPINNING

In hand-spinning is hidden the protection of women's virtue, the insurance against famine, and the cheapening of prices. In it is hidden the secret of Swaraj. The revival of hand-spinning is the least penance we must do for the sin of our forefathers in having succumbed to the satanic influence of the foreign manufacturer. The school-goers will restore hand-spinning to its respectable status. They will hasten the process of making khaddar fashionable. For no mother or father worth the name will refuse to wear cloth made out of yarn spun by their children.

(19-1-1921)

— MAHATMA GANDHI

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN ECONOMY

— C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR —

The following extract from the Russel Memorial Lecture delivered at Patna College on 11th May, 1953, is a masterly and lucid presentation of the social basis for a regulated co-operative economy and its spiritual foundation as expressed in the Hindu Philosophy which can claim to be "peculiarly in harmony with latest knowledge" as against the present-day competitive economy which is "another edition of the law of the jungle."

In modern conditions wherein costlier standards of living have come to stay and increased population has created very difficult problems, the common weal must have the dominant claim over the activities of every individual and people must govern themselves and live under a regulated economy. This regulation causes wide-spread and deeply felt pain. It hurts because it goes against the instinctive desire in the individual to be free. Therefore regulation should be so designed as not completely to stifle individual liberty and initiative and the joy that flows therefrom. The pain of a regulated economy is due to the fact that the regulation comes from outside, imposed by an external authority. Properly designed and placed on a spiritual basis, a regulated economy need not be inconsistent with individual satisfaction and individual zeal. The restraints and habits of mind that are required to be developed for altruistic action must flow from faith and inner conviction. Community-effort is but the sum total of individual effort and it cannot be brought into being unless individuals work with zeal, deriving joy therefrom. Joy can only be in the individual because a corporation as such has no feelings. We should therefore find and furnish a compelling motive to the individual, a motive not of fear but of joy. I claim that Religion is a necessary and appropriate force for effective and just regulation. It is only a spiritual faith and force that can make men work and enable them to find pleasure in working for the common weal.

And this is the very doctrine of life that forms the kernel of Hindu religious thought and was preached so long ago in the Gita.

There is hardly any one who now believes that the old scheme of life which gave prosperity to Europe in the nineteenth century has now any validity. Individual competition has to give place to regulated co-operative economy in varying degrees of pace in the several departments of life. This new economy not based on self-interest but on something else, almost the opposite of it, calls for a spiritual and cultural basis contradistinguished from a material selfish basis. Communism may talk of a materialist dialectic and claim success. But it is forgotten that revolution and misfortune and wide-spread trouble produce a state of mind which temporarily functions like spiritual faith. Where a new order of non-competitive economy has in any measure succeeded, it is due to the fact that what is equivalent to a spiritual upheaval resulted from wide-spread revolution, or war which enabled the ruling out of the motive of selfishness. This was a good enough temporary substitute for religion. But it cannot last for all time.

The prosperity that undoubtedly resulted in Europe from the economy of private enterprise and competition necessarily carried with it inequality of distribution. The very power of that economy was derived from difference as power is derived from a fall of water. Some people had to live in squalor, may be in the

same country or may be elsewhere — the latter was easier wherever it was possible — in order that prosperity might be built up at a visible point. But now squalor is considered disgraceful, whether it be among certain sections of people in the same country or elsewhere, and it is considered criminal to be found building up one's wealth on other people's poverty. It is now the accepted doctrine of economic conduct that wealth should be produced without producing unhappiness anywhere. Inequality or unhappiness is no longer considered as inevitable or tolerable. Economic competition, obvious or concealed, is now considered to be only another edition of the law of the jungle. It is not considered decent to leave the Devil to take the hindmost. It is no longer considered right to look upon individual effort and individual life as a private and sacred enclosure into which no trespass is to be allowed. In the interest of society as a whole these trespasses into private affairs are now deemed not only permissible but obligatory.

Unfortunately, however, those who happened by the accidents of history to lead movements for the demolition of old economic ideas and for the establishment of the all-prevailing dominance of the public weal and for the re-organisation of society on a non-competitive economy, were tempted by an immediate strategic advantage. They saw that discontent must be produced in order to help a violent revolution and Religion fostered contentment. They worked therefore for the demolition of religion, treating it as an opiate and as a part of the old economy. The protagonists of equality thus demolished or sought to demolish — let us hope unsuccessfully — the spiritual basis for human conduct, the very thing required to make conduct unselfish and directed towards the public weal rather than to one's own individual advantage. Religion acted as a consolation and helped men and women to bear misfortunes; it helped men in particular to tolerate inequality

and since inequalities must go, they said we must remove everything that helps men to bear with it. They therefore concluded that religion must go, if not by force then by other subtle pressures. Thus what could support the new economy of unselfishness, indeed what alone could support and furnish power to the new idea of unselfish production of wealth, it was decided to destroy. This was suicidal and an unnecessary addition to the programme of economic revolution, and though for the moment its adverse effect was concealed by the prevailing spiritual power of a revolutionary upheaval, the substitute could not last for all time. It was not the intention, nor was it possible for men and women to live for ever in a state of war and on the emotional ecstasy of antagonism. So, the new economy of production of wealth had in course of time to be supported by all sorts of makeshift compromises to give some sense of personal advantage. What obviously supported the old economy of work, viz., the profit-motive, came to be re-permitted in concealed ways. The law of selfishness cannot altogether be substituted by force nor can unselfishness be maintained by the mere vigilance of the State. The supervising power has a tendency to deteriorate and get less and less powerful, and compromises by way of concealed personal advantage have to be provided in place of the old frank acceptance of the rule of personal profit. But these makeshifts cannot serve the purpose so well immediately, or be self-sustaining for long-term purposes. *

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LIVING AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

— R. R. KEITHAHN —

We strive to live at that level. I started my life in the U. S. A. at the village level and I am trying not to get away from it! Thus I respond intellectually and emotionally to such a question. In fact I would word the question "Living at the Urban Level - Does it make sense?" It seems to a person like myself that modern frustration and fear, unemployment and war have very largely come out of this modern urban situation. Thus many of us who know that we are living in a new era, who would make some humble contribution to the building of a new society, are working in the villages.

I have been asked to write briefly. That I may not seem to be too dogmatic, I shall put my propositions in the form of questions. They are convictions so far as I am concerned. I have a living faith in my rural philosophy. However, I cannot expect others to have that same faith and conviction. Therefore, I earnestly plea with the reader to come to this subject with an open mind and to experiment that we may know the truth. Certainly there are values both in our urban as well as in our rural cultures. We have a good deal to learn from one another. We must not lose any value inherent in either culture. With this general approach in mind let us now think of the rural contribution.

IS NOT DECENTRALISED SELF-SUFFICIENCY NEUTRAL?

Is not the local rural community, the village in this Eastern world, the substantial way of brotherhood and peace? I know the enmity and violence in the present village; but essentially and potentially its neighbourliness is not to be equalled. Again, should I not identify myself with this large majority of the

East, yes, of the world? If I am truly concerned with world brotherhood must I not be concerned primarily with the welfare of the large majority—of course, always consistent with the welfare of the whole? This is what we have learned from our great non-violent leader, Gandhiji.

SHOULD NOT THE MAN OF LOVE AND TRUTH IDENTIFY HIMSELF WITH THE EXPLOITED?

Is not the rural population very largely exploited by the urban population? Someone has recently written that it is in the village where the people feel a "depression" first feel it most and feel it the longest. I have lived through two of such major "depressions" in the United States of America. I am well aware that thousands of people suffered as a result of unemployment in the cities. But I think I am right in saying that they suffered primarily as a result of the suffering of the farmer. Even today, after much needed legislation has been passed there are few countries in which the villager has the same justice as that of the city dweller. Should not the farmer get just as much material reward as does the lawyer or the administrator? Surely he deals with a more fundamental human need. Why should he be exploited as he is today? Even in our food-control legislation in India I think that every rural worker will maintain that the villager has not received just prices for his products—just in comparison with the income of the so-called "white-collared" workers.

Village living implies simple living. Do not simple living and high thinking go together normally? Such a life is the ideal life for man. Urban life tends to be very complex. It does not nurture the highest form of living.

IS NOT THE VILLAGE LIFE THE BEST ENVIRONMENT FOR MAN?

As he lives near nature does not the religious life become natural and real? Everything else being equal, is not village life most productive of health, common sense and spiritual living? Again, is not the rural atmosphere best for the family? All too often the child is a problem in the city. Anthropologists tell us that no city civilization has maintained itself. Children are normal in the village and are an asset. That is why rural civilizations such as China and India have lived on for centuries. It is agreed that many blessings in the city should be shared by all. But in these days of decentralised power and light and heat is it not quite possible to have all needed blessings even in the village? Should not society so provide them? At least for many generations the essentials of life such as

food and clothing must come largely from the village. Is it not right that those who produce our basic needs should have the same blessings as any other member of society? If so, then should we not be working to help it to be so?

IS NOT THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT BEST FOR THE HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY?

In the village neighbourly living is natural. Co-operation takes place normally as the seasons progress. Democracy works naturally. In fact are not the best examples of democracy found in the villages? Are not the worst examples of corruption found in the city? If neighbourliness and co-operation and democracy work best in the village should we not live at the village level?

So my deep-felt question is how can people of good sense live in any other place than in the village !!!

SATYAGRAHA IN GERMANY (Contd.)

— F. MARY BARR —

Although there is no detailed news from Dr. Koch and his party who were tramping from Hamburg to Berlin, I want to share with you the glad announcement that their perseverance and patience in endeavouring to penetrate behind the "Iron Curtain" has been crowned with success.

The latest letter from Dr. Koch to my English friend told of four fruitless attempts to cross the border, at three of which they retired upon being told to by the American Zone police who stopped them. The fourth time he said, "We could not make up our minds to go back of our own free will", so they were removed by the police. A fifth effort yielded the same result. But apparently their telegrams to the High Commissioners of the Soviet and American Zones bore fruit, for "Peace News" of July 24th gives the good news that "they have now gone across the border."

It may be some time before we hear from them again, for we do not know how long it may take them to go from the point where they crossed or what may happen to them in the Soviet Zone. It is likely that they will be unable to send letters telling of their adventures until they reach Berlin, where usually it is easy to cross over from East to West and *vice versa*, but it may be more difficult since the uprising of June 17th. Going in the leisurely way they have been doing, holding meetings and talking to anyone who will listen, stopping to help peasants in their fields, they are trying to persuade officials and the general public that a united Germany *can* be achieved by friendly discussion.

The crossing of the frontier is one triumph for Satyagraha. It would be a much greater one if they could, with the backing they have received from many parts of Germany, so influence opinion as to make the peaceful union of the Eastern and Western Zones an accomplished fact.

VINOBA AND CHRISTIANITY

V. K. VARKKI, B. A., KOTTAYAM

The question is how far Christianity supports Vinobaji in his Bhoodan Yagna. St. Paul in his "Epistle to Corinthians" exclaims,—the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. We read in the book of genesis after the creation of the earth and all its abundance of animal and plant life, God created man and set him its lord. The earth is fixed and it does not grow; man on the contrary increases and goes on increasing every moment. Hence the necessity to restrict ownership of land and its increase in materials. In the books of Prophets there is the denunciation against individual who goes on adding land to land to the exclusion of his neighbours. St. Paul again in the same chapter of Corinthians, (1 Cor., cha. 11, 22 to 25) exhorts: let no one seek his own good but one's neighbour's charity must be the rule of life of a Christian and not selfishness in any form. Vinobaji calls on the rich landowners to donate one-sixth of their wealth for the benefit of the poor or Daridranarayanans and to change the general outlook of society towards its needy neighbours.

In this connection naturally the question, who is a Christian arises. According to the generally accepted notion a Christian is one who is baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost and who accepts the revealed Christian religion for his personal salvation i. e. for his eternal life in heaven and for his peaceful and contented life on earth. Are all who are baptised and who profess Christianity, sure of life eternal in heaven? There is an awful warning by Jesus Christ that only those who go by the narrow way will be saved and all others will be thrown into the dark bottomless abyss of hell. Again He warns that all who called God Abba (Father) would not be saved but only those

who did the will of God. Behold the axe is laid at the root of the tree which does not bring forth good fruit. In the holy Qurbana there is the song that the good departed alone would be saved. In the face of these warnings can all professing Christians boldly claim heaven? No; not at all.

Of course Acharya Vinoba Bhave does not confess Jesus Christ as his Saviour. But he accepts the non-violent path of peace which Jesus Christ preached to His followers. Again he is all love for his kith and kin all over India and he wants the way of charity and service to be practised by all.

Shri S. K. George once called in question a stanza which a preacher quoted during his address in a church. The stanza runs:-

"I stand on the firm rock, Christ,
All others are slipping sand."

He questions only the second line and asks if the preacher has experienced this slip. He has no right to utter so unless he has experienced the same after mature study and practice. Christians have yet to understand fully Christ and His words. Interpretation of His utterances by many of His followers hitherto was either for their own gain or glory as the children of Abraham had interpreted the Mosaic laws and the holy prophets for their personal gain and glory rather than for self-sacrifice and service which were indeed in them.

The principle of non-violence was not advocated by any orthodox Christian or any member of the recognised ancient churches except some saints who practised it; and in the matter of politics and political wars the church supported violence and bloodshed and offered prayers for the success of either belligerents naming such wars as "just" wars. Jesus Christ deprecated warfare in all its

forms. War engenders war—however just or holy it may be to some. Jesus Christ preached and practised non-violence and boldly faced death and the Cross leaving the result to God, His Father. And God indeed raised Him from the dead on the third day. Very few Christians are found preaching this doctrine of suffering or sacrifice much less practise it in life. Of course the Christian Church claims preaching of the faith in Christ as the easy means of salvation. No one cares to bear the cross in life. Everybody wants ease and comfort or power and glory. Indeed a Christian is one who bears Jesus Christ in life. He must be "a Christ-bearer."

There is no complaint against Christianity of any denomination and the only desire is that Christians should be living Christians rather than professing Christians. A Christian must acknowledge the divinity of Jesus Christ and accept Him as his personal saviour. At the same time he must respect other religions as well and accept the good in them and allow God to manifest Himself through other channels also for the establishment of His Kingdom on Earth.

[The above is the second half of the article sent by the writer leaving the first half dealing with some aspects of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna already covered in several articles in the "Sarvodaya."]

The Panchavati Goshala Farm

Go-Seva or service of the cow is an integral part of the constructive programme. Though South India has the foremost place in working constructive programme like khadi, Harijan welfare, Hindi, and women welfare etc. it has not yet taken up village industries and Go-Seva in any systematic way. The Kallupatti Gandhi Niketan in Madurai Dist. in Tamil Nad has just started work in the field of village industries like the A. I. V. I. A. at Maganwadi, Wardha.

It is gratifying to hear from the South India Krishi Go-Seva Sangh, Bangalore, about the Panchavati Farm in Kengeri, near Bangalore. It is a model centre in South India under the able guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Burde of Wardha, who are experts in the field.

The work at Panchavati Farm began in June, 1952 under not very encouraging circumstances. The initial help of donation of Rs. 2,500 came from the President Smt. Shantabai Devrao Shivram and Rs. 750 from three others. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has given a grant of Rs. 5,000. Now the Farm has 7 cows, 5 heifers, 3 bull-calves and one stud bull.

The special feature of the Farm is that it has attracted a band of a few educated youngmen who offer gift of their labour. Every Sunday they work for 6 hours on land. They have constructed a rest house in the farm, repaired the road, planted 250 trees and cleared waste land making the land fit for cultivation.

The main programme is the improvement of cattle breed and all possible service is being rendered to the villages around. Owing to want of funds the Farm does not have its own bullocks and implements for agricultural work. With the help of farmers in the neighbourhood about six acres of waste land are brought under cultivation.

The farm is managed by Mr. and Mrs. Burde with the land army of young educated men. "By serving the cow you have served everything else." With faith in this ideal and with the meagre resources these pioneers who have settled in the Kengeri Farm have set up a model to inspire others. The service of the cow is the natural concomitant of the Bhoodan Yagna. It is hoped that the example of Mr. Burde will inspire many to take to the service of Cow, the mother of all. ★

Assault on Vinobaji by Priests

VINOBAJI'S STATEMENT



Acharya Vinoba Bhave in a statement issued from village Pardih in Bhagalpur district in connection with the assault on him and his party at Deoghar on September 19 by "Pandas" (priests) near the Baidyanath temple said: "I do not want anybody to be punished."

"But, the Constitution of Free India has been clearly violated. Small retributive measures cannot make up for that violation. What is needed is to ensure against recurrence of such incidents in future."

"I am of the opinion that it would not be wrong if Government decide to take over such places of worship; and perhaps that would make for better management. This is no suggestion of mine. I am only doing a sort of loud thinking."

"This is an age of science. Every faith is being tested on the touch-stone of reason. If our society keeps this in view and behaves accordingly, everything will go well."

"Yesterday, while at Baidyanath Dham, I went for the *darshan* of Mahadeojee in company with Harijans and some of my colleagues, we could not, of course, have Mahadeojee's *darshan* but as a blessing, got beatings, at the hands of his devotees. That has evoked enquiries from me and hence this statement."

"I would like to say at the very outset, that those who have indulged in this act of assault did so only out of ignorance. That being so, I do not want them to be punished for this. Rather I am glad to find that all those who were with me in hundreds, remained calm

throughout. Not only this, my companions, who were badly battered, told me that there was no anger within them even at the time of occurrence. I feel it is symbolic of God's grace to have workers that bear no illwill against anybody. Those who indulged in the assault were so much seized with anger that they made no distinction between man and woman. I trust this will prove to be the last course of *Bhedasur* (the devil in man that discriminates between one man and another).

"I had no mind either to force my way into the temple or to seek entry into it on the strength of the provisions of the law. On the contrary, it has been my practice not go to a temple that is not open to Harijans. But I was told, on enquiry, that Harijans had free ingress into this temple. Consequently, we went out for *darshan* in a reverent mood after the evening prayers. We had observed silence all along the way and I had been meditating on the Vedic hymn sung in praise of Mahadeva. When we were assaulted unexpectedly in that state, I even experienced a significant sense of comfort. I turned back with a feeling of happiness but as we were going away the persons assaulting us became more pronounced in their zeal. Those in my company formed a cordon round me and took all the blows that were directly aimed at me. Yet I also had a taste of it as if to mark the concluding part of a sacrificial performance. I recalled to my mind how the master was also subjected to a similar assault at this very place of pilgrimage. I felt honoured to have been similarly blessed." (From "The Hindu," 23-9-'53)

RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING

J. C. KUMARAPPA

This is a portion of the speech at the All-India Palm Gur Conference held at Tuticorin (Madras State) in June, 1953 opened by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar.

It has become a fashion in these days for all and sundry to include 'raising the standard of living' as one of the objects of our planning. Our Prime Minister incessantly repeats this sentiment. And there is hardly any public man who does not refer to it at some time or other. But we are yet to find even a single person giving a courageous lead in this direction either in theory or practice. No person needs to be told how to live better. If he had the wherewithal he would eat well, he would clothe himself well, he would educate his children well, he would obtain satisfactory medical care and will live under conditions of hygiene and sanitation as would be desired. The main trouble lies in his economic position. Therefore we have to consider how to provide him with satisfactory income. I trust, while here we consider the various aspects of the palm tapper's life, we would pay special attention to this particular aspect of the question.

In capitalistic economics labour is dealt with as a commodity to be bought and sold. So the wages appear as a price for this human commodity. But it is completely detached of fundamental human considerations. An industrialist buys human labour with the same heart as he buys high-speed steel. Naturally therefore he is out to beat down prices and get the most he can out of the bargain. This is the order of exploitation and cannot be changed as long as human labour is dealt with as a commodity.

Where we desire to deal with man as human being, the consideration should be based on social values. The price we pay for human labour should be calculated not on the basis of the

market prices that will be fetched by any commodity to be produced but on what it will cost to maintain the producer. If a tapper requires a balanced diet, like any other human being, and he requires also a weather proof house to live in sanitary and hygienic conditions with enough amenities and facilities to bring up his children in the way that a worthy citizen would be expected to maintain, then such a standard of living should be worked out for a tapper's family. And this should form an irreducible minimum cost of the human labour. Supposing his requirements are equivalent to a present day money income of Rs. 150 per month, then we should calculate how much marketable commodities a conscientious and skilled tapper will produce with his labour in a month and spread that money income of that tapper over the market price of the commodity. One may even imagine by so doing we may raise the price of gur to Rs. 1-8-0 per seer. But we should not be afraid of high prices if we aim at bringing about social justice. As a matter of fact when the Government fixes prices and undertakes to sell commodities we shall be eliminating quite a number of middlemen and the intermediate commissions. Once we fix the prices in this fashion the Government should cut down various forms of competition such as from capitalists and industrialists and from foreign imports. Actually only by this way we can ever hope to raise the standard of living of our producers. All other talk is nonsense. If we mean business we must go out in right earnest. Otherwise let us not beat about the air and waste our time and energy.

★

★ LOVE AND NON-VIOLENCE ★

— VINOBA —

Thanks to the daily press which has begun to publish Vinobaji's daily prayer speeches commenting on many topical questions like sugar scarcity, "go-slow" strike, etc., from the point of view of Sarvodaya ideology. A few extracts collected from "The Indian Nation," Patna, are given below.

"Where the people were conscious there were clashes, and where the people were not conscious they were suppressed, but both suppression and clash marred the progress of the country," said Acharya Vinoba Bhave, addressing a prayer meeting at Sikandra. Vinobaji added that love and non-violence were the only way to end poverty and to usher in a better order of things.

Bhaveji observed that due to clash between the haves and havenots, the country's cause was being harmed. There was a clash between Government's system of work and that of the commercial class. There was sugar shortage and Government brought sugar from outside. This caused national loss.

Referring to the recent Burnpur strike, he said that leaders of strikers raised slogans of "go-slow." The strikers made the labourers idle, retarded production of things and even caused moral degeneration. Such clashes naturally resulted in the victory of one side, but the total result would be loss and harm to the country.

Vinobaji said, "Labour and capital should be on friendly terms." Those who had greater power and wealth should look to the interest of the poor and the weaker ones.

Bhaveji said he did not believe that people of India had not the heart to realise the sufferings and poverty of their unfortunate brothers and sisters. Wherever he went he found abundant enthusiasm among the people.

The idea of Bhoodan did not come from outside, it was ingrained in the culture of India, Acharya Bhave said.

He appealed to the people to work for the movement with the spirit and energy one witnessed during days of election.

GRAMRAJ AND RAMRAJ

Acharya Vinoba Bhave addressing a prayer meeting at village Chewara, near Jamui, on 26th August, said that Ramraj could be possible only when the people tried to emulate Lakshman, Bharat, Rama and Sita. There would be no disputes then and consequently there would be no need of punishment.

Explaining Gramraj and Ramraj Acharya Bhave said that to settle the disputes of the village in the village itself was Gramraj and the absence of disputes was Ramraj. In a Gramraj there won't be anyone without land. That was why he was demanding one-sixth of the land from those who had land.

"This is just a sort of beginning of the Gramraj. Similarly village and cottage industries and Nai Talim will be introduced in each village. Besides villagers will have justice in the village with the help of Gram Panchayat and then only there will be Gramraj in the real sense of the word. The land in the village will belong to each and every villager. There shall be no distinction of class. Each will enjoy the same social status."

DOMINATION OF CITIES OVER VILLAGES

"Villagers today looked forward to the cities for goods of their daily use. The result was that money was drifting away towards the cities from the villages and consequently the cities were dominating the villages. Instead of foreign power there was now power of the cities over the villages."

★

A Hybrid Cotton for Hand-Spinning

N. R. BHAT, Cotton Botanist, Bombay State, Surat

C. T. PATEL, Agricultural Officer, I/c Interspecific Hybridization Scheme in Cottons, Surat

While all technological research for cotton has been directed in the interest of long-staple variety required for textile mills the needs for suitable short staple cotton for the hand-spinner have been totally ignored. The Charkha Sangh took up this research work in the last few years but has not progressed much owing to other more pressing work. Khadi lovers will welcome this article on the research made at Surat by these two cotton specialists. It is hoped that the Khadi & Village Industries Board will give its urgent attention to this vital problem of the hand-spinner.

As is well known the hand-spinner earns only small wages for his labour and, therefore, is usually not in a position to purchase the cotton required by him. Moreover, as he is more particular about the strength than length of the fibre, the annual cottons available in the market are either unsuitable for his purpose or are unduly costly. Therefore, he raises in his compound or backyard a few plants which give him the small quantity of kapas that he needs. He prefers perennial plants to annuals since, once planted, they go on giving a certain quantity of kapas annually for about 6 to 7 years. Perennial cottons being deep-rooted and hardy can be grown with very little care under varied soil and climatic conditions. The characteristics that the hand-spinner desires in these plants are freedom from pests and diseases, good bearing and ginning outturn, ease in ginning and satisfactory strength of fibre. None of the available Asiatic or American perennial varieties is very suitable to meet all these requirements.

Provided that it possesses the requisite length and strength of fibre, the most profitable variety to grow should be a hybrid expressive of hybrid vigour which can be grown as a perennial. A number of hybrids are characterised by early and prolific bearing resulting from hybrid vigour. Suitable crosses between high

ginning annual strains and perennial types may, besides bringing in considerable amount of vigour, introduce the perennial habit and high ginning outturn into the hybrid. The perennial hybrid, Gaorani - 6x Rozi, which is available as a fourth year ratoon at the Agricultural Research Station, Surat, satisfies the needs of the hand-spinner to a pretty large extent. A comparison is made herebelow between the hybrid and its perennial parent, Rozi, lint of which was often used in hand-spinning, in respect of various characters of their produce:—

	Rozi*	G. 6 x Rozi
Ginning percentage	24.0	28.0
Mean fibre length (inches)	0.72	0.89
Fibre weight per inch in millionths of an ounce	0.256	0.178
Spinning value (H. S. W. C.)	12's	—
Spinning test by an experienced hand-spinner	—	20's with 88 lbs. strength
Presselly strength index	—	6.6

*Characteristics are of the produce from Kaira district where it is grown on a field scale.

The ratooned plant bore about 200 bolls in its first flush and over 100 in the second flush in the 1952-'53 season when it was in its 4th year of ratoon. The plant as well as its produce is free of attack by pests and diseases. This is, indeed, a very impressive performance indicating that work, if carried out on

similar lines, may yield even better hybrids.

With a view to produce a hybrid which will be most useful for hand-spinners, an extensive programme of hybridization between high ginning annual strains and perennial types of Desi cotton, e. g., the ones mentioned below is being undertaken under the Scheme for Breeding Perennial Cottons at Dharwar, Bombay State, which has been sanctioned by the I. C. C. C. for a period of 5 years from 1st April, 1953:—

The parents proposed for crossing are:—

Annual strains		Perennial types
Vijay (g. p. 40%)		Red arboreum
Kalyan („ 38%)		Rozi (with arboreums only)
Suyog („ 37%)		Nadam
2087 („ 37%)		
197-3 („ 38%)		

It is thought that, at present, the hybrid G6 x Rozi, should prove more suitable for the hand-spinner than many other perennial cottons now available with them though better hybrids may be discovered in a few years' time through the work under the scheme referred to above. The crossed seed can be produced at the cost of only a few annas an ounce either by a Government farm or by the All India Spinners' Association.

NOTES AND NEWS

ASSAULT ON VINOBAJI

The nation is distressed to hear about the attack on Vinobaji, at God's shrine at Deoghar by the temple priests. As Vinobaji's statement appears in this issue nothing need be said further.

President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in a message to Vinobaji says: "Distressed to hear about the dastardly attack on Acharyaji and members of his party. It is a repetition of history and a challenge to civilisation."

There is the latest comforting news that for the first time in history, Harijans, both men and women, entered the ancient Baidyanath Temple in batches of fifty on the morning of 25th Sept. Thus the famous temple, which enshrines one of the twelve great 'Lingams' of India, was thrown open to Harijans.

"GANDHI AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY"

Our readers will be familiar with the reprint of Mr. Wilfred Wellock's brochure with the above title by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur, priced at 12 As. This has been well received in the press all over India. We are quoting below the review of the book by "The Hindu," Madras, in its issue dated 6-9-'53:—

"In this well-written and thoughtful book, Mr. Wellock summarises the re-

thinking of the Gandhian programme that followed the World Pacifist meeting at Santiniketan in 1949. Mr. Wellock interprets non-violence as freedom from fear while Truth is identified with God. In the social sphere, Gandhiji believed that peace could be secured by national self-sufficiency, decentralisation, small-scale industries and creative Basic education. Clearly this is not the programme that is being worked out by the present Government although the Congress as an organisation still lays emphasis on the "constructive programme." Mr. Wellock believes that Gandhiji was the most profound social revolutionary of our time and that he found the way out of the impasse created by the novel materialist ideologies of the western world, viz., capitalism and Communism, neither of which can bring mankind real satisfaction."

SARVODAYA BOOK CLUB

Some friends have suggested to us to start a Book-club attached to the "Sarvodaya" from which members will be able to get books related to Sarvodaya ideology, particularly of costly group by circulation through post. There is indeed a real need for a circulating library of this kind.

It may be possible to organise it but the main problem is the fund for buying books and to meet the current expense for the staff to manage this section. We hope that the Sarva Seva Sangh will provide some fixed capital for each year to be invested for this. But the managing expense will have to be borne by the members of the club. Some cash deposit from members and annual subscription may be necessary. If we can be assured of a minimum of a hundred subscribers to start with the Sarvodaya Book Club can be organised early. We invite proposals from those interested in this regarding the cash deposit and subscription amount that may be reasonably fixed within the capacity of the members.

JAIPRAKASH'S IMPRESSIONS ON TAMIL NAD

At the conclusion of Sri Jai Prakash's Bhoodan tour in Tamil Nad in August he made a statement at a press conference in Madras from which the following may be specially mentioned:—

"I had a very fruitful fifteen days' tour of seven districts of Tamilnad in connection with the Bhoodan Yagna. Sri Kamaraj Nadar was with me during the greater part of the tour. Without Sri Nadar's powerful support, the tour could not have been the success that it was. His association with tour emphasised the fact that the Bhoodan movement was above parties. Apart from the lands collected, the joint tour emphasised the fact that the movement was above parties and it aimed at mobilising the people, irrespective of sectional differences, for fulfilling a positive purpose. The minds of our people, both in the North and the South, are distracted by conflicting and contrary voices, and, because, in spite of the dust of controversy, nothing gets done, negativism and cynicism are growing. Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement, by making it possible to achieve by popular initiative immediate positive results, serves to turn the minds of the people to healthy constructive channels. It is like

the burst of a cool shower over a parched and hungry land.

"After many years I had this opportunity of establishing immediate contact with the Tamil country. I cannot adequately describe how impressed I have been by the beauty and grace of Tamilnad and the culture and courtesy of its people. It has become clear to me more than ever before that if we have to understand India, her history and her culture, there must be a deeper understanding of Tamilnad and its people."

THE KHED SATYAGRAHA IN PARDI TALUK

The Khed Satyagraha in Pardi Taluk in Gujarat, Gandhiji's province, started by the Praja-Socialist Party in Gujarat strikes a discordant note in the atmosphere created in the country by Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna during the last two years. We are giving below the views of Vinobaji on the subject appearing in "The Indian Nation":—

"Arising out of reports in a section of the Bombay Press that Acharya Vinoba Bhave has requested Sri Ashok Mehta to call off the Pardi Satyagraha, the Acharya's Secretary, Nirmala Deshpande, today issued the following account of a speech made by him on September 9 at Jhajha on Pardi Satyagraha:—

"Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the speech at Jhajha on September 9 referred to the 'Satyagraha' launched at Pardi by Sri Ashok Mehta to solve the land problem facing the people of that tehsil and expressed his deep concern over the issue involved there and regretted the happenings. He said Sri Mehta had written to him saying that their movement was based on the principles of non-violence and was going on peacefully.

"Acharya Bhave said that the whole issue would have been averted if the situation had been tackled carefully in the beginning.

"Expressing his surprise, he said that the whole issue pinched him more because the happenings had taken place in Gandhiji's home province. Not only that,

Acharya Bhave said, but the Chief Minister of the State, the people and Ashok Mehta, their leader, were all believers in non-violence. Sri Ashok Mehta had written to him to say that there was no demand for immediate land redistribution, but that they had only asked for the appointment of a committee of enquiry to look into the claims and rival claim.

"Acharya Bhave opined that there should be no difficulty in constituting such an inquiry committee. He urged the Zamindars of Gujarat to come forward and donate land liberally following the example of Bihar."

ALL-INDIA BEE-KEEPERS' CONFERENCE

The Secretary of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, Bombay, writes in the course of a press communication:—

"With a view to survey the present position of bee-keeping industry and to explore the possibilities of its expansion, it is proposed by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board to hold a conference of representatives of State Governments as well as those of the institutions interested in the bee-keeping industry throughout the country. Along with other subjects relating to the industry the programme of work to be undertaken by the Board during the year 1954-55 in respect of the industry will be discussed at the proposed conference."

TO CONTRIBUTORS

We are thankful to several friends who send articles on Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna. As the space is too limited for the varied subjects of the journal we would appeal to them to make their articles brief touching only on new features of the Yagna, as many aspects of Bhoodan Yagna have been exhaustively presented in Vinobaji's speeches and other

articles appearing in the "Sarvodaya" from time to time.

SARVA SEVA SANGH

The Board of The Sarva Seva Sangh met at Khadi-Gram in Bihar on the 4th and 5th September, '53. Sri R. R. Keithahn's resignation of his membership of the Board was accepted. It was resolved to accept the offer of the Sevagram Ashram to merge itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh. Even after merging, the Ashram will retain its characteristics and individuality as it was conducted till now. Under the advice of Vinobaji the Ashram was observing the principle of avoiding the use of money and meeting all its requirements through the labour of its inmates or gifts from outside in the form of labour like hand-spun yarn etc.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The "Sarvodaya" does not generally review books received but would simply acknowledge them with thanks. A few books are specially introduced to readers by publishing extracts from them in the "Sarvodaya" Tamil and English monthlies. We acknowledge receipt of the following with thanks:—

Handbook of Youths' Hostels in India — Price Re. 1. Available from **Mr. R. G. Padke, B. A.,** Secretary, Youth Hostels Association of India, 2796, Chamundipuram, Mysore.

The Hand-loom Weaving Industry 1952-53 Annual — Editor: **M. P. Gandhi;** Published by Messrs. M. P. Gandhi & Co., Jan Mansion, Sir Pherooshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay-1. Price 1-8-0.

Bhoodan Yagna — By Acharya Vinoba. Published by Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 1-8-0.

BHOODAN WORKERS' CAMP

A five-days' camp will be held in a village in Tanjore Dt. in Tamil Nad from 10th to 15th October for the workers of Tamil districts. Sri Vallabhsami and Sri Dada Dharmadhikari will talk to the workers.

SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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A MESSAGE FOR SARVODAYA

Received from the President on perusal of the Bound Volume of "Sarvodaya" for 1952-53



RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
New Delhi.

25th September 1953.

"Mahatma Gandhi is no longer in our midst but continues to be a living force. He has left us a rich legacy in the shape of his speeches and writings. It is now being gradually realized that the salvation of this war-torn world lies in following the footsteps of Gandhiji. The idea therefore of compiling typical speeches and articles embodying his philosophy and publishing them is indeed commendable, as they would serve as a beacon-light to the present and future generations."

Rajendra Prasad

Gandhiji on Isha Upanishad

"Bapu wrote out the whole of Isha Upanishad.

"I asked him why.

"He said, 'I wish to learn it ~~at~~ heart. We cannot carry a big tome from place to place, but this copy will be quite handy.'"

From The Diary of Mahadev Desai

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aim to be a Foremost Communist

MAHATMA GANDHI

THE REAL DIFFERENCE

Question:— "What is the real difference between your technique and that of the communists or the socialists for realizing the goal of economic equality?"

Gandhi: "The socialists and communists say they can do nothing to bring about the economic equality today. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, when they get control over the state, they will enforce equality. Under my plan, the state will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or to force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view, by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view, but, will straight away make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about the economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty motor-cars or even of ten big has of land. For that, I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost communist, although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They have no hold on me and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it."

PLACE OF SATYAGRAHA ON LAND PROBLEM

Question: "What is the place of satyagraha in making the rich realize their duty towards the poor?"

Gandhi: "The same as against the foreign power. Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family, its use can be extended to every other circle. Supposing, a land-owner exploits his tenants and mulcts them of the fruit of their toil by appropriating it to his own use. When they expostulate with him, he does not listen and raises objections that he requires so much for his wife, so much for his children and so on. The tenants or those who have espoused their cause and have influence will make an appeal to his wife to expostulate with her husband. She would probably say that for herself she does not need his exploited money. The children will say likewise that they would earn for themselves what they need.

"Supposing further, that he listens to nobody, or that his wife and his children combine against the tenants, they will not submit. They will quit if asked to do so, but they will make it clear that the land belongs to him who tills it. The owner cannot till all the land himself and he will have to give in to their just demands. It, however, may be that the tenants are replaced by others. Agitation short of violence will then continue, till the replacing tenants see their error and make common cause with the evicted tenants. The satyagraha is a process of educating public opinion, such that it covers all the elements of society and in the end makes itself irresistible. Violence interrupts the process and prolongs the real revolution of the whole social structure."

From Mahatma - Vol VII - by D. G. Tendulkar,
originally published by the Times of India

GANDHI JAYANTI IN ENGLAND

WILFRED WELLOCK'S SPEECH

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated at Kingsley Hall in London's East End when Sri B. G. Kher, India's High Commissioner, unveiled Mahatma's portrait. Mr. Wilfred Wellock paid a tribute to Mahatma as the "Greatest Spirit of our Age." Here is the full report of his speech kindly sent by Mr. Wellock himself for Sarvodaya.

As an Englishman I am greatly honoured in being asked to address an Indian, or predominantly Indian, audience on the subject of Gandhi. I would like to speak on the message of Gandhi to the modern world, and it may be that a Westerner can throw sidelights on that subject which would not occur to an Indian.

When, many, many years ago I first became impressed by the sayings and doings of Gandhi, and later when I came to the conclusion that undoubtedly Gandhi was the greatest spirit of our age, I was puzzled to discover the secret of his greatness. I said "he is not a great litterateur, nor is he a great philosopher, indeed he never even attempted to formulate his teaching into a system or philosophy. Neither had he the brain of a great mathematician, or of an outstanding scientific discoverer. Yet during his lifetime he profoundly influenced the minds, the lives and the daily conduct of a larger number of people than any other person, prophet, priest or king had done since the dawn of civilisation."

What was the secret of that power? It was, I think, the discovery that Truth is the gateway to LIFE, that applied TRUTH is LIFE, and that TRUTH LIFE and GOD are one. The next thing was to discover the content, or soul, of TRUTH, and this Gandhi found in self-outpouring self-giving or service. He

discovered, that is to say, that they who give or lose their life in love, for the sake of righteousness, justice and love, will alone reap LIFE in all its fulness. Thereafter Gandhiji sacrificed his possessions, all the things for which most people in this decadent, materialistic age clamour, material goods, private fortune and estate,



even family and friends, in order that he might serve TRUTH, and incidentally, India, free India by the sheer elevation of her soul. And Gandhiji embodied this TRUTH so completely in his own life that he drew the soul of India towards him, and thus towards the TRUTH he served.

The people thus came to him in their thousands and asked "What shall we do?" And he told them, literally inviting them to take the way of suffering, of the jail; and they obeyed him gladly. He thus became Mahatma, the saviour of his people. Consequently he lived in the atmosphere of a spiritualised India which he had done more than any other person to produce. That exalted spiritual India was his inheritance, his wealth. Hence while being as poor as the outcasts in material things, in things spiritual he was the richest man in India.

But TRUTH for Gandhiji was not an abstraction, as I have stated, but a means of liberating the spirit of man from every kind of bondage. There was the bondage of possessions, and there was the bondage of unjust national Rule.

SARVODAYA

sought to achieve both these in greatest measure. The latter was won completely so far as foreign rule was concerned, but not wholly so far as the Indian nation was concerned. Hence the latter struggle had to be continued after the former struggle had achieved its purpose.

Gandhiji's long-term objective concerned the future structure of political, economic, industrial and social India. To this subject he had given a great deal of thought. As early as 1908, in his booklet *Indian Home Rule*, he had exposed and denounced the whole scheme of Western Industrialism, and stated that India must never copy that degrading system. It was evil because it reduced man to the status of the machine, to a mechanistic instrument of mass production for the capture of foreign markets and the making of high profits. He wanted a system which had free, creative human beings at its centre, whose complete development should be the primary end of all industrial enterprise. To this end, small communities, small work-shops and small-scale machines were absolutely essential.

Many in the West are at last realising how right Gandhiji was in all this. They see that the mass production of goods inevitably means the production of the mass man, with a mass mind, and who, after labouring all day, week, and year, like machine, finds all his pleasures in the spending of money, having lost the power to entertain himself by the exercise of his creative powers, his skill and imagination. The West to-day boasts of its high standards of living. Yet Britain fears a situation in which she will be unable to capture sufficient foreign markets to purchase her food and raw material supplies. Out of this fear comes militarism, totalitarian conflicts, and world wars. At the same time the British People spend 30% of their total national income on militarism, alcoholic drink, tobacco, mass sport, drugs and cosmetics. Thus the salvation of the West no less than of the East lies in such

an economy as Gandhiji outlined in his Constructive Programme.

To humanise the Industrialism of the West will be a bigger task than starting from the bottom in applying Gandhiji's Constructive Programme in India. Therefore I think it lies in India's power to develop a new pattern of civilisation which the whole world will perceive is the only alternative to extinction by means of atomic warfare.



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ON

VINOBA, A MAHAPURUSHA



You have then the question of distribution of land. Reforms for the abolition of zamindaris and jagirdaris have been undertaken and have been put through already. In the last few years, a Mahapurusha (Acharya Vinoba Bhave) has been carrying on the Bhoodan Yagna and he has been going from village to village, collecting land for distribution among the landless poor. He has also preached the importance of land-gift and gift of work (Bhoodan and Shramadan).



MAHATMA'S MESSAGE

We should remember the ideals taught by Gandhiji, whose jayanti comes off tomorrow. He educated us politically and so under his leadership, we achieved freedom by a unique method. He had taught us the method of peace and non-violence. If we forget them, we lose everything and become weak. Peace and non-violence is essential for ordered progress.

From his speech at Madras on 2-10-'53
Jala Printing

Let Ganga of Bhoodan Be Flowing

— VINOBA —

Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yatra in Bihar is not deterred in any way by rains but he continues his walk. Nor are his prayer meetings drawing thousands of people affected by rains. The following is Vinobaji's recent post-prayer speech from Hindi on a rainy day.

It is a very sacred sight that we have gathered here for prayers even during these incessant rains. That you attended the prayer peacefully and attentively during these odd circumstances is a matter of joy to me.

Rains are a blessing of God. In our country on coronation occasions our Rajas and Maharajas bathed in waters fetched from different rivers. Rivers are gifts of God. They are holy. Yet they carry some mud with them which makes their water a little dirty. But the bath that

you have had just now was of crystal-clear water. God has showered upon us such divine water as had no touch of clay. This is a unique mercy of God upon our work. You well know that I have continued my tour during this rainy season. I thought that as God's grace expressed itself in the form of cold during the winters and that of heat during the summers, it expressed itself in the form of drops and showers during the rains. So when rivers continue to flow on, I ask myself, why should I interrupt my tour? So I go on. On several occasions we walked on for two to three hours com-

pletely wet and drenched. That encouraged us very much. I experienced in it the touch of God's hand as in the prayer today.



VINOBAJI ON THE EXTREME LEFT

As it rains drop by drop so also I want that drops of gifts should be made for Bhoodan Yagna, Sampattidan Yagna and Shramadan Yagna. But everybody should offer. Then this gigantic task would be quickly achieved. Some people doubt whether all would be inclined to offer gifts like this. I say: why not? Man is one who meditates. He grasps an idea and on the basis of idea he traverses

his life-journey. Should we explain a right idea to all, there would be none who would not be inspired to make the gift. Once upon a time none could ever imagine that steam power could run the trains. But there came a scientist who discovered that power which was later utilized all over the world. After all what is steam? Well, it is simply nothing. But after the researches of that scientist came to be known that tremendous power hidden in it. We do not yet have a full estimate of the power hidden in man. Hence this doubt. But as the researches in the domain of soul or spirit

are carried out man's one power after another would be revealed to us. This is termed as 'Avatar' or incarnation. Incarnation means the manifestation of a power residing in the heart of man. When that power appeared as resolve for truth it expressed itself in the form of Ramachandra. When that power appeared as detached selfless activity or Nishkama-karma-Yoga it took the form of Sri Krishna and when it appeared as one of compassion we recognized the incarnation of Buddha. This recognition of an incarnation in an individual is due to man's dependence on his senses which require some object to look at. Hence man frames forms. In fact Rama, Krishna or Buddha were no incarnations. They were but manifestations of resolve for truth, detached selfless activity and love. Wherever such power of humanity appeared there was an 'Avatar.' Later the idol worshipping man entered the scene. The idol facilitated him in his worship. But the incarnation is not of the body but of the feeling of the human heart. We have had greater 'Avatars' in proportion to the spiritual investigations. This is the process of the development of society.

If we believe that human soul has already developed to the fullest extent and no further manifestation of its power is possible, it would connote our narrowness of vision and ignorance. There is endless, unfathomable power in the soul. According to the situation and the need as also the call of the occasion a new power is revealed.

On their advent in India the British established their rule and brought about a havoc. It was to disarm the whole country. India then faced the problem that either she should remain a slave for eternity or some such power should be discovered as could face the British without arms and release her from bondage. So when the situation demanded it there was the discovery of non-violent resistance and Satyagraha. Mahatma Gandhi became a symbol of it. I have often said

that if he were not there somebody else would have become that symbol. But the discovery of this power was destined to take place. It was sheerly inevitable. It was the call of the situation and of the age.

People realized that non-violence contained mighty strength, so mighty as to be able to face a gigantic Government and to make it quit. Besides it showed its own magic, which is this: a relation of love was established between the oppressor and the oppressed. The oppressor ceased to be oppressor and the oppressed ceased to be oppressed and both became friends. Thus there was the manifestation of a power and, as you all know, we attained Swarajya. There have been many other attempts for Swarajya in history but in case of India it was a special discovery because it manifests a new power of the human heart. After Swarajya the work before India is of the attainment of economic freedom, removal of poverty and establishment of Samya-yoga. Therefore a discovery of that power should also take place in the economic field. And that is taking place. There is no doubt about it.

I, therefore, appeal to you not to say that what has not yet happened cannot ever take place. God has given us birth for that very reason. Had human life accomplished all that was worthwhile and there was nothing new to be done God would not have given us life. Either he would have wiped us out or given us salvation. But he had in his store new activity for us and therefore he has charged us with the responsibility of discovering the new gem of strength by diving deep in the sea of the soul. That is why everybody, even like drops of rains, can give me gifts.

So far there has been no particular place where everybody would have given me gifts like rain drops. But that is going to happen now. I think that if I ask people whether law can solve the problem they would say that it can. But

I say what law is. Law means people's will-power expressed through their elected representatives. Hence law is a power of the people. Now if people can follow a law made by their own self why will they not follow the law made by God? That law is that of love. We always experience it in our life. It is nursed by love and at the last hour the love-thirsty man gets happy on meeting love. Thus the beginning, middle and end of life are all based on love and it is love that human creature cherishes. Mothers feed their babes without law and so many people lead a life of love without law. I, therefore, ask that if love forms such an essential part of our being then why should it not express itself in the form of gifts of land and wealth for the poor brethren as a matter of right and religion? Why would not we take to parting with gifts without law? Nobody is prepared to answer this question of mine. I believe that if law, an expression of the hidden will of man, can accomplish something, love, an expression of the open will of man, can surely accomplish much more

and nay, will do so instantaneously, early and beautifully. Those who have this fundamental faith innate in them can have no misgivings. As darkness does not stay before a lamp this problem will not stay before us. I hold that if we could explain this idea to the society it would accept it immediately. That thing is there in its soul. In case it is against the nature of the soul, man would grasp it neither by dint of legal force nor that of death. On the other hand when such a thing is being undertaken as in the nature of the soul and in the very fitness of things or circumstances, the only need is to explain it to the people. Explaining will serve the purpose. It is this faith which has brought me here. People are giving gifts. What I have already got could not be expected in such a short time. I trust that Ganga has begun flowing and this Ganga will go on flowing.

I am sure that by God's blessings, your co-operation and force of natural circumstances, this land problem would be solved by 1957.



Bhagalpur Bhoodan Workers' Conference

Vinobaji is concentrating all his attention in Bihar to realise the target of 32 lakhs of acres of land for solving the problem of the landless in Bihar. There was a conference of 200 workers of Bhagalpur Dt. in Sultanganj on 11-10-'53 when Vinobaji, Sri Jaiprakash Narain and Acharya Kripalani spoke on Bhoodan. The press report from the "Searchlight" dated 16-10-'53 is given below.

VINOBAJI

Addressing a largely attended prayer meeting in the evening Vinobaji said that through Bhoodan work he had laid the foundation of "Samya-Yoga" on the basis of which he had visualised to build up the future society.

"In Samya-Yogi Samaja - Rachana villages would have independence in their affairs of development, full and equal

ownership on the village land; no idea of fixing grade and judging status of man on the basis of wages earned by him; full scope for all-sided development of an individual and society will act as trustee for the wealth of the country" not only the humanitarian aspect of service is included in Bhoodan Yagna but it wants to create such an atmosphere in the society in which the question of service to humanity would not at all arise.

ACHARYA KRIPALANI

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Chairman of the P. S. P., who arrived earlier in the morning speaking next said that along with religious outlook Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna had also a clear vision of bringing out an economic and political revolution in this country.

"Wealth of the country is not only an outcome of brains of capitalists but it is mainly the product of the labour by the labourers and so the entire wealth of the country belongs to the society," he declared.

Appreciating the progress made in Bhoodan Yagna work he hoped that Government would take Bhoodan Yagna as a non-violent revolution and would pay its attention to it, if it wanted to be profited.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan, who also arrived here in the morning along with Acharya Kripalani, addressing the meeting said that almost every country in the world to-day was passing through a state of revolution and that revolution, he pointed out, aimed at establishing equality everywhere in society.

Describing the two ways, one with violence and the other of non-violence by which a social revolution could be brought in, he said that countries like Russia and China were the believers in violent revolutions.

About Russia he pointed out that the country formed a people's Government through violent revolution 36 years ago. Russian people focussed the attention of the whole world by saying that they were successful in establishing equality.

They declared at the top of their voice that they had established classless society in their country. But to what effect? Instead of required results Russia today after Stalin's death was faced with group politics

Power there remained in the hands of a few Military bosses. Politics of that place was being handled by generals and commandars like Malenkov, he said.

They might have been successful in stopping the growth of capitalism to some extent but they had not succeeded in establishing classless society. He substantiated his argument by saying that people in Russia were not enjoying the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by their military Bigs and police chiefs.

In the above context he requested people to judge the effects of violent revolution and said the other way open for bringing out social revolution was of non-violence.

Reviewing India's heroic fight for freedom Shri Jayaprakash said that one time he also believed that great feat was achieved through violence. English rulers left this land out of fear from bombs thrown at them and from movements like 1942 and I. N. A.

To certain extent, he continued, these happenings contributed to Britisher's withdrawal from this land. But now he felt that India had attained her freedom because of her 'Jan Shakti' that continued fighting non-violently under the able leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

He would therefore like the youths of country not to get themselves dazzled and puzzled by the so-called success of violent revolutions in other countries. "Change towards good must come from within," he said.

He urged people to work actively for Bhoodan Yagna by means of bringing out a silent social revolution in this country.

"If we are able to solve the land problem of this country by peaceful means India will stand as an ideal country in this world. It will set an example before the world that acute problems can be solved through non-violence.

**IDEAL OF SELF-RESTRIANT****C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR**

This is Rajaji's inaugural speech at the Second All-India Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom held at Madras on 13-9-'53 on the cultural background of India based "on the central idea of self-control as laid down in the Upanishads and the Bhagavat Gita and emphasised, with the whole force of a political revolution behind it, by Mahatma Gandhi."

Culture is not just art or literature or dancing or music or painting as it prevails among a people. It is the pattern of behaviour generally accepted by a people. Culture is very far from freedom. No man of culture feels free. He imposes on himself all sorts of restraints. So then, the culture of a people is the pattern of restraints which that people have as a whole, after trial and error through generations, settled down to accept in the interests of social order and happiness. There is joy and pride in the acceptance of such restraints and no resentment or pain. In that sense there is freedom in culture as an essential part.

It is this which distinguishes culture from state regulation. State-regulation began as a protest against the anarchy created by indiscriminate individual freedom and the greed and competition that resulted from it. The practice of State-regulation has resulted in the discovery of several evils in the remedy worse than the disease. In the cycle of human progress, the slogan of 'freedom' has therefore been raised as a counter to excessive State-regulation. The one comes from America and the other from Moscow. But neither the slogan of 'Freedom' nor the slogan of 'State-regulation' can solve the difficulties of humanity. The right slogan is 'Self-control' and that is the message of Indian philosophy and the culture that can be claimed by India as its own.

Every culture is based on a and bound up with a definite idea. The culture of Greece was bound up with the sense of beauty. The culture of Rome

was developed round the sense of order and law. The culture of India is built round the central idea of self-control. The way of life, the pattern of behaviour accepted as correct and esteemed by the people of India as worthy, by the common folk as well as by the enlightened, is the way of self-control as laid down in the Upanishads and the Bhagavat Gita and emphasised, with the whole force of a political revolution behind it, by Mahatma Gandhi.

Therefore, before we discuss culture in the Indian background, it is necessary to dwell on the essentials of it even if it may seem we are using the occasion for a religious discourse. The first two verses of Isavasya Upanishad, put it down in simple and brief language: God pervades everything in this world.

Isaavasyamidam sarvam yatkincha
Jagatyam Jagat

Dedicate everything to Him while doing the things you do and enjoying the things you possess. Do not entertain covetous desires.

Tena tyaktena bhunjiitha maa
gridha Kasyaswadhanam

Life involves necessarily activity and work. Work involves necessarily some evil or other, particularly attachment to the fruits of activity. If one must work, as one must live, there is no other way to escape the contamination of evil, except by dedication of all activities to the all-pervading Supreme Spirit.

Kurvanneveha karmani
Jijiivishetchatam samaah.
Evam thvayi naanyathetosti
Nakarma lipyate nare.

Whatever you do, do it as an act of dedication to God, be it small or be it

big, whether it is a trivial business, or a thing of great and general importance. This is how Brother Lawrence is said to have lived. Even when cooking or scrubbing the floor or cleaning the vessels, he did his work in company with his God. He worked and he laughed with God by his side.

There is a soul in the body that functions in the material world. He who denies the soul and identifies it with the body and thus kills his own soul, will find the world all dark and without any light to guide his steps.

Asuryaa naama te'lokaa andhena
Tamasaavritaah
Taanste' pre'tyaabhi gachchanti
Ye' ke' chaatmahano' janaah

Why? Because their minds are led by desires and will wander into evil and grief. The soul can conquer the wandering mind and the senses. It can control the senses and prevent their attachment to sensuous pleasures which leads men to ruin. All that one thinks to be other than oneself, moving or unmoving, near or far should be seen and realised to be part of oneself. The sense of separation from those around you should be overcome.

Yastu sarvani bhuutanyaatmanyeh
van nupachyati
Sarvabhute'shu chaatmaanam tato
na vijugupsate'

What I have explained is a rendering of the six verses of the Isavasya Upanishad and it is also the teaching of the Gita. The Upanishad proceeds to explain that, by the result of the life and discipline taught therein, one will attain equanimity and reach knowledge and the power of enjoying all that comes to one to the best advantage. You will thereby, says the Upanishad, properly enjoy the things of enjoyment for years and years; that is in the right way and not leading to pain and grief.

Yaathaataathyatah Arthaan Vyadadhaat
Saasvatiibhya Samaabhya.

All Indian culture is bound up with this doctrine of self-control, based on a

recognition of the existence and the functioning of a soul pervading the material casement.

Civilisation in modern times has developed into and identified itself with man's control over his environment, man's control over nature. In the pursuit of this objective, civilisation has forgotten the prime requisite for happiness, viz., control over oneself. We have learnt very greatly how to control nature; but we have not learnt how to control ourselves. Control over nature and nature's environment has extended beyond all expectations and has in recent years, spread out to a dangerous field, viz., to the obtaining of psychological power over the minds of men and women. Humanity is reduced to the condition of material nature and the rulers of the world have developed a technique to control the minds of men and women, as they have succeeded in controlling material nature. The attempt to control the minds of men and women, as if they were raw materials like coal and iron, took shape in Hitlerism and Communism.

If civilisation means happiness, this must not be permitted. If men and women are reduced to something like coal and iron, where are the moral values, the weights and measures by which we judge progress and civilisation? Moral values cannot be allowed to become the playthings of psychological technique.

The culture of a people is essentially the prevailing pattern of joyous restraint accepted by the people. If this is so, what then does freedom of culture, for which your organisation stands, mean? Does your conception of freedom contradict self-restraint? I think not. I consider the slogan of your organisation means only this—that restraint should be developed from within, in accordance with truth, to replace the restraints that are imposed by the State. Truth is another name for moral values. Truth should not be sacrificed at the altar of other objectives.

It is to this, I think, you give the name of cultural freedom. Freedom does not mean licence, absence of self-restraint. No one can be free of the restraints imposed by moral values.

Now, Hitler claimed when he was in power and the Communists claim that truth is not an inviolable temple. Their activities, past and present, are based on the conviction that truth is just what we agree to be truth and nothing more permanent than that. This cannot be accepted. When you stand for freedom of culture, I presume you claim that no direction should be given to culture in disregard of the respect that is due to truth, that is, in disregard of moral values.

Now, there are some who argue that truth continually grows; that it is not static; that it is ever a matter for further research and therefore there is no sense in talking about the absolute essentiality of regard for truth or for moral values. I agree that the truth is not entirely disclosed to man, but there is such a thing as an essential, unalterable desire to seek the truth and unqualified respect for what we, for the time being, believe to be the truth. The opposite approach is that we do not know the ultimate truth and therefore, what the ruling party has decided to be good for the people is the truth.

What I most dislike in Communism is the deterioration it works in moral values and the respect for truth. When regulations lose the life-giving governance of moral values and when indoctrination is deemed lawful and proper, in order that some objective may be reached, then there is loss of freedom which your organisation and all of us deplore. And this is what happens when Communism is allowed to rule. This is what we have in mind when we say that freedom is lost in Communist-ruled countries.

God is dethroned in those countries as the first necessary step to dethrone Truth and in order that nothing may stand in the way of whatever the ruling

party decides, on such data as are accepted by them, as good for the people. In fact 'the people' is a phrase that has, with the Communists, replaced moral values. Of all the slogans that I dislike, I dislike most this misleading slogan of 'the people.' It is sought to replace every moral value, everything sacred. Even justice in judicial matters is, according to the Communists, justice only when an indoctrinated crowd shouts it. The party that has got hold of power makes the people what they are, if not in one generation in two or three. And this was sought to be done secretly before, but it is openly done now. In fact, it is acclaimed to be lawful education. The difference between culture as we understand it and culture as developed in Communist countries consists in this—that we respect truth and have regard for moral values which are deemed inviolable.

It may be that everything is relative and we have to be content with truth as we know or believe it to be. But it is something to love what we regard as truth. It is disgusting altogether to shape life, not caring for moral values. You know that a child grows. It will be in course of time quite different from what it is now. But you love it with all your heart. You do not stint in your love or in your attention because the child will grow into a big man later on. Truth grows, but we must love it at all stages and not regard it as an illusion. I consider that this is the meaning of the slogan of 'freedom' by which this organisation swears.

But for my own part, I would love it that, instead of making 'freedom' the banner of our struggle against Communism, we set up self-control, that is, the restraint of our activities based on moral values, as our banner standard. Not freedom which may deteriorate into licence and anarchy, not State regulation which may deteriorate into tyranny, but 'self-control' is the right slogan. As against the culture of unrestrained liberty

which is the slogan on one side and the culture of all-round State-regulation which is the slogan on the other side, India stands for self-control, which is neither freedom nor regulation from outside. This is what Gandhi stood for, what the Bhagawat Gita preached and what was solemnly voiced forth in the ancient Upanishads. This alone will save the world from anarchy, as well as from the slavery of totalitarianism. To cultivate self-control, faith in Divine rule is an indispensable, pre-requisite condition of mind; without it, we may talk of self-control but it is not possible. It is

THE WESTERN MISTAKE

RICHARD ANDREWS, M. D., M. R. C. S.,

[This note has resulted out of a reference to our "Sarvodaya" magazine and dictated to his grandson Mr. J. Dennis, M. P. S., Pharmacist, Norfolk, England, who is a registered Sevak of the Sarvodaya Samaj and a subscriber to Sarvodaya]

Very few Europeans, and scarcely anyone who was born and educated elsewhere, can understand the mistake that took the vitality out of us all and made the disasters of the 20th century inevitable. What is worse, no one seems anywhere near a way back, except perhaps in India.

My grandson here in Norfolk is one of thousands, or millions, who are all too well aware of the consequences. These are to be seen every hour here in Norwich. The first world war, the mad twenties, the unemployment of the thirties, the second war, are only part of one process. One symptom of that, is the bottle of pherobarbitone tablets on the dispensing bench in the chemist's shop, and the rest of the sorry tale of illnesses the Health Service cannot cure.

I first noticed this sort of mistake fifty years ago. I can put it in a few words now.

Mr. Bushell goes to the factory. Every day he works, he does the same sort of thing.

It seems easy and when he gets home there are dozens of things he wants to do. He never catches up with them and so he goes to the cinema, uses the Radio or the Television to escape from the clamour of

only when based on faith in Divine rule that self-control will be a joy and a fulfilment and progressively increase, instead of being pain and travail and remaining so all the time.

The culture of India is based on and bound up with self-control. It is the characteristic fundamental of Indian thought. It is this alone that can establish true freedom, not to be confused with the free play of individual ambitions. It is self-restraint, control from within that makes art truly artistic, beauty beautiful and order orderly and enjoyable. ★

his own thoughts. Almost everyone in every Western country is dissatisfied with his own achievements.

So he wants mental things. He does not know how to find and instead he buys distraction; I have seen men like Mr. Bushell, in London, in New York, in Manchester, in Moscow and even in Delhi. You can see this disease wherever people look up to Americans or English, rich men. The Communists make this mistake as badly as capitalists.

It is easy to want things, easy to believe you deserve them. Then to want more still, becomes inevitable.

It was a Sadhu, who came to the part of Mongolia where I lived (from 1908 to 1948), who showed us an Indian way.

He had walked, knowing that nothing is impossible if you can live with yourself right across Tibet.

Now in England in 1953 I can see the way of wanting too much, believing you deserve it and driving *yourself* too hard makes this a country of neurotics.

Lonely neurotics, who cannot see the way out is to live and share with people you know, and set a limit to wanting; a limit to responsibility too.

If you can show how to live, people even in England will use it. ★

BHOODAN—A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

— Miss PAT. McMAHON —

Miss Pat. McMahon, an American lady, joined Vinobaji's party in Sept., 1952 and has been since following Vinobaji in his Bihar tour. She has learned a great deal and is now working in the villages of Gaya for Bhoodan. Vinobaji admiring her courage and spirit of service said in one of his post-prayer speeches "My daughter Pat has travelled thousands of miles to come to India observing our daily routine and wonderfully adjusted herself to the Indian way of life. She has set an example before our workers." This is an article written by Miss Pat. for a Japanese paper.

In 1951, I left the University of Michigan discouraged and alarmed by world events. As a student of social psychology, I was determined to find why India, the most poverty stricken country, could find strength for a bloodless revolution, a detached foreign policy and an active self-improvement programme while most 'have-not' countries were still oppressed and involved in violent dissension.

After arriving in India in order to find my education through practical experience, I have lived in institutions, worked with students building a village road, with a teacher and primary pupils constructing a mud school, and lastly and most important, travelled over 2,000 miles with Vinoba Bhave's land collection movement, going on foot through villages, jungles, cities, centres of ancient culture; living in temples, schools and homes.

From these efforts has come the knowledge of a more advanced way of life, the simplicity of the old village culture where people welcome strangers as they welcome their children, the selfless idealism of the villager giving land to the poor, the loving attention of the family for its young. Of course, unpleasant knowledge has come as well of purdah, bigoted people who consider work undignified, landlords treated as Gods, Indians turned against their countrymen adopting the values of the British.

But once awhile some moving experience newly reminds me with a shock

that there is a force stirring in this country that may jolt the world. A few days ago, a thin man in yellowed, once white clothes, his skin and bones showing through the tears, bowed before Vinoba and presented all the land to be given to the poor. When the poor can give to the poorer, leaving themselves nothing but their strength to do other work, what greater motivation and trust are necessary?

In this age of wary scepticism, we find the new hope that in days of facing great social problems we shall stand about like men in a burning house, each unwilling to burn himself putting out the fire that is about to consume all. In India one man assumed the responsibility for 'putting out the fire.' To solve the problems facing India children unclothed, unfed, villagers digging little pits in dry river beds to find clean water, walking a mile to bring water from slimy green pools, men without land and without work, Vinoba Bhave has taken drastic steps which leave no doubt about his sincerity.

He has left his home forever to walk until land is distributed to the poor. He will take land, wealth, or labour donations from the poor as well as the rich. If he does not receive the first time, he or his workers will go again and again. Every individual has a right to those things that are necessary to his survival. Eating is as necessary as breathing and drinking; water, air and sunlight are free, why not land? And how can the rich refuse, when the poor give?

He accepts any workers, of any background or beliefs. He asks them to consider themselves first as human beings. Members of all India's parties have come to him, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists. Many have told him that these people are working in this movement to gain prestige. His reply was "Let them come. There is no harm in prestige from good work. Need I go and ask them?"

It has been my luck to observe one of the most successful attempts in applied social psychology of the age. Vinoba Bhave has not only managed to get dissenting parties to co-operate towards the same goal and settled innumerable disputes, but now that the movement has gained momentum, in less than three weeks he has gathered 3,70,000 acres of land. Approximately 70,000 peasants living near starvation, shall be able to grow their own food, wells are being dug, bullocks and labour have been given for land reclamation.

As we tramp along the road, we are met by large arches of mango leaves, handed garlands deafened by blasts of long pipe-stemmed horns, peacock tailed drums, conch shells, singing and shouting.

Between villages we meet people on their way to market, peasants in the field, pilgrims on their way to religious festivals. After a morning walk of 10 or 15 miles, we stop in a village, city or town, and local people give us our breakfast and go travelling from village to village, or house to house, bringing forms describing the land given. Crowds of people stand in the windows, doors watching us as we work. In the evening there are meetings of a few hundreds or a hundred thousands and the names of the donors or villagers will be read.

Leaving this movement will be jumping from a running train. Every day brings a new idea, a new experience. A movement that was once only one man's determined to undertake his nation's problems, though he might accomplish little and it should take until the day of his death, is now a movement of the nation, with workers in every province giving a year of their time to speed up his programme. It has been a wonderful inspiration for me and for those who are discontented and disillusioned with 'magic' formulas, it stands a bright, new challenge.

From "Nagpur Times"

CONTROL ONE AND CONTROL ALL

Stars disappear one by one on the rising of the sun. Nobody fights individual stars. All of them vanish simultaneously. So also I do not indulge myself in small tasks which should be taken up by local people. Not involving oneself in small things produces strength. In the beginning nobody ever believed that I would be able to obtain land. But so much of this big task has been accomplished by now. The only reason for it is that my inclination has been, "control one, control all." Should I take to saying about small things that would be ineffective. I do not mean that you should not oppose these things. Only I want to keep myself away. If this mission of mine succeeds the poor would know that they would be so much powerful as to be able

to influence the Government. You would then have a Government of the poor. What is the position of the Government to-day? •

The other day Dr. Keskar told me that the Government too desired to ban cinemas. I have often said that cinema is producing characterless people. But he remarked that since public opinion was in favour of cinemas Government could do nothing in the matter. Surely, your Government which is a Government of public opinion can work effectively only when the public is powerful and their opinion strong. And if a Government repudiates public opinion and goes contrary to it that Government would cease to be and would be replaced by another. ★

(From Hindi)

— VINOBA

★ Educationally Productive Work ★

DR. ZAKIR HUSSAIN

The following is a profound contribution on Gandhiji's Nai Talim or Basic Education made by Dr. H. Zakir Hussain, the former President of the Talimi Sangh, during the deliberations in the Delhi Seminar in January, 1953, on Gandhian Outlook and Techniques presided over by Lord Boyd Orr. We are indebted to the report published by the Ministry of Education of the Government of India.

I thought since this question of Gandhian ideas about education had not come in for much discussion, I might be allowed to say something about this. It would be redundant to point out to this august group of people that education of the mind is essentially a process of revivifying in it the latent values contained in goods of culture. There are various types of mind and various types of cultural goods. The process of effective education demands a congruence and correspondence between the mind that has to be educated and the mind that produced the cultural goods which is the instrument of the former's education. To understand the nature of the process of assimilation, we should remember that the mental food offered by goods of culture can give real nutrition to the mind only through what I would call educationally productive work. That was Gandhiji's theory.

Education is possible only through educationally productive work, and that work to be productive should have certain social values. I use the word education to mean the cultivation of the mind. Let me say at the very outset that knowledge and skill are not synonymous with education. They are not even reliable measures of education. In order to make them serviceable as such measures, we must make a distinction. Knowledge, as you can easily see, can be of two kinds. You have knowledge acquired by someone else by his labour and passed on to us as information; or it can be knowledge acquired by us through our own experi-

ence, knowledge which has grown up in our minds by our own work. Similarly, skill can be of two varieties—it can be mechanical skill attained by imitative diligence capable of repeating existing values; or, it can be a non-mechanical skill based on natural disposition creating new values. The first kind of knowledge and the first kind of skill are additions from outside. The second, is an enrichment and a transformation from within. The first represents an external appendage, the second signifies an internal development. The first is instruction, the second is education. The first is mere superficial polish, the second is essential culture.

As long as education was integrally related with life and was not taken over by specialised agencies as a partial function, by and large, the second kind prevailed. But specialised institutions of education turned more and more to the first kind till those became their almost exclusive concern. This may be more true of our country, but it is generally true of all countries. But during the last fifty years or so there has been a strong reaction against this position. Attempts have been made to bring productive work, creative activity, purposeful activity, and knowledge based on experience and discovery into the school. Our Indian scheme of Basic National Education is one of the most significant developments anywhere in the world in this direction. But as usually happens in most reactions, either the swing of the pendulum tends to go to the other extreme, or the adherents, of the old position, by clever

twists and turns, make the new position innocuous to themselves.

We should make sure as to what educationally productive work really is. Educationally productive work can be manual work; it can be mental work. There is a lot of manual work as well as mental work which is not educationally productive. Educationally productive work is all activity, manual or mental, which initiates new ideas and makes possible new combinations of ideas already present, with a view to reach a higher unity of mental life or a higher development of capacity, to express or realise them. It is this purpose which distinguishes it from the play activities of children. The mental activity involved in productive work, as defined by me just now, being purposeful, tends to lead from purpose to purpose. In the pursuit of this ever-widening circle of purposes one exercises all one's powers and puts forth all one's energy; one strives and fights and adapts and develops in himself the virtues of diligence and perseverance, consciousness and devotion in pursuance of one's own inner urges and not by compulsion from outside.

Now, the pursuit of these purposes which grip one's whole being, makes it necessary to acquire a good deal of traditional knowledge and a good deal of mechanical skill, if progress in the pursuit of this purpose is not to be disconcertingly slow. Even the most gifted and the most mature cannot escape this. Traditional knowledge and mechanical skill have, therefore, their place in educational work, but only when they come in to fill the gaps of knowledge acquired or sought to be acquired by direct experience and of skill, attained or sought to be attained by creative work. While, therefore, productive mental work has to be constantly reinforced by traditional knowledge and mechanical skill, it has also to be reinforced and sublimated in other ways. The purpose of getting and realising or expressing newer and newer ideas or

combinations of ideas or intellectual development and mental growth is essentially egoistic. It is work on hand for oneself. That is its danger to education as a social force. Persons engaged in such productive mental work can easily grow into partially socially ineffective, useless men. Such intellectual work may leave a savant aesthetically unschooled or morally infantile. It may make the artist a morally indifferent person living by himself in a world of his own. Productive mental work in art or in science or technique should therefore be placed in the service of society if the artist, or the scientists or the technicians are to grow into full and not partial men.

If productive work of this kind is essential for mental development and growth, its close association with the service of others is essential for man's growth, moral and social. Productive mental work can give an end and a purpose to the individual; harnessing it to social ends gives to the individual a social meaning and significance. Into communities of such work must we transform all our educational institutions if they are to perform their appointed task with any degree of success. I deliberately say 'all our educational institutions' for it is only by such productive educational work that they become true places of education. It is not only the basic schools but all our secondary schools and colleges and universities also that should hasten to make use of this only available instrument of true education. Difficult almost beyond words... and yet, if we are to go forward as a people, a task which must be undertaken and performed. It is this task which I think Gandhiji wanted to apply himself to in his scheme of Basic Education. He developed this idea of Basic Education, at first for the rural children, but he gradually developed that idea, adapted the main idea, as one that should be true of all education, and I seem to agree with that view.



SARVODAYA AND CO-OPERATION

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN

Most of us knew George W. Russell (AE) as a poet and writer. Probably, very few knew him as a rural man. Once when he was in America he lectured on "the building up of a rural civilisation." At that time he said, "The country is the fountain of the life and health of a race." Perhaps it is also not known that he was the Editor of a farmer's paper, "Irish Homestead." In these days when totalitarian Governments are common, and, when it is natural for the builders of a new society to think that Government is of prime importance, it is well to remember that he once wrote, "political action is the least important thing for us. The great thing for our movement to have is an ideal of its own to work towards."

In the light of the fact that today in our country Vinobaji is stressing this very aspect of our national life, it is significant that another great thinker had the same point of view. Vinobaji constantly tells us that his movement is not one for the solution of all of our problems; rather, it is a movement to create the right spiritual climate in which our urgent problems may be solved. In such a society legislation takes on a different aspect. It comes after the people are fully prepared for the change. Legislation then is not a matter of coercion but a matter of social expression of the will of the people.

In the light of the Bhoodan Movement I believe the following quotation is most significant:

"To aim at the creation of a nobler social order in Ireland than we have had in the past might well give us all inspiration and energy, and make us feel that our movement occupies no mean place amongst those movements which are trying to regenerate our land. I would say, indeed, that all other movements, however necessary, are external and hollow compared with any movement which deals with life

itself and tries to create conditions in which a higher humanity will be possible, and sets that before it as its aim."

India has been pioneering with non-violence, as she brings total freedom to a needy people. She is striking out on a path hitherto untrod by humanity. This consciousness ought to give to us an "inspiration and energy" that will help us to do the impossible.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

It is again interesting that George W. Russell felt that the economic health of the villages depended upon the processing of their own produce in their own areas. Gandhiji always stressed the importance of village industries. It is impossible for the villager in India to have full employment unless he retains the processing of his products within the village itself. This is an important aspect of oil-pressing in the village, of rice-hulling with the Chakki (saving the bran) in the village, of the processing of fibres into ropes, baskets, mats and paper in the village itself.

Mr. Russell wrote: "If farmers are to retain a surplus of wealth beyond the bare necessities of life, if they are ever to see in rural districts any of the comforts and luxuries of the city, they must make it their steady, persistent and fundamental policy to work towards complete control over the manufacture and sale of all the produce of the countryside..... I say that this policy is not against the interests of the towns, for anything which increases the wealth of farmers increases their power of consumption and makes the countryside a better market for articles which the townsman produces."

Our national leadership, the Government Board of Khadi and Village Industries must ever keep these facts in mind.

CO-OPERATION

AE has his own special method for the building of the new Rural Community.

It is the old Western method. Here in India we feel that Gandhiji has given us a new emphasis and new method. The builders of the new society in the West have stressed co-operation as have also many friends in India. All too often we forget that co-operation, altho' a very valuable and important method, tends always to fit in with the economic system of the land in which it exists. Thus in America, co-operation makes the profit motive and free enterprise its ideal. In Russia, co-operation fits in fully with State capitalism. Therefore, Gandhiji's approach is more revolutionary. He challenges us to be Satyagrahis, that is, the aggressive builders of a non-violent society. Keeping that in mind co-operation does have an important place in the New India. But it will have its own distinct nature.

Thus we might well keep in mind what AE has written for there is much truth in his position:--

"I have talked a long while round and round the rural community, but I have not suggested how it is to be created. I am coming to that. It really cannot be created. It is a natural growth when the right seed is planted. Co-operation is the seed..."

"So the first fundamental idea for reformers to get into their minds is that farmers, through their own co-operative organisations, must control the entire business connected with agriculture. There will not be so much objection to co-operative sale as to co-operative purchase by the farmers. But one is as necessary as the other..."

At this point I think it is fundamental that we keep in mind that the co-operative system existing in India today is not necessarily true co-operation. In fact it takes the pattern of an imperialistic economy. It was made by an imperialistic Government and continues to exist very much as such. We may make use of what we have but it is necessary that we so build the system of co-operation in India until it flows spontaneously out of village life and need. Here again it is

well for us to remember that Bhoodan is a movement of co-operation at the highest level—a co-operation of large land-owners, of the small land-owners, and now of wage earners, and later of the landless in the redistribution of our land so that it may serve the best interest of society. And a new aspect of co-operation challenges us—that is the co-operation that will be necessary in those villages where all the land has been given up for the common good. In fact, I believe that this will be one of the most difficult bits of pioneering necessary in the coming years. If we can succeed in a few villages in the common use of the land for the common good—if we can build up all those processing functions needed to take care of the produce of the village—we shall have gone a long way in building that Village Republic of which so many have spoken and for which so many yearn.

I have shared these thoughts of AE because I think it is good to remember that there is an universal recognition on the part of many of the importance of our rural life. And there are thousands scattered throughout the world of every nation who are reaching out towards that new civilization in which the village may have its proper place and in which it may experience full justice and freedom. In this fellowship I am one who believes that India has a major contribution to make—and that those who are associated with the Bhoodan are at the heart of this new and significant contribution of the non-violent.

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NATUROPATHY OR NATURE CURE

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

THE TERM ITSELF

Strictly speaking, the term Naturopathy or Nature Cure is a misnomer and a little bit misleading, because the system indicated by it is *not* one of merely curing diseases as Allopathy, Homeopathy or surgery. It is, on the other hand, a *mode of life* quite and rigorously consistent with the principles underlying the natural and radical laws of health and longevity. In its ideal it is the life of beasts and birds in the forests or that of a brute or recluse living in nature mingling freely with all natural elements which constitute his own body, such as ether, water, earth, the sun, rains etc.

WHAT IS NATURE CURE?

The readers need not run away from this, thinking that Nature Cure is very difficult or impracticable. Only it is *too* simple and practicable, if one has a will. Whatever is above, man, with his mental and intellectual powers, does not seem to be satisfied with the life of a recluse in the forest. He thinks that he has much more to do in his life and desires to "Conquer Nature" and lead an artificial life in order to satisfy his unending worldly ambitions seeking materialistic pleasures of various kinds and proportions. In this ceaseless pursuit for physical happiness, he happens to recede farther and farther away from the natural laws of health and longevity and at each step violates such laws. Each violation of the laws is visited with a corresponding degree of punishment in the form of diseases and disabilities. If, when such conditions of disease appear, he goes back repenting and resort to the natural laws once again in his life, his ailments will ultimately disappear as a matter of course. Such a '*return to Nature*' and the natural kind of living is what Nature

Cure strictly means. Health will surely follow from this as day follows night.

ITS ORIGIN

The system of Nature Cure is prominently in the air now and it is the Western Allopathic doctors and health authorities that are proclaiming its merits and usefulness so loudly. It can be seen, however, from the previous paragraphs that it is as old as creation. It has been in varying degrees, even amidst human beings. Take for example the life of our old Indian Maharishis or even that of strictly orthodox persons in India. Most of the naturopathic principles of cure formed the basis of their lives and they had very little or no complaints compelling them to take medicines or undergo surgical operations in the modern way. They were perfectly healthy and strong and had no illness worth the name.

WHAT DOES IT IMPLY NOW?

The name 'Nature Cure,' however, is at present applied to all kinds of removing diseases without *medication or operation*. This may be a correct definition of the term as it is employed by Westerners and modern-minded orientals. It includes thus in its purview of several kinds of treatment of diseases like hydrotherapy, osteopathy, electropathy, ray-therapy, chromopathy, massaging, mental cure. Some of these, however, would seem to be as unnatural as many processes in Allopathy and surgery. Nevertheless, they too go under the name of Naturopathy because they are free from drugging or surgery.

ITS UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY

There is a philosophy underlying nature cure which is at once reasonable, convincing, fundamental and satisfactory. An amount of vital power or life or power of resistance or 'Ojas' or again, say, 'Jeevatma' enters into a body as soon as

it is formed. This vitality which is the cause of the birth of the body, is responsible for its growth, sustenance and decay also all through. In fact, life makes use of the body as an instrument in its hands for the purposes of serving its object. It is the duty of life, or say, Jeevatma to see that the body is kept in its integrity and strength so long as its object is fulfilled. On account of the vagaries in life in the matter of eating, drinking, rest etc., the body may happen to be troubled by the presence in it of matter which, by reason of its quality or quantity, the system cannot and does not want to absorb into itself. It remains there as poison, in the widest sense of the term, doing harm to the system. Life or vitality then attempts therefore to drive the evil out which struggle is accompanied by symptoms, mis-called *diseases*, such as temperature or fever, pains and aches, vomiting or purging, swelling and so on. Correctly speaking, there is only *one disease* and that is the presence in the body of unnecessary foreign matter and, therefore, there is only one remedy, namely, its removal. "Unity of disease and unity of treatment or cure" is the one basic law in Nature Cure. All that we can do in curing symptoms or the disease is to help the vitality in purifying the body and this by means of natural processes such as fasting, partial or full, change of diet, application of water, air, sunlight, earth, exercises—physical, mental and spiritual—and so on in appropriate cases and manners. A nature curist is never worried by the appearance of symptoms; on the other hand, he will be glad that his vitality is vigorously active as indicated by these symptoms, and pursues his remedial practices with full faith and a resolute mind until he gets a complete cure.

DISEASE. A PURIFICATORY PROCESS

Every so-called disease is, thus, according to Nature Cure, a purificatory process and is a thing to be rejoiced at, because the life-force is thus shown to be in its integrity. This natural process of

purification should not be violently interfered with by adding poisonous drugs or diverting the course of action of the vital power by surgical operations. The baneful consequences of such interferences will be a temporary suppression of the symptoms and weakening of the vital power which offer in course of time further opportunities for the appearance of the same symptoms or those of graver nature. Allopathy and other suppressive systems of cure are not proper or lasting remedies; on the other hand, the so-called complications that ensue from such treatments land the patients in grave dangers more often without any remedy at all. I may refer, in passing, to the proceedings in the recently held Hague Convention of world-renowned Allopathic pandits. While these great authorities feel gratified that all known diseases have been brought under control by a vigorous pursuit of their remedial measures, they seem to be baffled by the appearance of *new* diseases in place of the *old* ones. The Nature Curist is never surprised at these results in the disturbing discoveries of the Allopathic pandits.

HOW TO CURE DISEASES?

Every symptomatic 'indication' exhibited in the body should be thankfully welcomed as a warning, showing the presence of poison in the organism. A Nature Curist should calmly and quietly and at once take appropriate natural steps in order to help the vitality to remove the poison. The process consists of two parts, namely, one, *arresting the further* accumulation or growth of the foreign matter by fasting, abstention from drugs, adjustment in diet etc., and the second is to *enhance the vital power and help it* to purify the body. The means employed are the use of proper diet, baths, hot and cool, application of earth, air for purification of the lungs and the blood, in the forming of correct breathings, exercises etc.

This short note has no place for a detailed examination of the principles or cure. I may simply say that each person

A Leaf from Mahadev Desai's Diary

"The Diary of Mahadev Desai" Vol. I—covering the Yeravda Pact Eve, 1932 — a latest publication of Navajivan Publishing House, is a richer treasure of Gandhiji's daily living and thinking in prison in the company of Sardar Patel than a documented chronicle. Here is a leaf from the diary which gives Gandhiji's comments on "Beauty and Utility" and "the principle of Ashram education."

"Beauty divorced from utility is inconceivable, utility here being taken in the widest sense of the word. Cloth woven from 400s may or may not be good for wearing, but the laborious effort which one has to put forth in spinning such superfine yarn, the mysteries of the art of spinning which are unfolded to him and the solutions of problems which suggest themselves to him in the process are all beneficial for Daridranarayan (God as the poor). When 20s was in view, we spun only 10s. With 400s in view we are sure to spin 50s or 60s. Therefore even from the standpoint of developing the art of spinning, it is very useful to aim at 400s. We ourselves will certainly not wear cloth woven from 50s or 100s, preferring to protect the body with only 6s. But we shall have served Daridranarayan

(Continued from previous page)

must find out the causes of his illnesses and chalk out intelligently a programme of treatment for himself. In no case shall hurry or worry dictate a *violent* change in the mode of life. We have to adhere to the principle of strict non-violence so that any aggravation of the malady or appearance of new violent symptoms may not upset us.

I may conclude by saying that *all* good physicians heartily agree in the philosophy of Naturopathy, irrespective of whether they belong to the Allopathic, Homeopathic or Indigenous schools. One warning also seems to be called for. Western Nature-Curists have mechanised and commercialised the system to a large extent and invented many kinds of mechanical contrivances for application in natural treatment. Very strictly speaking, most of them are against the fundamentals of Nature-Cure and they involve large expenses and complications.

only if we prove that we can cater for the needs of the most delicately nurtured person. There must be the background of the service of Daridranarayan behind the fine yarn we spin. And one devoted to such service will not despise but provide for the man who uses cloth made from 400s. What do the pictures and sculptures which held me spellbound at the Vatican show? There are not many who have the capacity of appreciating their beauty. But the painters and the sculptors in question certainly worked with a view to serve humanity. If a picture inspires evil thoughts in the minds of the spectator, it does not deserve to be called artistic. For art is that which leads a man one step forward on the path of morality and gives him elevated view. If it degrades him ethically, it is not art, but only obscenity. I am now reading books on astronomy, in which it has been shown that the heat of one single square yard on the sun's surface is sufficient to support life on earth. This is a most useful fact. The sun is in its place millions of miles from the earth while we are in our place. Similarly drawing a thread several miles long from a single spool is a service to the art of spinning. ★

"The guiding principle of Ashram education is in my opinion the liberty of the child. The youngest child should feel that it is something. We should discover its special capacities, and having discovered them, provide it with the means for their full development on condition that it will use all its knowledge for the benefit of society. We will not paralyse its intellect by loading it with books. Parents in the Ashram will live for their children, and learn from them as well as teach them. The whole of their life will be a liberal education." ★

J. Krishnamurti on Industrialisation

— MAURICE FRYDMAN —

Among the serious and thoughtful people all over the world J. Krishnamurti is by far the best known, carefully read and most appreciated son of the Indian soil. In the country of his birth he is little known probably because here men of wisdom are expected to follow a certain pattern in their teaching, while Krishnamurti will do anything but follow a pattern.

The sevaks of the Sarvodaya Samaj will do well to study Krishnamurti closely. They will discover here plenty of material for revolutionary thinking. They will find themselves on common ground as far as Truth and Non-Violence go, and suggestion full of insight and personal experience as to the right approach to these values and their realisation in one's own life. They will share his intransigent attitude to all that does not stand the test of Truth and Love; to build greatly one must destroy greatly. But they should not study him to find out how much he agrees with this or that great leader. They should come to him for the truth of what he says and for the transforming power of his teaching.

As an example of the fundamental unity of all sincere search for truth here is a reply he gives to a question on industrialisation.

(Talks in Ojai, California, U. S. A., 1944)

Questioner: You, like so many Orientals, seem to be against industrialisation. Why are you?

Krishnamurti: I do not know if many Orientals are against industrialisation and if they are I do not know what reasons they would give, but I thought I explained why I consider that mere industrialisation is not a solution for our human problem with its conflicts and sorrows. Mere industrialisation encourages sensate value, bigger and better bathrooms, bigger and better cars, distractions, amusements and all the rest of

it. External and temporal values take precedence over eternal value. Happiness, peace is sought in possessions, made by the hand or the mind; in addition to things or to mere knowledge. Walk down any principal street and you will see shop after shop selling the same thing in different colours, shapes; innumerable magazines and thousands of books. We want to be distracted, amused, taken away from ourselves for we are so wretched and poor, empty and sorrowful. And so where there is demand there is production and the tyranny of the machine. And we think by mere industrialisation we shall solve the economic and social problem. Does it? You may temporarily, but with it come wars, revolution, exploitation, bringing so called civilization—industrialisation with all its implications—to the uncivilized.

Industrialisation and the machine are here, you cannot do away with them; they take their right place only when man is not dependent for his happiness on things, only when he cultivates inner riches, the imperishable treasures of reality. Without these mere industrialisation brings untold horrors; with inner treasures industrialisation has a meaning. This problem is not of any country or race; it is a human issue. Without the balancing power of compassion and unworldliness you will have, through the mere increase of the production of things, of facts and of technique, bigger and better wars, economic oppression and frontiers of power, more subtle ways of deception, disunity and tyranny.

A stone may change the course of a river, so a few who understand may perhaps divert this terrible course of man. But it is difficult to withstand the constant pressure of modern civilisation unless one is constantly aware and so is discovering the treasures that are imperishable.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (India)

Sri K. K. Chandy, General Secretary, F. O. R. (India), has sent us a report of the proceedings of their Executive Committee meeting at Nagpur to consider current affairs. Here is the portion relating to the Bhoodan camp in Travancore including Vinobaji's message and the resolution of the Executive. This will show how Christians have begun to take keen interest in Bhoodan since the statement of the four Bishops commending it.

There was the Bhoodan Camp held at Ranni in Central Travancore under the auspices of the Youth Christian Council of Action in which a number of members of F. O. R. in Travancore took a responsible part. About 40 persons including Hindu and Muslim friends participated in this 5 days' camp. In the opening and closing meetings about 5,000 people participated. The closing meeting was presided over by the minister of Home affairs. The Y. C. C. A. was instrumental in getting the statement issued by 4 Bishops—the Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, of the Knanaya Jacobite Church, of the Jacobite Syrian Church and the Bishop of the Central Travancore Diocese of the Church of South India—commending the Bhoodan movement to the Christian public. The fact that 3 Bishops of the Church participated in the Camp taking part in the classes or in the Jathas for land-gifts was an unprecedented event. More than 95 acres of land were received—which in itself was significant—the enthusiasm created among young people who were often carried away by materialist and anti-God movements in favour of this non-violent revolution was most encouraging. It helps many young people and others who have been looking upon religion as an opiate to be drawn closer to the Church and to Gandhiji's ideology of Sarvodaya. The fact that the Camp though under Christian auspices was co-ordinated to the Bhoodan movement offered an opportunity for Christians to work with their non-Christian brethren in a constructive national movement.

In his message to the Camp Acharya Vinoba Bhave said:-

"I am grateful to those four heads of the Churches who have appreciated the

Bhoodan Yagna Movement. Bhoodan Yagna Movement does not make any distinction of caste, creed, religion or language. It is propagation of pure love for all being and humanity. Christ has said "Love thy neighbour as thyself." Bhoodan Yagna Movement is based on this same principle. Please explain this on my behalf to the Christian brothers there."

Classes were conducted at the Camp on the following subjects: Sarvodaya, The Christian attitude to land, Marxism and Gandhism, and Bhoodan Yagna Movement etc. The day's programme consisted of early morning prayers, constructive manual labour consisting of digging of trench latrines and compost manure pits in the homesteads in the village, classes, Jathas (walking tours) for land-gifts visiting houses of land-owners, walking 10 to 14 miles daily in the afternoons, singing heart-searching and spiritually elevating songs and calling out slogans. With the concept of Gram Swaraj in the day-to-day life of the camp it was run without employing servants. It was interesting to see doctors, lawyers, teachers, college students, businessmen etc., cooking food, cleaning stinking public backyards and premises, drawing water etc.

After discussion the Executive Committee passed the following resolution:—

"Though the Bhoodan Movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave does not claim to be the total solution for the land problem, the Executive Committee of the F. O. R. (India) is convinced that the movement has far reaching potentiality in bringing about a change of heart among the people in their responsibility to the landless peasants in particular and the underprivileged generally and in bringing about a change in the social and economic order in an effective but non-violent manner by focussing attention on land and creating public opinion in favour of a just social order."

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM*

Its Origin and Progress

This is a gradual development of the publication department of the A.I.S.A., Tamil Nad Branch, from 1947. This was transferred to the Head Office at Seva-gram in July, 1951 and later to the Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, as its Dakshina Bharat Prakashan Vibhag from June, 1952.

In the beginning all attempts were concentrated in publishing books, mostly translations from Hindi, on the craft and science of carding, spinning etc. A small series of collections of articles by Gandhiji and others from the Hindi "Khadi Jagat" appeared in the beginning.

Later the need for a regular monthly periodical devoted to Khadi work was felt. This led to the starting of the *Khaddar Malar* in August, 1947.

Further the new stress on the ideological aspect of the Charkha by Gandhiji since 1946 resulting in the yarn quota for Khadi sale created the need of a medium for propaganda and a continuous series of literature.

In course of time, the Prachuralayam realised that it could not confine itself to the dry subjects of craft and science of Khadi alone but had to extend itself to latest books on Gandhiji's life and teachings not published by other commercial publishers. Therefore books like "Sarvodaya", "Bapu My Mother", "Glimpses of Gandhiji", "Ashram Life" of Gandhiji, "Neethi Dharma", "Ashram Bajanavali" etc., came to be published in this series.

The present Managing Editor who could not give much time to this work during his Secretaryship of the Tamil Nad Branch of the A.I.S.A. felt free when relieved from that responsibility in January, 1949 to devote all his time for the Prachuralayam.

Later an English monthly "*The Khadi World*" was started in July, 1951 with a view to serve the needs of the English reading public.

Since the transfer of the Prachuralayam to the Sarva Seva Sangh in June, 1952 the Tamil and English monthlies have been appearing in the name of "*Sarvodaya*."

From 1947 to 1952, books with 55 titles have been published. Two of them have run the 4th edition, six their 3rd edition and twelve their second edition. Total number of copies published in all is 1,64,000 out of which about 1,10,000 copies worth Rs. 80,000 have been sold till now. Besides, cheap bulletines and booklets priced from half anna to two annas each numbering about a lakh copies have been printed and sold.

The total sales of the monthly Tamil and English magazines to regular subscribers and casual buyers from 1947 to 1952 amount to about Rs. 40,000.

The following is the approximate Sales turn-over of our books, bulletines, and magazines from 1947 to 1952.

1946-47	Rs.	500
1947-48	"	10,000
1948-49	"	19,000
1949-50	"	37,000
1950-51	"	32,000
1951-52	"	25,000

Total Rs. 1,23,500

This humble pioneering attempt has received some response from Tamil Nad and outside so far and this only indicates the real need for this kind of service in the field of Gandhian literature and journalism.

* Prachuralayam is a Tamil Nad word for Publishing House.

NOTES AND NEWS

KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

We have condensed here the various press communiques received from the Board:—

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board adopted a Rs. 12-crore budget for the financial year 1954-55, on 24th Oct. at Bombay.

The budget covers all aspects of organisation, development, research and training in regard to khadi and village industries taken up by the Board.

It was expected that the scheme proposed by the Board when implemented would provide fuller employment to a considerable section of the rural population and to that extent arrest the increase in the unemployment.

The meeting of the Board was attended by representatives of the Ministries of Finance and Commerce and Industry of the Government of India.

Earlier, the Board decided to ask the Government of India and the State Governments to accept the policy of progressive reservation of production of edible oils to the village oil industry.

The Board also recommended the imposition of a cess on mill oil at the rate of Re. 1-4-0 a maund to be utilised in the development of the ghani industry. It also asked the mills to take increasingly to the crushing of cotton seeds which cannot be crushed byghanis.

The Board wanted fixation of quotas in the allocation of oil-seed to the mills on the basis of the average performance of each mill during the last three years. The Union Government and the State Governments were requested by the Board to take early steps to enact the necessary legislation to enforce its decisions.

The Board considered a scheme for a research institute and laboratory and decided to acquire about 20 acres of land at Borivili, 25 miles north of Bombay.

The Board decided to organise an All-India Khadi and Gram Udyog Exhibition at Delhi from February 27 to March 14 next year. The exhibition, the Board decided, should "while emphasising the economic aspects of the Khadi and other village industries reflect the basic ideology of the Sarvodaya movement, as conceived by the Father of the Nation." ★

The present position of the match manufacturing industry in the country was considered and The Production Programme Committee has suggested ways and means for its development on a cottage scale. About 80% of the match supply is made now by five factories of WIMCO. All other factories numbering 72 had to be closed down during the last three years due to the competition and powerful marketing machinery of WIMCO. The match factories can be classified into four groups according to their capacity of production. The Committee has recommended a cess of 4½ As. per gross of match boxes to be levied on the biggest factories and that a subsidy ranging from 1½ As. to 6 As. per gross be given to smaller factories. India requires about 36 crores of match boxes every month. The villages that can take up this industry on a cottage scale could provide easily employment to nearly 5000 persons. ★

For the development of hand-pounding of rice industry it is decided to set up two hundred Producers' Co-operative Societies in various parts of India. The Govt. of India has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 2,75,000 for distributing to them as grants and subsidies to be made through the Chairman of the Board. A sum of Rs. 15,000 will be given as subsidy on equipment to the extent of 50% of its cost up to a maximum of ten chakkies and one fan for each society.

INTEGRATION OF CHARKHA WITH AGRICULTURE

A specially valuable message that was received some time ago in connection with a Khadi Conference in Tamil Nad from Dr. S. Gurubatham, ex-minister, is given below. It has a special and topical reference to the help for Khadi work from the state and the necessity of integrating spinning with agriculture.

"The charkha can survive only by the enthusiasm of people who have *absolute faith in Gandhiji's constructive programme* and who are *sincere* about it. The strength must come from inside. I have no objection to get help from Government but seeking that help people are unconsciously led to believe in that and lose their own strength. In fact I personally will not seek such help because it tends to weaken us. When I explained this to workers while I was a minister they did not understand me and sneered, why I should be a minister and not uphold Gandhian programme. I hope they would have learnt the lesson now. Do not waste time and energy in placing faith in the Government.

"Secondly I have been emphasising and I see it clearly and I should assert this:—

"Spinning is part of agriculture. Village and farmer are like the trunk of a tree. Spinning is one of its main branches. So unless the workers make agriculture their main vocation and place spinning in its proper perspective spinning will have to struggle for existence always. But if properly related to the life of the village it will survive. Spinning and other crafts necessary for one's existence in the village should all be properly balanced. A. I. S. A. will have to take up this kind of leadership in the interest of spinning.

"I am a specialist and I know from experience that if I should serve my country that specialist should be part of

a bigger plan and so have come to the village and has become part of it. Agriculture is my main occupation and of course I have not neglected my profession. I continue to be as efficient as before. So I should say not to go away with the feeling you are specialising in spinning."

GRAMODAYA KHADI SANGH IN TAMILNAD

The Charkha Sangh passed a resolution at Tirupur in Nov., 1952 about organising Gramodaya Sanghs in the villages of of spinners and weavers in Tamilnad and Kerala in order to develop regional self-sufficiency in Khadi and to encourage local initiative for a total planning for their welfare. A vigorous drive has been made in Tamilnad through special organisers for this purpose. The Tirupur and Tinnivelly areas have shown appreciable progress. In Tirupur area 36 Sanghs have been formed. The total monthly average production is about 40,000 hanks, worth about Rs. 9,000. Khadi worth about Rs. 5,000 is sold. In Tinnivelly Vibhag 40 Sanghs are doing as much work as the Sanghs in Tirupur Vibhag. About 20 Sanghs more are in formation in Tinnivelly Vibhag. The Madurai - Ramnad Vibhag has just formed about 40 Sanghs which have yet to begin their regular work.

GRAMODAYA SANGH IN KERALA

The Sanchalak, A. I. S. A., Kozhikode Vibhag, Kerala writes:—

It was in August last that we began organising Gramodaya Khadi Sanghs. Till now 11 Sanghs have been formed in Kozhikode Vibhag. Out of these seven Sanghs have 300 registered spinners in all. These purchased 8705 hanks of yarn from the spinners and sold khadi worth Rs. 598-5-0. The other four have begun to work only in October.

STATUTORY BODY FOR KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

It is learnt that the a Bill for making the Khadi and Village Industry a statutory Body will be brought in the ensuing session of the Indian Parliament commencing from 16th November, 1953.

BHOODAN WORKERS TRAINING CAMP IN TAMIL NAD

There was a training camp for 94 workers from the various districts of Tamil Nad in the village Pampapadaiyur, 5 miles from Kumbakonam, from 10th to 15th October. Sri Vallabhsamy, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Sri Dadha Dharmadhikari, Editor of Hindi 'Sarvodaya,' and Srimathi Vimala Takkar gave discourses on the Bhoodan Yagna. Their inspiring and thought-provoking talks made a tremendous impression on the trainees and dispelled the doubts of many. The Camp was inaugurated by Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Ex-Chief Minister. On the concluding day Sri C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, Madras State, and Sri Kamaraj, the President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, addressed the trainees. The trainees are expected to devote some time for active Bhoodan work in their own respective areas.

Sri T. K. Srinivasa Iyer, Convenor, Tanjore District Bhoodan Committee, and Sri Varadan, M. L. A., and a Reception Committee organised the Camp in a successful way in the heart of Tanjore District which is the hot-bed of Communists and communalists in Tamil Nad.

RAJASTHAN SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The Second Rajasthan Sarvodaya Sammelan began on 17th Oct. at Suwana, a village three miles from Bhilwara. Presiding over the conference Sri. Shrikrishnadas Jajuji declared that "the salvation of India lies in Sarvodaya. The distinction between the employer and the employee must go if the society is to survive. Our means to attain that objective should also be high. We shall change the society by persuasion and other peaceful means," Sri Jajuji said. "The Bhoodan movement started by Acharya Vinoba is a big step in that direction."

More than 100 workers from various parts of Rajasthan are participating in the conference.

KERALA BHOODAN CAMP

A training camp for Bhoodan workers of Kerala was inaugurated at Talliyoor village near Balaramapuram on 16th October by Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai, President of the Praja-Socialist Party in T. C. State. Sri Ikkanda Warriar, Convenor of Kerala Bhoodan Committee, appealed to the people of the South to respond adequately to the call of the Bhoodan mission.

Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai welcoming the Bhoodan Yagna as a beginning of a peaceful revolution said that the extent of the land given did not matter much, but it was the change in the mental outlook which was of supreme importance.

SRI CHARU CHANDRA BHANDARI'S SACRIFICE

Vinobaji made a reference in one of his speeches to Sri Bhandari, the P. S. P. leader and also an opposition leader in West Bengal Assembly, who recently resigned from the membership of the Assembly as well as the party's membership to devote all his time for Bhoodan work and described Sri. Charu Babu's act as an act of sacrifice.

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION UP TO 5-10-53

State	Land collected (In acres)	Land Distributed Acres
Assam	1,349	
Andhra	7,097	
Orissa	28,514	
Uttar Pradesh	5,11,414	24,263
Karnatak	1,197	
Kerala	6,500	
Gujarat	16,765	
Tamilnad	14,000	255
Delhi	7,569	
Punjab and Pepsu	2,435	
Bengal	354	
Bihar	11,12,343	
Madhya Pradesh	56,535	928
Madhya Bharat	51,221	
Maharashtra	8,922	
Mysore	1,642	
Rajasthan	2,20,000	
Vindhya Pradesh	3,467	125
Saurashtra	8,000	
Himachal Pradesh	1,350	
Hyderabad	66,543	9,910
Total	21,27,217	35,481

SHRI DEO'S BHOODAN YATRA IN SOUTH

Shri Shankarrao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, inaugurated the Bhoodan Yagna in Kerala and Tamil Nad last year with his walking yatra of hundreds of miles. We are glad to announce about his walking yatra again in Kerala from 2nd November. He starts from Nileshwaram and reaches Cape Comorin on 7th Dec. walking 10 to 12 miles daily. He will begin his walking yatra in Tamil Nad from December 7th and will complete it on 30th January 1954.

ALL INDIA NAI TALIM CONFERENCE

The Ninth All India Nai Talim Conference will be held at Titabar in Assam in the 2nd week of November. The first 3 days will be devoted to the special conference of the field workers and the last 3 days to the General Conference covering Pre-Basic, Basic, Post-Basic, and adult education. There will be an Exhibition also. Railway concession tickets will be available for those who visit. Intending visitors are requested to immediately address to the Secretary, Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha.

RAJAJI'S VISIT TO TIRUPUR

It is after several years that Sri C. Rajagopalachariar visited Tirupur on 5th October, 1953, which has earned a reputation as the capital for Khadi production. He is the mother who had nursed the Khadi movement in Tamilnad which stands as the foremost in Khadi work in India. Tirupur gave him a hearty welcome and gathered in thousands to hear him.

Amidst his pressing engagements he found a little time to visit the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam in the afternoon of the 5th October, 1953. He saw our Tamil 'Sarvodaya' publications and all the English books of Navajivan Trust and others which were kept on show. He was delighted to see so much of literature in Tamil. He has kindly sent us a brief

letter conveying his delight and good wishes.

VINOBAJI'S LATEST SPEECH

The following is the latest press report in the Hindustan Times, Delhi, dated 25th October from Monghyr:—

"Acharya Vinoba Bhave, addressing a conference of Bhoodan workers of Bihar, declared at Monghyr on 21st Oct. that he would devote his time for explaining the Sarvodaya ideology instead of seeking land-gifts.

"The Bhoodan movement should now be undertaken by Bhoodan leaders and workers, he said.

"The response he had received had made him hopeful of the success of the movement. A large number of people had decided to devote their time for Bhoodan work as they realized that it could not be done without concentrated effort.

"He was sure it would be possible to bring about a non-violent economic revolution even before 1957. He was daily receiving hundreds of complaints of ejectment of tenants. Even if 50 percent of the complaints were true, such a state of affairs should cause anxiety.

"He pointed out, however, that the goodwill shown by zamindars to the Bhoodan movement made him believe that if they were properly approached all such disputes could be settled."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**Gandhian Outlook and Techniques:**

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The Sixth Year:

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Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Vol. I

By Narahari D. Parikh—Rs. 6; Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

The Diary of Mahadev Desai — Vol. I Rs. 5:

Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Sri Potti Sriramulu

Edited by Dr. Kasturi Narayana Murti, M. D., Mylapore, Madras-4; Re. 1.

SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



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No. 6

SARVODAYA

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REMEMBER

30th January, 1954 — SARVODAYA DAY
30th Jan. to 12th Feb., '54 — SARVODAYA FORTNIGHT
12th February '54 — SARVODAYA MELA

Acharya Vinobaji and the Sarva Seva Sangh appeal to you to offer your one hank of self-spun yarn for the Sarvodaya Mela through the nearest Khadi Vastralaya or Khadi Bhandar of the Sarva Seva Sangh or to those authorised by the Sangh or at the places of Sarvodaya Mela, as a token of your homage to the Mahatma consistent with his message of 'Sarvodaya.'

For further details please refer to Vinobaji's appeal in our 'Sarvodaya' of Feb., 1953.

Rajaji's Letter to Sarvodaya Prachuralaya after his visit on the 5th Oct., 1953

CHIEF MINISTER OF MADRAS

FORT ST. GEORGE
MADRAS

October 12, 1953.

by Dr. Ramaswami

I am glad I went to your place and saw the good work you are doing. It delighted me and filled me with comfort. So long as so much of your literature finds readers there is hope for our dear land.

Yashwanth
C. Rajagopalachari

Editor: N. Ramaswami. Associate Editor: M. Karthiayani Ammal, B. A., B. L.,

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The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha

MAHATMA GANDHI



This special and historic note on "Satyagraha" prepared by Gandhiji for the Punjab Sub-Committee of the All-India Congress Committee that was formed on November 14, 1919 is itself a comprehensive and authoritative treatise on "Satyagraha", the greatest gift that the Mahatma has given to us and to the world.

ITS ORIGIN IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. The principles of Satyagraha, as I know it today, constitute a gradual evolution.

The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that the Indians there used for full eight years, and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement, then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of Passive Resistance.

MEANING OF SATYAGRAHA

Its root meaning is 'holding on to truth'; hence, Truth-force. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of Satyagraha I discovered in the earliest stages, that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent, but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self.

DIFFERENT FROM PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Satyagraha differs from Passive Resistance, as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived

as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end; whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest, and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

DANIEL & SOCRATES: PRAHLAD & MIRABAI

When Daniel disregarded the laws of the Medes and Pharisees which offended his conscience, and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered Satyagraha in its purest form. Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be the truth to the Athenian youth, and bravely suffered the punishment of death. He was in this case a Satyagrahi. Prahlad disregarded the orders of his father, because he considered them to be repugnant to his conscience. He uncomplainingly and cheerfully bore the tortures, to which he was subjected, at the instance of his father. Mirabai is said to have offended her husband by following her own conscience, was content to live in separation from him and bore with quiet dignity and resignation all the injuries that are said to have been done to her in order to bend her to her husband's will. Both Prahlad and Mirabai practised Satyagraha. It must be remembered, that neither Daniel nor Socrates, neither Prahlad nor Mirabai had any

ill-will towards their persecutors. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the States to which they belonged, Prahlad a model son, Mirabai a model wife.

NOTHING NEW

This doctrine of Satyagraha is not new; it is merely an extension of the rule of domestic life to the political. Family disputes and differences are generally settled according to the law of love. The injured member has so much regard for the others that he suffers injury for the sake of his principles without retaliating and without being angry with those who differ from him. And as repression of anger and self-suffering are difficult processes, he does not dignify trifles into principles but, in all non-essentials readily agrees with the rest of the family, and thus contrives to gain the maximum of peace for himself without disturbing that of the others. Thus his action, whether he resists, or resigns, is always calculated to promote the common welfare of the family. It is this law of love which, silently but surely, governs the family for the most part throughout the civilised world.

THE LAW OF THE FAMILY FOR THE NATIONS

I feel that nations cannot be one in reality, nor can their activities be conducive to common good of the whole humanity, unless there is this definite recognition and acceptance of the law of the family in national and international affairs, in other words, on the political platform. Nations can be called civilised only to the extent that they obey this law.

LAW OF LOVE

This law of love is nothing but a law of truth. Without truth there is no love; without truth it may be affection, as for one's country to the injury of others; or infatuation, as of a young man for a girl; or love may be unreasoning and blind, as of ignorant parents for their children. Love transcends all animality and is never partial. Satyagraha has therefore been described as a coin, on whose face

you read love and on the reverse you read truth. It is a coin current everywhere and has undefinable value.

SATYAGRAHI DOES NOT KNOW DEFEAT

Satyagraha is self-dependent. It does not require the assent of the opponent before it can be brought into play. Indeed, it shines out most when the opponent resists. It is, therefore, irresistible. A Satyagrahi does not know what defeat is, for he fights for truth without being exhausted. Death in the fight is a deliverance, and prison, a gateway to liberty.

DOCTRINE OF SOUL-FORCE

It is called also soul-force because a definite recognition of the soul within is a necessity, if a Satyagrahi is to believe that death does not mean cessation of the struggle, but a culmination. The body is merely a vehicle for self-expression; and he gladly gives up the body, when its existence is an obstruction in the way of the opponent seeing the truth, for which the Satyagrahi stands. He gives up the body in the certain faith that if anything would change his opponent's view, a willing sacrifice of his body must do so. And with the knowledge that the soul survives the body, he is not impatient to see the triumph of truth in the present body. Indeed, victory lies in the ability to die in the attempt to make the opponent see the truth, which the Satyagrahi for the time being expresses.

TWICE BLESSED

And as a Satyagrahi never injures his opponent and always appeals, either to his reason by gentle argument, or his heart by sacrifice of self, Satyagraha is twice blessed, it blesses him who practises it, and him against whom it is practised.

CAN BE PRACTISED BY ALL

It has however been objected that Satyagraha, as we conceive it can be practised only by a select few. My experience proves the contrary. Once its simple principles—adherence to truth and insistence upon it by self-suffering—are understood, anybody can practise it. It is as difficult or as easy to practise as any

other virtue. It is as little necessary for its practice that everyone should understand the whole philosophy of it, as it is for the practice of total abstinence.

NO COMPROMISE WITH ERROR

After all, no one disputes the necessity of insisting on truth as one sees it. And it is easy enough to understand that it is vulgar to attempt to compel the opponent to its acceptance by using brute force; it is discreditable to submit to error, because argument has failed to convince, and that the only true and honourable course is not to submit to it even at the cost of one's life. Then only can the world be purged of error, if it ever can be altogether. There can be no compromise with error when it hurts the vital being.

EXTENSION TO POLITICAL FIELD

But, on the political field, the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law-giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to it, is to compel him to retrace his steps by suffering in your own person, i. e., by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence, Satyagraha largely appears to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CRIMINAL AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The criminal, i. e., the ordinary law-breaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty; not so the civil resister. He ever obeys the laws of the State to which he belongs, not out of fear of the sanctions, but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there come occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour, he then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the action of the law-giver, it is open to him to with-

draw his co-operation from the State by disobeying such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude. In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of Satyagraha are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. It was preached by me to thousands of men, women and children, commonly called indentured Indians, with excellent results.

SATYAGRAHA AGAINST THE ROWLATT BILLS

When the Rowlatt Bills were published, I felt that they were so restrictive of human liberty that they must be resisted to the utmost. I observed, too, that the opposition to them was universal among Indians. I submit that no State, however despotic, has the right to enact laws which are repugnant to the whole body of the people, much less a Government guided by constitutional usage and precedent, such as the Indian Government. I felt, too, that the oncoming agitation needed a definite direction, if it was neither to collapse nor to run into violent channels.

I ventured therefore to present Satyagraha to the country emphasising its civil resistance aspect. And as it is purely an award and purifying movement, I suggested the observance of fast, prayer and suspension of all work for one day—the 6th of April.



Synthesis of Western Science and Eastern Soul-Force

"I demand merely 1/6th of land and property. I hope this would meet our economic and social needs and also help in cementing our hearts. Collective non-violence, born of the synthesis of Western science and Eastern soul-force is the urge of the time and if India successfully puts it into practice, the whole world will take to it and this will pave the way for real and permanent peace."

— VINOBA

THE SECRET OF BHOODAN YAGNA

ACHARYA VINOBAJI



This is a free translation of a recent Hindi speech of Vinobaji in Bihar explaining the Samya-yogi order of society and the triple objective, namely, the decentralisation of power to villages, establishment of the right of the toiler over land and the removal of the vast disparity between the earnings of individuals.

Many acts of service can be rendered by keeping intact the present social order. But our work consists in changing this order from the very root. This is the secret of this Bhoodan campaign. That is why when people ask me whether this can be done by legislation alone, I reply in the negative. This is not a one-sided movement. When it succeeds the State will change, the Government will change and the life-structure will change. Some services have to be performed without disturbing the present social conditions. Some of them may be inevitable. For example, the flood-battered people of North Bihar have to be helped. Relief has to be provided for them. That would be a great work indeed. But it certainly cannot be called a task of changing the social structure. It is a sheer relief. Our movement is not of this type.

A friend asks whether Bhoodan embodies the idea of love to all creatures. Yes, that is there fundamentally, but much more than that.

At Bhagalpur a professor saw me. He inquired why one man was paid more and another less. I told him that nothing else was possible under the present order. Nor anyone dare believe that Parliament would pass an enactment to wipe out these classes. Frequently I have referred to the three types of houses built in Delhi viz., A, B, C. We cannot blame anybody for it since the present social order cannot do without it. I advised the professors to bring their salaries together and distribute them equally as between members

of one family. Could they do so that would be a great thing indeed. It will not be called a work of love to all creatures but it will be merely social revolution. Should we take up this step, sufficient public opinion would be created that would facilitate the establishment of the new order of society.

To the society which we seek to build up I have given the name 'Samyayogi Society.' I struck at this word from the Gita which teaches us to do unto others as we do unto ourselves. We should treat others in the same manner as we want to be treated by them. So also we must behave towards society as we aspire to be treated by it. When Hanuman met Ravana he placed before him the injustice of the latter's act to have stolen Rama's consort. He told him that he (Ravana) could easily see the error of his ways since he (Ravana) was himself a grahashta (householder). He asked him to visualise the situation in the event of his own wife being kidnapped.

In the Chapter on fasts ('roza'), the Holy Quran enjoins on all followers to observe fast during the month of Ramzan. Somebody raised a misgiving whether those who could not bear the pangs of hunger would be regarded as outcasts. The prophet spoke, "No, if on that day they feed a hungry man they would win the credit of a fast." Now what is grand about it? The grandeur lies in your feeling what it is to suffer from pangs of hunger when you must take it that your duty lies in alleviating others' hunger. Gita has given it the name of *Atmopamya*

VINOBAJI'S REPLY TO COMMUNISTS

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, addressing a prayer meeting at Bihat village, on 31st October, asked Communists to have faith in his method and approach, which was the method of persuasion and change of heart. He added that their master, Marx, believed in a stateless society which was impossible without believing in the basic goodness of the human heart.

Replying to questions raised by some Communists in a letter addressed to him, Vinobaji deprecated the tendency of Communists to resort to violence even if the objective was within reach of achievement without struggle.

He said Communists would rather accept a stone achieved through struggle than a piece of bread secured through persuasion and change of heart. They did not realize that by insisting upon struggle and struggle alone, they (Communists) divided society into two distinct classes, the rich and the poor. There were good men and bad men on both sides. His method was to secure the goodwill and sympathy of both sides.

Acharya Vinoba pointed out how by converting his opponents to his views he definitely gained their sympathy and support. On the other hand, the communist way of treating good and bad men alike, deprived them of sympathy and support of good men on the opposite side, who by their presence minimized the evil forces and gained the support of their camp. Thus the Communists were losers as a matter of fact. They hopelessly betrayed lack of diplomacy.

He warned them that it was useless to expect elimination of good men belonging to other camps. He asserted that there was no reason to disbelieve the sincerity of rajas and big zamindars, as the Communists did, for they (the rajas and big zamindars) would dig their own grave if they thought of deceiving him. He knew how sincerely they were moving from place to place for the Bhoodan Yagna.

In case, however, they deceived him, he said, they would be exposed. If he could win them over—and he had no doubt that he could—it would undoubtedly be a great gain. In any case the poor could only be gainers and not

losers. He invited Communists to accompany him and see for themselves the tremendous awakening among the landless, who thronged in their thousands to listen to his message. They knew their claim to land was established and that they were sure to secure land.

Communists themselves first misunderstood the Bhoodan movement as antagonistic to their movement but were now slowly appreciating his efforts and had stopped opposing them. What was that if not a change of heart? He was hopeful of receiving greater support from them.

Referring to their objection to the acceptance of donations from poor and small landholders, Acharya Vinoba said he wanted to eliminate the sense of ownership which existed equally amongst the big and small. He wanted all to realize that they had to surrender their rights to society. Communists did not realize that by accepting donations from small landholders he was mobilizing a great force—a non-violent army—which would not lag behind in responding to his call of satyagraha if and when necessary.

A STATELESS SOCIETY

He wanted Communists to study the progress of his movement and see how it worked. While some people believed in the necessity of the State for all times, he was one with Marx so far as the idea of a stateless society was concerned.

He also wanted the State to wither away. It was a different matter that Communists believed in the necessity of a strong centralized State prior to its withering away. He wanted the State to wither away through decentralization of power.

He said: "I am not a member of any party. My name is not even on the register of the Sarvodaya Samaj. I would gladly join the Communist Party if it convinced me of its ideology." ★

Bhoodan Yagna: Why and How?

— SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU —

Political freedom having been achieved, the next important task before the country was that of securing the economic and social freedom to the people. The question demanded attention the more insistently because every adult, man or woman, had now the right of vote which made the wide social and economic disparities between different classes and groups look ever more incongruous in the context of political equality. It was clear that the people would not suffer them any longer. The poor in India have continued to be exploited along the centuries and our chronic poverty has passed into a proverb. Even after six years of freedom, the darkness of the cottages of the poor remains unrelieved by the touch of its glow. Under the circumstances, the economic problem assumes highest priority and calls for immediate solution.

In accordance with the ideology of non-violence, Gandhiji, while he strove for political freedom, had also paid due attention to the economic aspects of our situation and achieved what was possible, notwithstanding the crippling handicap of an alien government ruling over our country. Strange as it may seem, those who held the reins of the Government after the attainment of freedom found themselves unable to go along the path which Gandhiji had shown.

But things could not stand still. The movement for the abolition of economic inequalities between different classes has been steadily growing throughout the world. In the last few years it has produced violent convulsions specially in some of the East Asian countries. The rumblings of this movement were already being felt in India which showed that the problem had reached the danger point.

But it was neither desirable nor possible to solve it through violence. Legislation could have provided a sort of solution but a radical legislation making a sudden break from existing conditions, is also not entirely free from violence and cannot even be enforced satisfactorily unless it is supported by public opinion. It looked as though the country were caught up in a difficult impasse. In the meantime, however, God inspired Vinobaji to launch the Bhoodan movement and show the way out.

To collect lands from the landholders and distribute them among the landless is only an outer, though a necessary, aspect of its work. Essentially it is directed to the creation of new values in our social life or Dharmachakra Pravartanam as says Vinobaji. It seeks to establish an ethical view of economics. Economics have been too long dominated by the profit motive with disastrous consequences for all. Vinobaji wants to rescue it from this degradation and make it conform to ethics so that India may solve all her problems through non-violence and ultimately realize her cherished goal of building up the Sarvodaya order of society. The Bhoodan movement has made great progress and people are now well acquainted with its nature and ideology.

The intellectuals are however oppressed by a doubt, namely, whether Bhoodan can provide an effective solution of the entire land-problem. As it is, the achievements over the last two years are quite considerable and strengthen us in our hopes from this movement.

Those who have more land than they need have begun to realize that they cannot keep it for long. Lands are being sold and are thus going to those who will work on them with their own hands.

There was also for some time a spurt in the cases of eviction of tenants by the landlords under the fear that the future legislation in this regard will deprive the latter of this right. The tendency has, however, been checked in most States and it is hoped, will be completely stopped very soon. The Planning Commission has accepted the principle that there ought to be a ceiling to the individual's ownership of land. The Hyderabad State Assembly is already considering a bill in this regard. And it is certain that sooner or later all other States will also have to take similar measures. Vinobaji advocates laying down a 'flooring' instead of a ceiling, that is, everyone who wants to live by cultivation of the land, and has no other means of livelihood must be provided with enough land to have his needs met by it. The atmosphere for direct or indirect sharing of land which we find growing around us is largely the result of the Bhoodan Yagna. The State Governments can do their part in this work mainly by suitable legislation designed to help and promote the movement. The atmosphere for such legislation is being rapidly built up. That will however constitute only a part of the work. Our primary objective is to change the prevailing ideas about wealth, specially about the individual's ownership of wealth. This can be done only through the Bhoodan and the Sampattidan Yagna.

(Inaugural speech of Shri Srikrishnasdas Jaju, Chairman of the special Statutory Board for Bhoodan work set up by the Madhya Pradesh Government as reported in "HARIJAN", 17th Oct., '53)

The Bhoodan work has been conceived as a non-party social service activity. It has no place for party-politics. Except the Communists and a few other groups all others are supporting it and contributing towards its furtherance according to their capacity. It is expected that those who work for it will forget their party affiliations for the while and work as non-party social workers without in any way trying to serve the interests of their parties. The distribution work will also have to be done in the same spirit. It will be our endeavour to place it in the hands of non-party workers who will be expected to discharge it in the non-party way.

I think we will have to face two main difficulties in the distribution work: One the procuring of a copy of the description of the gifted land from the Government land records — this copy will have to be attached to the gift-deed —, and the other the determination of the gifted land where only a part of the field has been donated. It will be difficult for the donor or the Board to do it. And it will also take much time if they do it. Therefore it had better be left to be done by the Government officers. The Government will also have to provide certain facilities to the new grantees. The Board will present its considered recommendations on this question to the Government in due time and hope that they will do the needful.

THE TWO PHILOSOPHIES

"There are two philosophies of teaching in the modern world, one which discards discipline as unnecessary and the other which insists on regimentation, on moulding the minds of pupils and looks upon them not as human beings, but as puppets, things of paints and sawdust that have no life of their own but are moved from without. The teacher in the Gita trains the pupil to judge for himself. He gives to him the best that he knows and leaves the ultimate decision to the pupil. Discipline should come from within. While in-discipline is wrong, discipline that is merely external is not right. The discipline must be self-imposed."

— Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Gandhiji's Gift of Satyagraha

SHANKARRAO DEO

[This is a translation of the Radio Talk in Marathi at Nagpur on the Gandhi Jayanti, the 2nd October, 1953.]

Today, the second of October, is the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. On this day, it is but natural that those who have spent the best years of their lives as soldiers battling for the freedom of India under the command of Gandhiji, find that innumerable recollections rise in their minds and fill their hearts with indescribably deep and sacred feelings. Since Gandhiji taught us that a fighter should maintain goodwill even for those against whom he was temporarily in conflict, and since the faith that freedom could be won only through truth and non-violence was the principle of Gandhiji's strategy and technique of struggle, the fight for independence that Gandhiji led, made the life of the soldier a continuous dedication for the realisation of the cardinal values of human life, namely, truth, goodness and beauty. The non-violent battle for freedom, therefore, lifted us to lofty spheres and enabled us to enjoy the elation that comes to those who habit high moral planes for long. This gave us a sense of fulfilment, and it is no wonder, therefore, that we feel grateful to Gandhiji.

For the first time in the history of the world, Mahatma Gandhi, by his own example, demonstrated to those who prized and fought for freedom, that there need be no conflict between the practice and pursuit of the highest moral principles and participation in active political life. What more, the saga of his life was a testimony to the fact that the sufferings and sacrifice undergone in the fight for freedom could become the penance for moral and spiritual advancement, for self-realization. This has not only opened a new chapter in the history of man's fight for freedom, but also given a new vision

to aspirants for self-realization. Gandhiji has opened the eyes of the Sadak or Mumukshu, to a new facet of spiritual life, a dynamic method of self-realization.

In Gandhiji's personality, the world has seen for the first time, a complete and harmonious blending of spiritual achievement, of the moral force that comes from intensive self-purification and penance and of the unflinching devotion to the duties that life in society imposes on man. There can be no doubt that Gandhiji achieved unprecedented success in demonstrating the inter-relation between the individual's freedom and moral advancement on the one hand and the cohesion and progress of society, on the other. From the point of view of religious thought too, it must be admitted that Gandhiji showed that the path of self-realization was the path of dedication to the service of society.

Nor do we find, before Gandhiji, in the saints and prophets and recluses who have turned their back on society and sought self-realization, anyone whose life was a simultaneous pursuit of spiritual as well as social value, a life that answered with equal concern and devotion to the call for self-realization as well as the call of society. Dedication to self-realization, salvation and unison with God-head have all been accepted as the highest goal of spiritual advancement for the individual, but the world had not accepted that the individual could realize all these great goals through the highest devotion to the service of society. Gandhiji, however, made the sacrifices and sufferings that he underwent for the achievement of political freedom and the long penance that he undertook for the

well-being of society, the Sadhana or penance for his own self-realization and salvation and for the fulfilment of his longing for unison with God. In his Sadhana for self-realization, Gandhiji identified society with his own self, and the result was that Gandhiji's life became a convincing demonstration of the truth that the progress of the individual should mean the progress of society even as the progress of society is impossible without the progress of the individual. It is, therefore, for the first time that we saw in the life of Gandhiji a combination of the awareness and devotion to duty of the individual to himself and to society. Gandhiji's life, therefore, presented a unique spectacle as it could almost be described as the confluence of various streams of spiritual, religious, ethical and political life. It is the inter-linking of these facets which are generally regarded as distinct and un-related and the realization that the principle that could inform and uphold the inter-linking of these facets was the ceaseless pursuit of truth that led to the genesis of satyagraha. To the extent that the individual identifies himself with society, the conflict between the good in him and the evil in society becomes more intense and apparent. Gandhiji made his life the Kurukshetra or the battleground for fighting the evils in society by purifying himself and increasing and intensifying the good in him and in society.

Satyagraha, thus is the greatest gift that Gandhiji has left for the world. No prophet or seer who preceded Gandhiji has had such a comprehensive and abiding realization of the power of satyagraha, because no one before him had realized the unity between God and man to the extent to which Gandhiji had done. The uniqueness of Gandhiji's personality and contribution lay in his discovery that the gulf between the individual and society could be bridged by satyagraha.

Gandhiji proved that Satyagraha was the only effective weapon for making

goodness valiant and powerful. Satyagraha is Gandhiji's new message to the world. Gandhiji demonstrated to the world in a most spectacular and gripping manner that satyagraha was the only remedy for the removal of the sorrows and miseries of the world and that satyagraha is the acme of man's moral progress. Gandhiji awakened the mind that had got enmeshed in the quest for God-realization, heaven, salvation and the traditional moral values, and taught it that the greatest glory and highest achievement of man lay in discovering the moral means for ending the sorrow and evil in the world. The use of satyagraha to eliminate the misery in the world is a unique discovery in the history of man's quest for moral life. Goodness is an eternal value and its only aim can be the destruction of the misery, sorrow and distress in society. The fire of satyagraha has chastened and added a new lustre to this eternal value, and we can confidently say that to the extent that we realize and practise this great principle in this country, there will certainly be room to be optimistic of our future and that of the world.



REAL BHAKTI

Great is the suffering now in our country. People praise God, but do not act as He behests. There can never be suffering, poverty, distress and evil before Him. Yet now we find all these here. Why? Because our people lack in real **Bhakti** (Devotion to God). Even the poorest among the poor can offer to our **Sampatti-dan-yagna**. He can give 1/6 of the little food he has which is **Nivedya** (offering to God). A little child too can play its part in this **Yagna**. Out of the milk the parents may give, it can offer a portion. To renounce and leave a portion to another is the **Dharma** (duty) of every individual.

— VINODA

GANDHIJI AND BHOODAN

— R. R. DIWAKAR —

The gospel of Sarvodaya took shape in Gandhiji's mind long long ago while he was in South Africa. Ruskin's 'Unto This Last' added strength to his gospel. This small book of Ruskin's presents quite a new and altruistic view of economic relations as distinct from that current in those days. There is no mention of caste there, but respect and honour for labour and its dignity, the right of a labourer to have wages equal and enough for a decent living, are some of the things mentioned very prominently. Sarvodaya, of course, is far wider and more comprehensive in its grasp.

Gandhiji mooted the idea of trusteeship in the matter of possessions and property. That doctrine lays down that every person can be owner of property only to the extent of his immediate daily needs. All else that he possesses or lays claim to is not his absolute property. He is only a trustee of that property and he holds it for the whole of society. Society is the real beneficiary of all that extra property. Gandhiji even thought of legislation along these lines, but like a true Satyagrahi he laid down the condition that public opinion must first be organized and be over-whelmingly in favour of such legislation. Here too the idea of a kind of communal ownership is obvious. Circumstances, traditions, and the long history of property have put many peoples in possession of property in excess of what they require for immediate use. Gandhiji says that there is no harm in holding such property, but he emphasises that this extra property has to be held in trusteeship. The basic idea, therefore, is that everything, all wealth, belongs to God or to humanity. One may enjoy it, but that can only be in the spirit of renunciation,

if such enjoyment is to be morally justifiable (Isha Upanishad).

The movement of Bhoomidan is, in fact, a corollary of the trusteeship idea, which, as we have seen, takes its birth from the principles of Sarvodaya. As regards land, sometimes Gandhiji used to say "Subbhoom Gopal ki" (all land belongs to Gopal).

But if Sarvodaya is to come, it has to come only through the practice of the principles of Satyagraha. And Satyagraha would not like to jump at legislation at once as a means to what it wants. It would rather arm itself with sufficient moral and spiritual power and secure the support and backing of public opinion before it would think in terms of legislation. The Bhoomidan movement, therefore, has started with a begging-bowl. It points out the iniquity of the existence of vast numbers of landless people owing to inequalities in the matter of possession of agricultural land. It wants to create a kind of moral abhorrence in the minds of those who possess more lands than required by them for immediate purposes. It creates at the same time a sense of right to land in the minds of those who are landless. Thus, the following may be said to be the consequences of a Bhoomidan movement when conducted on right and non-violent lines: It creates a strong consciousness in the minds of possessors of more than necessary land that it is unjust for them to hold as much, and that it is their moral duty to part with extra land which is required for the landless.

It creates a sense of guilt in their minds and loosens their hold on property by undermining their right of possession. It creates in the minds of the landless a

sense of having an inherent right to land, and makes them look upon the advocates of Bhoomidan as deliverers and advocates of Justice. It creates in the minds of all those who work for Bhoomidan an immense moral strength because they have the consciousness that they have taken up a right cause and are advocating it in a right manner. All this creates a strong public opinion which is bound ultimately to help legislation along the lines of Bhoomidan.

But Bhoomidan can never be an isolated line of action. It is part and parcel of the principle of Sarvodaya and Satyagraha as applied to agricultural land, which is but only one kind of wealth and only a part of property. There are certainly other possessions, attainments, and property owned by people. All that is designated by the general term wealth. If agricultural land lends itself to a fairer and a more equitable distribution on the principle that all should share it as well as the advantages therefrom, it logically follows that all wealth can and should be shared on the same principle. The principle does hold good, apart from what is practical today and what is not. Practical application may come later. In the wake of Bhoomidan we have Sampattidan. Shramadan, Koopadan, Vidyadan, Jnanadan are already in India's tradition. Even today hundreds teach Sanskrit and the Darshanas free, in places of learning like Banaras.

It should not, however, be lost sight of that this is a voluntary giving (Dan) and sharing it is giving to others out of the consciousness that one has something which he can and ought to share with others. Every possession and property and even attainment (the results are meant here), such as artistic and otherwise, can be shared by others, and there is no reason why they should not be. Thus, the doctrine involved in Bhoomidan would not stop, and ought not to, at

voluntary sharing of agricultural land alone, but it can extend to sharing of other property in cash or in houses, in labour, in knowledge and in any other attainment. In fact, it comes to this, that whatever an individual has acquired in the form of wealth, which may be physical, mental, moral, social, artistic or otherwise ought to be shared voluntarily with others, provided it is capable of being so shared. One who does not wish to share voluntarily and wishes to use these out of selfishness for his own personal benefit, is, in the words of the Gita, a thief (stena). The Gita further says that those who cook exclusively for themselves without giving thought to the need of others consume 'sin.' In the political philosophy of Plato the State was the individual writ large. But the philosophy of India makes no difference between political and spiritual philosophy. It says that the whole universe is an enlargement of the family (Vishwa-kutumb) rather than of the individual. Man is a social being, and as an individual unit has obligations to society which are supreme. Whatever he acquires or attains is on account of the society and a consequence of the congenial environment created by that society. Indian tradition enjoins on each individual to recognise and pay off the debt to the forefathers, to God, to the Seers and to the Guru. Therefore, morally speaking, every member has "to render unto Caesar, Caesar's coin." One would say, "Render unto humanity what thou owest to it, and thou owest all to it, even thy life; thus alone shalt thou fulfil thy life and in no other way" (Evam twayi, nenyathetosti). Thus the voluntary end of exploitation is the beginning of Satya-Yuga. It was on account of the intense faith of Vinobaji in the inherent goodness of man and in Satyayuga or Kritiayuga, and on account of his extreme meticulousness in observing Satya, that he was called 'Kritayugi' by Gandhiji.



TOOLS OR MARKETS?

— MAURICE FRYDMAN —

The writer is a Polish engineer well known as Shri Bharatananda who has dedicated his life to the research of improving the tools and technique of the rural artisans. There is indeed a crying need for improved implements as in the case of spinning wheel for achieving domestic and regional and co-operative self-sufficiency in villages without any competitive conflict.

I have before me a letter from a friend, who writes:

"He (a village industries research worker of long standing and great achievements) has no weakness for decentralising the factory as such." He says: "It is a good thing, but not good enough for me." He is definitely of the view that arming artisans with modern technique places the backward artisan (of whom necessarily there are going to be more) at a disadvantage. For example, yarn from the Gupte type of spinning machine does not make khadi but only a sort of ersatz mill stuff. Unless you ply the wheel, you do not make khadi. He has simply no patience when we bring in the analogy of the Singer sewing machine. More curious than that: The Wardha ghani costs some Rs. 400. The Japanese type bench baby expeller plied by hand costs Rs. 350, is made in Delhi, and gives the same efficiency as the big expeller. He is sorry for the development! He says he is not interested in it and also that "so many of the parts go out of order."

"I do not blame him for his back to the wall fight... He wants the greatest good of the greatest number and sincerely believes that Government have given him the power to protect the artisan with crude implements or no implement; e. g., that zones of influence will be demarcated for the village craftsmen and machine industries. But such a line of thought obviates the necessity for any research. He says very very accurately that the problem is not technological but one of providing a market — presumably at all cost.

"That is an example of defeatism at its height! But I believe that people of such frame of mind fail to realise that far less drastic political action is called for in protecting a more developed community by providing cheap and easy credit for improved tools and working capital....

"I feel too young for such a defeatist compromise... I would decentralise everything and start village (production) units and make villages self-sufficient.... So much political action is needed to organise things at the village front and guarantee security to every villager. But that is far easier than propping up a sinking man with coramine *ad nauseam*"....

This letter hardly needs comments. The problem is simple: Have the village industries a chance in the long run, if they have to depend from year to year on enormous State subsidies and artificially created, centrally managed and elaborately organised markets? In fact, while the current Government schemes encourage decentralised production, the marketing was made highly centralised.

As a temporary measure, just to set things going, it may be all right; but, unless freedom both in production and in marketing is restored to the village craftsman, he will be forever in danger of having his life-line cut off. Surely an arrangement which does not set free, but rather enslaves, is not a lasting solution. To work forever for distant emporia is not an inviting perspective. To monopolise local markets through legislation will create so many internal frontiers with all the corruption and violence following.

And what about the consumer's interest in stretching his rupee to the

utmost? Through every pore he has to sweat out money for which he gets nothing. Sales taxes, cesses, closed markets, all contrive to rob him of his purchasing power.

Is there no way in which both the village producer and the consumer are served? In which State funds are not spent unproductively? The only way that we can think of leads through greater efficiency of the village craftsman. In the long run it is surely cheaper to train, equip and service the individual producer, than subsidise him indefinitely at the consumer's and taxpayer's expense.

The Indian villager is cultured, intelligent and skilful. As he mastered the bicycle and the sewing machine so can he understand, operate, maintain and repair any simple piece of machinery. The mechanical genius is undoubtedly there, but is not given a chance to manifest itself.

Once, when I was organising a factory in South India, there was no skilled labour to fall back on. Villagers came in abundance and in no time became intelligent and skilled workers. The brain, the eye, and the hand go well together with our people, and there is no fear of any inherent incapacity to operate

more complex tools and equipment. A little training, competent assistance in the initial stages, and a service station nearby, is all that is needed.

A question may be asked whether a craftsman, given cheap power and efficient tools, will be able to compete with factories in an open market? The reply is: Yes, if he can buy the raw materials and sell his finished products at the same rates as the factories do. Some co-operatives on the Danish lines will be necessary. But the State will be only indirectly concerned, concentrating primarily on education and on making available cheap industrial credit for the small producer.

Small but highly efficient tools need not be costly. Manufactured in single product factories on a mass scale, they can be made unbelievably cheap.

No doubt, it will take time to equip and develop village industries to the point where they can compete with factories on equal terms; in the meantime, subsidies and reservation of markets may be just the right thing. But it is not the final and therefore the permanent, the self-perpetuating solution. We must aim at an order which is self-balancing and self-restoring.



EDUCATION TO BE SELF-FINANCING

Our education should not be financed out of the excise revenue, neither out of land revenue. Under Swaraj its main prop should be the spinning wheel. If the spinning wheel and the loom are introduced in every school and college, our education would easily pay its way. Today, I would like our boys to give all their time to spinning. After Swaraj is attained, at least one hour will have to be given. Swaraj must react in each and every department of our life. Our schools today are so many factories to turn out slaves from. Education under Swaraj will aim at making boys self-supporting from their youth. Any other profession may be taught them, but spinning will be compulsory. The spinning wheel ought to be the solace of the miserable. Nothing else has its virtues, for it alone can supplement agriculture. All cannot be carpenters, nor smiths, but all must be spinners, and must spin either for their country or to supplement their own earnings. Because the need of clothing is universal the spinning wheel must needs be universal.

MAHATMA GANDHI in "YOUNG INDIA", 30-3-1921

(From "Towards New Education" — Recent Navjivan Publication)

★ REVIVAL OF FAITH ★

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

Great progress had been achieved in "discovering the right things in the wrong order" as some eminent person put it. Man learnt a great deal of how to control Nature without learning how to control himself. Now a man shot up in India and alone among the politicians of the world stood up and reminded men about God.

He spoke not in the indirect language of reference, but in the silver tones of direct appeal. Civilisation had come to mean something that was devoid of its most essential content, the civilising of the human mind, restraint of passions and desires through the power of the inner spirit. To balance this dangerous condition Gandhi declared from every platform which had the privilege of being accorded to him that man's life should be guided by Religion.

Many others felt the same as he, but they were afraid that the emphasis on interest in the spiritual significance might mean a set-back. Being interested in national unity, they feared that regression to dogmatic religion which might be the result of any appeal for Religion. They therefore contented themselves by referring to the Supreme Being occasionally and without conviction. They talked vaguely about the Religion of all religions, without names and forms. A filtered refinement of this kind, however, served no positive purpose.

It is not logic but emotion that makes the true substance of religion which is essentially faith, hope and compassion. Gandhiji did not utter newly composed unitarian prayers, but boldly cried out Ram! Ram! and asked people to sing the name of Raghupathi Raghava. He dared to be an old-fashioned Bhakta. He was not ashamed of repeating either the Gita or Upanishads as they were handed down. Religion to Gandhi was not just

the grammar of religions. It was an intense and positive part of his being. He steadily gathered a hearing for his message, and at the end of his sustained fight against negativism and for the re-ascendancy of religion in the concrete shape in which each one was brought up he found ample strength and stood firm as a Bhakta chanting the Upanishads and the Gita to the literate and the illiterate and in particular to all those who were in active politics.

India had a tremendously powerful man who preached God and used the force of political revolution for making people turn again to God—not the reverse, using religions slogans for the sake of politics as some others did before him and had failed.

The 2nd Oct. is Gandhi day, and it should mean the re-ascendancy of Faith and the way of Karma Yoga in all our activities.

Isaa vasyamidam sarvam yatkincha
Jagatyaam Jagat
Tena tyaktena bhunjiitha maa
gridah kasyaswiddhanam.
Kuravanneveha karmaani
Jijiivishetchatam samaah
Evam thvayi naanyathetosti
Na karma lipyate nare.

God pervades everything, big and small, in this Universe. Do all that you do, enjoy all that you enjoy, dedicating everything to God and not letting your mind desire what another possesses and live your hundred years.

Thus and not otherwise can man work and yet not be touched by sin. ★

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Sarvodaya, P. B. 9, Tirupur (S. India)

THE FALLACY OF LEISURE AND PLEASURE.

— WILFRED WELLOCK —

Mr. Wellock's Orchard Lea Papers No. 10 appears with the title "Leisure Waste and The Good Life." This deals with the modern tendency to ignore the value and sanctity of creative work which is a necessary function for human existence and spiritual growth and exposes the fallacy and craze for leisure which "degenerates into a push-button economy for self-indulgence and mass excitements." A portion of the article is given here. (Full set of the 12 Orchard Lea Papers is available at Sarvodaya for Rs. 2 including postage.)

Leisure is rapidly becoming the key-stone of Western civilisation, also the major gateway to life and the yard-stick by which a person's luck or good fortune is measured.

This evaluation is easy to understand, since work, having lost its primary or creative function, has become so unsatisfying and distasteful that it victims turn elsewhere for relief. The concept that work is a form of culture, a means of physical, mental and spiritual growth and health, and a fundamental condition of the satisfactions which we call well-being, is out of harmony with the facts of life to-day. The chief function of work is now to earn money wherewith to buy leisure and pleasure, which are equated with life.

To make work enjoyable and satisfying and to fill the world with beauty are the signs of a good civilisation; to make it uninteresting and automatic and to fill the world with cheap monotony, things which lack distinction, are the signs of a decadent civilisation. Creative work makes whole persons; repetitive work leads to their fragmentation. Thus creative work should be the foundation of every man's life; when such work is lacking, leisure becomes its chief concern and the quality of life falls.

I therefore claim that in a materialistic civilisation such as now prevails in the West, the theory of salvation through leisure is a fallacy and a delusion; its Arcadia of Leisure is a phantasy. To make leisure the pivot on which life turns

is to assume that work is an evil which must be endured in order to acquire the means to buy leisure, culture, and pleasure. Behind this view is the belief that the basic condition of the El Dorado of human existence is a push-button economy with work reduced as near as possible to zero.

This entire concept rests on a fallacy. In the last analysis the purpose of culture is to make a beautiful world, and in the process to make and ennoble man. Outside that process, culture degenerates into extravagance, and leisure into self-indulgence, mass excitements, mass spectacles called sport, widespread gambling and a general loosening of morals. Britain's annual expenditure on alcoholic drink, tobacco, cosmetics and sport now reaches a total of more than £1,500,000,000 a year. It constitutes a considerable part of the high standard of living of which we boast. Is this the best we can do? Is it worth the cost in soulless, nerve-wracking labour, in militarism and war?

Pleasure is relative to the mind, to the quality of human personality. The ability to enjoy life is primarily determined by the thought and creative effort that are put into it in one's daily labour.

There is no exception to that rule. Hence, lacking creative purpose and the vital principle of self-giving, the pursuit of pleasure will become paramount, will degenerate into self-indulgence and lead to ennui, dissipation, despair and death.

The easy optimists deny this and say they want leisure for art, not self-indulgence. We are thus to anticipate a nation of poets, painters and musicians in the midst of the appalling urbanised

squalor of a century of wealth and power worship which cries aloud for our understanding and compassion. But lacking creative purpose with respect to the spiritual and physical conditions of our time, what would all these artists rhapsodise about—the spreading ugliness of a standardised and veneered civilisation? A virile art cannot live in a spiritual vacuum. In these drab days the primary function of all art should be to inspire our generation with visions of a better way of life, of a vital society in a spiritually stimulating environment. Art is for life, to ennoble and magnify it, not to erect ivory towers as hide-outs from the squalor of our decadence. We shall not produce good poets until we first produce good builders, carpenters, plumbers, furniture makers and the rest. An age which accepts our present horrors has nothing to sing about. Once the people's songs were about their work. To-day they sing: "Is you is or is you ain't my baby?"

Others, who have managed to keep alive their deeper instincts, say they want more leisure in order to do things which war, high military expenditures, etc., prevent them from doing to-day—such things as designing and building a house or cultivating a creative craft as a secondary occupation. Exactly! But why build a shoddy world in our daily work and then try to replace it piecemeal in our leisure? Why not build beautiful

houses and a beautiful country from the first, under an economy that will not produce war? Are we to travel full circle from sanity to absurdity and then through economic breakdown and war back to sanity? Even that may not be possible, for the end of our present courses is death and nihilism not sanity and life!

At root it is not the pleasures of leisure that we need but the satisfactions of creative living. We are suffering from skill hunger, the negations, the no-life of repetitive, soulless labour. If the work-life be right it will tend to pull every other part of life into its proper place, whereas if it be unsatisfying every other part of life will be equally unsatisfying. When work ceases to be creative and socially vitalising, play degenerates while culture and religion are by-passed. Work, art, religion and culture blossom and flourish or wane and degenerate together. LIFE IS ONE, and a man who functions like a machine from Monday till Friday must not be expected to write poems on a Saturday or sing psalms on a Sunday.

From now on our aim should be to direct people's minds to creative pursuits, especially by example, eschewing the things which foster the mass mind. We must fill our lives with creative tasks as the first step towards the new creative era which is our only hope. Creative labour is the core of the good life which religion should nourish and art inspire.

—★—

True Community Life in Other Countries

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN

Here in India we are acquainted with the Gandhian Ashrams. Theirs is an attempt to live together as brothers and sisters on a Sarvodaya level. There are many other similar efforts throughout the world. Gandhians should be more aware of such fellowships. Recently I have had a letter from a member of a "Brudershof" in America. I am sure this

will be of interest to the readers of Sarvodaya. Let me quote from this letter:

"Here in Primavera, there is a group of over 600 men, women, and children living in three villages about 1½ miles apart. Our way of life is based on the teachings of Jesus and is in many ways similar to that of the first Christians

in Jerusalem. We feel that being a Christian is not just a matter of going to a Church on Sundays but that Christ demands the whole of our lives which through service to our fellow men, must be devoted in serving Him.

"And love to our fellow men is not just a matter of sentiment but also a very real thing. Here in Primavera, we all work together without money and share all that we have with one another. Our three villages (or "Bruderhof" as we call them) are actually one, united community; and no money is used between us but we help each other whenever the need arises (which is continually).

"We also keep an open door for all people who wish to come to us and we are particularly interested in contacts with other groups throughout the world. As a group, we started in Germany in the early 1920's and owe much to the youth movement of that time—since then we have had to go from place to place because we were persecuted for our refusal to take part in the war. As a result we have become an international group with members from over 15 nations in Paraguay alone. In addition to our group here, we also have a community of 200 people in England and another group of 50 in Uruguay within the city limits of Montevideo.

"In recent months, we have had many visitors and we have also sent out many members to look for people who are seeking a life such as ours and tell them of its existence.

"Many of our visitors have actually come from North America to experience this life—a distance of 10,000 miles. I was one of these myself in 1948 and I have been here ever since.

"In the last few years we have also heard of many other Christian groups in different parts of the world who are striving to form a new order of society in accordance with the teachings of Jesus. Among these are a community of 2,000 Negroes in Africa who call themselves

the Apostles and live a life of brotherhood and sharing such as the Early Christians did in Jerusalem. We have just recently received our first letter from them.

"Another group which is of great concern to us at the moment is "The Family of Jesus" in China. They also started in 1920 and had about 20,000 members, who shared all things with one another, by 1950-51. But we did not learn of them until then and because of the Communist rule we were not able to contact them although we wrote to them in Chinese. Now however, we hear that they are suffering severe persecution at the hands of the Communist and we know of no way to help them. Of course, we would be glad to have any of them come to us here, but I don't think they even know of us and I doubt if they are able to leave China. Do you in India have any way of helping these Christians?"

This letter reminds us that many are seeking brotherhood in these international communities in many ways. I am sure that we have much to learn from such communities as those referred to in this letter. But even more society in general has much to learn from these experimental centres of fellowship. It is well for each one of us to remind ourselves that we are tied up with the common good—remind ourselves that society is not Christlike—that much more needs to be done to make our economic system, our political system, our social system in general more congenial to the Spirit of Sarvodaya. For example we should not be primarily interested in profit when we are doing business but we should be primarily interested in general human welfare. First of all, our own homes can learn much from these efforts in brotherhood. Each Sarvodaya home should be an experiment in a good society; when we have succeeded in our home then we may make a similar contribution in society itself. It would be a good thing for individual homes to have contact with someone of these Brotherhoods or Sisterhoods. ❀

UNEMPLOYMENT – NO PROBLEM

— J. C. KUMARAPPA —

We are constantly hearing discussions about the problem of unemployment from top ranking leaders right down to students, but hardly anyone realises that this problem is really no problem at all. In reality the problem is a disease that should vitally concern each one of us.

Man has several requirements to make his existence possible. The fulfilment of these requirements is part and parcel of his life. When he is engaged in obtaining what are essentials for him he is gainfully occupied. A bird picks up a fruit and eats it. Then in the natural course the seed is deposited elsewhere and that begins the work of planting a new life. The bird is gainfully employed, though unwittingly, both when it picks up the fruit and eats it and also when it deposits the seed. In the same way, in human life whatever we do to fulfil our needs and how we dispose of the results forms what is generally known as work. If there is an absence of such fulfilment or occupation it results in what we call "Unemployment." Unemployment results when we do not get our requirements in a cooperative social order by our own efforts. Such fulfilment is not a function of society but it is a part of our very being, like breathing. Without it we move towards death. Unemployment is not a problem but a disease. If one overeats and as a consequence suffers from a stomach upset, such upset is not a "problem" by itself but a result of our action. There is no separate "solution" for it. The remedy is simple. Stop overeating and control the palate.

In the final analysis, such a cooperative social order cannot be universal. It can only work within reasonable limits when it is properly organised to produce all that society needs. The more we

obtain our requirements by the efforts of another social order, our own chances of living within our society disappear. Thus "employment" gets equated to "a living."

The existence of unemployment indicates that we are not getting our requirements by our own efforts. In simple words we are obtaining our needs from other countries by outside efforts. This is unhealthy. The solution to this situation naturally lies in obtaining our needs in a way which will call for local organisation. This is "Swadeshi." Hence the cure for "unemployment" is the development of a spirit of swadeshi.

Our country exports large quantities of oilseeds, hides, skins, etc. and then receives back the finally produced articles from these raw materials. Employment is a factor that had been dropped out between the raw materials and the finished product. It lies in our power to insert this and solve the unemployment problem. In other words, we must process our own raw materials and produce all our requirements. The resuscitation of these two industries alone—oil-pressing and tanning—will bring hope and cheer to several millions of oilpressmen and chamars. In this way only we can find real life-giving and self-respecting employment for our people and not by giving doles in the form of salaries for work which is not productive. Hence exports of raw materials and imports of finished products are the main factors in creating unemployment. As long as this state of affairs is not tackled it will be in vain to look for "avenues of employment."

Similarly, also when we use "labour saving" machinery, while manpower remains unutilised, we are creating unemployment. It is necessary for us to solve our unemployment problem only

through these means. Centralisation of the production of the consumer goods indicates that we have departed from the natural course of man finding employment in the simple way of providing his own needs.

Our considerations show that unemployment is a thing of our own misdeeds—a sin. A great deal can be done to cure this social disease of unemployment by the Government organising work in such a way that men are employed in supplying their own needs. Citizens can

also help in restricting their purchases to those things only which have been brought into existence by our own people. In short, this implies the promotion of a spirit of swadeshi and the extension of the principle of decentralisation of production. This devil can be exorcised only by prayer and fasting, i. e. by right thinking and self-control. Let us grapple with this demon at this level with purposeful determination to eradicate it, cost it what it may.

(Gram Udyog Patrika—Nov., '53)

Bhoodan For The Sarvodaya Social Order

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Vinobaji wants the emergence of a classless society based on the goodwill of all concerned and appeals to the rich to read the writings on the wall lest the peaceful opportunity might slip away. The revolution in our social structure is inevitable, but if force becomes necessary, or if legal process is adopted the change-over would lose its grace.

The success of the movement, depends upon the sincere efforts of selfless workers. The people are willing and an atmosphere has already been created. But the greatest difficulty is the lack of sincere workers to carry the message to the remotest hut. It is a process which must continue till the final goal is reached. It is essential that the workers fully realize the significance of this movement.

NEW SOCIAL ORDER

It is essential that the ideals of Sarvodaya should pervade the atmosphere. Thought is the mother of action and unless the thought of the people is changed and unless they fully understand the im-

plications of Bhoodan, the character of society cannot undergo a healthy change. This movement is an antithesis of what our society has stood for all these years. We live in a society which is based on the preservation of self-interest. This ideal of renunciation is preached by ancient sages and seers but Vinoba has presented it under a new garb for the benefit of humanity. This Bhoodan movement is only a first step towards the creation of the new social order. Gandhiji also wanted the same thing.

NON-VIOLENT METHODS

Violence has failed to create a classless society either in China or Russia. In Russia the revolution of 1917 brought a ruling clique in power, which continued to rule for thirtytwo years. The real power did not devolve on the people. Russia became a totalitarian State in which even speech and thought of men are controlled by the State. The same totalitarian methods were tried by the Fascists and the Nazis with disastrous

results. It was through newspapers that the people learnt the Beria episode in Russia and about his fate. Herein also, the man who has stronger force of violence at his disposal will triumph and suppress his opponent. This shows that power gained by violence cannot come to the people. The Communists boast of a classless society in Russia but even today all the power and resources of the State in Russia are in the hands of a particular group. There is difference of twenty to fifty times in the wages of the different classes of the people. So in spite of the cold blooded murder of millions of their countrymen the people of Russia have got a mighty totalitarian State instead of a classless and stateless society.

AIMS OF SARVODAYA

Sarvodaya aims at the creation of a society in which the State is relegated to a secondary position. It exists only for a case of emergency which like the alarm chain of the railway trains of which the passengers are not even aware. There are people who say that the State should make laws for the distribution of the lands, but that would make the State more powerful. We aim at a peaceful revolution as an outcome of a popular will.

The philosophy of Sarvodaya is based on two fundamentals:

(a) Whatever we have got belongs to the society or God and we have to take only as much as we need for our existence and return the rest to the society.

(b) Man is essentially good and whatever his shortcomings, he can be reformed in the end.

These are the two cardinal principles of Sarvodaya. Vinobaji started Bhoodan as land is a gift of nature and concerns a vast majority of people who must realise the importance of renunciation of self-interest for the sake of others. Sampatti Dan and Shrama Dan are to follow. The problem of land is a burning topic on all Asian countries from Japan to

Egypt. Land is of immediate interest to the people and so they can easily understand its ethics and implications.

POPULAR SANCTION

Mahatma Gandhi fully realised its importance and always tried to create a public sanction for whatever he did. It was a Gandhian technique to take away the moral basis of a thing, he tried to abolish. Today even the rich people cannot assert their right over the land. The creation of social pressure is essential for the achievement of our objects and so Vinoba takes even a decimal of land from the poorest man to produce the popular sanction.

IMMEDIATE RESPONSE

The world will not stand and wait for fifty years. People should realize their duties without delay else the forces of violence will raise their heads though the social order which they dreamt of would not come in its wake. If they did not listen they stood in the danger of losing everything. The world is looking with hope at this great experiment in India. The forces of violence are abroad and humanity is the victim of selfish mentality of the mighty nations. The world is trembling under the heavy burden of destructive armaments which if once let loose will spell destruction for humanity. If we succeed in our experiment we shall give a new light to the people of the world for the salvation of mankind.

The movement launched by Vinobaji has nothing of party politics in it. Parties are formed for the achievement of some definite objects. They are only means to an end and are not an end in themselves. The interest of humanity is above all party interest and it is the aim of all the parties to achieve it. So party affiliations should not stand in the way of working for the success of this noble and high mission of the great saint who is doing it for the salvation of mankind.

Report of a speech at the meeting in Sitamarhi in Bihar on 1st Nov., '53, adapted from 'The Searchlight.'

★ All-India Bhoodan News ★

MAHARASHTRA

Two Bhoodan workers' training camps, each for 5 days, were conducted in the Ratnagiri and Thana districts in the 2nd week of October. Ratnagiri is selected for intensive Bhoodan work and Sri Appasahib Patwardhan is touring in the area for it. The President of the Maharashtra Congress Committee had a Bhoodan tour in Nager district and collected 350 acres of land.

GUJARAT

Sri Ravishanker Maharaj has collected 4147 acres of land in his Bhoodan tour in Cutch. Sri Babulbhai Mehta did a lot of propaganda for Sarvodaya literature in the last one month, visiting more than 72 villages.

BOMBAY

A Bhoodan workers' camp was run from 9th to 15th October.

RAJASTHAN

Sri Shrikrishnadas Jajuji and Sri Jayaprakash Narayan did intensive propaganda for Sampatti-dan and Bhoodan. From Mysrod village 8000 bhigas of land were received by them.

UTTAR PRADESH

In the Women's Conference at Kanpur, it was decided that women should take an active part in Bhoodan work. The people of Ghumeda village have taken a vow to see that there shall be no landless family there. Through Baba Raghawadas 200 acres of land were distributed to 27 landless families.

MADHYA BHARAT

Sri Ghodeji covered by foot 19 villages and collected 218 acres of land from 154 donors.

BIHAR

Vinobaji's tour in Monghyr district is continuing. The district workers' Conference was held at Monghyr. In Gaya

district, the workers visited 400 villages and received 1956 gift-deeds. In Palamu district, the inhabitants of Senha village donated all their lands to Bhoodan. Intensive village reconstruction work is now being carried on there by a newly formed Panchayat Council under the guidance of a small Bhoodan Samithi constituted for the purpose.

UTKAL

Dada Dharmadhikari began his tour in the province on 1st Nov. and collected 3759 acres of land.

BENGAL

Bhoodan workers' training courses, one in Havada district under the guidance of Sri Charuchandra Bhandari, and another at Dalpathipur under the guidance of Sri Dharendra Mazumdar were conducted in October. Workers belonging to all political parties attended these camps.

ASSAM

The provincial Bhoodan Samithi was reconstituted and enlarged. Sreemathi Amalaprabha Das and Sri Ravindranath Navis were appointed as the office secretaries in the place of Shri Bhuvanachandra Das, the convener who resigned.

ANDHRA

Bhoodan Yagna was inaugurated in Andhra at Kurnool on 17-11-'53 by Shri Vallabhsami, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh at a public meeting. Sri N. Sanjeeva Reddy, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and Minister spoke on the Bhoodan Yagna. Three other Ministers of the Andhra State, Shri Latchanna, Shri Pattabhirama Rao, Shri Thimma Reddy participated in the function and addressed the meeting. Three persons offered Bhoodan of 5 acres each at the meeting.



TAMIL NAD

Shri S. Jagannathan had a week's Yatra in the Madura District and in some places there were touching incidents when even the reluctant was moved in making Bhoodan. Some of the members of the Praja-Socialist Party are taking keen interest and actively helping in the Bhoodan work. In Tinnevely District the organiser has started on the Yatra in which two members of the Madras Legislature are participating.

The Tamil Nad Bhoodan workers are taking great interest in the propagation of the Sarvodaya Bhoodan literature published by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam. The Tamil edition of Vinobaji's "Gita Pravachanam" recently published, is being sold in large numbers by the Bhoodan workers.

Preparatory arrangements are being made for Shri Shankarrao Deo's Yatra in Tamil Nad which begins at Cape Comorin on the 9th December. He will cover Tinnevely, Ramnad, Trichy, Tanjore and S. Arcot districts before the end of January.

SRI DEO'S YATRA IN KERALA

Shri Shankarrao Deo's health has not been satisfactory for the last few months. He had a malarial attack which is recurring.

Shri Deo, in spite of his weak health commenced his Bhoodan Yatra at Nileshwaram in North Malabar on the 2nd November. This time his tour is along the coastal line of Kerala. He visited all the important towns of Cannanore, Tellichery, Calicut, Ponnani, Guruvayur, Cranganore etc., on the way and on the 20th he reached Ernakulam. At all places he addressed large gatherings of people, and spoke to students and workers. At Calicut there was relay of his programme by the All-India Radio and Shri Deo gave a Radio talk on Bhoodan Yagna.

There is a great response in Kerala. At Ernakulam Shri Ikkanda Warriar, Convenor, announced that the total Bhoodan in Kerala has exceeded 11,000 acres

out of the target of 25,000 acres. During his first Yatra last year Shri Deo had received over 6,000 acres. He has received so far in this Yatra about 4,000 acres. It is hoped that by the time that Shri Deo completes his Yatra at Cape Comorin on the 7th December the target of 25,000 acres for Kerala would have been reached.

GIFTS OF JEWELS IN BHOODAN

Sri Janakidevi Bajaj (wife of the late Jamnalal Bajaj) who is permitted by Vinobaji to receive jewels from women towards Sampathi-dan Yagna, has so far collected 80 tolas of gold jewellery from the ladies in the cities of Calcutta and Delhi and in the province of Bihar.

She took a solemn vow on the 11th September last to collect before 2nd October, gifts (for construction) of 108 wells for the landless peasants who will be receiving lands under the Bhoodan Yagna. By 2nd October midnight she succeeded in reaching the target. Till October end she has received gifts for 208 wells.

ALL-INDIA BHOODAN RECEIVED AND DISTRIBUTED
UP TO 20-11-'53

State	Land received (in acres)	Land Distributed in acres
Assam	1,349	
Andhra	10,299	
Uttar Pradesh	5,00,331	26,622
Utkal	45,021	4,476 *
Karnatak	1,634	
Kerala	10,000	
Gujarat	18,396	
Tamilnad	14,252	255
Delhi	7,659	
Punjab and Pepsu	2,435	
Bengal	374	
Bihar	11,49,565	
Madhya Pradesh	56,535	928
Madhya Bharat	51,438	
Maharashtra	9,270	
Mysore	2,007	
Rajasthan	2,29,770	
Vindhya Pradesh	3,700	125
Saurashtra	8,000	
Himachal Pradesh	1,350	10,244
Hyderabad	68,768	2,160 *
Total	21,92,153	

* This denotes the number of families among whom land is distributed.

NOTES AND NEWS

SAMPATHI DAN

The Sarva Seva Sangh sought Vinobaji's advice in the matter of its receiving cash donations towards Sampathi-dan in open public meetings. Clarifying the principle behind the ideal and the procedure to be followed, Vinobaji has expressed as follows:—

"1. We should always bear in mind that our objective is to develop the power of Aparigraha (non-possession) in people. Therefore we should not do anything which will increase the influence of money. On the other hand our attempt should be to diminish its hold on them.

"2 In Sampathi-dan, the question of receiving money in cash does not arise at all. The money will remain with the donor, and he will spend it as per our instructions. I have no idea to get this done through any institution at all. The idea is to get it done through certain individuals

"3. Similarly gifts of articles such as bulls, grains, ploughs, wells etc. which we call Sadhan-dan (gifts of the means of production) shall not be received in the form of cash. Gift-deeds should be drawn for them also. The donors will be put in direct contact with the landless who will get the benefit of these gifts when the land distribution begins.

"4. Let no money be collected for propaganda or office expenses for Bhoodan work, especially when the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi is there. And in future we will have to find out such ways and means as will save us from collecting money for the purpose of carrying on work of like nature. In Bhoodan-public-meetings money is now being received and it should be stopped.

"Of course I have given permission to collect gifts of jewels and that too to particular individuals alone. The idea behind it is to liberate women from the fancy for jewels."

In the light of the above advice the Sarva Seva Sangh in its meeting in September, 1953 has decided not to receive cash donations towards Sampathi-dan or Sadhan-dan.

FOREIGN VISITORS TO VINOBAJI

Many foreign visitors have been attracted by Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna, and follow Vinobaji in his Yatra keenly observing the daily happenings which appear to them as very strange. Here is a press report about Mr Harold Elvin:

"Vinoba Bhawe is the only living person who matches words with action according to Mr Harold Elvin, a British writer of repute and winner of the Atlantic Award in literature for his book *A Cockney in Moscow*.

Mr Elvin came here two months ago to learn about India and her people. As a result of a written appeal, he was invited to visit the Acharya. Accordingly Mr Elvin joined the Acharya and his party in Bihar on September 17. He accompanied him when he attempted to enter the famous Vaidyanath Temple in Deoghar with a party of Harijans and was attacked by the Pandas (hereditary priests). Mr Elvin stayed with the party till September 28.

Mr Elvin regards the Acharya's teachings as "the most perfect effort ever at blending religion with politics."

He described Acharya Bhawe's power of exhortation: "For every word of his preaching he has an acre of land to lay beside it."

In the course of Mr Elvin's tour with Vinobaji, about 3,000 acres of land were presented to Vinobaji.

While Mr Elvin was with the party they were joined by Mr Franco, and Professor L. C. Cha, a visiting Professor at the Central Institute of Education, University of Delhi, who is from the Kuming Teacher's College, China."

NOTES AND NEWS

SARVODAYA AND COMMUNISM

Points of resemblance and essential difference between the two powerful ideologies of Communism and Sarvodaya were dealt with lucidly by Sri S. N. Agarwal, Congress General Secretary, in a speech at the newly founded Institute for Gandhian Studies at Jaipur on Oct. 29th quoted below.

"In their aim of building a classless society Communism and Sarvodaya were akin. Both lay equal stress on providing useful occupation to everybody and thereby reducing unemployment. Equitable redistribution of land was another common concept between the two and from that standpoint Communists could have been expected to campaign actively on behalf of Acharya Vinoba Bhawe's Bhoodan movement.

"But the approach of Sarvodaya and Communism to all these things differed fundamentally. Communist thinking was based on a materialistic interpretation of living in which an individual became an automaton and the State was all powerful and almost totalitarian in character. Gandhiji, on the other hand, attached the highest importance to human values and the individual. In its materialistic values of life Communism was, therefore, in a way closer to capitalism than Sarvodaya as Acharya Vinoba rightly put it.

"It would, however, be a mistake to lead a life of isolation from the rest of the world. Gandhiji was not against machinery or international trade contracts. He wanted neither individual nor social units to remain dependent on others for realization of their basic needs. Dependence of this sort was the root of all exploitation. Though the Communist leader Sri Gopalan had said that he would not oppose Bhoodan movement it was in a way a case of mere lip sympathy. Nobody knew better than Communists that this movement cut across the very roots of Communism and had already given it a rude shock in India."

ADIVASIS OR ABORIGINES

Vanyajati is an illustrated quarterly magazine in English and Hindi (published by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Kingsway, Delhi-9—Annual subscription Rs. 3) devoted for the uplift of the tribal people of India numbering nearly 20 millions. The welfare of these aboriginals is the 16th item of the constructive programme given to the nation by Mahatma Gandhi. The constructive worker or the Sarvodaya Sevak will find useful and interesting information in the *Vanyajati* magazine about the millions of the tribal people and their problems particularly regarding land in the following extract from "*Vanyajati*" of October, 1953.

"It is a sorry feature to note that due attention is not being paid to the economic development of the unsophisticated people of the tribal areas. As the census figures of 1951 show the tribal people are essentially an agricultural class, depending for their livelihood mainly on cultivation. Out of a total population of 19,116,014 Scheduled Tribes, 17,284,260 come under agricultural classes, (excluding Ajmer), out of whom 12,543,014 are owners of land, 1,873,821 are cultivators of land mainly unowned, 2,803,171 are cultivating labourers and 64,254 are non-cultivating owners of land and agricultural rent receivers. Only 1,822,422 are of non-agricultural classes. But these agricultural classes do not get sufficient income from land to sustain them even for three or four months in the year. They have to supplement their food by forest roots and tubers and by game which they are able to procure in hunting. It is therefore necessary that the means of increasing the agricultural income should be devised by adoption of better methods of agriculture. They have to be provided with better quality of land. They should be given bullocks free, supplied with good seeds and manure. Cottage industries should be developed and markets for minor forest produce should be provided. These and other facilities like minor

irrigation projects can be provided for by the State Governments. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Orissa have got sanctioned schemes for increasing production and for economic development. In Bombay State, the Government are developing very satisfactorily the Forest Labour Co-operative Societies, which provide the non-agricultural classes with labour. In Bihar the system of lending grain through Grain Golas is being specialised. These special schemes which go a great way to save the tribals from the clutches of the money-lenders deserve to be copied by other States. But still we venture to say that the States have not implemented the schemes according to the five-year plan or under Art. 275 and that they could have shown much more progress in this work."

TO SEVAKS OF SARVODAYA SAMAJ

Sri Vallabhwami, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha, writes:-

As the office will be busy with the arrangements for the coming Sarvodaya Sammelan the register of the Sarvodaya Sevaks has to be closed early on the 31st December, 1953. The names of those who have not received their new Sevak numbers from the office since the last Chandil session are not in our register. Those who desire to have their names registered, are requested to obtain the Sevak's forms and to send them to us duly filled up before the end of December, '53. Not more than one form will be sent to any individual.

KHADI SALES IN DIWALI

Deepavali is the heaviest selling season for Khadi in Tamil Nad. Usually about one-fourth of the annual Khadi sales is done in this season. There have been many seriously disturbing factors in the field of Khadi work in Tamil Nad. Since the repeal of the Madras Government's Khadi Control Order last year

there has been unrestricted trade in spurious Khadi by the big and small merchants and by Khadi weavers themselves formerly working in Government centres and in the A. I. S. A. The Madras Government's Khadi work is an anomaly as it is carried on without any connection with the A. I. S. A. The Government's Khadi is also sold in many places practically competing with the A. I. S. A.'s Khadi. In spite of all these, Khadi sales in the Deepavali month in 1953 shows a remarkable increase over the sales in last year according to comparative figures given below. The lifting of the yarn quota for Khadi sale and the 3 As. commission per rupee given by the Khadi Board to consumers would of course also account for the increased sale in this year.

	1952	1953.
Tirupur Vibhag	Rs. 1,47,691	2,31,873
Tanjore Vibhag	1,13,366	1,54,337
Madura & Ramnad	1,22,337	1,57,206
Tirunelveli Vibhag	59,883	98,296
Madras Vibhag	24,410	52,440
Total	4,67,687	6,94,152

The Khadi Bhandar of the Gandhi Ashram at Salem in Tamil Nad reports their Khadi sales for Deepavali as Rs. 8,980.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Socialism and Peasantry

By Asoka Mehta — Price Rs. 2

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6, Tulloch Road, Apollo Blunder, Bombay.

Anecdotes From Gandhiji's Life

Part I Price 7 As.

Part II „ 9 As.

Part III „ 11 As.

Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, Calcutta, Bombay & Madras.

The Indian Cotton Textile Industry

1952-53 Annual — Price Rs. 6

The Handloom Weaving Industry

1952-53 Annual — Price Rs. 1-8-0

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