

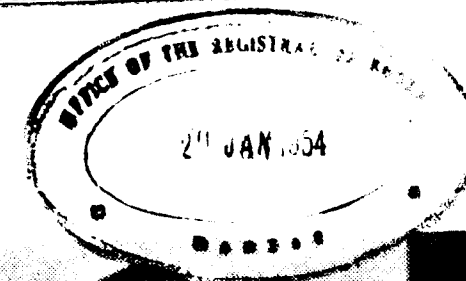
# SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 3

January 1954



168  
224  
1-54



Photo - Kanu Gandhi - Gandhi Chitralaya, Rajkot

THE MONTHLY DIGEST MAGAZINE OF THE SARVA SEVA SANGH

ANNUAL SUBS:— INDIA RS. 3 — FOREIGN: ONE DOLLAR OR 6 SHILLINGS:— SINGLE COPY AS. 4

# GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

| BOOKS BY GANDHIJI                   | Rs. As. |                                            |      |
|-------------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------|------|
| Autobiography                       | 7 0     | Christianity, Its Economy and              |      |
| A Gandhi Anthology — Book I         | 0 8     | Way of Life (J. C. Kumarappa)              | 1 8  |
| Bapu's Letters to Ashram Sisters    | 1 8     | Clive to Keynes ( " )                      | 0 12 |
| " " Mira                            | 4 0     | Constructive Programme-Some Suggestions    |      |
| Basic Education                     | 1 8     | (Rajendra Prasad)                          | 0 8  |
| Cent per cent Swadeshi              | 2 0     | Dehumanization in Modern Society           |      |
| Communal Unity                      | 9 0     | (R. Fulop Miller)                          | 0 7  |
| Constructive Programme              | 0 6     | Economics of Khaddar (Richard B. Gregg)    | 2 0  |
| Delhi Diary                         | 3 0     | Educational Philosophy of                  |      |
| Diet and Diet Reform                | 2 0     | Mahatma Gandhi (M. S. Patel)               | 5 8  |
| Drink, Drugs & Gambling             | 2 8     | Essentials of Gandhism                     |      |
| Food Shortage and Agriculture       | 2 8     | (V. Swaminatha Sarma)                      | 0 12 |
| For Pacifists                       | 1 4     | Gandhiana, A Bibliography of               |      |
| From Yeravda Mandir                 | 0 8     | Gandhian Literature (P. G. Deshpande)      | 3 4  |
| Gandhiji's Autobiography (Abridged, |         | Gandhian Ethics (Benoy Gopal Ray)          | 1 0  |
| by Bharatan Kumarappa)              | 2 0     | Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World    |      |
| Gandhiji's Correspondence with      |         | (Pyarelal)                                 | 1 0  |
| Government (1942-44)                | 2 8     | Gandhi and Marx (K. G. Mashruwala)         | 1 8  |
| Gleanings Gathered at Bapu's Feet   | 0 6     | Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity         |      |
| Hind Swaraj                         | 0 8     | (S. K. George)                             | 1 8  |
| Hindu Dharma                        | 4 0     | Gandhism in the Atomic Age                 |      |
| Key to Health                       | 0 10    | (Y. G. Krishnamurti)                       | 2 0  |
| My Early Life                       | 1 2     | Mahadeva Desai's Early Life                | 1 0  |
| Non-Violence in Peace & War 2 Vols. | 12 0    | Practice and Precepts of Jesus             |      |
| Ramanama                            | 1 0     | (J. C. Kumarappa)                          | 1 8  |
| Rebuilding Our Villages             | 1 8     | Public Finance and Our Poverty             |      |
| Satyagraha                          | 5 8     | (J. C. Kumarappa)                          | 1 8  |
| Satyagraha in S. Africa             | 4 0     | Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel                   |      |
| Selected Letters—I                  | 0 7     | (Narabari D. Parikh) Vol. I                | 6 0  |
| Selections from Gandhi              | 4 0     | Sarvodaya (Gandhi, Mashruwala              |      |
| Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence   | 2 0     | and Vinoba)                                | 1 0  |
| The Nation's Voice                  | 3 0     | Satyagraha in Champaran                    |      |
| To the Students                     | 2 8     | (Rajendra Prasad)                          | 2 4  |
| Towards New Education               | 1 4     | Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi           |      |
| Towards Non-Violent Socialism       | 2 0     | (Krishnadas)                               | 4 0  |
| Unto This Last (A Paraphrase)       | 0 6     | Stray Glimpses of Bapu (Kaka Kalelkar)     | 2 0  |
| Women and Social Injustice          | 3 0     | The Diary of Mahadev Desai Vol. I          | 5 0  |
|                                     |         | The Gita according to Gandhi               |      |
|                                     |         | (Mahadev Desai)                            | 4 0  |
|                                     |         | The Political Philosophy of                |      |
|                                     |         | Mahatma Gandhi (G. N. Dhavan)              | 6 0  |
|                                     |         | The Power of Non-Violence                  |      |
|                                     |         | (Richard B. Gregg)                         | 2 8  |
|                                     |         | The Story of Bardoli (Mahadev Desai)       | 2 8  |
|                                     |         | The Story of the Bible (S. K. George)      | 4 0  |
|                                     |         | To Women (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur)            | 0 6  |
|                                     |         | Why Prohibition? (Bharatan Kumarappa)      | 0 12 |
|                                     |         | Which Way Lies Hope? (Richard B. Gregg)    | 1 4  |
|                                     |         |                                            |      |
|                                     |         | <b>THE IDEOLOGY OF THE CHARKHA</b>         |      |
|                                     |         | Cheap and handy Digest of Gandhiji's       |      |
|                                     |         | writings and speeches on khadi;            |      |
|                                     |         | Compiled by <b>Shri Srikrishnadas Jaju</b> |      |
|                                     |         | Price As. 14                               |      |

Postage and Packing Extra for all

ALL THE ABOVE BOOKS ARE AVAILABLE AT

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, Post Box No. 9, Devji Colony, TIRUPUR (S. India)

# SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 3

January 1954

## SARVODAYA

Whole No. 31

### CONTENTS

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| National Education                 | 170 |
| — Mahatma Gandhi                   |     |
| The Charkha in the Gita            | 172 |
| — Mahatma Gandhi                   |     |
| Yarn Offering for Sarvodaya Mela   | 173 |
| — Vinobaji                         |     |
| Bhoodan Towards Sarvodaya          | 174 |
| — Acharya Vinoba                   |     |
| The Gita Ideal in Sarvodaya        | 177 |
| — Shankarrao Deo                   |     |
| Place of Cattle in Agriculture     | 178 |
| — C. Rajagopalachariar             |     |
| The Sarvodaya Social Order         | 179 |
| — Jayaprakash Narayan              |     |
| The Basis of Sarvodaya             | 181 |
| — R. R. Diwakar                    |     |
| Bhoodan Yagna—From Vamana          | 182 |
| to Virat                           |     |
| — M. Krishnamurti                  |     |
| Capital Punishment Still in India? | 184 |
| — Heinz Kraschutski (Germany)      |     |
| The Disease in Our University      | 185 |
| Education                          |     |
| — J. C. Kumarappa                  |     |
| Natural Manure vs. Chemical        | 186 |
| Manure                             |     |
| — Willfred Wellock                 |     |
| The Genesis of Bhoodan Yagna       | 188 |
| — V. Ramachandra Reddi             |     |
| Prevention of Spurious Khadi       | 189 |
| Gramodaya Sangam Conference        | 190 |
| Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra     | 191 |
| All-India Bhoodan News             | 192 |
| Small-Scale Farm in Sevagram       | 193 |
| — Reddiji (Sevagram)               |     |

### ALL INDIA BHOODAN RECEIVED UP TO 1-1-54

| Province         | Acres     |
|------------------|-----------|
| Assam            | 1,349     |
| Andhra           | 10,299    |
| Uttar Pradesh    | 5,00,642  |
| Utkal            | 47,499    |
| Karnatak         | 1,634     |
| Kerala           | 10,000    |
| Gujarat          | 20,845    |
| Tamilnad         | 14,252    |
| Delhi            | 7,659     |
| Punjab and Pepsu | 3,183     |
| Bengal           | 395       |
| Bihar            | 12,97,868 |
| Madhya Pradesh   | 58,628    |
| Madhya Bharat    | 55,730    |
| Maharashtra      | 9,564     |
| Mysore           | 2,196     |
| Rajasthan        | 2,29,770  |
| Vindhya Pradesh  | 3,963     |
| Saurashtra       | 8,000     |
| Himachal Pradesh | 1,350     |
| Hyderabad        | 71,695    |
| Total            | 23,56,521 |

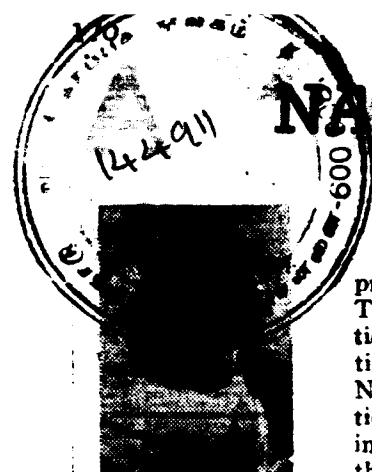
### SARVODAYA LITERATURE

We appeal to readers to make special efforts to spread Gandhian literature and journals for the ideological revolution of Sarvodaya during the Sarvodaya Paksha, January 30th to February 12th.

### TO READERS

As some of the staff will be participating in Bhoodan Yatra in January the next issue for February will be published on the 11th February instead of the 1st February.

Mq. Editor, Sarvodaya



# NATIONAL EDUCATION

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

The causes for the great unrest among the students under the present system of education were analysed long ago by the Mahatma. The following article written in 1921 at the height of the Non-co-operation movement for boycott of schools, should engage the serious attention of the nation at present which aims at a Sarvodaya Social Order. Nothing is more urgent than the replacement of the present educational system by a Basic National Education as the former is a misfit in India which has adopted its own flag and constitution after the advent of freedom as frequently pointed by Vinobaji.

So many strange things have been said about my views on national education, that it would perhaps not be out of place to formulate them before the public.

In my opinion, the existing system of education is defective, apart from its association with an utterly unjust Government, in three most important matters:

(1) It is based upon foreign culture to the almost entire exclusion of indigenous culture.

(2) It ignores the culture of the heart and the hand and confines itself simply to the head.

(3) Real education is impossible through a foreign medium.

Let us examine the three defects. Almost from the commencement, the text-books deal, not with things the boys and the girls have always to deal with in their homes, but things to which they are perfect strangers. It is not through the text-books, that a lad learns what is right and what is wrong in the home life. He is never taught to have any pride in his surroundings. The higher he goes, the farther he is removed from his home, so that at the end of his education he becomes estranged from his surroundings. He feels no poetry about the home life. The village scenes are all a sealed book to him. His own civilization is presented to him as imbecile, barbarous, superstitious and useless for all practical purposes. His education is calculated to wean him from his traditional culture. And

if the mass of educated youths are not entirely denationalised, it is because the ancient culture is too deeply embedded in them to be altogether uprooted even by an education adverse to its growth. If I had my way, I would certainly destroy the majority of the present text-books and cause to be written text-books which have a bearing on and correspondence with the home life, so that a boy as he learns may react upon his immediate surroundings.

Secondly, whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate where more than eighty per cent of the population is agricultural and another ten per cent industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary and to unfit boys and girls for manual work in after-life. Indeed I hold that, as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must from their infancy be taught the dignity of such labour. Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour. There is no reason why a peasant's son, after having gone to a school, should become useless, as he does become, as agricultural labourer. It is a sad thing that our school boys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt. Moreover, in India, if we expect, as we must, every boy and girl of school-going age to attend public schools, we have not the means to finance education in accordance with the existing style, nor are millions of parents

able to pay the fees that are at present imposed. Education to be universal must therefore be free. I fancy that, even under an ideal system of Government, we shall not be able to devote two thousand million rupees which we should require for finding education for all the children of school-going age. It follows, therefore, that our children must be made to pay in labour partly or wholly for all the education they receive. Such universal labour to be profitable, can only be (to my thinking) hand-spinning and hand-weaving. But for the purposes of my proposition, it is immaterial whether we have spinning or any other form of labour so long as it can be turned to account. Only, it will be found upon examination, that on a practical, profitable and extensive scale, there is no occupation other than the processes connected with cloth-production which can be introduced in our schools throughout India.

The introduction of manual training will serve a double purpose in a poor country like ours. It will pay for the education of our children and teach them an occupation on which they can fall back in after-life, if they choose, for earning a living. Such a system must make our children self-reliant. Nothing will demoralise the nation so much as that we should learn to despise labour.

One word only as to the education of the heart. I do not believe that this can be imparted through books. It can only be done through the living touch of the teacher. And, who are the teachers in the primary and even Secondary schools? Are they men and women of faith and character? Have they themselves received the training of the heart? Are they even expected to take care of the permanent element in the boys and girls placed under their charge? Is not the method of engaging teachers for lower schools an effective bar against character? Do the teachers get even a living wage? And we know that the teachers of primary schools are not selected for their patri-

tism. They only come who cannot find any other employment.

Finally, the medium of instruction. My views on this point are too well known to need re-stating. The foreign medium has caused brain-fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot, I would to-day stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy.

My uncompromising opposition to the foreign medium has resulted in an unwarranted charge being levelled against me of being hostile to foreign culture or the learning of the English language. No reader of "Young India" could have missed the statement often made by me in these pages, that I regard English as the language of international commerce and diplomacy, and therefore consider its knowledge on the part of some of us as essential. As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

Nothing can be farther from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erect barriers. But I do respectfully contend that an appreciation of other cultures can fitly follow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as ours

32  
11510211 11510211 11510211

## THE CHARKHA IN THE GITA

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

The following written in 1921 will be specially interesting as it reveals the Mahatma's original conception of sacrificial spinning (Sutra-Yagna) which has developed now in Free India as Shrama-Dan Yagna and Bhoodan Yagna under the leadership of Vinobaji.

In the last issue, I have endeavoured to answer the objections raised by the \*Poet against spinning as a sacrament to be performed by all. I have done so in all humility and with the desire to convince the Poet and those who think like them. The reader will be interested in knowing that my belief is derived largely from the "Bhagavadgita." I have quoted the relevant verses in the article itself. I give below Edwin Arnold's rendering of the verses from his *Song Celestial* for the benefit of those who do not read Sanskrit:

Work is more excellent than idleness;  
The body's life proceeds not, lacking work.  
There is a task of holiness to do,  
Unlike world-binding toil, which bindeth not  
The faithful soul; such earthly duty do  
Free from desire, and thou shalt well perform  
Thy heavenly purpose. Spake Prajapati—  
In the beginning, when all men were made,  
And, with mankind, the sacrifice—"Do this!  
Work! Sacrifice! Increase and multiply  
With sacrifice! This shall be Kamaduk,  
Your 'Cow of Plenty', giving back her milk  
Of all abundance. Worship the gods thereby;  
The gods shall yield thee grace. Those meats  
ye crave

(Continued from previous page) National Education  
has. We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and depreciate its value. We have almost ceased to live it. An academic grasp without practice behind it is like an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at but nothing to inspire or ennoble. My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own.

"Young India", 21-9-1921

The gods will grant to Labour, when it pays  
Tithes in the altar-flame. But if one eats  
Fruits of the earth, rendering to kindly  
Heaven  
No gift of toil, that thief steals from his  
world.

Who eat of food after their sacrifice  
Are quit of fault, but they that spread a feast  
All for themselves, eat sin and drink of sin.  
By food the living live; food comes of rain,  
And rain comes by the pious sacrifice,  
And sacrifice is paid with tithes of toil;  
Thus action is of Brahma, who is One,  
The Only, All-pervading; at all times  
Present in sacrifice. He that abstains  
To help the rolling wheels of this

great world  
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,  
Shameful and vain.

Work here undoubtedly refers to physical labour, and work by way of sacrifice can only be work to be done by all for the common benefit. Such work—such sacrifice can only be spinning. I do not wish to suggest that the author of the Divine Song had the spinning wheel in mind. He merely laid down a fundamental principle of conduct. And reading in and applying it to India, I can only think of spinning as the fittest and most acceptable sacrificial body labour. I cannot imagine anything nobler or more national than that, for we should all do the labour that the poor must do and thus identify ourselves with them and through them with all mankind. I cannot imagine better worship of God than that in His name I should labour for the poor even as they do. The spinning-wheel spells a more equitable distribution of the riches of the earth.

"Young India", 20th Oct., 1921

\* Rabindranath Tagore

## Yarn Offering for Sarvodaya Mela

— VINOBAJI'S APPEAL —

Writing on the offering of yarn hanks—Sootanjali—I had suggested the idea of having a mountain of yarn offerings—Sutra-kuta. The idea caught the imagination of constructive workers and at several places yarn hanks were collected and arranged in the manner of a mountain and photos were taken of them and sent to me. They were not mountains, nor hills; they were only small heaps. However, I liked it for it showed that the idea of Sootanjali had taken roots in the popular mind.

Last year about a lakh and a half yarn hanks were collected from all over the country, out of which Gujarat alone had contributed 40 thousands. Youths of Gujarat have this year resolved to collect 75 thousand yarn hanks. From the population point of view it comes to one yarn hank per one hundred persons. I have no doubt that with a little effort Gujarat will reach its target. For seeds of Gandhiji's idea are deeply sown in the soil of Gujarat.

Other provinces can well follow the example of Gujarat. For that it is necessary to prepare a well thought out plan. Every village should be approached. After the demise of Gandhiji there had arisen a doubt about the propagation of Sarvodaya ideology. Happily that doubt has now been dispelled. The Bhoodan movement has so much influenced the people that they do not now find that Sarvodaya is "an excellent but impracticable" programme. They have come to feel that it can and will achieve the welfare of people. Workers should fully avail themselves of this changed atmosphere.

Government have now come to realise the importance of Khadi in the Five-Year Plan. Khadi is gaining impor-

tance, though not from a view to build self-sufficient village republics, but only to combat the problem of unemployment. It has slowly been realised now that as "Khadi was a livery of freedom" in the struggle for Independence, it can well become the symbol of Samya-yoga (equalitarian order on spiritual basis) after the attainment of Independence. Those who felt that after Swaraj Khadi has one of its wings cut off have realized that a new wing is now sprouting in its place. It means that yarn offerings can be collected now not only from villages but from New Delhi also. Workers should exploit this favourable psychology of the people.

The power of Sootanjali (yarn offering) lies in the slogan (Mantra), 'Each one should donate a yarn hank'. It will help to create a brotherhood of yarn offerers on an ideological basis. Sarvodaya Samaj might have a few thousand names on its register. But the yarn hank offerers will be in lakhs. They may even be crores if only workers put in a more concentrated effort. The donor should attach a label to the yarn hank bearing his name and full address. He should specify in it his age too. All persons including small children and aged persons can take part in it. This will therefore be not only a reflection of the present but also a pointer to the future.

The Sarva Seva Sangh will ordinarily use the yarn hanks in the provinces from which they are received. Yarn hanks have been considered as very useful in raising institutions dedicated to sacrificial body labour. I suggest 10 lakhs of yarn hanks as the target for the next year. I hope all those who love Sarvodaya which is free from any party affiliation will enthusiastically participate in this work.

## BHOODAN TOWARDS SARVODAYA

ACHARYA VINOBA

Many of Vinobaji's daily prayer speeches are being published in the Hindi Bhoodan Weeklies of U. P. and Bihar besides the monthly Sarvodaya. The following are some selected extracts from his recent speeches.

### Three Essentials for Village-Raj

**W**e need to do three things for reinvigorating the village-life. First, we must change the system of education; next we must start village industries; and thirdly, land must be redistributed. Individual ownership in regard to land is absurd, for land is, as we call it, Mother Earth. It is the support, the 'ground' of human existence and life.

Both wealth and poverty are diseases like other diseases and people should be helped to get rid of them so that they may regain normal health. It is not true as is generally believed, that the rich are happy and the poor alone are unhappy. Both are unhappy each in their own way: one by their excessive wealth and the other by their abject poverty, contribute to the weakening of the Indian nation.

We therefore appeal to those who have more than enough land to give it away. Indians are by nature a grateful people. They forget the wrongs done to them. If the rich against whom they have many just grievances act in time and give away their excess land and wealth to those who need it, the latter will not only forgive them but love them and be ready to die for them.

We have set our target as five crore acres. It is indeed a large order and some people find it hard to believe that we can fulfil it. We say that God will find ways to get it done; meanwhile let each one of us do his part of the work. If he has six acres let him give only one acre. God will give him ample return for his having done his duty. Those who have 100 or 150 acres should give more than a sixth, while those who have less than six acres may give only a fraction of

an acre. Sudama and Shabari were paupers without any resources but they did find something to present to the Lord. Even so the poorest amongst us should share the urge to offer something to this great Yagna. Lord gave to Sudama in ample measure but not before Sudama had made his gift to Him. That is why we ask even the poor to bring their offerings to the Bhoodan. Giving is a *Punya-karma*, i. e. an act of merit. Why should the rich have a monopoly of it? An act of merit is a duty and all alike have an equal right to it.

### ★ The Sampatti Dan

There is one thing which we will demonstrate through Sampatti-dan: that non-possession is a force for social good. We have long known that non-possession brings about individual purification. We have now to realize that it can also serve as a powerful means of social wellbeing. We have to prove that it is not only spiritually efficacious but it can help us in constructing a better and a richer worldly life. The Gandhi Memorial Fund collected ten crore rupees. But not even hundred crores will suffice for all we want to do. The need of the hour is to mobilise all our wealth in every form and press it into the service of the society. The Sampattidan way will turn every house into a bank on which the society can draw freely for all its wants. And because what is offered will be used locally, it will make a very easily workable plan. It will directly lead to the building up of the collective strength of the people. It will unite them with one another and release tremendous energy for constructive effort. We know that practice of equality and renunciation are good, but

we have to look at them afresh and see them as forces for promoting social welfare. The little that we have done is enough to show its vast potentiality in this direction. Even at the rate of hundred rupees for an acre, on an average, the land we have received so far would amount to twenty crore rupees. Had I set to the collection of money, instead of land I would have had to face numerous difficulties, all leading to many undesirable things tarnishing the purity of the work.

★

### The Three Qualities of Spirit

It is by the cultivation of the appropriate qualities of the spirit that human society is enabled to meet the challenge of every new age and go forward. So far as my study goes, it has seemed to me that at the present juncture of history we need more than anything else three great qualities: fearlessness, equality, and devotion to society. Mankind is experiencing urgent need for these three qualities today and all its efforts, whether guided well or ill, would seem, on a closer scrutiny, to be directed towards their attainment.

Men all over the world are living today in a state of fear. Nations are busy developing weapons of greater and greater destructive power. They are making atom bombs and hydrogen bombs; why? Because they are seized with fear. America is a big country whose wealth in material resources is perhaps the greatest in the world. But even America has not escaped this general malady. America is afraid of Russia. The shadow of fear overhangs the entire world. Russia is similarly afraid of America. Nearer home, India is afraid of Pakistan and Pakistan is afraid of India. Not only are individuals living in fear, whole populations, entire nations are gripped with this debilitating disease and in consequence compelled to devise

more and more destructive weapons in a vain attempt to outgrow it.

The English had disarmed Indians and for over a century until Gandhi appeared on the scene the Indians were afraid of their rulers. But if absence of arms were the source of fear why should America be afraid? America is well equipped with the most modern arms and yet it lives in a state of fear. It means that fear has its source in the mind and what is required to get rid of this feeling is not recourse to arms but an attempt to uproot it at its source in the mind.

★

### A Message to America

An American friend, a few days ago, asked me for a message to America. I said: I do not think I am competent to give any message to your country. But since you ask me I may as well say something. You are piling up weapons of war and you say that this keeps the people well-employed. I will not therefore ask you to stop this prosperous industry. You might even expand it so as to absorb all the rest of your unemployed and give work to everyone. But Russia is also doing the same and for a similar reason. Then some day you will both collide. Your aeroplanes will destroy theirs and their vessels will destroy yours. I therefore suggest that instead of letting them be destroyed by the other party, you should both agree to sink them in the sea yourselves on the Christmas day. This will ensure both work for all in your countries as well as peace for the world.

★

### A Real Revolution

A real revolution could be possible only when the present values of life are changed. It is the thinkers and sages and not the politicians, who can undertake this work of bringing a change in values. The present laws with regard to property can be changed with a change in the social order.

Those who expect the Government to bring a social revolution by legislation

do not know the process of change in social order. The Government is a part of the society and its laws are a reflection of the views of society.

In the present degenerated society, ability is valued in terms of money. The head of the State is given the highest salary because he holds the highest position. The first servant of the people should get all the affection and prestige for his services, but why should he be paid more?

It appears to me an insult to associate ability with high salary. A Valmiki or Tulasidas would feel insulted if they received prizes worth thousands of rupees for their works. Our aim is to establish a Sarvodaya society. Social and economic revolutions are the outcome of the psychological revolutions.

Most of the people do not steal not because of the fear of punishment, but because stealing is regarded as a sin by society. If tomorrow people began to realise that accumulation of wealth is a sin like stealing, this change in social values would be reflected in the changing laws of the State.

A person owning more than five or ten acres of land should be condemned by the society, just as a man with more than one wife is condemned today. This process has already started. For when I ask big land-holders about the extent of their holdings, they always try to underestimate it. This shows that rich people have started feeling shy of their accumulated wealth. This process will gradually shape the public opinion against accumulation of wealth.

★

### The Age of Friendly Love

The days of kings are past; and so are those of the zamindars. The present age has no use either for the kings or the zamindars. The world to be belongs to the people whose voice will henceforth be supreme. The rise of the people in the affairs of the world signifies that the pres-

ent age demands equality — equality as between friends. The relationship among different individuals constituting the society must be based on friendly love. It is, we might say, the age of friendly love.

The relation between Arjuna and Lord Krishna was that of friends. They worked as equals.

There had been another age before that of Arjuna and Krishna — a great and noble age which held up the ideal of loyalty — loyalty as that of a servant to his master. There was no lack of love between the master and the servant. The master looked after the wellbeing of the servant, and the servant served the master with perfect loyalty. This was the age of Hanuman. He served Rama with the devotion of a servant.

Today, however, the master-servant relation, even though it may be based on love, is disapproved. This is because there were times in the past when the masters degenerated into tyrants and servants lost all respect for them.

That is why when today we go to a prospective donor, we do not say, "You are our superior", or that "You are our master. Kindly give us something; we will be very grateful to you." We say, "We are all brothers; give us an equal share." We conceive *dan*, i.e. charity, as an equal distribution of one's riches. If someone offers us only two acres out of his hundred or more, we refuse to accept the offer. If our approach had been that of the servant, we would have accepted even two acres. We would have bowed to him and been grateful to him for his kindness. But we do not do so.

The present order of society will not accept anything less than friendship as the principle determining the pattern of relationship among its individuals. Thus the teacher and the pupil, the employer and the workman, the master and the servant will be equals to one another in respect of status.

## THE GITA IDEAL IN SARVODAYA

— SHANKARRAO DEO —

The following is a Radio talk at Kozhikode (Malabar) during his Bhoodan Yatra in Nov., '53, reproduced here with the courtesy of the All India Radio, Kozhikode.

*My Sisters and Brothers of Kerala,*

It is more than two years and a half that Shri Vinobaji started his movement of Bhoodan Yagna and nearly one year and a half that the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Sarvodaya Samaj resolved to carry on this movement under his guidance and leadership and appealed to the people to donate before April, 1954, at least 25 lakhs of acres of land as a first instalment.

The fundamental principle of the Bhoodan movement is that all children of the soil have equal right over Mother Earth, in the same way those born of a mother have over her. Though the immediate object of the Bhoodan Yagna is to bring about just and equitable redistribution of land in the country, its ultimate end is to establish on the basis of truth and non-violence, a classless and casteless society in which there is no exploitation and an individual or a group gets full opportunity for its growth and development. This is also the ideal of the Sarvodaya Samaj. In fact the author of the Bhoodan Yagna movement was inspired by the idea of Sarvodaya of Gandhiji.

Sarvodaya literally means the uplift of all. The idea of Sarvodaya as preached by the Gita is to merge oneself in the good of all as against the Western idea of the greatest good of the greatest number, which has proved to be very dangerous as it contains the germs of minority and majority conflicts. Bhoodan Yagna which aims at equitable distribution of land is only the first step on the way to Sarvodaya, i.e. good of all.

But the uniqueness of this movement is not in its end but in its means. The immediate and the ultimate objective is

to be achieved only through truthful and non-violent means.

The Sarva Seva Sangh in its resolution passed at Sevapuri in 1952 on Bhoodan Yagna Movement says that it wants to prepare the minds of the people for this equitable distribution and acquire within the next two years 25 lakhs of acres of land by appealing to their conscience of good sense. Shri Shankaracharya while commenting on Sarvabhoododaya says: "Only those who are non-violent can merge themselves into the good of all". And to Gandhiji non-violence and truth were the two sides of one coin.

People generally accept the principle of unadulterated goodness in private life. But worldly life, they think, cannot be pursued without adulterating it with some evil. Gandhiji never accepted this doctrine; and wanted us to practise the fundamental principles of truth and non-violence in the social sphere also.

The world is slowly coming to the view, that its salvation lies in practising Gandhiji's teachings. Gandhiji also thought that by her great spiritual and cultural traditions India was destined to be the guide of the world on this way of Sarvodaya. Let India begin to plan her noble role by making the Bhoodan Yagna movement a complete success.

### APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS FOR BHOODAN

Let the Christians realise that they cannot remain indifferent. They are also citizens of India. I want them to understand that I am propagating the message of Jesus Christ which can be summed up in a sentence: 'Love thy neighbour'. I am teaching the people to develop this attitude. I tell the people to love and care for their unfortunate neighbours...

— VINOBA

## Place of Cattle in Agriculture

— C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR —

Probably, when the first textile mill was established in India and mill-made goods began to appear in the Indian markets hand-loom weavers never imagined that one day these mills would develop into such Frankenstein proportions as to drive them into the streets as beggars. Yet such a thing has come to pass. In the same way, if the present-day craze for the use of pump-sets and machinery is unchecked, a time may come, not in the immediate future, but surely in the distant future, when the traditional bullock will find itself completely supplanted and dubbed as useless.

The belief that it is much cheaper to maintain a pump-set than a pair of good bullocks, is illusory; for, even in maintaining pumps, there are all kinds of troubles and worries. The educated would say that the bullock, just like pump-sets and other machinery, is a kind of living machinery from which as much work can be extracted as from machines, provided there is regular supply of good fuel. In the case of cows and bullocks in our country there is the additional advantage that the supply of fuel required by them is inexhaustible whereas it is not in the case of pump-sets and machines. Coal and oil, the fuel required by the machine, are limited in supply in India and in the event of there being widespread use of these things, the bulk of them will have to be imported from outside. That is not the case with cattle fodder which is a by-product of agriculture.

Much more important than all these purely utilitarian reasons, we and the cow have lived together in India for generations; our lives have been wedded to them intimately, and our culture too has grown in their association. Are we at this stage to forsake the cow and start afresh a new

civilisation in the company of pump-sets and machines?

Man derives a peculiar delight when bringing up a living thing and that is why people are prepared to go any length to get a son or heir. The same satisfaction man has when rearing household animals like the Cow. The Cow is venerated in India, and there are several organisations to prevent cow-slaughter. Economists plead for reduction in the number of useless cows. The Government of India, while listening to their advice has to pay heed to popular sentiment also in these days of democracy, and that is why they have decided to concentrate their attention on improving the breed of cattle in India so that, ultimately, the useless among them may get automatically weeded out. The problem how to dispose of the useless among the cows had faced the ancients also, and they adopted a crude method of castration to render them inactive. This method has now been improved and is being advocated freely, perhaps due to the fact that, unlike human beings, cattle will not protest against it. In the case of human beings also, in India, there is the complaint of over-population. But no one dared to suggest the use of similar measures in this case because of the determined opposition it will engender.

(Adapted from a report of the speech in "Indian Express")

### ENGINE PLOUGH

"There is nothing wrong in an engine plough in itself and it may be a great advantage to a man who owns thousands of acres of land, and has a cracked caky soil, which will not yield under the indigenous plough. What, however, we want is an implement that would suit owners of small holdings from one acre to three acres."

— GANDHIJI

(The Diary of Mahadev Desai, page 143)

## The Sarvodaya Social Order

— JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN —

At a training camp for the workers in Bhoodan held at Mokamah in Patna District in Bihar last month eminent leaders addressed them. The following is adapted from the report of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's speech elucidating the fundamentals of the Bhoodan and its contribution for realising the ideal of the Sarvodaya Social Order.

First of all, we must realise that Bhoodan is not a programme of merely collecting and distributing lands. It is rather the first step towards a total revolution, social, political and economic. It stands for a society which would strive for the good of all, and in which everybody would be happy. In such a society there would be no distinction of high and low. Justice and equality would form its distinguishing features, and exploitation in any form would be completely eliminated. Power and authority would vest with the people in the true sense, and they would regulate and administer their own affairs. Central authority would be sought to be extinguished, and if it continued to exist, the sphere and extent of its operation would be minimised. The village will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. There will be perfect democracy based upon individual freedom; and the individual will be the architect of his own Government. This arrangement will be extended upwards to district and provincial tiers of administration with progressively diminishing authority. The central authority, so long as it exists, would be like a danger chain in a railway train. Passengers do not always have their attention fixed on this chain, but they make use of it in times of danger. Similarly the lower units will be self-reliant, and will not always look to the central authority, but would seek its help and support when required. In fine, there would be complete decentralisation in the field of administration.

The question is, how will such a society be established? That can be done

through an economic reconstruction which will ensure the fruit of labour to the worker. And that is possible only when there is decentralisation in the economic field, when the system of production is organised on the basis of village industries; and the large-scale industries that will have to be essentially retained, will be socially owned and managed by workers.

Today, our society abounds with persons who are mad after their own interest. In Sarvodaya, however, one has to be solicitous of others' interests. Man's nature will have to be changed. Values of life will have to be re-valued. For, if the individual does not change, even if exploitation is put out once, it will reappear afterwards. This is a high ideal no doubt, but is capable of being attained. That can be done by making a beginning somewhere. And Bhoodan is the process whereby we can reach this goal. The land problem is a problem that affects crores of people. Hence, the Bhoodan movement makes a direct appeal to the masses and would inevitably cast its influence on their approach and way of life.

Secondly, through Bhoodan Vinobaji can drive home to the people what he wants them to understand. He wants to impress on them the point that all wealth belongs to society and not to individual. It is easy to inculcate this idea through Bhoodan Yagna. When you state the same principle with reference to the industries or plants and factories, the owners are likely to think that they have produced these things by their diligence and

ingenuity, then how they belong to all? But one may not argue like that in respect of land, for, man has not made it. Land is the gift of God, and says the old adage that all lands belong to Gopal. So in the divine dispensation land rightly belongs to him who works on it. This is also in keeping with our ancient cultural traditions. In ancient times land belonged to the village community, and the village Panchayat distributed the same to the village people every 20 or 25 years, in accordance with the number of members in a family. This was dictated by the principle that nobody should have more land than he required. This applies equally to other forms of wealth as well. For nobody produces wealth singly by his own effort. Wealth is produced by the collective effort of society. For example, the cloth produced in a textile mill is the result not only of the effort of the mill-owner but also that of various other agents, from the cotton-grower to the mill hand. How then wealth accumulates with an individual? That is just like water, which does not accumulate on plain surface, but gets stored wherever it finds a ditch or sunken space. Likewise there are hollow places in the present social structure where wealth accumulates. Therefore Vinobaji has now taken up the work of wealth-gift also. He wants sacrifice to be associated with our way of life. This also implies that we should keep with us no more than what we require. The question is who will adjudge this need? The individual himself, says Vinobaji. And we can do so. The needs of different persons vary, no doubt. But they vary, like the stature of men, within a limited margin. If the difference in the acreage of lands held by different persons varies from 5 to 10 acres it would not matter, and similarly, of wealth. But when the disparity is out of all proportions, it becomes unconscionable and has got to be removed.

Some contend that the face of society will not change by this sort of begging, and that violence is the vehicle of such a change for which the have-nots will have

to be organised on class basis, but I assert that violence would doubtless change the present society, but that would not bring the kind of transformation we aim at. Violence will not establish the rule of justice and equality in society. It will be the rule of a select coterie who will perpetuate their iron grip on the people. Violence ensures the victory of the party that is more skilled in its use. We all know that the Indian masses have neither the skill nor the weapons of violence, and hence, they are bound to lose against those who will be better equipped in this respect. It is also argued that we would arm the people. Lenin had declared 36 years ago that he would arm the people. But it is an open secret where the people of Russia stand today. In fact, it is not possible to arm the people en masse in this atomic age, when enormous and rapid improvements are being effected in the weapons of warfare. Today we have not to choose between two alternatives. There is one and only one way that of non-violence. Violence is definitely a bar against equality. In Russia, even after 36 years, power is held by a handful of persons. After the death of Stalin power was seized by three persons viz. Malenkov, Molotov and Beria. This followed only a drawing room confabulation. The people of Russia had no say in it. In fact, they came to know of it only after Beria's arrest. There ensued a wrangle for power between Malenkov and Beria. The latter had the support of the police officers. The military officers were, for a time, undecided and the matter was hanging fire. But when they made up their mind to support Malenkov, the issue came to a close, for the military, as a rule, is stronger than the police. We will have a similar experience in India if we choose to go the way of violence. Sarvodaya Samaj cannot countenance such a contingency. Indeed, Sarvodaya does not want to have even political parties. It wants to shape and develop our body politic on a pattern in which the existence of parties will be ruled out.



## THE BASIS OF SARVODAYA

— R. R. DIWAKAR —

This is the introductory portion of the article entitled 'Gandhi and Bhoodan' published in the last issue of "Sarvodaya".

Gandhiji's teaching is often-times summed up in two words, Truth and Non-violence (Satya and Ahimsa). Of course, the special connotations which these two simple words gathered in the course of his life were very wide and comprehensive. They always went together and constituted an integral philosophy of life for Gandhi. Sometimes they almost merged into one another as, for instance, when he said, truth can be pursued only through non-violence.

The conception of Sarvodaya (good and progress of all) is a corollary of the doctrine of Satya and Ahimsa. Sarvodaya is a social conception. It is not a word connoting merely individual salvation. It means and includes the good of all, the progress and development of everyone constituting society. It is entirely inclusive and not exclusive, even of the worst and most wicked that may be found in society. It is a positive conception embracing the whole human family and binding it by ties of love which are far stronger and nobler than even those of blood.

'Live and let live' is a very common expression which means mutual tolerance in the extreme. But Sarvodaya is a step ahead and it would add, 'Live and help live.' The right to live is supreme in Sarvodaya, and it is the right of everyone. But a right does not and cannot exist without a corresponding obligation on somebody. A right can be exercised only vis-a-vis somebody who has the obligation to respect it, protect it and to see that it is exercised without let or hindrance. Thus accommodation for others, toleration of different points of view and

ideologies is the very basis of Sarvodaya. And Sarvodaya comprehends all activities, economic, social and political. One can say that it extends to all planes of existence, namely, physical, vital, mental moral and spiritual.

It is obvious that in a society based on the principles of Sarvodaya there is a moral obligation on each individual to respect the other's rights and to see that everyone else has full scope to live, to express and to develop himself. It is grounded in the belief that all can develop and have full scope to develop in this wide world of ours.

Now there is possibility of aggression by those who do not hold this belief. Such aggression may range from disrespect for the rights of others to an attempt to eliminate and destroy the opponents. In such cases, Sarvodaya would recommend the sovereign remedy of Satyagraha. In fact, if truth and non-violence is a Siamese twin that Gandhian ideology has brought to the fore, Sarvodaya and Satyagraha constitute another twin that is inseparable. Satyagraha would resist all aggression, of whatever kind, by adhering to truth and by suffering and non-violence.

Looked at from another point of view and in terms of the society in which we live today, Sarvodaya means the initiation and establishment of a classless and casteless society by truthful and non-violent means.

Class-society is one based on economic, political, social and other inequalities. These inequalities give rise to iniquities through exploitation of 'have nots' by 'haves.' All exploitation means taking undue advantage of one's own

superiority and strength in some respect, with a view to some gain, personal or group. Such conduct is morally unjustifiable and wrongful. Moreover, exploitation is not restricted only to the field of economics and politics but it is found even in the spiritual field!

Caste-society is based on social, religious or cultural inequalities, which are supposed to go along with birth.

These inequalities give rise to iniquities in the same way as in the case of a class-society. Thus it is clear that in both cases it is the desire of some privileged persons or groups to exploit inequalities, which is at the root of the unbalance in society. The result is injustice, suffering, dissatisfaction and the misery of large numbers. These in their train bring in bitterness, hatred, revolution and bloodshed.

—\*—

## Bhoodan Yagna – From Vamana to Virat

M. KRISHNAMURTI

King Bali, to whom the day following Deepavali is sacred, was the first victim of the Bhoodan movement, which began with the first sharing of the earth between the Asuras and the gods. The story, as told in the *Shatapatha Brahmana*, is most interesting and throws a new light on the concept of *yagna* or sacrifice involved in Bhoodan.

The Asuras, being elder to the gods and much stronger, claimed the entire earth for themselves, and began to portion it out amongst themselves, measuring the land "from west to east with bull-hides." The gods, fearing that nothing would be left for them, approached the Asuras in a deputation, keeping Vishnu at the head. "Now Vishnu," says the *Brahmana*, "was a pygmy" (*vamano vai Vishnurasa*).

The gods pleaded that they, too, being the children of Prajapati (the Creator) were entitled to their proper share of the earthly inheritance. The Asuras greeted the claim with loud laughter and said: "Your share will be as much ground as this leader of yours, this Vishnu, will cover by lying on it." And there was loud laughter again in the ranks of the Asuras.

### GODS NOT DISCOMFITED

But the gods were in no wise discomfited. They replied: "Much have you given, for you have given what is to be measured by sacrifice." For "Vishnu," the *Brahmana* interpolates once again, "is Yajna—Sacrifice." This, of course, the Asuras did not know; for it is the Asura character that it can only see the visible—and nothing beyond it.

The gods then laid hold of Vishnu, who was a pygmy, and placed him flat on the ground and lo and behold! he grew in size till he covered the whole earth, for he was, the *Brahmana* observes once again, "Yajna itself and Yajna is illimitable." Thus Vishnu grew from a Vamana into a Virat and filled the three worlds.

### TRUE SIGNIFICANCE

The allegory is plain and needs no interpretation. It has, in fact, been already interpreted into actuality by Vinoba Bhave, as the whole world knows: within two years of his revival of this age-old concept of the Rishis, the Bhoodan Yagna in its new form has confounded the scoffers and it now sprawls over the whole of the Indian sub-continent. But the true significance of the Bhoodan movement is not to be sought in the actual acreage of land that it has gained but in

the invisible realm of the mind where it has already begun to work as a powerful catalytic element. The spirit of sacrifice, which Bhoodan embodies, is the leaven that must leaven the whole lump of life, if civilization is to move from the present phase of competition to the next phase of co-operation.

The trouble with the world today is not, as somebody has pointed out, that people do not agree as to what is good but as to who is to have the good things of life. So the only solution lies in the cultivation of the *daiva* spirit of sharing the good things of life in place of the *asura* spirit of self-aggrandizement. As the *Sathapatha* puts it, the Asuras failed ultimately because each of them offered the sacrifice to himself, whereas the gods offered the sacrifice to each other.

### BENEVOLENT CAPITALISM

To come back to King Bali, the chief of the Asuras. He is not mentioned by name in the *Sathapatha* which gives the story of the original Bhoodan, but in the later versions of the story as it occurs in the Puranas it is King Bali who gives away the "three steps of land" to Vishnu who comes to his Court as a stripling of a student, spare of flesh and stunted of stature, as a suppliant. Old King Bali is the very type of benevolent capitalism and offers to give the youthful suppliant jewels, chariots, singing-girls and a host of other delectable possessions. The dwarfish Vishnu will have none of them, however he only wants as much ground as he can cover in three strides so that he may have a sanctuary for his *tapasya* and meditation. The great Asura King under whom the people vied with one another in piling up possessions, granted the strange request, much against the counsel of his political experts, and his doom was sealed. Vishnu from being a Vamana suddenly assumed his Virat (Universal) form, and having covered the earth and

sky in two steps, he placed the third step on the head of Bali and sent him down to the underworld. Such is the Puranic version and the day on which Bali went down "the void abyss" is known in the Hindu calendar as Bali Padyami, the first day of the month of Kartik—the new Year's Day of the Gujaratis.

Thus Bhoodan is literally Balidan, in more senses than one. It was originally the sacrifice made by King Bali and it also means that self-sacrifice which is the central concept of the good life. Impatient reformers have asked—but why not Bhoodan in money, in industry and so on? The answer is the same as the one that Vamana must have had at the back of his mind when importuned by Bali to accept his proffered gifts. His mission, the mission of Yagna, is to destroy the sense of possession and not to "reshuffle possessions": this can be done best only in the case of land, where the sense of ownership is purely notional. The word *dana* in Sanskrit has the same meaning as Yajna or sacrifice: it has been defined as "the giving up of one's sense of ownership of a thing." This is the only sense in which a gift is made to God, for there is no question here of a transfer of possession. Both capitalism and communism work within the concept of ownership: the spirit of Bhoodan cuts through the gordian knot of possession.

(From Hindustan Times, 15-11-53)

### OUR GOAL

I have no doubt that if India is to live an exemplary life of independence which would be the envy of the world, all the bhangis, doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants and others would get the same wages for an honest day's work. Indian society may never reach the goal but it is the duty of every Indian to set his sail towards that goal and no other if India is to be a happy land.

Mahatma Gandhi

FROM 'TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIALISM'

## Capital Punishment Still in India?

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI (Germany)

The writer who attended the World Pacifist Conference in India in December, 1949, has given most of his life to the care of criminals and prisoners. This is a portion of an article of great importance sent to us for publication in "Sarvodaya."

On Dec. 31st, 1949, our World Pacifist Meeting at Sevagram ended. During the previous days, the least agreeable and in my eyes little valuable part of every congress was carried through the manufacturing of resolutions, which generally have the fate to slumber in some file. And yet, I myself proposed one more: the world-wide abolition of the death penalty.

It was adopted unanimously. While the voting was going on, my eye was fixed on our president, Mr. Rajendra Prasad. I knew that he would soon be India's first President of the Republic. None of us but him would have any power to do something against the death penalty, but his hand would once have to sign orders either for execution or for clemency. I wondered whether he would raise his hand in favour of abolition. He did.

About one year later, when I learned that hanging had not yet been abolished in India, I wrote him a letter, reminding him of that pledge of ours and asking him whether he could not do something to stop a procedure which, in my opinion, was not an honour to India. He sent me a kind answer, stating that, with so many urgent tasks before him, he had not yet had the time to act in the sense of that resolution, but that the number of executions was really very small etc.

I confess that I was rather disappointed. If the number of hangings is really very small now—in 1948 there were still about 200 a year—then I consider that India's safety would not be in danger if those few men were pardoned.

The existence of the death penalty is incompatible with India as we want to have the first moral power of the world.

When you have the death penalty, you must have a hangman, that is a man whose profession it is to kill other men. The hangman is a legal murderer, who is paid for each man or woman he kills. I consider the very existence of such a man as an outrage against human society; only men with rather low instincts will volunteer for such a job. We should have pity not only with the victims but also with the perpetrator of an execution, whose soul is suffering from what he has to do.

What is a murderer? It was my fate in this life to be in so-to-say social contacts with many a murderer, first when I was in jail myself, where they were my companions, and now that I am a jailor and have to take care of them. I assure you: a murderer is a human being just as we all. There are amongst the murderers good and bad fellows, intelligent and stupid, noble and abject. Many of them have committed their crime out of a sudden passion against which their force of resistance was not strong enough.

Gandhi used to look for "that of God" in every human creature, and to appeal to it. "That of God" is in the murderer as well as in any of us. Trying to follow Gandhiji's example, I assure you that it is often easier to discover "that of God" in a murderer than in many other prisoners. Perhaps, because few men have gone through the passionate emotions as the murderer: during the execution of his crime, the flight, the

## The Disease in Our University Education

— J. C. KUMARAPPA —

Recently we have had an unforgettable demonstration of what education should not be. In Lucknow there has been a veritable open battle between the students and the authorities. Whatever the cause or whatever the grievances, we are not in a position to sit in judgement. But the ugly scenes enacted, not only in Lucknow, but also at Allahabad and Kanpur, in sympathy with the students of Lucknow, brings to the fore the deep-set disease of human rottenness cultivated by modern university education. It is in such times that the utility of higher education is put to the test. Education does not consist in pumping information into empty skulls as we pump air into motor tyres. The effect of a properly conceived education is to build character and not to increase merely the earning capacity of a citizen. The Lucknow incident, tragic as it is, shows us that both the authorities and the student population resorted to methods unworthy of cultivated individuals. Above all things, true education should aim at resolving human differences in an amicable way without resorting to violent jungle means.

To develop a civilised human being the first thing needed is a cadre of professors and staff well drilled in social consciousness and experienced in dealing with men rather than with mere books.

Unfortunately for us this has hardly a place in the selection of teachers. Teachers should be such as will impress their personality on the taught. This will call for patience and personal touch with the pupil. This is sadly lacking. The staff is now chosen for the amount of book-learning which is being imparted in a soulless manner. Hence we turn out not capable citizens who can in their time handle national problems as civilized beings, but ingenious politicians who will work for their own selfish ends.

In the light of the responsibilities that our youth will be called upon to

bear in an independent country, it is high time we reorient the whole system of university education starting with the appointment of professors for their moral and social attainments and experience rather than for their pure academic knowledge. The relationship between the teacher and the pupil should be cemented by love as between a father and son with the added strength of admiration and duty due to a Guru. This is absolutely lacking in the modern system. This is the foundation for personal wholesome influence. This is a basic problem which brooks no delay. ★

(Continued from previous page)

detention, the cross-examination, the trial, when seeing the family of his victim or his own family in sorrow—such a man has been shaken to a degree that he often is quite different from what he has been before.

We have no right to kill him. We should give him a chance. An American once said, shortly before he was led to the electric chair: "I am not afraid of dying. I have seen death before me too often, during the war, to fear that. Yet I am sorry that you give me no chance. I know I have done evil, I should have liked to atone for it, doing good to others during the rest of my life. Why don't you allow that?"

Gandhi considered criminals to be like sick people—morally sick. And sick people should be cured—not killed.

India would not lose anything when pardoning the few that are still being sent to the gallows. But her moral prestige would be enhanced enormously if she would apply Gandhiji's principles also to those whom we call criminals, if she would reconcile them with society, instead of subduing or even exterminating them.

# Natural Manure VERSUS Chemical Manure

WILFRED WELLOCK

Once decay overtakes a civilisation it tends to spread to every part until, if it be not checked by the adoption of more wholesome ideas, the whole structure falls into ruins.

The motives which during several centuries have turned men's attention from spiritual to material values and ends, in the realm of industry, and have resulted in mechanising man himself, in destroying his wholeness and hurling him into permanent war, have latterly been directed to the source of his food, to nature—the soil, plants and animals.

In consequence agriculture in many Western countries has gradually fallen into the hands of engineers and chemists, who from the first, set about their job in a forthright manner. First came the sacrifice of fertility by the wrongful disposal of vegetable and human wastes, then chemical feeding of the soil, and finally, specialised, commercial farming with pressurised food production from soil, plant and animal.

The techniques of specialised farming like those of industry, drive more and more workers into routine jobs, thereby destroying their sense of vocation, while the heavy costs of such farming tend to drive agriculture into the control of financiers.

Things began to go wrong in agriculture when political power passed into the hands of urban populations and industrial politicians, and it is astonishing how quickly the urban mind loses its understanding of nature. City engineers, out of touch with the "law of returns," began to divert human wastes to the sewers and the sea, and vegetable wastes to the flames. In consequence plants, animals and humans are being devitalised by the increasing use of inorganic chemi-

cals and drugs, while the living quality of the soil, its wealth of bacteria and small life, is being superseded by the dead products of the chemical factory. At the same time animals are being transformed into food-producing machines at an alarming rate—all in the name of science, bigger outputs and profits.

This Agricultural Revolution commenced a century ago with the work of von Liebig, the famous German chemist, although the first experiments in the chemical feeding of the soil took place earlier.

Sir Humphrey Davy, the forerunner of Liebig, described the soil as a "Laboratory," thus implying that it was a complex of chemicals. Liebig described Davy as "the immortal author of Agricultural Chemistry." But Liebig went much farther than Davy, and in 1847 declared: "Now that the conditions which render the soil productive and capable of affording support to plants are ascertained, it cannot well be denied that from chemistry alone further progress in agriculture is to be expected." To Liebig, therefore, the soil was a body of chemicals and their reactions; and while he prized highly farmyard manure, he declared that "a time will come when plants growing in a field will be supplied with their appropriate manures prepared in chemical laboratories." He believed that chemists could "give to the land what we have removed from it."

We now know that they cannot. How much they can give, or whether and to what extent their use is beneficial to the soil, has still to be decided. What we can say is, that whereas a few years ago the belief in chemical fertilisers was powerful, and growing, it is now being questioned on all sides, while many chemists freely admit that chemicals are not enough, and that soils will deteriorate

and even perish unless they are given adequate supplies of humus in the form of vegetable, animal and human wastes. They still claim that chemicals have a part to play in the soil, but hesitate to define it.

We are thus brought to the question: What is soil? The necessity of humus proves that soil is chemicals plus something without which it will perish, turn to dust and become a desert. We also know that before that stage is reached, plants will weaken and lose their power to resist disease, whence insecticides, fungicides and viruscides must be applied in ever-increasing numbers and quantities. Many of these chemicals poison the soil and thus further weaken the plants that are grown in it and reduce their food value. The latest attempts to overcome these pests include soil sterilisation, as in green-house tomato growing, but something happens which robs the fruit of flavour, and flavour is connected with mineral and vitamin content. Lack of flavour in tomatoes is now a common complaint.

There thus occurs a vicious chemical cycle of debilitated soil, devitalised plants, disease and pests, poisonous sprayings and further debilitation of soil and plant. Then devitalised food, deficient in vitamins and minerals causes deficiency diseases in humans for which doctors prescribe drugs and chemicals, thus starting or strengthening a drug habit which may have serious consequences. The big chemical interests, be it noted, make huge profits throughout this vicious cycle.

The way of escape from this cycle is to tackle the problem at its source by applying vitamin-laden humus to the soil: composts of organic wastes and rock. But what is humus?

Prior to the use of chemicals all soil feeding consisted of returning to it what had been taken from it, in the form of manure, or composts of vegetable, animal and human wastes. This was the Law of Returns. Those wastes were not just chemicals. They contained myriads

of bacteria and other small life which transformed the wastes into plant food and greatly enriched the organic content of the soil. That organic or "living" content is the most important factor in soil. Chemists can name all the chemicals there are in a carrot, but they cannot produce a carrot by chemicals alone. Life is still the mysterious PLUS which eludes the chemists as it formerly did the necromancers, and the extent to which it exists in soil determines the vital content of what is grown and thus its health-giving power.

Humus feeding of the soil is in the natural order, and may be studied in detail on every forest floor, where all manner of animal and vegetable wastes are transformed into organic forest food by bacteria in rich friable soil. Chemical "foods" on the other hand, being soluble in water pass directly to the plant without going through the life-cycle.

Chemists claim that chemicals are the same whether they be produced organically or inorganically. Be that as it may, experience proves that organic nitrogen, e.g., possesses qualities which are not possessed by inorganic nitrogen. There is a PLUS which makes all the difference. It gives to plants a content which pests do not like and so makes them disease resisting. Pests visit them, but they do not stay, as I have myself witnessed. In my previous garden, which I never sprayed, all my apple and pear trees remained singularly free from disease, even when trees but a few yards away were infested with it. I have also observed that sickly trees and plants are more subject to disease infestation than healthy ones.

It is thus my deep conviction, proved by experience, my own and that of thousands of organic or compost growers, that the secret of health from the soil to plant, animal and man is a living soil which teems with bacteria and small life including worms, which in addition aerate the soil. I have composted vegetable wastes for about seventeen years, but it was not

# The Genesis of Bhoodan Yagna

— V. RAMACHANDRA REDDI —

Vinobaji has described on many occasions how the Bhoodan Yagna began. But this is the first time when we hear about the genesis of this great Yagna from Sri V. Ramachandra Reddi who made the first Bhoodan.

Two years ago, Acharya Vinoba Bhave came to our village, Pochampalle. We all knew him to be a great and saintly person, an illustrious disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. Vinoba addressed a meeting of our villagers. He asked them about their life and about the difficulties they had to suffer. Then a group of Harijans said that they wanted land. Vinoba just said to the villagers: 'From where can I give you land?'

For some time past I had been thinking of distributing a part of my land to the Harijans. Without a second thought as if prompted by Providence, I rose. The words 'we want land' reverberated in me and I said: 'I will give you land; I will make a gift of 100 acres from my land.'

Vinoba looked at me as if he had heard something strange and asked me

(Continued from previous page)

until I read Sir Albert Howard's "An Agricultural Testament," (published in 1941) that I got down to the roots of the problem of soil feeding. What chiefly attracted me in this book, as I later told Sir Albert, was that it demonstrated a "way of life" for plants which harmonised with my views on the causes and cure of human diseases and which I had been adopting in my personal life for many years. Sir Albert believed that a healthy plant would resist disease, and he proved his case by ridding tea plantations in the state of Indore, India, of pests which were threatening their existence. At the same time he fed his draught oxen on compost-grown food, which thereby became so healthy that he was able to take them into herds which had foot and mouth disease, with complete immunity.

The above is an extract from the Orchard Lea Papers, 11 entitled "Soil, Health and Civilisation")

to repeat what I had said. Slowly, but firmly, I said that I would give away 100 acres. And if people did not believe what I was saying, I was prepared to make a written declaration there and then.

The meeting was over and Vinoba called me aside and asked me if what I had said was really true. I repeated what I had said twice.

Vinoba went into his hut and retired for the night. Early in the morning he sent for me and asked me once again, and I produced a written declaration.

Then the party went to the next village where Vinoba spoke about my land-gift and asked whether there was a landlord in that village who would also give away a part of his land. In that village also Vinoba received a land-gift. Then he went to a third village where he simply said he had come for Bhoodan and the movement was born.

As I look back upon it and go over the sequence of events I feel that I could not have done otherwise. Nobody had compelled me, the gift had not been given in a fit of generosity, for I was thinking of giving away land to the Harijans even before I met Vinoba. But Vinoba made me feel the logic of the situation and made me realize what my moral duty was towards those who had no land.

Some people say that the whole thing is done by working on emotions, but this is not true, at least in my case. Others say that moral pressure is brought to bear but I ask, what is wrong with it? Is it not better to realize your moral duty and give land to the landless? And this response to the call of moral duty leaves no ill-will behind; the heart is cleaned and the mind is free; the weight of centuries is cast away.

From the "A. I. C. C. Economic Review"

# Prevention of Spurious Khadi

Khadi, unlike other commodities of the market, stands on its own special virtues. It has been described as "the livery of freedom" in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It stands now as the symbol of economic freedom of the masses and social equality in free India.

The popularity of khadi has always tempted the traders in India and outside to exploit the sentiments of the people for profit by selling spurious khadi by mixing mill yarn, and paying precariously low wages to artisans.

The A. I. S. A. has been adopting a policy of certifying genuine khadi from the early stages of the khadi movement. Recently the A. I. S. A. has merged itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh. The Sangh has pledged itself to a policy of developing khadi on the ideological basis of self-sufficiency. Since the Sangh is no longer concerned with commercial production and sale of khadi, the function of certifying genuine khadi will be naturally handed over to the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

Experience during all these 30 years shows that there should be a special Legislative Act for the definition of khadi, its quality, basis of wages and margin of profit, with strict rules of licensing and with powers to penalise those who contravene the law.

The use of khadi by the traders has been always a menace to the growth of genuine khadi. Not all the incessant propaganda from the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi could effectively check the spurious khadi. An attempt was made in 1934 to this effect by the Central Legislature by the "Khaddar (Protection of Name) Act".

When the Madras Government started their Intensive Khadi Scheme in 1946 purely for self-sufficiency, the Khadi

Control Order of Mar., '47 and later Khadi Development Order of 1948 were promulgated under the Special Powers Act of the State Government. It was a comprehensive order and could effectively prevent the operation of private and selfish merchants in the field of khadi for profit. This was in force till 1953 when it had to be withdrawn as a sequence of the decision of the Madras High Court on an issue on Fundamental Right under the Constitution.

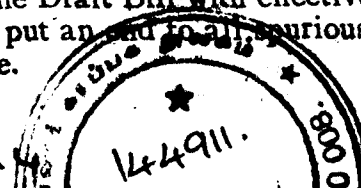
The Khadi Development Order can be considered a model one in many aspects. Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, the staunch advocate of the khadi scheme, could not get this Order passed as an Act in spite of all his efforts for want of full support from the party.

The Government of India in 1950 repealed the 1934 Act and enacted another under the same name under the Indian Merchandise Mark Act. This sought only to prevent the sale of any other cloth under the name of Khaddar or Khadi without creating any effective machinery to regulate the production and sale of khadi. The implementation of the provisions of the Act were left to the State Governments. However no State Govt. seem to have made use of this Act.

Later, the Government of India have circulated a "Revised Sale of Khaddar Bill" which sought to remove the defects of the previous Act. While examining this Draft Bill at its recent meeting in Bombay the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has suggested a revised Draft Bill for the consideration of the Government with the full concurrence of the Trustees of the Sarva Seva Sangh many of whom are in the Board.

It is hoped that the Government will accept the Draft Bill with effective provisions to put an end to all spurious Khadi in future.

YISM 211. N52 JV N84.4



## SHANKARRAO DEO'S BHOODAN YATRA

**IN KERALA**  
Shri Deo's second Bhoodan Yatra in Kerala was concluded at Cape Comorin on the 7th December, '53. The Yatra began on November 1st at Nileshwaram. He has covered about 450 miles. The total Bhoodan received in the Yatra is 6,000 acres which is more than that in his previous tour. Money and jewels were offered at many places.

In his previous Yatra Shri Deo received Bhoodan of 5,500 acres from about 200 donors. There is evidently a more favourable atmosphere and larger response now, judging from the large number of 500 donors who gave land in this Yatra. Intensive work done by Sri Ikkanda Warriar and his energetic band of organisers and regional conveners in Kerala had prepared the ground in a way for Shri Deo's Yatra.

Sri Shankarrao Deo's straight and persuasive appeals at every place have not failed to touch the minds of the highly educated Kerala men and women. Though the target of 25,000 acres for Kerala is just half realised till now, the tempo and the general awakening in Kerala prevailing as a result of Shri Deo's propaganda will make it easier to complete the quota before the next Sammelan.

At the conclusion of the Yatra there was a meeting of Bhoodan workers at Cape Comorin. Shri Deo answered several questions of workers. One of them was about the duty of the Bhoodan worker in cases of eviction of tenants by the landlords and whether the Bhoodan worker can arrange for legal aid or other help. Shri Deo gave a categorical answer that the Bhoodan worker should use his moral influence only with the landlord avoiding all legal or other forms of conflicts as the only sanction that a Bhoodan worker has is the moral force.

### IN TAMIL NAD

Last year there was a proposal to conclude Shri Deo's Tamil Nad Bhoodan Yatra in Cape Comorin. But it could

not be. By strange coincidence this year Shri Deo's Kerala Bhoodan Yatra concluded at Cape Comorin where he commenced the Tamil Nad Yatra on the 9th December, 1953, to cover the four districts of Tinnivelly, Ramnad, Tiruchi and Tanjore. It will end at Vedaranyam on 31st January, 1954.

The inaugural meeting of the Yatra was held on the 8th December, 1953, at Cape Comorin when Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar presided, as he did at Rameswaram last year when the first Yatra was started. Sri A. Vedaratnam, and Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman addressed the meeting.

Sri M. G. Sankara Reddiar, M. L. A., the convener of the Tinnivelly District Bhoodan Committee announced Bhoodan of 700 acres from several donors. He offered his own share of 130 acres including 13 acres of wet land. He was the first to announce Bhoodan at Rameswaram last year when Shri Deo commenced his first Yatra. He gave then 150 acres. Later when Shri Jayaprakash Narayan visited Tinnivelly in August, '53, he gave again Bhoodan to make his contribution as one-fifth of his property. Now again when Shri Deo commenced his second Yatra in Tamil Nad at Cape Comorin he offered 120 acres. As the convener of the District he undertook the full responsibility of arranging for Shri Deo's Yatra besides approaching friends for Bhoodan to complete the district quota. Though he is a member of the Madras Legislature he is devoting all his time for Bhoodan work even without attending the Assembly session. Due to his great personal efforts about 3,000 acres of Bhoodan were received till about 25th December.

Less than 20,000 acres only have been received so far in Tamil Nad out of the target of 1,50,000 acres. Tamil Nad has yet to make concentrated efforts to claim to have completed its quota by March, '54.

## Gramodaya Khadi Sangam Conference

We had already referred to the growth of Gramodaya Khadi Sangams (Samitis) in Tamil Nad and Kerala in our "Sarvodaya", Nov., '53.

Now there are about 150 Sangams in Tamil Nad about 80 of which are round about Koilpatti in Tinnivelly district. A conference of the representatives of the Sangams was held on 19th and 20th Dec., '53 at a village, Kazhugachalapuram, 5 miles from Ettayapuram, the birth-place of the great Tamil poet, Bharathi. The Sarva Seva Sangh, Tinnivelly Vibhag, organised the conference with the co-operation of the Sangams. The members of the Sangams and others in the village took keen interest. There were about 2,000 persons—men, women and children—who attended the conference which had a festive appearance with great enthusiasm.

Sri Annasahib Sahasrabudhe, Joint Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh, and Sri Krishnadas Gandhi attended the conference and gave many suggestions for the effective working of the Sangams in tapping the economic resources of the villages for achieving village self-sufficiency. The conference was presided over by Sri A. Vedaratnam on the 19th and later by Sri R. V. Rudrappaswami, Basic Education Officer of the Madras Government, on the 20th.

The Secretary of the Reception Committee read a report reviewing the work of the eighty Sangams in the year. The following figures will show the extent of the work done by them up to 30th November, '53.

All the 80 Sangams have bought 5,14,490 hanks of yarn worth Rs. 1,23,814 from the registered spinners. Against the yarn delivered to the Sarva Seva Sangh (A. I. S. A.) these Sangams have taken khadi worth Rs. 72,256, implements for Rs. 6,493 and cotton and slivers for

Rs. 29,361 besides a cash of Rs. 15,694 in exchange. The cash taken works only 12% of the value of the yarn. Grains worth Rs. 3,087 were also given to spinners in exchange of yarn. The weaving problem which is rather difficult to be tackled was also solved to some extent by local weaving of 1,727½ yards of khadi worth Rs. 2,816.

It may be mentioned that this area has some peculiar advantages for achieving self-sufficiency in khadi and it had already shown striking results at various periods in the past fifteen years. It is expected now to make rapid and steady progress under greater organised effort through the nucleus of the present Gramodaya Sangams.

There was also an Exhibition of village industries. The visit of Shri Shankarrao Deo now on Bhoodan Yatra in Tamil Nad to this village on the 20th was a happy coincidence. On the afternoon of 20th December the conference devoted all its time for the Bhoodan Yagna. Sri M. G. Sankara Reddiar, M. L. A., district convener of Bhoodan Committee, presided. After the speeches of Sri A. P. C. Veerabahu and Sri Venkatakrishnan of Tuticorin Shri Shankarrao Deo addressed the gathering on the moral and spiritual sanction behind the Bhoodan Yagna. Shri Deo impressed on the members of Gramodaya Sangams and khadi workers of their primary duty to solve the land problem by working for the success of Bhoodan Yagna so that there may be a real uplift of the villages as indicated by the word "Gramodaya." ★

### TO SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers are kindly requested to send Rs. 3 for renewal or to intimate to us in time if they want to discontinue. The next issue is generally sent by V.P.P. unless countermanded earlier.

## \* All-India Bhoodan News \*

### HIMACHAL PRADESH

Sri Dharmadev Sastri, the provincial convener, organised a workers' camp at Rohat for a fortnight (from 15th Nov. to 28th Nov.) where about 70 workers and many students were present. After the camp, Sri Dharmadev along with nine workers started on a walking tour and addressed public meetings in about 20 places and received some acres of land. Even among the hill-tribes the message of Bhoodan was propagated.

### MAHARASHTRA

In Kolaba District, at the village Gagotha where Vinobaji was born, a Bhoodan Yagna camp was run by the Kisans of the place in the house where Vinobaji saw the light of the world. 30 men and women workers of all parties and creeds joined the camp. Sri Dada Dharmadhikari delivered the inaugural address. Many other prominent Bhoodan workers also addressed the meetings of the camp. During these days a gift of 55 acres of land was announced by the villagers.

Sri Appasahib Pattwardhan began his tour in Ratnagiri district from 3rd December onwards. At Chiplun and at Bodi two more Shibirs were held. Sri Manickchand Joshi organised a workers' conference in Satara where they took a vow to collect 1,000 acres of land from 501 donors.

### BOMBAY

With the approval of Vinobaji an influential collection-committee of 8 members with Sri Kedarnath as the convener was formed for Bombay City and its suburbs. From 9th to 15th November a Bhoodan Camp was run where 30 workers participated. To suit the convenience of those employed in industrial firms and business houses, the working hours of the camp were from 8 P. M. to 8 A. M. The B. P. C. C. President Sri S. K. Patil inaugurated the camp wherein he exhorted the

city people to take the first place in this movement also as they had done in all the previous movements in the country.

### MYSORE

The workers had their walking tours in seven districts and received donations and sold Bhoodan literature. On 15th November a district conference was held at Arsikere. Sri Vallabhswamy, the Joint Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh, stayed in Bangalore for a couple of days in the 3rd week and appealed to the Congress workers to identify themselves wholeheartedly with the Bhoodan movement.

### MADHYA PRADESH

During the Gandhi Jayanthi week Sri Govindasingh went on a walking tour in Jubbulpore district. Sri Sant Thukodoji toured in Barora taluk. Sri R. A. Patel, the Development Minister, toured in Wardha taluk and collected 500 acres of land. In Bilaspur district workers visited about 40 villages and collected 800 acres of land. On 28th November all the prominent Sarvodaya Sevaks met in a conference at Bilaspur. The total collection in the province has come up to 58,628 acres. In the months of October and November alone Rs. 3,300 worth of Sarvodaya literature was sold.

### BIHAR

Vinobaji's tour in Purnea district began on 29th November. On the second day when the party was advancing to Jalalgar, the next place of halt, a certain kisan of the village handed over to Vinobaji a small bundle wrapped in a khadi kerchief. Vinobaji handed it over to Sri Ramadev Babu who, on opening it on reaching the destination, found that it contained one pound of good earth and a few flowers. When Vinobaji was informed of its contents, he said, "I demand earth and so with love he has given me a little earth." In the prayer meeting this packet of earth was auctioned and at the

very first call 5 acres were offered by a certain donor. But another gentleman came forward and offered all his 40 acres of land, and executing the Danapatra on the spot received the 'earth' with extreme devotion.

### AT GAYA

With the help of local workers, headed by Shri Madan Mohan Sinha, the lady students of Sevagram who are working in Gaya district, collected within one month from Tekari and Paraiya Thanas 566 bighas from 1091 donors. They sold Bhoodan literature.

The experience of the batch of three lady workers who worked for only ten days in Paraiya Thana was most encourag-

ing. They collected 222 bighas and travelled 125 miles visiting 60 villages.

About fifty workers, new and old, including Congressites, Socialists and Independents in both the Thanas gave hearty co-operation in this effort.

### UTTAR PRADESH

Distribution work is fast proceeding in this province. In Raibareilly 780 acres of lands were distributed among 131 families in 8 villages. At Kanpur distribution work as well as collection work is proceeding on a large scale.

Sri Purushothamdas Thandon while touring in Unnav district, distributed 375 bighas of land among 92 families before a gathering of thousands of people.

## Small-Scale Farming in Sevagram

REDDIJI, Ashram, Sevagram

In 1936 Bapu took his residence in Sevagram. In his Ashram agriculture was carried on to produce the necessary food articles. The Ashram land was of an inferior class. It was marshy and full of a kind of long grass and weeds. They were removed and the land was divided into small plots. Arrangements were also made to bale out the stagnated water. The earth is black in colour. Irrigation was attempted though the land was not quite fit for it. Good channels were dug for the purpose. Of course cultivation can be successfully done if there is only 30" of rain. If it rains more, the ground becomes marshy and for months remains miry and useless.

After the demise of Bapu, Ashramites began to take guidance from Vinobaji. He used to repeat often that the Ashram should free itself from money economy and substitute labour economy in its place. But we could not try the experiment at once. Finally on 30-1-'52 the Ashramites decided that it should be run only with the labour of its inmates and if necessity would arise with labour-dona-

tion from outside. The Ashram had then 42 acres of land, 6 bulls and 6 cows. The major agricultural work was done through employed labour. Of course, though there was no loss, it was not done in the ideal way. Full use of the land could not be made because of its extensiveness. So we decided to retain only that much ground as could be cultivated by ourselves. In May, 1952, retaining only 2½ acres for us, the rest of the land was handed over to the Charkha Sangh on a five-year lease. Within a few months we found it difficult to manage without the aid of a pair of bulls. So we had to keep a pair.

In the first year, out of the 2½ acres, cultivation was carried on with the aid of bulls in one acre and in the other 1½ acres by man-power alone. In one acre jowar (millet) was grown and in the rest paddy, vegetables, fruits, sugarcane etc. In this 1½ acres 15 small plots were made.

The actual work put in during the year is 6,025 hours of man-power. In addition the pair of bulls worked for 481½ hours. We had also to employ outside labour of 800 man-hours during the periods of weeding and harvesting etc.

The following table will show the extent of the area cultivated, the hours of work put on and the yield etc., etc.

Table 1 (A)

| Area in Grounds    | Name of the crop                  | Human labour in hours | Bullock labour in hours | Yield in lbs.     | Yield per acre in lbs. |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 40                 | Millet                            | 400                   | 50                      | 2080              | 2080                   |
| 5+1*               | Wheat                             | 320                   | 17 $\frac{1}{4}$        | 287 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1920                   |
| 4                  | Paddy                             | 391                   | 21 $\frac{3}{4}$        | 240               | 2400                   |
| 10                 | { Dhal                            | —                     | —                       | 221 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1518                   |
|                    | { Black-gram                      | 160 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       | 6                 | —                      |
|                    | { Millet                          | —                     | —                       | 152               | —                      |
| 2                  | { Gram                            | —                     | 5 $\frac{1}{2}$         | 57 $\frac{1}{2}$  | 1200                   |
|                    | { Peas                            | 118 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$   | —                      |
| 5                  | Soya Bean                         | 36 $\frac{1}{2}$      | —                       | 66                | 528                    |
| 5                  | Sesamum                           | 93 $\frac{1}{2}$      | —                       | 56                | 448                    |
| 7                  | Groundnut                         | 154 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       | 120               | 686                    |
| 5                  | Kapas (Cotton)                    | 222 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       | 248               | 1984                   |
| 6                  | Vegetables                        | 1325                  | 99 $\frac{1}{2}$        | 6400              | 42,666                 |
| 4 $\frac{1}{4}$    | Fruits (Pappaya, Mango and Guava) | 329                   | 24                      | 2560              | —                      |
| 1 $\frac{3}{4}$    | Plantains                         | 754 $\frac{1}{2}$     | 90 $\frac{1}{2}$        | —                 | —                      |
| 5                  | Sugar-cane                        | 610                   | 120                     | —                 | —                      |
| <b>(B) General</b> |                                   |                       |                         |                   |                        |
|                    | Supervision                       | 74 $\frac{1}{2}$      | —                       |                   |                        |
|                    | Maintenance                       | 122 $\frac{1}{2}$     | 5                       |                   |                        |
|                    | Implements repairs                | 100 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       |                   |                        |
|                    | Store                             | 236 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       |                   |                        |
|                    | Compost                           | 351 $\frac{1}{2}$     | 48 $\frac{1}{2}$        |                   |                        |
|                    | Cleaning                          | 213 $\frac{1}{2}$     | —                       |                   |                        |
|                    | Fencing etc. }                    |                       |                         |                   |                        |
| 100                | —                                 | 6025                  | 481 $\frac{1}{2}$       |                   |                        |

\* 1 Acre = 40 Grounds.

After harvesting the paddy crop, wheat was sown in one ground. Some items were grown in more than one spot.

(Continued in next page)

### TO READERS OF SARVODAYA

Friends interested in the circulation of 'Sarvodaya' are requested to send us a few names of their friends who are likely to subscribe for Sarvodaya. One free specimen copy will be sent to each.

SARVODAYA, P. B. No. 9, TIRUPUR

### TO FOREIGN SUBSCRIBERS

Some are sending subscriptions in foreign currencies which have to be returned to the senders as they cannot be encashed. Foreign subscribers are requested to send one dollar or 6 shillings as annual subscription through regular Banking or Postal channels.

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

The following table which shows the total produce and the consumption by the Ashram group of 5 persons on the basis of balanced diet.

Table 2

| Name of the crop | Total yield in lbs. | Balanced diet per person per day in lbs. | Food needs for 5 persons for one year in lbs. | Surplus in lbs. | Money value of surplus food |     |     |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----|-----|
|                  |                     |                                          |                                               |                 | Rs.                         | As. | Ps. |
| Millet           | 2232                | 30                                       | 2250                                          | 509             | 50                          | 14  | 4   |
| Wheat            | 287 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 10                                       |                                               |                 |                             |     |     |
| Paddy            | 240                 | 10                                       |                                               |                 |                             |     |     |
| Dhal             | 353 $\frac{1}{2}$   | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$                          | 112 $\frac{1}{2}$                             | 240             | 37                          | 8   | 0   |
| Oil-seeds        | 160                 | 6                                        | 260                                           | Nil             | Nil                         |     |     |
| Sugar            | 640                 | 5                                        | 225                                           | 415             | 103                         | 12  | 0   |
| Vegetable        | 6400                | 40                                       | 1800                                          | 4600            | 431                         | 4   | 0   |
| Fruits           | 2560                | 20                                       | 900                                           | 1660            | 155                         | 10  | 0   |
| Kapas            | 248                 | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$                          | 124                                           | 124             | 46                          | 8   | 0   |
| Milk             | —                   | 30                                       | —                                             | —               | 49 14 9                     |     |     |
| Lime-fruit       | —                   | —                                        | —                                             | —               | 190 0 0                     |     |     |
| Plantains        | —                   | —                                        | —                                             | —               | 150 0 0                     |     |     |
| Sugarcane        | —                   | —                                        | —                                             | —               | 56 12 0                     |     |     |
| Fodder           | —                   | —                                        | —                                             | —               |                             |     |     |
|                  |                     |                                          |                                               |                 | 1272                        | 3   | 1   |

### Other expenses for 5 persons.

|                     |           |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Milk                | = 75—12—0 |
| Fire-wood           | = 22—8—0  |
| Rent                | = 15—0—0  |
| Kerosene            | = 9—0—0   |
| Management          | = 18—0—0  |
| Others—postage etc. | = 4—10—0  |

$$144-14-0 \times 5 = 724-6-0$$

### Cultivation Expenses for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| Manure                 | = 198--12--0 |
| Seeds                  | = 50--4--0   |
| Medicine               | = 3--8--0    |
| Hire charges for bulls | = 120--0--0  |

$$372-8-0 = 372-8-0$$

$$1096-14-0$$

\* Money value is calculated on this basis: food grains @ 2 as. Dhal @ 2 as. Sugar @ 4 as. Vegetables and fruits @ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  as. Kapas @ 6 as.—per lb.

$$\text{Nett saving for five persons per year} = 175-5-1$$

It may appear that the yield is not enough in terms of rupee value. But it has to be remembered that we never carried on this agricultural operation for marketing. It was done only with the idea to meet our own needs. Of course there was surplus and it was sold only to other local sister institutions. If we had cultivated with a view to profit, we would have grown only those which would have

fetches higher values in the market, even double the present income in money value.

The following deductions we can draw out of our experiments:

1. Intensive agriculture is possible only in small plots. Then alone, full attention can be bestowed in the cultivation and the land can be improved.

2. Enough articles of food and other necessities of life can be had for 5 persons by cultivating  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land. Besides, each individual can save Rs. 30 per year after meeting all his needs. It is enough if one works 4 hours a day and puts in 300 hours of labour in a year in all.

3. At certain stages in the agricultural operations, outside labour has to be requisitioned, as the work involved has to be completed within a limited number of days and at one stretch, in order to avoid loss and wastage. Even in this small farm of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres we have to put in 430 hours for the sowing operation, 662 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours for weeding and treating and 1,178 hours for harvesting, beginning from cutting the crops to stocking the grains in the godown. On these occasions we had to necessarily employ labour from outside. Our kisans can avail the assistance of students and persons employed in offices if their vacation days fall during these seasons.

4. As there was no timely rain we had to feed the cotton plants with water by our hands. In  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre area we could grow 248 lbs. of cotton which in fact is much higher than the average all-India yield.

5. I have travelled in many places in connection with agricultural work. The Government as well as private individuals are engaged in the research to make good implements for agricultural operations. By our research we have come to the finding that hand is the superior instrument for the purpose. I

have made an implement by which in an area of one acre, one person can plough long lines at distances of 1,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 feet in 2 hours. Afterwards within these plots sowing can be done by hand itself. I was under the impression that wheat cultivation is impossible by hand. When I began hand-cultivation (operations) such an implement of a plough was designed and with its help wheat was sown in 6 grounds which yielded 287 lbs i. e., 1920 lbs per acre. Besides, other implements also were designed and made and they are found to be very useful.

6. In these days, yield is low due to these three reasons: want of good (1) implements, (2) agricultural knowledge, (3) hard work (industrious habit). To some extent we have solved the problem of implements. When we began the operations with our hand, without employing any outside labour, we could learn a lot from daily experience. Hard work has to be put in. If one gets afraid of hard labour what its effect will be on him, I will now point out by a personal experience. During the period from 1942 to 1950, in jail as also in the Ashram, I avoided manual work, as I was weak. I couldn't walk even a furlong or lift one bucket of water. At that time I happened to come across a teaching of Lord Buddha, which was given by him to a sick disciple: "If you want to liberate yourself from illness, then go on a pilgrimage on foot 400 or 500 miles or dig a tank by yourself to find drinking water for 400 or 500 animals." So in 1950 without telling anybody, silently I left the Ashram. In six months, 1500 miles I covered on foot and developed such a strength to walk even 40 miles a day. Later I returned to the Ashram and began agricultural work. When I remain any day without body-labour, I feel uncomfortable and dull.

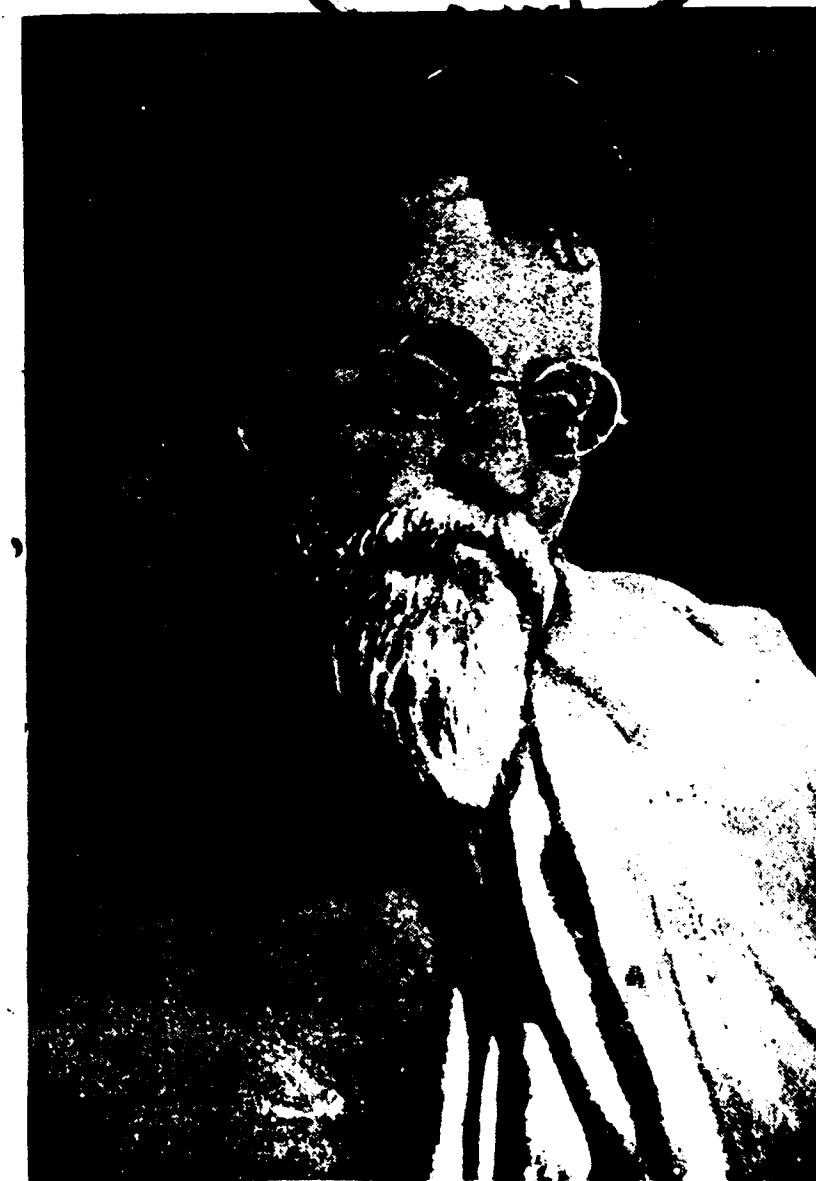


Editor: M. Ramaswami. Associate Editor: M. Karthiayani Ammal, B. A. B., L.,  
For Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dhakshin Bharat Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tirupur.  
Printed by B. Subramaniam, at the Kamala Printing Press, Tirupur.

# SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 3 12 February 1954 No. 8



ACHARYA VINOBA

ANNUAL SUBS:—INDIA: RS 3 — FOREIGN: ONE DOLLAR OR 6 SHILLINGS—SINGLE COPY: AS. 4

★  
THE  
SARVODAYA  
BHOODAN  
DIGEST  
OF  
THE SARVA  
SEVA SANGH  
★

| <b>BOOKS BY GANDHIJI</b>                                   | Rs. | As. |                                                                    |    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| Autobiography                                              | 7   | 0   | Christianity, Its Economy and Way of Life (J. C. Kumarappa)        | 1  | 8  |
| A Gandhi Anthology — Book I                                | 0   | 8   | Clive to Keynes ( " )                                              | 0  | 12 |
| Bapu's Letters to Ashram Sisters                           | 1   | 8   | Constructive Programme—Some Suggestions (Rajendra Prasad)          | 0  | 8  |
| " Mira                                                     | 4   | 0   | Dehumanization in Modern Society (R. Fulop Miller)                 | 0  | 7  |
| Basic Education                                            | 1   | 8   | Economics of Khaddar (K. L. and B. Gregg)                          | 2  | 0  |
| Cent per cent Swadeshi                                     | 1   | 0   | Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (M. S. Patel)             | 5  | 8  |
| Communal Unity                                             | 6   | 0   | Essentials of Gandhism (V. Swaminatha Sarma)                       | 0  | 12 |
| Constructive Programmes                                    | 0   | 6   | Gandhiana, A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature (P. G. Deshpande) | 3  | 4  |
| Delhi Diary                                                | 3   | 0   | Gandhian Ethics (Benoy Gopal Ray)                                  | 1  | 0  |
| Diet and Diet Reform                                       | 2   | 0   | Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World (Pyarelal)                 | 1  | 0  |
| Drink, Drugs & Gambling                                    | 2   | 8   | Gandhi and Marx (K. G. Mashruwala)                                 | 1  | 8  |
| Food Shortage and Agriculture for Pacifists                | 2   | 8   | Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity (S. K. George)                  | 1  | 8  |
| From Yeravda Mandir                                        | 1   | 4   | Gandhism in the Atomic Age (Y. G. Krishnamurti)                    | 2  | 0  |
| Gandhiji's Autobiography (Abridged, by Bharatan Kumarappa) | 0   | 8   | Mahadeva Desai's Early Life                                        | 1  | 0  |
| Gandhiji's Correspondence with Government (1942-44)        | 2   | 0   | Our Next Shore Neighbours                                          | .. | .. |
| Gleanings Gathered at Bapu's Feet                          | 2   | 8   | Practice and Precepts of Jesus (J. C. Kumarappa)                   | 1  | 8  |
| Hind Samraj                                                | 0   | 6   | Public Finance and Our Poverty (J. C. Kumarappa)                   | 1  | 8  |
| Hinda Dharma                                               | 0   | 8   | Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Narahari D. Parikh) Vol. I               | 6  | 0  |
| Key to Health                                              | 4   | 0   | Satyodaya (Gandhi, Mashruwala and Vinoba)                          | 1  | 0  |
| My Early Life                                              | 0   | 10  | Satyagraha in Champaran (Rajendra Prasad)                          | 1  | 4  |
| Non-Violence in Peace & War — 2 Vols.                      | 12  | 0   | Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi (Krishnadas)                      | 4  | 0  |
| Ramanama                                                   | 1   | 0   | Stray Glimpses of Bapu (Kaka Kalelkar)                             | 2  | 0  |
| Rebuilding Our Villages                                    | 1   | 8   | The Diary of Mahadev Desai Vol. I                                  | 5  | 0  |
| Satyagraha                                                 | 5   | 8   | The Gita according to Gandhi (Mahadev Desai)                       | 4  | 0  |
| Satyagraha in S. Africa                                    | 4   | 0   | The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (G. N. Dhavan)          | 6  | 0  |
| Selected Letters—I                                         | 0   | 7   | The Power of Non-Violence (Richard B. Gregg)                       | 2  | 8  |
| Selections from Gandhi                                     | 4   | 0   | The Story of the Bible (S. K. George)                              | 4  | 0  |
| Self-Restraint or Self-Indulgence                          | 2   | 0   | To Women (Rajkumar Amrit Kher)                                     | 0  | 6  |
| The Nation's Voice                                         | 3   | 0   | Why Prohibition? (Bharatan Kumarappa)                              | 0  | 12 |
| To the Student                                             | 2   | 8   | Which Way Lies Hope? (Richard B. Gregg)                            | 1  | 4  |
| Towards New Education                                      | 1   | 4   |                                                                    |    |    |
| Towards Non-Violent Socialism                              | 2   | 0   |                                                                    |    |    |
| Unto This Last: A Paraphrase                               | 0   | 6   |                                                                    |    |    |
| Women and Social Injustice                                 | 3   | 0   |                                                                    |    |    |
| <b>GANDHIAN LITERATURE</b>                                 |     |     |                                                                    |    |    |
| A Discipline for Non-Violence (Richard B. Gregg)           | 0   | 10  | <b>THE IDEOLOGY OF THE CHARKHA</b>                                 |    |    |
| A Nation Builder at Work (Pyarelal)                        | 1   | 0   | Gandhi's writing and speeches on khadi                             |    |    |
| A Pilgrimage for Peace ( " )                               | 5   | 0   | Compiled by Srikrishnadas Jaju                                     |    |    |
| A Preparation for Science (Richard B. Gregg)               | 0   | 1   | Price As. 14                                                       |    |    |
| A Righteous Struggle (Mahadev Desai)                       | 1   | 8   |                                                                    |    |    |
| A Vision of Future India (K. G. Mashruwala)                | 1   | 0   |                                                                    |    |    |
| An Atheist with Gandhi (Gore)                              | 1   | 0   |                                                                    |    |    |
| At the Feet of Bapu                                        | ..  | ..  |                                                                    |    |    |
| Bapu My Mother (Manabehn Gandhi)                           | 0   | 12  |                                                                    |    |    |
| Bhoodan Yagna (Vinoba Bhawe)                               | 1   | 8   |                                                                    |    |    |
| Capitalism, Socialism or Villageism? (Bharatan Kumarappa)  | 5   | 0   |                                                                    |    |    |

Postage and Packing Extra for all

# SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

**Vol. 3**

**February 1954**

No. 8

Whole No. 32

## CONTENTS

|                                    |      |
|------------------------------------|------|
| The Place of Woman                 | 198  |
| — Mahatma Gandhi                   |      |
| Sarvodaya Mela                     | 199  |
| Nai Talim and Swaraj               | 200  |
| — Vinobaji                         |      |
| What is True Swaraj?               | 201  |
| — Vinobaji                         |      |
| Pandit Nehru on Bhoodan            | 203  |
| The Sarvodaya Social Order—II      | 205  |
| — Jayaprakash Narayan              |      |
| Economics of National Defence      | 207  |
| — S. N. Agarwal                    |      |
| Service Civil International Centre |      |
| , at Sevagram                      | 208  |
| — Pierre Oppliger                  |      |
| The Demon of Untouchability        |      |
| in Villages                        | 210  |
| — Swami Anand Thirth M. A.         |      |
| With Vinobaji on Diwali            | 211  |
| — Suresh Ramabhai                  |      |
| A Challenge to Pacifists           | 213  |
| — Tom Wardle                       |      |
| Jawaharlal Nehru in Sevagram       | 215  |
| Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan      |      |
| Yatra in Tanjore Dt.               | 216  |
| Compost Latrines                   | 220  |
| — P. M. Mali, B. E.,               |      |
| Bhoodan News                       | 221  |
| Notes and News                     | 223. |

## TO READERS

As some of the staff were participating in Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra in Tanjore Dt. there has been delay in the publication of this issue.

**Mg. Editor, Sarvodaya.**

## "DO OR DIE"

Gandhiji taught us 'Do or Die'. He lived as he preached. He served his people to the last minute of his life. Not an iota of selfishness was there in him. With intense devotion in prayer and faith in God he reached the prayer ground. He did not even sit, in the standing posture he disappeared.

Now is the time of test for all of us who had the fortune to drink deep into the fountain of his love.

Let us dedicate ourselves to Bhoodan in the name of God. Let us take the pledge 'Do or Die' and march on. Never mind whether we win or die. In either case peace is certain to be.

**VINOBA**

**All-India Bhoodan Received up to 5-1-'54**

| <i>Province</i>                                          | <i>Land Received<br/>Acres</i> | <i>Number of<br/>Dhana-Patras</i> |
|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Bihar                                                    | 13,23,796                      | 1,14,303                          |
| Uttar Pradesh                                            | 5,00,891                       | 12,463                            |
| Rajasthan                                                | 2,34,376                       | 926                               |
| Hyderabad                                                | 73,258                         | 2,847                             |
| Madhya Pradesh                                           | 64,346                         | 698                               |
| Madhya Bharat                                            | 57,649                         | 4,114                             |
| Utkal                                                    | 50,783                         | 16,656                            |
| Gujarat                                                  | 20,845                         | 2,917                             |
| Tamilnad                                                 | 18,538                         | 2,350                             |
| Kerala                                                   | 11,100                         | 1,200                             |
| Maharashtra                                              | 10,380                         | 769                               |
| Andhra                                                   | 10,299                         | 552                               |
| Saurashtra                                               | 8,000                          | ...                               |
| Delhi                                                    | 7,745                          | 243                               |
| Vindhya Pradesh                                          | 4,087                          | 750                               |
| Punjab                                                   | 3,584                          | 814                               |
| Mysore                                                   | 2,516                          | 1,084                             |
| Karnatak                                                 | 1,669                          | 193                               |
| Himachal Pradesh                                         | 1,360                          | 54                                |
| Assam                                                    | 1,349                          | ...                               |
| Bengal                                                   | 452                            | 439                               |
| Bihar, donations through<br>Janatha Party on<br>12-1-'54 | 5,00,000                       |                                   |
| <b>Total ...</b>                                         | <b>29,07,023</b>               | <b>1,63,372</b>                   |

# THE PLACE OF WOMEN

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

The Narajivan Publishing House has published for this Sarvodaya Day a timely book "Sarvodaya" (The welfare of all) containing writings of Mahatma Gandhi on the Sarvodaya or Non-violent Social Order edited by Sri Bharatan Kumarappa (Pages 200—Price Rs. 2-8-0). Here is an extract from the above book.

The two (man and woman) live the same life, have the same feelings. Each is a complement of the other. The one cannot live without the other's active help.

But somehow or other man has dominated woman from ages past, and so woman has developed an inferiority complex. She has believed in the truth of man's interested teaching that she is inferior to him. But the seers among men have recognized her equal status.

Nevertheless there is no doubt that at some point there is bifurcation. Whilst both are fundamentally one, it is also equally true that in the form there is a vital difference between the two. Hence the vocations of the two must also be different. The duty of motherhood, which the vast majority of women will always undertake, requires qualities which man need not possess. She is passive, he is active. She is essentially mistress of the house. He is the bread-winner. She is the keeper and distributor of the bread. She is the care-taker in every sense of the term. The art of bringing up the infants of the race is her special and sole prerogative. Without her care the race must become extinct.

In my opinion it is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of that hearth. It is a reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end. In trying to ride the horse that man rides, she brings herself and him down. The sin will be on man's head for tempting or compelling his companion

to desert her special calling. There is as much bravery in keeping one's home in good order and condition as there is in defending it against attack from without.

As I have watched millions of peasants in their natural surroundings and as I watch them daily in little Segaoon, the natural division of spheres of work has forced itself on my attention. There are no women black-smiths and carpenters. But men and women work on the fields, the heaviest work being done by the males. The women keep and manage the homes. They supplement the meagre resources of the family, but man remains the main bread-winner.

The division of the spheres of work being recognized, the general qualities and culture required are practically the same for both the sexes.

My contribution to the great problem lies in my presenting for acceptance Truth and Ahimsa in every walk of life, whether for individuals or nations. I have hugged the hope that in this woman will be the unquestioned leader and, having thus found her place in human evolution, she will shed her inferiority complex.

I have suggested in these columns that woman is the incarnation of Ahimsa. Ahimsa means infinite love, which again means infinite capacity for suffering. Who but woman, the mother of man, shows this capacity in the largest measure? She shows it as she carries the infant and feeds it during nine months and derives joy in the suffering involved. What can beat the suffering caused by the pangs of labour? But she forgets them in the joy of crea-

tion. Who again suffers daily so that her babe may wax from day to day? Let her transfer that love to the whole of humanity, let her forget that she ever was or can be the object of man's lust. And she will occupy her proud position by the side of man as his mother, maker and silent leader. It is given to her to teach the art of peace to the warring world thirsting for that nectar. She can become the leader in Satyagraha which does not require the learning that books give but does require the stout heart that comes from suffering and faith.

My good nurse in the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, as I was lying on a sick-bed years ago, told me the story of a woman who refused to take chloroform

because she would not risk the life of the babe she was carrying. She had to undergo a painful operation. The only anaesthetic she had was her love for the babe, to save whom no suffering was too great. Let not women, who can count many such heroines among them, ever despise their sex or deplore that they were not born men. The contemplation of that heroine often makes me envy woman the status that is hers, if she only knew. There is as much reason for man to wish that he was born a woman as for woman to do otherwise. But the wish is fruitless. Let us be happy in the state to which we are born and do the duty for which nature has destined us.



## SARVODAYA MELA

Six years have passed since Mahatma Gandhi immolated himself in the great Yagna for the sake of the freedom of Man.

The twelfth of February is the Sarvodaya Mela when the remains of his physical body were immersed in the sacred waters.

Pujya Vinobaji is entering Gaya District in the footsteps of the Master after his mission, 'Do or Die' for the freedom of Man.

Let us resolve on this sacred day of the twelfth February to consecrate ourselves in this 'Do or Die' mission of the Maha-Yagna of Vinobaji. This Yagna needs no ghee as in the old but it needs the sacrifice of our egotism, selfishness and greed.

Let us recall Gandhiji's Talisman on this day when we are engulfed in doubt and dominated by self.

### GANDHIJI'S TALISMAN

"Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, try the following experiment:

"Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he be able to gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj or self-rule for the hungry and also spiritually starved millions of our countrymen?

"Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away".

# NAI TALIM AND SWARAJ

— ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE —

This is a free rendering of Vinobaji's message in Hindi to the Ninth Nai Talim Conference held in Assam in Nov., '53.

Even ten years before we got Swaraj, i. e. in 1937, Bapu placed before the country Nai Talim—the ideal of Basic Education. To him Swaraj was not the mere elimination of foreign rule. He aimed at the creation of a new social order free from centralised power, where there shall be no exploitation, where every individual will have equal opportunities for full development and where every citizen will feel that the country is his own. Such a State was Ramarajya to Bapu.

To establish new values of life in society is the fundamental aim of Bapu's Nai Talim. Our present day society considers 'theft' alone as a sin, but the new social order under the Nai Talim will consider hoarding and extra-possession also as a sin unto society. The present order respects only intellectual work and considers manual labour as degrading. But under Nai Talim both will be given equal values and status; the two are so interlinked into one that one cannot be separated from the other. Now proficiency (Kshamatha) is the sole deciding factor for success and survival but in the new order it stands to do service to others. In other words 'proficiency' is the help-mate to 'Samatha' (equality). Laxmi (wealth), Sakti (power) and Saraswathy (learning) are today worshipped as independent goddesses, but in the new order they will be only the media for service to humanity. The goddess of 'Humanity' will be the supreme deity for worship.

The mere change of power or authority is not what is meant or aimed by Gandhiji in 'Swaraj'. In his 'Swaraj' service will step in the place of authority and ruling power. But now our people wish to

bring a compromise between the two. Our leaders in the country say, "We go after power simply for the sake of service." And the followers interpret it and say "Some service has to be done in order to get power". Thus today our people make a jumble of both power and service. The result is that the main talk among all the political parties is about power alone. Service now stands dedicated there at the altar of 'Bharath Seva Samaj'!

If we had really understood what was meant by 'Swaraj', we would have changed the educational system along with the change of the Governmental authority. Finding unemployment on the increase and also the growing indiscipline among students, the leaders have now begun to think of Nai Talim. Nai Talim will not be of much help to solve these two. The realization of the new values of life will be the real gain under Nai Talim. These new values alone will help for proper evaluation of Nai Talim.

Today there is only a partial grasp and appreciation of the basic values of Nai Talim. This spells danger. Today it is mostly through the respective State Governments that Nai Talim is being experimented. The result is we find everywhere the imitative type of Nai Talim. Without understanding the philosophy behind Nai Talim, partial acceptance and misapplication will bring it into disrepute. Perhaps Bihar Government's effort in the spread of Nai Talim is more honest than that of the other States. Even there, from what I have seen, it looks that the grave is being dug for Nai Talim.

Of course we have to own the responsibility for this misapplication

We sought the help of the State Governments to work out Nai Talim. What we ought to have done we did not do. We should have ourselves established pure model Nai Talim centres in different places. This could not be done by us as the different constructive institutions continued to function separately without any co-ordination. Bapu foresaw the danger indeed. He thought of bringing all his constructive institutions into a united one. But his faithful followers couldn't yet fully understand the ideal. Now when the Charkha Sangh took courage to merge in the Sarva Seva Sangh, the line has become clear. The Talimi Sangh has to merge itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh, if the pure and bright form of Nai Talim is to emerge. If they do not do so, both the institutions will become lifeless; and they will look just like the head and trunk separated, neither having any sign of life.

Even after the lapse of six years since we achieved Swaraj, it is surprising to see that the main objective behind Nai Talim is not grasped in full and our leaders arguing for its partial acceptance. It is more surprising to find that, in spite of the great deal of discussions on Samagatha (unity) we are not anywhere near it. The Sarvodayawalas are indeed capable of becoming Congress Officers, M. L. A's, State-Ministers and organisers of opposite political parties. Yet they cannot agree among themselves. This is a matter for consideration.

The experiments in Nai Talim carried on till now through government officers are of two kinds. In one there is the conscious attempt to prove that it is too expensive and the knowledge imparted and gained thereby is too little with the idea to make the guardians protest against it and the students dissatisfied. This will lead to the total condemnation of it. It is quite evident that their intention is to establish that Nai Talim though good in itself, is impracticable. Leave this aside. The second type, admitted by them as practicable, retains the old values

of the existing old system and takes in only some of the good aspects of Nai Talim. Such a strange type will never fulfil the objective behind Nai Talim. Hence it is highly necessary that we should start pure Nai Talim centres independently and work on the basic foundations of the new value of life. For that we have to chalk out a scheme with Nai Talim, Sarva Seva (service to all) and Bhoodan Yagna all united into one.

When we were under foreign rule, there was the urge to start national educational institutions and many of them were independently organised and worked. When the country became free and the Government our own, people think that every government school is a national institution. Mere change of ruling authority will not make these institutions national. They have to be made national in spirit and I hope it will be done. Even then, there is the need for independent researches in education apart from what the Government may be doing. Consistent with the surrounding conditions, and in relation to them each and every village will have to run separate schools through their people. If this is not done and if the entire educational machinery is left in the hands of the Government, there is danger to the ideal development of the intellectual and mental faculties of our children. From this point of view also, experiments in Nai Talim should be carried on by us, independent of Government help or control. This is a thing we have to ponder over and decide.

## TO READERS

We appeal to those who appreciate the usefulness of 'Sarvodaya' magazine and are interested in its circulation to request their friends to subscribe for Sarvodaya.

Annual Subscription Rs. 3 only

# ★ What is True Swaraj? ★

— ACHARYA VINOBAJI —

We are giving below some extracts from Vinobaji's various prayer speeches edited under different subjects.

## TRUE SWARAJ

People ask, how is it that though there is Swaraj they do not yet feel its glow?

The advent of Swaraj should have transmitted to every individual the feeling that it was now his 'rajya'; that he was now the master of the situation and free architect of his destiny. That is the inalienable sign of Swaraj. Under Swaraj men must take to work; they must use their hands and feet and cultivate self-reliance. They will have Swaraj in the measure that they do so. An individual who has the taste of Swaraj would consider himself strong even though physically he may be very weak. He would not oppress anybody nor would he consent to suffer any oppression from any quarter. He will feel that he has the power to manage his affairs in his own possession and that he must use it well.

He who believes that the uplift of the villages would be brought about through the help and the initiative of the Government has not understood the true meaning of Swaraj. Not even God, much less the Government can help the indolent.

He alone gets God's help who thinks, plans and works. When even God's help is thus conditioned, it is an error to think that you can sit idle and the State will still come to your help and do all that is needed. The feeling and the confidence that we can and will mould our life into the shape of the ideals which we stand for is of the essence of Swaraj.

Where there is no such realization of one's power to do things, there is no Swaraj. Swaraj would then be merely a change from one set of rulers to another. But that is not sufficient; people must wake up to a sense of their own strength in order to wrest its full value from the

Swaraj which they have achieved after a long struggle and untold sacrifices.

Achievement of Swaraj then means an opportunity with more favourable circumstances for great work. It means an invitation to rise to our fullest height.

Governments come and go. India has had a number of them in the course of its long history, none lasting for more than two hundred years. Governments after all play only a very limited part in shaping our life and conduct. A far greater part is played in this respect by *dharma* i. e., our sense of duty, by thought and by fellow-feeling. How is it that people in our country yet observe the custom of taking a dip in the holy Ganga at the time of an eclipse? Certainly the Government does not compel them to do it. It is that an unwritten social compact which our forefathers realised centuries ago and which people still observe. It is clear that the peace and order which we find in the society is not created mainly by Government, but it is brought about by the power which *dharma*, love and thought naturally exercise over our minds.

The Mother suckles and feeds her child; it is because of love. With the sun going down in the west, the Mussalman bows down in prayer and the Hindu sits up for his *sandhya*, the evening meditation;—it is because of *dharma*. We do not steal and consider the thief to be a sinner;—It is because of the power of thought. All these powers which have sustained man and society for ages are still at your disposal. The power of the Government is as nothing compared to them. Acquire them, spread them, use them and you will be happy.

## MY WALKING, A PILGRIMAGE

People ask me why I move about on foot. They argue, had I been travelling by train, I could have easily toured

the whole of India during the fifteen months that I have been in Bihar. I say to these friends that I live and have my being in the old world when people lived long and peaceful lives depending for the regulation of their mutual relations not on laws as at present, but on love.

Then they ask me, if my ceaseless wanderings are part of a religious pilgrimage, what is the God that I worship and why do I not go to the particular place where I may find Him? But I say that my God does not reside at any one place or point. He does not reside in Kshirasagar or on Mount Kailas. My God resides in every human heart; He pervades the entire space and every object however small or big. How foolish that people should disregard the sufferings of their hungry neighbours and offer sweets to the image in the temple! ★

## RESCUE THE VILLAGES FROM IGNORANCE

The Bhoodan Yagna is intended to rescue our villages from all this ignorance and mental sloth and want of fellow-feeling which are the cause of their present degradation and misery. When there is enough land to go round, why should there be anyone without land? The landless has to live the permanently insecure life of a wage-earner. The day he does not get work, he has to go without food. I would not consider a village, where some of the residents have to go hungry, to be inhabited by human beings. They are not human beings if they do not care for the suffering of their neighbours.

When we live in one and the same village, we must see that all get enough to eat. The facilities for education must be provided to all without distinction. God has brought you together in the same village. He means that you should strive to form one community and live as one community, each contributing his mite to the common prosperity. ★

## LINK BHOODAN WITH KHADI

Manufacture of cloth must naturally belong to the villages. That is essential. Bhoodan by itself is not enough.

It has to be wedded to Khadi. Bhoodan and village industries are inseparable from each other. They are, as I have often described it, like Sita and Rama, one and indivisible.

What are we to do about the unemployment caused by the mills? After all, the unemployed have to be fed. Khadi feeds the unemployed and at the same time provides cloth to the country. Granted that Khadi costs more than the mill-cloth, but it should be remembered that the excess which you pay for it goes to the poor. It is a secret and therefore a highly praiseworthy form of charity.

You must understand that by purchasing Khadi you give food to our helpless mothers and sisters who have no other source of livelihood. That would be real *dharma*. Your offerings of money in the temples are no good at all. You can stop it and instead spend the money on the purchase of Khadi which will be a real offering to God. Ordinary charity might encourage indolence in the recipients, but secret charity involved in the purchase of Khadi is free from this danger. A Khadi-worker, a weaver or a spinner, works eight hours a day. You must therefore use Khadi only and thus fulfil your duty to our poor and helpless brothers and sisters.

## ★ APPEAL TO COMMUNISTS

The Communists say that they hate the rich and are their inveterate enemies. To me, however, they appear to be their friends, because they use mill cloth and add to their riches. For our part, we have not purchased mill-cloth for the last 32 years. But the Communists, though they are always denouncing and vilifying the rich, are curiously enough helping them with money. The rich do not mind the vilification so long as they are able to get money. Quite incidentally, therefore, I would ask the Communists also to take to khadi and save themselves from the ludicrous incongruity of both denouncing and helping the rich at the same time.

(From Harijan)

★

## Pandit Nehru on Bhoodan

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated a Bhoodan Yagna Camp at Kanjirapalli in Travancore on the 6th Feb., '54. The camp is organised by Shri Cherian Thomas, Bhoodan Organiser in T. C. State under the Kerala Bhoodan Committee. About hundred persons including non-Indians are expected to take part in the Camp. It will be run for a week with strict ashram discipline with discourses on Bhoodan and Sarvodaya by eminent persons.

### VINOBAJI'S MESSAGE

"Sampatti-dan, Shrama-dan, and Bhuddhi-dan should go along with Bhoodan. Then alone Bhoodan would be fruitful. I am glad you have laid stress on these aspects of the work. We have to create popular strength everywhere. Without decentralization, non-violence cannot flourish. Even science must decentralize to progress. I know it is already moving in that direction. I am afraid we are causing inconvenience to Shri Nehru. But I hope there would be a great proclamation of Bhoodan Yagna on the day".

With this message from Vinobaji, read by Sri Ekkanda Warriar, Convenor, Kerala Bhoodan Samithi, Shri Nehru inaugurated the Bhoodan Yagna Camp at Kanjirapalli in T. C. State.

### PANDIT NEHRU

Shri Nehru said:

"Vinobaji has started the movement with the idea of getting land-gifts but the scope of it has been extended little by little. No doubt the movement has become a powerful factor in India today. Vinobaji has collected several millions of acres of land but what is really important is not the actual acreage but the new spirit that is infused in the minds of the people.

"You should not expect the Bhoodan movement to solve the problem of the landless. That will be casting on you a responsibility which ought to be taken up by those who are in charge of the Govern-

ment. But this movement has changed the atmosphere in India in regard to this question. Thereby, it has not only helped directly to solve the problem to some extent but indirectly it has induced the Government and others to attempt some satisfactory solution of this problem. This movement is revolutionary in its conception. Just as many of the things Gandhiji taught seemed simple but yet had a deep significance and great potentiality, so also this movement is remarkably simple to look at, yet it has far reaching consequences.

"Acharya Vinoba Bhave is a person whom it is our great and good fortune to have amidst us and show us the way, should we err, and more particularly direct the people's minds and energies in the right direction. It is our good fortune to help him and others in this movement. The land problem or rather the problem of the landless cannot be solved by mere distribution of land. Because there is not enough land. People have to be helped in other ways also to start industries.

"You must be aware that the problem in India is essentially different from the problem in some other countries. Let us take Russia, for instance. It is different there because in Russia there are vast tracts of land and a limited number of people. Here there is a large number of people and the land is limited. We must follow the genius of the Indian people in solving these problems and follow Mahatma Gandhi because he knew exactly where the genius of India lay."

○ ● ○

## The Sarvodaya Social Order—II

— JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN —

This is a continuation of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's talk at the training camp for the workers in Bhoodan at Mokamah in Bihar published in the "Sarvodaya" of January, '54.

Violence kills humanity. It has taken lakhs of years for man to rise from the condition of a brute to the present state. Surely, we do not want to relegate mankind again to the same state of the brute creation. In this context, we should also remember that even violence is of two kinds, organised violence and violence of the individual. Organised violence operates in accordance with certain rules of conduct. But there is no such thing in individual violence. It is totally unrestrained. Man becomes brute. We must understand that violence is opposed to the very grain of our culture which stands for peace. But we cannot also lose sight of the fact that there is violence in our present day social set-up. In fact, it is based on violence, which, in its turn, will induce another element of violence as its own reaction. This has got to be checked by cutting at the very root of the cause.

This movement is based on the principle of change of heart. It is being conducted in the belief that man is amenable to change. That is so, because all of us are essentially one, fragments of the same Almighty Father. When dust spreads over a glass mirror it loses its brightness and assumes a dusty look. But when the dust is removed, its brightness is restored again. Similarly man is overlaid with the dust of passions and habits and ways of life. That dust has got to be removed by constant endeavour. Man is essentially good and not bad. If he were bad, he would pay his respects only to bad men. But we find that he adores and respects only good men. Therefore he will favourably react to noble efforts. When Ramachandra Reddy donated his land, people remarked that Reddy had

3

given of course, but others would not. Vinobaji said that he had started the work with faith in human nature, and he carried on his mission with rock-like firmness. And it is common knowledge how he got land in Hyderabad and is getting lakhs of acres today.

Gandhiji's technique of work worked in a four-fold manner, proceeding from one step to another. Gandhiji tried for change of heart and in this he took the help and co-operation of his colleagues and followers. The result of his efforts would depend upon the circumstances of the case which include inter alia the standard of the persons to be dealt with, the nature of the issue involved, and above all the accomplishments of the agent that employed the technique and the manner in which he put it into action. Change of heart is after all a matter of degree. Complete change of heart is an ideal condition and a man progresses towards it by degree. To what extent the change will come over after each step in the operation of the technique is governed by the above facts. But the change does come. Thus Mahatma first made an appeal to the individual and tried to wean him away from his wrong path by persuasion. Secondly, he tried to establish in the public mind by propaganda that the evil or the unjust and untenable position he was trying to fight and put an end to had no moral basis. Thirdly, he started movements and thereby tried to bring to bear upon the wrong-doer or the mistaken party moral pressure. That explains why Vinobaji accepts land-gifts even from the poor people. It would create a strong and irresistible public opinion in favour of what Vinobaji intends to do. At Jethian,

a poor Kisan offered land which I hesitated to accept saying, he himself had not enough to make both ends meet. But he insisted that I must accept it or he would refuse to take food. This reminded me of the supreme sacrifice of Shibi and Dadhichi, and inspired within me the confidence that the Bhoodan mission was bound to succeed.

Fourthly, if Gandhiji had felt that such a step was warranted by the situation he would have resorted to non-co-operation, non-co-operation with injustice and iniquity; for he believed that injustice was possible only with the co-operation of the wronged party. We have seen how it worked in the case of the British rulers. But after that we have to reconstruct society. We did not know how the technique would apply in this case. But now we can form some idea in the wake of Vinobaji's movement. Gandhiji taught us that exploitation was possible with the co-operation of the exploited with the exploiter. If the former withdrew their co-operation exploitation would disappear. Accordingly, if those who are landless take to heart that they may have to withdraw their co-operation from the big landowners, they would readily do so on Vinobaji's call. Imagine what sort of fight it will be! It will be a moral fight and not a struggle between classes. But I do not mean to say, that workers should go in the village and start Satyagraha forthwith. That will injure the cause of Bhoodan. We must understand that a man has to qualify himself for Satyagraha by working on right lines. He has no right to launch Satyagraha without that. But I believe that if we work with faith and confidence and in the proper spirit, the need for Satyagraha will not arise.

Some people also talk of legislation, and ask why not make a law to redistribute land quickly, which will also obviate the need for all these work and movement? They ought to know that we want to establish Sarvodaya Samaj and change the way of life, but law will not do that.

Law cannot come into effect without public opinion. Gandhiji said legislation without conversion is a dead letter. Do we not see the fate of the Sarda Act and the provision in the Constitution about untouchability? We also see ejectment going on every day even though there is a provision in the law against such a course. I am afraid, well-to-do persons would make it impossible for weak landless people to take possession of lands even if there be legislation for redistribution of land. That makes it clear why we need not be sitting idle looking forward to legislation.

Some belonging to any political party might often think how to utilise their work for strengthening their party. But they should cast off such considerations and work in a non-partisan spirit. Parties are after all a means to an end. If the object of a party is to establish a good society and the object is being fulfilled, then why should anybody bother about his party? He should rather be happy that others are extending their cooperation in a work that is dear to him. If a worker is not imbued with this spirit he should rather let this work well alone. There is another point also. Vinobaji is putting forward the conception of a political set-up free from the operation of party system. Western thought, particularly socialism, holds that parties are necessary for bringing about a revolution, as parties represent the different interests of society. Vinobaji is, however, making an experiment in the direction of establishing a party-free society. We in India have decided not to fight village elections on party basis. And what is right for a village is also right for the nation.

Mahatmas generally take rest in the rainy season, but Vinobaji trudged along from village to village even during the rains and with an extremely poor health. It is the call of duty that all of us should plunge in heart and soul in this work. Duty is of two kinds viz., our daily duty and the duty in emergency. Bhoo-

dan represents the latter type of duty. Vinobaji asked even the constructive workers to reduce their normal activity and take up Bhoodan work. That is because this is the supreme need of the

hour. You must realise that the country is caught up in a conflagration. You must rise to the occasion and face it with all your energy and attention or the nation will go to ruins.



## Economics of National Defence

— S. N. AGARWAL —

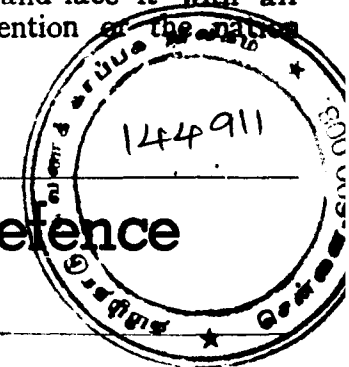
"We are not going to ask any country to defend us with their armed forces. Whether we have enough or not if a contingency like that arises, perhaps we have something else which might stand us in good stead, and that is the Spirit of Man. It is a dangerous thing if, in relying on others, we lose that spirit. If India loses her Soul, what would it profit her who defends her?"

These words of wisdom that fell from the lips of the Prime Minister in the recent debate in the Parliament on Foreign Policy deserve serious thought and consideration. They embody a philosophy of life which Gandhiji preached to India and the world. The ultimate strength of a nation does not lie in the numbers of its armed forces but in the strength of its will to resist all unprovoked aggression with the power of its Soul. Interpreted in terms of modern psychology, the problem of National Defence is ultimately the morale of its people. National Defences have to be organised not merely on land, in sea and air but in the minds and hearts of men. This is possible only if the people have faith in their destiny and confidence in the dynamic ideology of their leaders. Such confidence could be inspired among the people only if there is a revolutionary urge in the leaders to effect far-reaching social and economic reforms with a view to bridging the gaping gulf between glaring economic inequalities. In a country where, in the words of Plato, there are two "nations"—the nation of the rich and

the nation of the poor—it is impossible to inspire confidence and good-will among the people. The Spirit of Man can rise to great heights and conquer the force of arms only if it is unfettered by social and economic iniquities.

"Ultimately the strength of a country," observed Shri Nehru, "would depend more upon economic progress. If the country was economically weak, a vast number of people walking about in step would do no good." Those who talk so glibly about the desirability of introducing compulsory military training in India would do well to ponder deeply over these words of the Prime Minister. Modern politicians are not to feed their people on hate and fear and the ultimate choice that they present to the masses is: "Guns or butter?" Modern guns are terribly expensive commodities and they tend to starve almost to death both the body and Soul of a nation. In order to combat effectively the Atom Bomb, we will have to develop the Atomic Man of Gandhiji's conception. The power of the Atma is, in fact, the only effective answer to the Atom bomb. This is not mere philosophy or sentiment. It is the quintessence of modern thought and psychology.

In this age of science, centralisation is not only proving to be unscientific but also strategically dangerous. Big factories become easy targets of bombing and aerial warfare. Decentralised industrial organi-



sation is, therefore, the only type of planning that can survive the onslaughts of the Atomic Age. It is difficult for the highly centralised and mechanised industries of the Western countries to change their pattern now. But there is absolutely no reason why India should repeat the mistakes of other countries and try to imitate the large-scale and centralised system of industrial organisation. There are many other advantages flowing from small-scale and cottage industries. The problem of unemployment, we are sure, cannot be effectively solved without decentralising the instruments of production in the form of cottage or home factories. But even from the stand-point of National Defence, decentralisation of our industries is not only desirable but also inevitable.

At a time when we are in the midst of the first Five Year Plan, it is very

necessary to grasp fully the implications of a decentralised economy from the point of view of self-defence so that we may not repeat the mistakes committed by other countries in the past.

Gandhiji won Independence from a mighty Empire through non-violence, strong will and firm faith in the goodness of our cause. Similarly, we must be ready to face all eventualities with a resolute will and deep faith in the ideals that we have set before us in rebuilding New India. These ideals are the ideals that Gandhiji taught us with patience and firmness. If we are able to conquer the twin emotions of fear and hatred, no power in the world can shake our self-confidence and snatch away the freedom that the Father of our Nation gave us with the matchless weapons of Satya and Ahimsa.

(Adapted from the "A. I. C. C. Economic Review")

## Service Civil International Centre in Sevagram

PIERRE OPPLIGER, Representative for SCI in India.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared open on the 5th Jan., '54, the International Hostel of the SCI in the heart of India, at Sevagram. We are indebted to Mr. Pierre Oppliger for this special contribution to Sarvodaya about the activities of the SCI in India and specially in Sevagram in the development of "Work Camp for Peace and international friendship in deeds and words."

Sevagram has now taken its place among the holy centres in India, but unlike many other shrines retaining only a sense of veneration for the memory of the founder, there are at Sevagram working groups trying to apply in the day to day life Gandhiji's principles. Both Sarva Seva Sangh and Hindustani Talimi Sangh are each in their own field carrying an intensive social and educative programme.

Our association with Gandhiji goes back to 1931, the time of the Round Table Conference when on his return trip, Bapu had his first personal contact in Villeneuve (Switzerland) with Romain

Rolland and with Pierre Ceresole, the founder of SCI.

A few years later, after the Bihar earthquake, at the suggestion of C. F. Andrews, Pierre Ceresole and a small team of volunteers undertook to help the victims of the earthquake and floods in the rebuilding of their villages. This work took place during the Winters of 1934-37. No need to mention that Gandhiji gave his full support to the efforts of this team. At each visit Pierre Ceresole would stop for a few days in Sevagram, sharing with Bapu some of the immediate and longer range problems connected with the development of our

movement. Once Gandhi even suggested to Pierre Ceresole who was then a bachelor that he should marry a Miss X.... who was then at the Ashram!! Pierre Ceresole didn't follow up the advice then, but a few years later married a Swiss lady. In his two books on the SCI campaigns in India Pierre Ceresole relates some of his conversations with Gandhiji at Sevagram.

At the invitation of Dr. Rajendra Prasad SCI came back to India in 1950, this time to help in the building of the Faridabad New Township. 20 camps have been held since then in different parts of India: Himachal Pradesh, Assam, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and Mysore. By way of introduction to the present camp, it should be mentioned that already in 1950, Asha Devi and E. W. Aryanayakam with whom we worked in close contact, throughout the 15 months of the Faridabad project, extended an invitation to us to take up some work at Sevagram in connection with the Talimi Sangh Programme.

There was no lessening in our tie of friendship if it took us about four years to respond to the invitation. On the contrary, all during that time, either individually or as a group we had frequent stays at Sevagram which has become for many of us our home in India.

Last September however, at the completion of our Mysore camp, the whole SCI team came to Sevagram where we undertook the building of three hostels to be used in connection with the programme of the newly started rural university.

Largely due to the special interest of our sponsors, the work proceeded at a quick pace. Plans for the hostels were ready, building materials on the site, therefore the team could go ahead in digging and laying the foundation, making and mixing "chuna" and helping the four "maistries" who had the responsibility of the skilled work. A few trainees of the

Talimi Sangh joined the SCI team formed of Foreign and Indian volunteers. It was a real adventure in international and local co-operation.

The daily programme was as follows:

5-30 getting up (5-00 for those attending the morning spinning). 6-00 prayers and breakfast. 7-00 - 10-10 work on the project with a 10 min. rest at 8-30. Bath, washing clothes, camp and community duties from 10-30 to 11-30. Then midday meal followed by a rest period until 2-00 p. m. when a cup of tea was served before starting the afternoon work from 2-30 to 5-30. At 6-15 we had our supper and at 7-30 the evening prayers. From 8-00 to 9-30 evening activities like singing, talks, folk dancing etc.

The work project took most of our time and energy six days in the week. We put six hours' labour per day on the project, but fortunately this was only one aspect of our programme. In addition to the physical work we were able as a group or individually to participate in all the different activities of the ashram. With such a variety of people, coming from all parts of India, the cultural life is very rich and our team contributed its share.

It can truly be said of the Sevagram camp that it has fulfilled the hope and expectation of all of us, sponsors and volunteers. In this venture in search of real unity through manual work, all involved from near and far have gained strength and faith.

Some of the camps organized by SCI in the course of the past four years have been successful, others less so. Sevagram can be taken as a mile stone in the development of the work camp for Peace in this Country, it will remain as a living experience in building international friendship in deeds and words. This Work Camp clearly shows how an international team while solving some of India's immediate problems, can still make a valuable contribution towards real human understanding.

## The Demon of Untouchability in Villages

— SWAMI ANAND THIRTH M. A., —

This article only corroborates Vinobaji's contention that no legislation by itself can help in securing justice to the suppressed humanity unless it is preceded by a total mental revolution and radical change in values as contemplated by the Bhoodan Yagna towards a classless and casteless Sarvodaya Order. It is therefore more urgent for the social workers to strive for the mental revolution in society without depending much on the State and the safeguards of law.

It is now more than twenty years since Mahatma Gandhi awakened us through his Epic Fast to a sense of the great injustice we do to the Scheduled Classes by treating them as untouchables. We can pride ourselves that we have declared in the Constitution of India that "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden." It is now six years since our Madras Government passed the Civil Disabilities Removal Act penalising the observance of untouchability in public places and institutions. But in spite of all this, the Demon of Untouchability is still at large in our villages. The following, I believe, will serve as an eye-opener to us.

Recently on 22nd December, 1953, one Harijan youth of Alamarapatti, who had been to Parapatti, about 12 miles from Dindigul, is known to have not only been turned out but assaulted and shoed by two Caste Hindus of the place. It is significant that this teashop happens to be one run by the President of the Village Congress Committee. When I went to the village on the 27th December, 1953, all the teashops were found closed — because it was feared that the Harijans who had accompanied me, would enter them. What happened in the meanwhile is still more sad and painful. One local Harijan was suspected to have instigated the Harijan of Alamarapatti to go to the teashop. The real fact is that the latter had gone there quite by accident, not knowing that the Harijans are not allowed in the teashops in the village. Anyhow some of the Caste Hindus were ter-

ribly annoyed with the local Harijan referred to, and his house was set on fire in the midnight of 23rd December, 1953. Fortunately the fire was extinguished before it could spread and one house alone was burnt. Later, I came to know that only a few months ago, some Harijans who had gone to the village temple for worship were abused and beaten for having gone nearer the temple than usual and were ordered to stand at a distance according to the old practice. What is more wonderful is that the Harijans have no access to the office of the Village Congress Committee which is housed in a mutt. The Harijans are not allowed to take water from the 'Oorani' (protected water tank) which all other castes use in common. The bore-well in the cherri, is always out of order and never repaired. There is no other well for the poor Harijans who somehow manage with water from the irrigation wells or ponds.

A well attended public meeting was held in the village on the Harijan Day, 30th December, 1953, when an appeal was made to the Caste Hindus to give up their prejudice towards the Harijans and the Harijans were advised not to bear any ill-will towards the Caste Hindus. It is learnt that on the next day, an attempt was made to set fire to the houses of the Harijans who had co-operated in the organisation of the meeting. The Harijans have not sought entry into the teashops. We have not begun to tackle any of their disabilities. There is support to our movement from the enlightened section of the villagers, but as usual, there is an

Continued in page 212

## With Vinobaji on Diwali

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

Acharya Vinoba was covering the Monghyr district of Bihar. On Nov. 6th the Diwali, we reached the camp-spot for the day, a primary school in the little village-town of Manasi. The morning sun was just about to appear and make itself felt. Our hosts at school were almost taken unawares and with bewildered eyes ran to welcome us. Vinoba smilingly inquired whether they belonged to the Surya-vamshi (tracing ancestry to the sun) family or the Chandra-vamshi (tracing ancestry to the moon). The fair companion in the party, Miss Mridula Mundada, the gifted daughter of Vinoba's reputed secretary (Sri Damodardas Mundada, now working in Gaya as the lieutenant of the Bhoodan army), told Vinoba that that was a Diwali day. Quietly he went to his seat and began his work as usual.

Manasi is a small locality with a population about a thousand. It is more known as a railway junction. Lying on the Sonapur-Katihar main line of the North-East Railway, it is connected by a branch line to Biratnagar on the border of Bihar and Nepal, providing the only railway avenue into the Saharsa district (formerly North Bhagalpur). Just as I came out of the school premises to have a look round I was seized by the sight of an old man lying down on the bare floor of the verandah of a dilapidated house. He was wrapped up in but a small ragged cloth, mis-called dhoti above his knees. His whole skeleton was conspicuously visible. One could count a bone after another. His hands, legs, chest and face were all shrivelled up. I wondered whether life throbbed in that collection of bones. I went near. His eyes were half open, mouth gaping. He gave a cough and his eyes opened. Soon they closed. Another cough and he took a turn. He

seemed to be trying to sit down. He succeeded. I asked him where he lived. He stretched his hand to say that he lived a little far off from that village. Whether he was a landless peasant, I inquired. He nodded in assent. I was anxious to know what brought him there. In his East-Bihari dialect (which I could but partly follow) he replied that he was there during the night and only for the night. Again a cough and he struggled to get up and move. I asked him where he was bound for. To home was the brief answer. Vainly I assured him that not long after he would also get land. Perhaps he did not listen. Inch by inch he was pushing himself onward. When he hoped to reach his village was my last timid question. He raised his hand and pointed one finger towards the sky. Slowly I paced back to my camp.

What an unforgettable Diwali scene!

We passed the day exactly like any other. Came the time for evening prayer. We went to an open space about a furlong off. The audience was not large though it included some womenfolk as well. The prayer over, Vinoba descended from the 'dais', which he rarely does. He stood in the centre of that small multitude. Little Mridula, perhaps feeling home-sick for the tiny, naughty moment, again feelingly ejaculated, "Baba, it is Diwali today!" (Baba is the name with which is Vinoba generally addressed). Vinoba greeted them with folded hands, calling them as Shambhoo-Mahadeva (Mahadeva fixed in seat). And then began flowing from his heart an incessant stream of love.

Straightway he told them that his were two demands — one-sixth of the total land of the village and as many Dan-patras (gift-deeds) as the land-owners (big or small) there. It was nothing new, said

Vinoba, as he simply prayed for the extension of the domestic law of sacrifice ('tyaga') to the village as a whole. He was one with them in that happiness ('sukh') had not followed the advent of Swarajya. But what, he asked, had they done to deserve the same? Did they not quarrel among themselves and were mostly lethargic? Were they not addicted to smoking, drinking and other vices and seemed to relish in the pleasures of the body? In awe, they stared at the saint telling these home-truths.

Quoting the ancient adage, Vinoba remarked that man's being was regarded as very sacred and rare. "Why?" asked he. And he proceeded to reply himself, "Because man has a heart which an animal has not. This heart has the quality to feel for the neighbour as for oneself". He thereupon implored to share each other's weal and woe. Then he added with an anguish, "They say it is Diwali today. They would be enjoying sweets, throwing crackers, having illuminations, etc. But they do not know that their neighbour is hungry. Will such festivities behave us?"

Recalling an incident five years ago, he added, "In 1948, on this occasion I was going to Dungarpur in Rajasthan. I passed a village on the way. I entered a little hut where, to my utter amazement, there was nothing save half a seer of coarse grain. When I asked the owner

what he would have next day, he replied that God alone knew. Leaving that village, I reached the town where Diwali merry-makings were in full swing. I contrasted the two pictures and pondered over what it meant."

"But this apathy," Vinoba continued, "towards others is not confined to cities alone. We of the village are as much victims of it." He concluded saying that God resided everywhere, in every home and heart. "Should we love each other we get heaven ('Swarg' or 'Vaikundhi') here; should we hate or be envious of each other we get hell here." He appealed to them to rise above petty differences and offer their contributions of land, wealth or labour in the Yagna cheerfully and generously.

Vinoba's discourse was like a fireside chat rather than a learned address to an unknown audience. His message went right to the heart. The donations that day amounted to about 115 acres received from 53 donors. The meeting over, they all dispersed and we returned to our camp. Except for our usual lantern, not a lamp could be seen in that locality commemorating Diwali. Quietly we had our meal and then went to bed. The morning scene hovered my mind as also the evening talk of Vinoba. And the grim silence of that dark Diwali night seemed to echo and re-echo in the air: We would have a Diwali only after there was no landless or unemployed in India: While the shining stars stood witness to endorse, then and not till then, not till then. ★

*Continued from page 210*

unruly group which is responsible for the trouble.

We could gather that the reactionary section of the Caste Hindus have a feeling that the local Police are with them and so they can deal with the Harijans in the old fashion, with impunity. There is panic among the Harijans and a sense of awe and fear is prevalent in the Cherri. If no proper action is taken in instances like this, the Civil Disabilities Removal

#### **Demon of Untouchability**

Act will continue to remain only a dead letter in our rural parts. The Government and the Congress, which are pledged to the removal of untouchability, have to take necessary measures to see that the poor Harijans are not put to such humiliation and harassment as narrated above, even after the countrywide propaganda that has been carried on, during the past so many years. ★

## **A CHALLENGE TO PACIFISTS**

— TOM WARDLE —

Readers have been following the thought-provoking articles of Mr. Wilfred Wellock in his twelve 'Orchard Lea Papers' extracts from which have been appearing in "Sarvodaya" as well as "Harijan" from time to time. Here is a review of the Papers which would read as an independent article on the subject that Wellock has developed in his valuable Papers as a challenge to modern materialism and dehumanizing industrialism.

A hundred and fifty years ago, you might say, something went wrong.

A boy put a spoon on the spout of a kettle, blew the lid off—and down came the atom bomb.

Modern schoolboys are taught that George Stephenson was a hero and the Industrial Revolution a triumph. To a few men, writing and talking in the last sixty years, it was a disaster.

Wilfred Wellock is one of those men. He is in the direct tradition of Robert Owen, William Morris and Eric Gill; a warner and a cherisher, preserving within his own life and his own mind those values which he has seen the power ages crush and squeeze and suck out of the people before his agonised eyes.

#### **THE GREAT SURRENDER**

The power of steam, petrol, electricity, atomic energy, money and might; the power of Ministries and investigatory bodies, of hierarchies and executive committees, of boards of directors and education authorities; the power of newspapers, cinemas, trade union councils and policemen; the power of men over nature and men over men, has marred and sickened the peoples of this civilisation. It has been the epoth of the Great Surrender—the surrender of the human spirit to the machine, to lust, to fear.

But not quite. The human spirit is not a mathematical quantity which may be substituted, nor a factor which may be suppressed or conditioned out of existence. If it has a physical quality it is the quality of rubber or dynamite—the heavier the pressures upon it, the more explosive its liberation. History is a re-

cord of the attempts at final and absolute containment of the human spirit—attempts and failures.

The explosion of the spirit which occurred in the spear and catapult age was appropriate to its time. It made Rome and Europe possible. There was a relationship, as others have said, between the challenge and the response.

#### **THE TIME FOR REVOLUTION**

There are few reflective souls who would not agree that our age is the most oppressed and unpromising in history. To most this is a reason for despair or at best inaction. To people like Wilfred Wellock it is an invitation—an invitation to explode.

The metaphor is not inapt for his Orchard Lea Papers are, to say the least, atomic. Their challenge is so radical that they must either be dismissed as preposterous or embraced as prophetic.

There are twelve of them, written as two-penny broadsheets from the quiet of a Lancashire bungalow and based on the experience of seventy-odd years of passionate living. Combining intellect with wisdom, activism with contemplation, Wilfred Wellock is himself an example of the kind of man he pleads for—the whole man—but he wants him in a whole world too. And it is precisely because things look so dark today, precisely because there is so little inclination to improvement, that he is convinced that the time is at hand for revolution.

The nature of that revolution is something which only those who have remained uncowed by the rolling disillusionments of the twentieth century can keenly

envisage. To the passive millions whose minds are moulded by Orders in Council and Forthcoming Attractions, revolutions are things which happen in South America. For the pseudo-enthusiasts of the political east, revolution is something that happened once—but never again: in fact The Revolution apparently happened to prevent any further revolutions.

The Orchard Lea Papers are neither first, second nor third force. They seek not to add to the confusion of "positions" inaugurated by the rash "internationals" at the beginning of the century and imitated now by the "forces."

They do not do this because they are concerned with a level of thought which has really nothing in common with any of the major movements of the day. They herald a world in which Man will stand in the centre; honest-to-goodness Man with more than a flush of God upon his cheeks.

Mighty cities, armies, factories, parties, ideologies are in control. How can a man with a tweed suit and a weakness for home-grown apples do anything about that?

First, says Wilfred Wellock, refuse to go along with any of the decadent, body-breaking, spirit-snuffing bag of tricks. Conscientious objectors are the people we want, he says. Conscientious objectors to many things, from centralised government to white bread. And here he throws a challenge at the pacifist movement.

Getting down to immediate brass tacks in the last of the Papers he says:

"Today we live in a fool's paradise, worshipping abundance yet wasting it in self-indulgences and costly armaments. The Western nations put the blame for the latter on Communism, and turn a blind eye to the basic fact that war is inherent in their very way of life. Pacifists are also guilty of this error, even Christian pacifists.

"It is plain self-deception to say that all our war-producing problems could be solved around a table given a little goodwill; for there can be no peace so long as maximum consumption of goods and services is the aim of the West in a world of shortages where the living standards of half of its

population are double or treble those of the other half, which is justly seething with discontent and revolt."

"Pacifists should be the first to challenge the materialism of our time with a simplicity of life which conforms to the world's needs, to justice, and to the demands of the good life."

The way in which that challenge to materialism may best be made effective is in the creation of a historical movement towards decentralisation of political power, the breakdown of mass industry, the redistribution of the world's land, the conservation and natural care of the soil, the control of diet, the promotion of a self-participating culture and the brotherhood of all.

#### SEEDS OF THE NEW SOCIETY

As a start Wilfred Wellock is working on the establishment of a new institution, a revolutionary college for the training of the young in new techniques of living, making it possible for them to become seeds of the New Society in the decaying body of the old.

Much remains to be done yet with the ideas which Wellock puts forward, but it is axiomatic in his programme that the further thinking and practice will be done by the would-be revolutionaries themselves.

He has started a process which Berdyaev called "molecular"—taking part in it means getting hold of the vision, after that you're on your own.

"One man's blue-prints may be another man's prison-house", he says. "Whole men must needs produce their own blue-prints, and each local community its own social programme. One of our main tasks is to free the human spirit, the imagination of the common man, from the bondage of conformity, and to train the people for vocational living."

Favourably-disposed reviewers will advise their readers to get and read the literature they review. It is my hope that individuals and groups of all kinds will not only read the Orchard Lea Papers, but will study them together, deeply and then—go to work.

("Peace News" 4-12-'58)

## JAWAHARLAL NEHRU IN SEVAGRAM

### OPENING OF GANDHI GYAN MANDIR

"Study of Gandhian ideology has great importance today, looking to conditions in India and the world over," said Prime Minister Nehru while declaring open the Gandhi Gyan Mandir this morning.

Addressing the mammoth gathering from balcony of the Gandhi Gyan Mandir Nehru recalled the moments he had spent earlier in the morning at Gandhiji's hut in Sevagram, where India's and world's problems crowded into his mind and he felt that Gandhian way was the way for India and would be of great value in the solution of the world problems also.

Nehru referred to Vinobaji's message to the function wherein Gandhi Gyan was described as synthesis of physical sciences and Atma Gyan, i. e. spiritual science. While physical sciences were good in themselves, unless they were good in check and used properly through Atma Gyan, they could be used for the destruction of humanity.

Rather than preach to others, Nehru felt that we should go along the way we thought best. He felt that copying others in times of emergencies would amount to admitting defeat of the principles for which India stood.

It was important for India to follow the Gandhian path and Gandhi Gyan Mandir provided a centre where Indians and those coming from abroad could study Gandhian literature.

#### AT GANDHIJI'S HUT

Pt. Nehru said that it was odd that this modern world was so utterly different from "the simple, quiet way that one functions here (at Sevagram)."

On his arrival at Sevagram, Pt. Nehru went straight to "Bapu Kutir"—the hut where Gandhiji used to stay. Later,

he opened the international hostel and planted a mango sapling.

Pt. Nehru said that he was happy to be associated with "this simple but very meaningful ceremony."

"To come to Sevagram at any time" he said, "is not only some kind of pilgrimage for all of us but is an emotional experience. Because, in many ways this place has not only historic significance in India and in our lives, it has emotional significance. It is a place which revives intensely all kinds of memory and experience which have powerfully affected us and millions in India. So, we approach this place with reverence, with some kind of self-questioning."

Pt. Nehru said that it was an odd contrast between this "simple and quiet way" in Sevagram and the loudness and shouting and aggressive manner and behaviour "found elsewhere." "Coming to Sevagram, one found oneself in a completely different atmosphere, almost in a different world, in a sense. It is possible that some people will feel uncomfortable in this atmosphere though I doubt that anyone who comes here would not carry away some novel experience."

"In any event, those who feel they fit in obviously would be impressed much more and would be able to add or give or add something to themselves."

#### INTERNATIONAL HOSTEL

It was a happy idea, he said that members of the Service Civil International came here and made this place one of their centres of activity. He had come across workers of the International in other parts of India and heard of their work. "All I can say is, I earnestly wish that many of our young men and young women will devote themselves to work in that way" he said.

(From Press Reports)

## Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Yatra in Tanjore Dt.

In Tamil Nad the Bhoodan Yatra has been confined till recently to dry districts like Ramnad and Coimbatore leaving the wet districts like Tanjore. Tanjore is the granary of Tamil Nad. Four-fifths of the district is wet land lying in the delta of the Cauvery. The land-owners there will not easily part with a cent of land. Even the small plot of 50 cents traditionally allowed for house-site for the family of the tiller has been in recent times appropriated by the land-owner for cultivation. There are frequent complaints that even foot-paths and outlets to take corpses to the burial ground would not be allowed by the land-owners as every inch of ground is brought under cultivation.

Tanjore like Telengana and Kerala loomed large on the map of India as the hot-bed of Communist activities. But for Rajaji's timely intervention through ordinances (since legislated) regarding the wages of the tillers and eviction etc. the picture of Tanjore district would have been totally different today.

It was always said that Tanjore would be the last of the twelve districts to be approached for Bhoodan. Fortunately this was falsified by many offers of Bhoodan aggregating to 435 acres of wet land in the Tanjore district during the hurricane tour of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan for four days in last August.

This initial success in this district is due to the strenuous efforts of Sri T. K. Srinivasa Iyer and others along with the combined work of the Congress and Praja-Socialist parties.

Later there was a lull in the work till the beginning of Shri Shankarrao Deo's 2nd Yatra in Tamil Nad. There was even some opposition from the big land-owners of the district for including Tanjore district in the Yatra. Owing to the untiring work of Sri T. K. Srinivasa Iyer

and Sardar Vedaratnam with a band of a few energetic young men the ground was cleared and the district offered a hearty welcome to Shri Deo as he entered the border.

After covering Tinnivelly and Ramnad districts Shri Deo had to enter Tanjore district from Pudukottah, as Trichy district which was in the original programme had to be dropped out at the last hour.

Last time it was given to Sri K. S. Sambasiva Iyer, one of the few leading land-owners of the district, to offer 100 acres of Bhoodan to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. As Shri Deo entered Tanjore district on 14th January, '54, the Pongal day, Sri V. S. Thiyagaraja Mudaliar, one of the few richest land-owners gracefully announced his offer of 200 acres of Bhoodan on the phone from Madras to Sardar Vedaratnam. He sent also a message for the success of Bhoodan in the Tanjore district. Thus the ice was after all broken in this district which made it easier for Shri Deo to continue his Yatra with great hope.

Shri Deo appreciating this substantial offer costing over Rs 3 lakhs said that he would be more satisfied with the propagation of the message of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya in Tanjore district whatever be the immediate response in terms of acreage of land. He was sure of getting good response if the message spreads widely in the district.

Shri Deo reached the village Gandharvakottai on the 14th January, '54, the border of Tanjore district. It was Sankaranthi Day or Pongal as popularly called. It was a day of worship of the Sun-God just after harvesting, with sweet pudding and rejoicing.

This offered a good occasion for Shri Deo to develop his message of Bhoodan Yagna. On the Pongal day there will be

feast in some houses while thousands will be starving at home. How can it be Pongal or universal rejoicing when the tiller of the soil and producer of food goes without food on Pongal day? No one could be happy with his feast when the neighbour is miserably suffering. Shri Deo appealed to the common humanity in man who has forgotten the Swadeshi Dharma or duty to and love of neighbour. Even as all members in a home would enjoy the Pongal day irrespective of the earning of each, the village should so plan the economic and social life of the village community so that all will equally share the benefits of the land and none would go without food, cloth, shelter, education and medical aid and work to earn these bare necessities of life. Then alone the village will be able to establish a Sarvodaya Order of society in which there will be no exploitation of anyone in any way. Securing the welfare of all in the village will be the real celebration of Sankaranthi or Pongal. Till then Pongal will be the privilege of the classes and not of masses. Bhoodan Yagna therefore brings the real message of the Pongal or Sankaranthi. With such words Shri Deo could easily touch the hearts of the audience by linking the message of Pongal and Bhoodan.

On 15th January, '54, Shri Deo came to Sengipatti at noon. He was tired and still spoke for 15 minutes as usual in reply to the welcome. His words visibly moved the small gathering there. After hearing to the speech six persons offered their wet lands from 40 to 78 cents each.

After visiting Budalur, Shri Deo entered Tirukkattupalli from where the real granary of Tanjore District begins. The land offering there was only about 5 acres.

Passing through green paddy fields and many places reputed for Mandirs and Mutts and educational institutions Shri Deo reached Tanjore on the 18th January.

He was the guest of Shri Appavu Thevar of Ukkadai. He is one of the few biggest landlords owning thousands of acres in Tanjore. Shri Deo and his party were welcomed by him and he himself offered 60 acres of land worth over Rs. one lakh.

Shri Deo had heard the remark that his speeches were nothing different from Communism. In his speech at Tanjore Shri Deo gave a fitting answer that the difference between Sarvodaya and Communism is like the difference between light and darkness. No Communist believes in Yagna and Yatra and in the inherent goodness of man and ultimately the divine Head as the owner of all. No Communist would accept the hospitality of the richest landlord as a Sarvodaya Sevak would do in the hope of total conversion of the landlord by moral and spiritual sanction alone so that he may spontaneously share his all with all the members of the village community. The audience in Tanjore heard in rapt attention till late at night.

Shri Ukkadai Thevar extended his hospitality to Shri Deo again in his own village on 19th. About 2000 tillers of the land of Sri Thevar welcomed Shri Deo in the hot sun with their bugles and drums. They all were asked to sit in the foreground of the palatial residence of Sri Thevar perhaps for the first time in their history. Shri Deo was visibly choked with emotion at the sight of surging masses and he asked after a pause "Do you welcome us with the consciousness of our mission or at the bid of others?" His gentle assuring words instilled high hope in some about their bright future while some felt that the cry of equality and fraternity was only the fleeting delusion of the day.

In the evening Shri Deo spoke to the same audience in the presence of the landlord and his son who formally presented the *Dana Patra* for 60 acres. Shri Deo assured the audience that the

gift of 60 acres was only the beginning of the land-gift of Sri Thevar and the Yagna would not stop till he is totally converted by love and persuasion to surrender his all to the community.

The hospitable host calmly heard the words of the revolutionary guest at three meetings pointing out the social injustice of the large holding of land by the few idle rich starving the millions of actual tillers and producers of food. To close observers, the host's demeanour did not show any sign of discomfort or resentment. It appeared as though he had to entirely agree with what Shri Deo said and was simply abiding by his time to part with all the land as naturally as it was gradually accumulating in his family during several decades owing to various factors of unfelt social and economic exploitation.

The Third important event in the Yatra was at the village Siddamalli, 5 miles from Ukkadai. Sri K. Thulasiah Vandayar, a young landlord owning extensive area of land, voluntarily invited Shri Deo to his village offering 2 *valies* or about 13 acres of Bhoodan. He had been already a regular subscriber of 'Sarvodaya' in Tamil and in English. His library consisted mainly of Gandhian - Sarvodaya literature. Shri Deo spoke to the village audience not only on the needs of food for the physical hunger, but on the mental hunger for culture, the emotional hunger for love, the intellectual hunger for knowledge and the spiritual hunger for liberation. The young donor Sri Thulasiah while thanking Shri Deo for his visit spoke brilliantly on the basic doctrine of the Bhoodan Yagna and appealed to others to accept this non-violent revolution as the only way that can assure permanent peace and happiness consistent with the culture and tradition of India.

We only pray that such young enlightened rich men should come forth to carry the message to other big land-owners. His reception, his land-gift and

his speech, created a great impression on all alike.

On the evening of 20th January at Nidamangalam, a centre for Black-shirts and Communists, Shri Deo made one of his remarkable speeches in the district. He drew out the distinction between man and beast. While both have hunger man alone has a feeling of compassion for the neighbour's suffering. The man who indulges in self-enjoyment with no regard to the sufferings of the hungry neighbours and does not consider others as himself is no better than a beast. Shri Deo also challenged the false claim for a higher standard of life by the so-called intellectuals. The basic needs of all men are the same in the matter of food, clothing, shelter, education and medical aid. It is a fallacy for an advocate or a professor to think that intellectual work is superior to physical labour and claim amenities ordinarily denied to actual producers of food. His attack on the superior claim of intellectuals who are but exploiters of society by prostituting their intellectual faculties for self-indulgence went home to the audience. This speech was said to have touched some of the landed people as it appeared to them not different from the Communist's way of attack.

Mannargudi, the once famous place during the non-cooperation movement, did not rise to its height this time. The principal host was away as he was preoccupied with the trouble in his own fields on account of the Communists. When he returned at night to meet Shri Deo, Shri Deo tried to convince him that the only way of solving the problem was to accept the logical and moral implications of Bhoodan Yagna and its ideal of Sarvodaya Social Order.

On 23rd Shri Deo camped at Paravakkottai. Thousands of men, women and children gathered from the villages around, attended the meeting till late in the night. There was a ray of hope and sign of joy in their faces. There was not enough land in

the villages in these parts in proportion to the population. The land question was not as important as the urgent need for full employment of all. Shri Deo stressed on the needs of village industries for achieving rural self-sufficiency in basic needs along with Bhoodan which will ultimately result in the ownership of the land by the village community. The mass demonstration of enthusiasm of the villagers could be seen again only at Peravoorani which Shri Deo visited as an extra programme on the Republic Day. At Pattukottai, his evening speech was considered as an outstanding one.

Sri Nadimuthu Pillai of Pattukottai offered 50 acres for Bhoodan. From there Sri Deo and party proceeded to Thambikottai where Sri Ramaswamy Thevar offered 25 acres. The next camp was at Tillaivilagam, famous for the temple for Rama and Nataraja. Shri Deo appealed to the people to extend their traditional dharma to the temple still further for the immediate solution of the economic inequality for the benefit of the toiling poor. On the 29th at Tiruturaipundi the Hindi Premi Mandal youths took special efforts to arrange for his reception. They staged at night a very interesting drama on Bhoodan depicting the present starving condition of the peasants and the ideal behind the message of Bhoodan in contrast to the Communists' approach.

On the 30th Jan. the Sarvodaya day was observed by Shri Deo and party at Voimedu village. Shri Deo spoke on the Sarvodaya message of Mahatma Gandhi and how Bhoodan Yagna is the first step for the realisation of Sarvodaya order of society.

After covering nearly 700 miles in 55 days Shri Deo reached Vedaranyam on the 31st Jan. concluding his second Tamil Nad Yatra commenced at Cape Comorin on 9th Dec, '53. Vedaranyam is the Dandi of Tamil Nad, famous on account of Rajaji's Salt Satyagraha in 1930. In the afternoon there was a conference of Bhoodan workers of Tamil Nad. His Holiness Kundrakudi Adigal, the head of the famous Mutt presided.

During the last six months His Holiness had been advocating Vinobaji's message to his devotees at several meetings. He has himself programmed a walking tour in South Arcot district from 20th February.

He said that no hungry person could be persuaded to take to God's name unless his hunger was satisfied. He added that it was his dharma to identify himself with Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna in solving the economic distress of the people even by selling the last brick of the Mutt property. He stressed on the spiritual and moral aspect of this Yagna and on the importance of the individual's spiritual strength as the lever for the success of Bhoodan. He appealed for ideal workers to come forward in large numbers to approach the land-holders with all faith and humility.

Shri Deo in his last speech reviewed his second Yatra in South during the last 3 months since 1st November, '53. He appealed to the workers to understand the economic revolution behind the Bhoodan Yagna, which cannot be brought about by any political party and to carry on this urgent work in a well-planned way in all the districts.

At the conference Sri S. Jagannathan, convener, Tamil Nad Bhoodan Committee, announced the total collection as follows during Shri Deo's 2nd Yatra.

| District     | No. of Donors | Acres cents |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| Tinnivelly   | 254           | 3,005.12    |
| Ramnad       | 217           | 1,165.39½   |
| Trichinopoly | 112           | 207.08      |
| Tanjore      | 259           | 688.89½     |
| Total        | 842           | 5,066.48½   |

On the 31st January, '54, further dana-patras were presented at Vedaranyam by the representatives of various districts for 750 acres 66 cents. The total Bhoodan received during Shri Deo's 2nd Yatra up to 31st January, '54, is 5817.14½ acres, bringing the total in Tamil Nad up to 31-1-'54 to 20,184 acres as against a target of one and a half lakhs of acres before April, '54.

(To be continued)



## COMPOST LATRINES

P. M. MANI, B. E., ENGINEER, ERNAKULAM

The type of shiftable latrines largely used in Wardha with long pits has been already popularised in and through the constructive centres all over India. But in areas where the premises are small, a suitable design which has been tried for over three years is described below, both simple pit ones as well as those with masonry lined pits with Kucha or pucca buildings.

A family of five to ten people will need a pit 6 feet long, 1½ ft. wide and 3 to 4 ft. deep for 3 to 4 months, since after use, adding a little earth to cover each time is prescribed. The earth has necessary bacteria which would decompose the matter in 6 to 12 hours. The pit can be of any suitable size to give about 25 cft. Two pits side by side are required and roofed over. When first pit is full in 3 to 4 months, the second one can be used and when this also is full, the first would have digested in 3 to 4 months and the compost matter can be removed in baskets taken out by spades and applied in the gardens, and the alternate use of the two pits can be permanently continued.

The later improvement is a concrete seat with trap which will weigh about 80 lbs, which can be shifted to and fro or taken to next pit and vice versa. This can be locally cast, if moulds are made. Or else, our Sarvodaya Sangh, Ernakulam, can supply at Rs. six a piece.

The bottom of the pit should be above subsoil water. Hence where the soil is soft or there is subsoil water, the pits have to be lined on the four sides only (not bottom, which should be subsoil) with masonry or built above subsoil water. The rest of the pit beyond the concrete seat can be covered with planks, one of which can be always removed to

put earth in. For the simplest coconut leaf or grass roofing and with similar sidings, including the concrete seat and two earth pits, the total cost can be Rs 30.

If pucca buildings are put up and masonry linings are required, for the whole latrine, the cost may not exceed Rs 150.

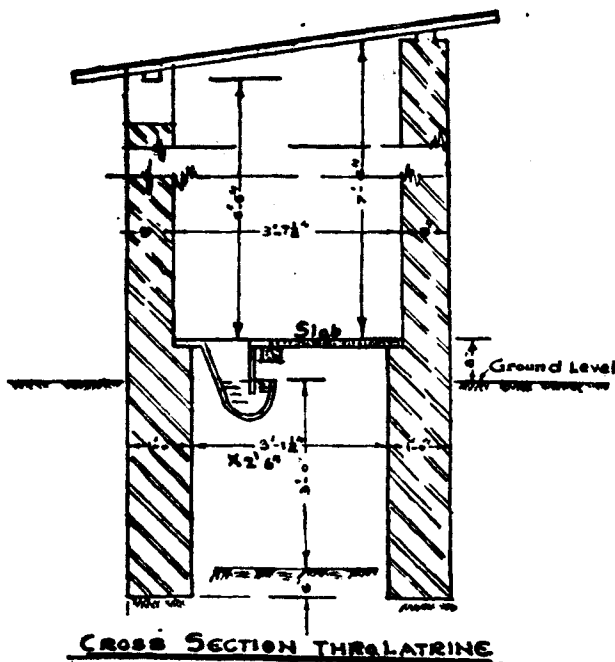
The latrine would give 75 to 100 cft. of compost annually and this complete fertiliser may

be easily valued at Rs 500. We do not need a scavenger. We gain valuable manure and avoid outside help, rather exercise self-help with great profit.

By the introduction of the concrete seat with trap, we avoid smell and the trouble from rats, fowls etc.

In the above sketch, one pit is 3' 1½" by 2' 6" by 3' 0" deep. The preferable size is 6' x 1' 5" x 3' 0", to avail of the shiftable concrete seat with trap, as shown in the sketch and purchasable at Rs. 6.

(Pits can be 6' x 1' 5" x 3½' deep to use more conveniently the precast concrete seat for sale.)



CROSS SECTION THROUGH LATRINE

## BHOODAN NEWS

### BIHAR CHIEF MINISTER ON BHOODAN

Bihar is leading in Bhoodan with 18 lakhs of acres. This remarkable success is not only due to the presence of Vinobaji there but to the initiative and drive given by the top-rank persons of the State like Shri. Shrikrishna Sinha, the Chief Minister, and others. We are quoting below his own words on Bhoodan which show his deep conviction:—

"The Bhoodan Yagna of Acharya Vinoba Bhave alone can save the people from utter ruin and disaster and can lead India to a more higher plane than she is now.

"The Bhoodan movement is in conformity with Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of a classless society and we are fortunate enough in having his most close associate Acharya Vinoba Bhave in the forefront of his movement. Bhaveji has broken all past records by making tours throughout India on foot in the age of all-round scientific achievements and history will record that even in the latter half of the twentieth century there was a person who travelled every nook and corner of this country for the successful conclusion of his mission. History can provide no other example in this respect. Vinoba's ideal of classless society can be attained without any violent revolution and that is why he is eager to make people aware of the coming events, if they fail to read time correctly".

### SIGNIFICANCE OF BHOODAN

Dada Dharmadhikari and Miss Vimalabai Thakar of the Sarva Seva Sangh who are on a Bhoodan tour in Madhya Bharat, explained at a public meeting at Gwalior the revolutionary significance of the movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

Shri Dharmadhikari said 'Bhoodan sought to achieve real revolution by bringing together the poor and the rich by changing their hearts and by making producers owners of the means of production.

'No such revolution could be achieved through statistics which reduced human beings to mere figures.'

He also ridiculed the parliament vetoes, based on the present quantitative form of democracy "depending for its success on power politics in which man becomes merely a measure of power and ceases to be a human being."

Shri Dharmadhikari pleaded for "qualitative form" of democracy rooted in man, and said the object of the Bhoodan movement was to establish such a democracy.

Miss Thakar explained the "historical necessity" of the movement and denied that it had been launched either to establish Gandhism or to avert Communism. She said a revolution was successful when there was no fear of any counter-revolution. She doubted the efficacy of the present democratic methods to bring about an economic revolution. "Property and democracy can never go together", she said.

Explaining the meaning of the legal method, she said "law can only confer a right but cannot give the power to enjoy right." The Bhoodan movement sought to give such power by creating an environment unfavourable to property and the sense of possessiveness.

### MADHYA BHARAT

In the month of December, '53, Shri Srikrishnadas Jajuji toured in Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal. He collected 3211 acres of land towards Bhoodan.

### RAJASTHAN

Shri Gokul Bhai Bhatt, Convenor, Provincial Bhoodan Samithi, is touring in the different parts and contacting big land-holders and Rajas and propagating the Bhoodan mission amongst them. Sri Siddharaj Dhadda distributed lands to 15 landless families in Pepel village and to 42 families in Dangerdhal village.

**MADHYA PRADESH**

Sant Thukodoji collected more than 1,200 acres of land from Akola district. He toured for seven days in Wardha taluk also and collected 872 acres of land in this month.

**BIHAR**

Vinobaji's tour in December, '53, was in the districts of Purnea, Saharsha and Darbhanga.

A new change in the life of the Zamindars of Bihar was witnessed in a conference held by them at Patna on the 10th, 11th and 12th January, '54. In this conference they decided to take up the work of Bhoodan and collect and complete the quota of Bihar (32 lakhs of acres). Vinobaji was invited and was present in this conference where a donation of 5 lakhs of acres of land was offered to him by the Raja of Ramgarh on behalf of the Janatha Party.

**IN PUNJAB**

Ambala Cantt, 14th January: Bhoodan parties consisting of L. Achint Ram M. P., Shrimati Satya Bala Tayal, Dada Ganeshi Lal, Convener, District Bhoodan Samiti, Hissar, Sh. Balwant Rai Tayal M. L. A., Pandit Premanand, Shri Mani Lal and several other district and provincial Bhoodan workers toured on foot in the rural areas of Hissar and received 11793 bighas of land, Rs. 1,579 for agricultural equipment, 235 Mds. of seeds, 67 ploughs, 8 bullocks, 1 camel and 6 residential houses for the Bhoodan Yagna of Acharya Vinoba Bhave during 1953. The parties in their village to village tours on foot covered 1080 miles and 300 villages. In each village public meetings were held in which Bhoodan leaders and workers advocated the cause of Bhoodan Yagna. Important among the speakers were Dada Dharmadhikari, Editor, "Sarvodaya", Shri Vallabhsami, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Shri Jai Prakash Narain, Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Ex-Chief Minister, Punjab, Sant Purushottam Das Tandon, Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Mrs. Agarwal and Shrimati Bimla Thakar of Nagpur besides several other Bhoodan workers of the provincial fame.

Shrimati Satya Bala Tayal with a band of selfless workers is again undertaking a village to village Bhoodan tour programme from the 15th of January. She hopes to complete the Bhoodan quota of five thousand acres for the district before April next.

**MYSORE RAJA GURU'S BLESSINGS**

On the 16th December, 1953, Sri T. S. Anantharangachar, the member of the State Bhoodan Yagna Committee, was granted an interview with His Holiness Sri Parakala Swamyji, the Raja Guru of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and gave him a lucid account of the Bhoodan Yagna Movement. The Honorary Superintendent, Sri V. K. Srinivasaranga-char was also present on the occasion. The Swamyji listened with sympathy and rare understanding and gave the following Message:—

"All the Rishis, and the Sacred Texts of our Land set forth the ideal of the well-being of all. And some of them have gone a little further and laid down the injunction that an insight into the equality of all beings is a pre-requisite to the worship of God. The Bhoodan Yagna Movement undertaken by Sri Vinoba Bhave is perfectly in tune with the spirit of Vedanta and Ahimsa. And Sri Vinoba Bhave has adopted the march over the great Mahatmas in the practice of Ahimsa. May God grant fulfilment to the great purpose, and a long life to all those who have undertaken the task in the Sacrifice."

**TAMIL NAD**

Sri S. R. Subramaniam, ex-secretary of the Tamil Nad Praja-Socialist Party, and Sri M. Ramakrishna Reddy toured in South Arcot district for Bhoodan and received 11 acres 33 cents. Several others have promised to give Bhoodan.

In Dindigul taluk Sri R. Venkatraman, organiser for Madura district, and others had a walking Yatra for 6 days and received about 29 acres of Bhoodan from 17 persons. In Coimbatore district Sri T. P. Ramaswami is leading a batch of workers on Bhoodan Yatra.

★ ★ ★

## NOTES AND NEWS

**GANDHI VICHAR PARISHAD**

The Gandhi Vichar Parishad, established at Wardha two years ago has just published its annual report for 1952—53. The Parishad was started with a Board of Trustees consisting of Shri Kaka Kalelkar, Shri S. N. Agarwal, Shri R. S. Dhotre, Shri G. Ramachandran, Shri J. C. Kumarrappa and Shri Shankarrao Deo who is its Secretary. The Parishad has been receiving financial help from the Gandhi Memorial Fund till now.

During these two years the Parishad under the guidance of Shri Shankarrao Deo has gathered a band of enthusiastic scholars interested in Gandhian ideology. Gandhiji's selected writings have been classified and indexed under key-words and concepts in a chronological progression. The Research Department of the Parishad has been specialising on problems like land distribution and protection and subsidisation of village industries as regards food and clothing against centralised industries. Shri Ravindra Varma who is the only research scholar for politics and sociology could not do much as he was more in charge of organisational work of the Parishad. The Parishad ran the All-India Summer Camp in 1953 from 20th April to 15th June with 100 youths drawn from 21 provinces including students from 22 universities. The course in the camp included training in selected crafts like ghani, pottery, paper making etc. And lectures by eminent persons on the various aspects of Gandhian philosophy and Sarvodaya ideology were arranged.

This brief report shows that much more could be done by way of study and research into Gandhiji's writings and speeches and his way of life if sufficient aid and a residential hostel for scholars with a well equipped library were provided. Gandhian philosophy and his technique of action are still to be studied deeply and presented in an ideal form to the world.

There can be no better place than Wardha which was the seat of Mahatma Gandhi during the last 12 years of his life and which is the centre of Gandhiji's many constructive institutions. If the Gyan Mandir which was opened by Pandit Nehru in Wardha and the Vichar Parishad there can co-ordinate their activities without redundancy in work and equipment and can put in their joint efforts for the common mission, Wardha will soon become the leading research centre for the Gandhian philosophy to attract the best scholars, philosophers and the statesmen of the world.

**NAI TALIM CONFERENCE IN ASSAM**

The 9th session of the annual Basic Education Conference was held at the Basic Education Centre, Titabar, near Jorhat, in Assam during the 2nd week of November, '53, from 11th to 16th. Delegates from all provinces except Kashmir, Mysore and T. C. State participated in the deliberations. Representatives from the Government Basic Education Centres in many of the States were also present. The Chief Ministers of Orissa and Bhopal and the Education Ministers of Hyderabad, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh also attended.

Messages were received from Vinobaji, the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru.

Dr. Harikrishna Das, the veteran political leader of Assam, inaugurated the Basic Education Workers and Teachers' Conference on the 11th. Shri Shanta Narulker presided over these sessions which extended up to the 13th.

The open session was held on the 13th and it was inaugurated by Shri Jayaramdas Doulatram, the Governor of Assam. Sri Kaka Kalelkar presided. The Conference discussed many important matters relating to the syllabus, training of sufficient number of efficient teachers,

the ways and means to bring in self-sufficiency and the reconstruction of villages through Basic Education and Bhoodan Yagna.

There was also an Exhibition organised by the provincial workers, in which educational charts, the raw materials and the industrial products of the rich treasures of the Assam forests were also exhibited. The Exhibition was opened by Shri Vishnu Ram Methi, the Chief Minister of Assam. There were daily art festivals during the Conference

#### THE GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

The working of the Trust is for the most part carried on in different provinces through all-India institutions wherever that is possible; among such institutions may be mentioned the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Adimjati Sevak Sangh and the Kasturba Trust. A total grant of Rs. 4,25,000 was sanctioned for the work these institutions which are running a number of institutions and centres of work. The Kasturba Trust alone runs more than 300 village centres.

For the work of prevention and eradication of leprosy the trustees had earmarked the year before last, a sum of Rs. 1,00,00,000 and this branch of work is named as the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation. The scheme of work is to establish centres for control and eradication in different provinces and particularly in provinces where the incidence of leprosy is highest. These have been planned and sanctioned and the number of such units comes to 13. A total amount of Rs. 4,00,000 has been sanctioned for the purpose. This work is huge and extensive and the Trust has, therefore, sanctioned a training scheme for doctors and social workers. It has also organised a special leprosy service in which up till now five doctors are enrolled.

Besides these, the Trust has been giving grants to various other institutions, particularly institutions of an all-India

nature working since Mahatma's times with their headquarters at Wardha. These are grouped together as Sarva Seva Sangh and a total budget of Rs. 3,75,000 by way of grant was sanctioned. The work of these institutions in the field of khadi, Basic education and village industry is well known.

There are besides some individual institutions doing work in furtherance of Gandhiji's programme such as nature cure, Basic education, etc. They are also being given grants. The budgets sanctioned to carry out these activities make a total of Rs. 70,00,000. The accounts submitted to the meeting show that a total of Rs. 1,45,00,000 had been sanctioned and spent by the trustees for the various activities and schemes up to end of Nov 30, 1953.

#### NEXT SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

Shri Vallabhsawami, Joint Secretary, Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha), has issued the following statement:—

After discussing with prominent workers of Bihar and consulting Acharya Vinobaji, it has been decided to hold the next annual Sammelan of the Sarvodaya Samaj at Bodhgaya (in Gaya District, Bihar) from 18th April to 20th April next. At that time there may be some discomfort from heat; but in view of the resolve taken at the Sevapuri Sammelan held in April, 1952, to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land within two years as a first instalment of Bhoodan, it is advisable to hold the coming Sammelan also in April after that time-limit is over. The next Sammelan has to be therefore held in the third week of April. As the first gift of Bhoodan was received on 18th April, 1951, it was decided to commence the coming Sammelan on its third anniversary, viz. 18th April, 1954. Detailed instructions about the Sammelan will be issued in due course.

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

For Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dhakshin Bharat Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tirupur.

Printed by S. Subramaniam, at the Kamala Printing Press, Tirupur.

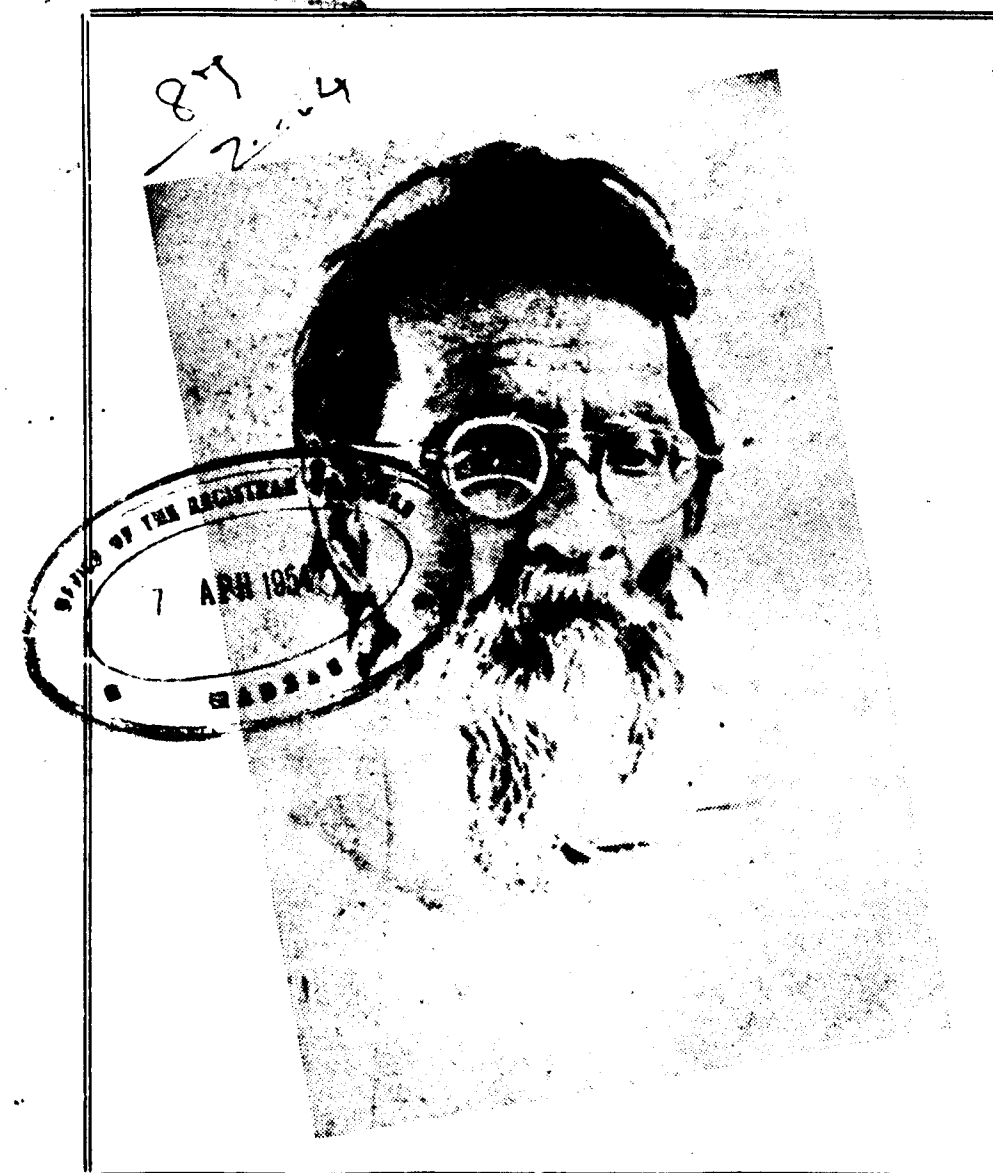
# SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 3

April 1954

No. 10



The Sarvodaya Bhoodan Digest of The Sarva Seva Sangh

ANNUAL SUBS:—INDIA: RS. 3 — FOREIGN: ONE DOLLAR OR 6 SHILLINGS—SINGLE COPY: AS 4

## ★ SARVODAYA STUDY CIRCLES ★

To encourage the Study and propagation of Gandhian Sarvodaya ideology, Sarvodaya Prachuralayam invites friends to form 'SARVODAYA STUDY CIRCLES' with a minimum of five members.

Sarvodaya Study Circles will be affiliated to the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.

A free copy of English "Sarvodaya" will be supplied every month.

Liberal commission on the books purchased for the library of the Study Circles, will be allowed.

Reports of the work of the Sarvodaya Study Circles will be published.

All possible assistance and suggestions will be given by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam for the development of Sarvodaya Study Circles.

All correspondence will be carried on by the Convenor on behalf of each Sarvodaya Study Circle with the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.

Applications for affiliation are to be addressed to the Editor, Sarvodaya, P. B. No. 9, Tirupur, with an affiliation fee of Rs. 2/- for each 'Study Circle', with full address and the names of its members.

## GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

### BOOKS BY GANDHIJI

Rs. As.

|                                                            |      |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Autobiography                                              | 7 0  |
| A Gandhi Anthology — Book I                                | 0 8  |
| Bapu's Letters to Ashram Sisters                           | 1 8  |
| " Mira                                                     | 4 0  |
| Basic Education                                            | 1 8  |
| Cent per cent Swadeshi                                     | 2 0  |
| Communal Unity                                             | 9 0  |
| Constructive Programme                                     | 0 6  |
| Delhi Diary                                                | 3 0  |
| Diet and Diet Reform                                       | 2 0  |
| Drink, Drugs & Gambling                                    | 2 8  |
| Food Shortage and Agriculture                              | 2 8  |
| For Pacifists                                              | 1 4  |
| From Yeravda Mandir                                        | 0 8  |
| Gandhiji's Autobiography (Abridged, by Bharatan Kumarappa) | 2 0  |
| Gandhiji's Correspondence with Government (1942-44)        | 2 8  |
| Gleanings Gathered at Bapu's Feet                          | 0 6  |
| Hind Swaraj                                                | 0 8  |
| Hindu Dharma                                               | 4 0  |
| Key to Health                                              | 0 10 |
| My Early Life                                              | 1 2  |
| Non-Violence in Peace & War 2 Vols.                        | 12 0 |
| Ramanama                                                   | 1 0  |
| Rebuilding Our Villages                                    | 1 8  |
| Satyagraha                                                 | 5 8  |
| Satyagraha in S. Africa                                    | 4 0  |
| Selected Letters—I                                         | 0 7  |
| Selections from Gandhi                                     | 4 0  |
| Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence                          | 2 0  |
| The Nation's Voice                                         | 3 0  |
| To the Students                                            | 2 8  |
| Towards New Education                                      | 1 4  |
| Towards Non-Violent Socialism                              | 2 0  |
| Unto This Last (A Paraphrase)                              | 0 6  |
| Women and Social Injustice                                 | 3 0  |

### GANDHIAN LITERATURE

|                                                             |      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| A Discipline for Non-Violence (Richard B. Gregg)            | 0 10 |
| A Nation Builder at Work (Pyarelal)                         | 1 0  |
| A Pilgrimage for Peace ( " )                                | 5 0  |
| A Preparation for Science (Richard B. Gregg)                | 0 12 |
| A Righteous Struggle (Mahadev Desai)                        | 1 8  |
| A Vision of Future India (K. G. Mashruwala)                 | 1 0  |
| An Atheist with Gandhi (Gora)                               | 1 0  |
| At the Feet of Bapu                                         | 4 0  |
| Bapu My Mother (Manubehn Gandhi)                            | 0 12 |
| Bhoodan Yagna (Vinoba Bhave)                                | 1 8  |
| Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism? (Bharatan Kumarappa)    | 5 0  |
| Christianity, Its Economy and Way of Life (J. C. Kumarappa) | 1 8  |
| Clive to Keynes ( " )                                       | 0 12 |

(Continued in 3rd wrapper page)

# SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



Vol. 3

April 1954

No. 10

Whole No. 34

## CONTENTS

|                                                               |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Charkha, The Emblem of Non-Violence<br>— Mahatma Gandhi       | 254 |
| The Way to World's Peace<br>— Acharya Vinoba                  | 256 |
| Vinobaji in the midst of Land-owners                          | 259 |
| Mental Transformation in Life—Inevitable<br>— Vinobaji        | 260 |
| With Gandhiji in S. Africa<br>— Latha Singh Meini             | 261 |
| An Interview with Vinobaji<br>— M. R. Malkani, M. P.          | 263 |
| The Times' Need and the Outlook<br>— Wilfred Wellock          | 266 |
| The Economic Aspects of Bhoodan Yagna<br>— Trilok Jain, M. A. | 269 |
| A Warning to Welfare Workers<br>— K. S. Sonachalam, M. A.     | 271 |
| Satyagraha in Germany - IV<br>— Mary Barr                     | 273 |
| All-India Bhoodan News                                        | 275 |
| Crisis in Education<br>— E. W. Aryanayakam                    | 276 |
| Bhoodan Yatra in Tanjore Dt.                                  | 277 |
| A Bhoodan Yagna Camp in Travancore<br>— Suresh Ramabhai       | 278 |
| Notes and News                                                | 279 |

## Six Years' Progress Towards Sarvodaya

On January 30th, 1948, Gandhiji was snatched away and the nation was drowned in darkness and despair. Soon in March of the same year Shri Vinoba, the first and foremost of his disciples, living in seclusion till then, appeared in public and placed the Sarvodaya Samaj concept before the people.

In March, 1949, the Samaj Sevaks met in a Sarvodaya Sammelan at Rao near Indore and the Sarva Seva Sangh emerged.

In March, 1950, the 2nd Sarvodaya Sammelan met at Angul in Orissa where all attempts were made to strengthen the Sarva Seva Sangh as an integrated organisation for Samagra-Seva (all-round service).

In March, 1951, the third Sarvodaya Sammelan was held at Sivarampalli in Hyderabad State. Vinobaji walked all the 300 miles from his Research - Asram - Laboratory at Paunar (Wardha) to attend this session. On his return he walked through Telangana, the land pestered by Communist violence and police rule, preaching the gospel of non-violence to the villagers and to Communist workers in particular. On the 18th April at Pochampalli village, he saw the first light for his "Bhoodan Sacrifice" when Shri Ramachandra Reddy of the village offered 100 acres of land. Here his 'Bhoodan Yagna' work began.

In March, 1952, the fourth Sarvodaya Sammelan met at Sevapuri in Uttar Pradesh. There the Sarva Seva Sangh decided to take up the work of Bhoodan Yagna as an all-India programme and made the solemn declaration to collect 25 lakhs of acres by 1954.

In March, 1953, the fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan was held at Chandil in Bihar. Here Shri Vinobaji gave the call to the Sevaks to work for real "Third Force" of the world — the *Jana Sakti*.

On the January 30th, 1954, Vinobaji entered the district of Gaya (Bihar) with the "Do or Die" mission to solve before 18th April, '54' the entire land problem of the district which is to serve as a model for the whole of India. The 6th Sarvodaya Sammelan is going to be held at Bodh-Gaya (Bihar) on 18-4-1954.

# Charkha, The Emblem of Non-Violence

MAHATMA GANDHI

This is a free rendering of Mahatma Gandhiji's talk to the Trustees and the Workers of the A. I. S. A., at Sevagram, on 3—9—1944. Gandhiji made an impassioned appeal to them to understand all the implications of the Charkha as a symbol of non-violent social and economic order. This ideological aspect of the charkha is specially significant for the Sarvodaya Sevaks today in the context of Bhoodan Yagna, as charkha and land are inseparable and go together in the economic life in the villages.

To-day I shall try to place my views before you more clearly.

Our work had a very humble beginning. When I started khadi I had with me Vithaldasbhai and a few sisters.

Today the Charkha has influenced the lives of about two crores of people. By its help we have been able to provide the village people with a large amount of money. But can we still hold as we have always maintained that Swaraj without the Charkha is an impossibility?

So long as we do not substantiate this claim, spinning is to us no more than a dole for the helpless. It would not be then a means of our salvation. If you have followed this much, I will proceed to my next point.

That is this: our message has not yet reached crores

of our people. They have neither any knowledge of the Charkha nor any curiosity about it.

The Congress did accept the Charkha. But did it do so willingly? No, it tolerates the Charkha simply for my sake. The Socialists ridicule it outright. They have spoken and written a lot against it. We have no clear or convincing reply to offer to them. How I wish I could tell them that the Charkha is the key to Swaraj.

I have not been able to justify the claim all these years.

## NOW FOR MY THIRD POINT

Non-violence is not something of the other world. If it is, I have no use for it. I am of the earth and I want only such non-violence as can be followed by millions on this earth. Where else can one experience non-violence if not in that society which has compassion and other virtues as its characteristics?

If you go to the house of one believing in violence you will find his drawing



room decorated with tigers' skins, deers' horns, sword, gun, etc. I have been to the viceregal lodge. I also saw Mussolini. In the houses of both I found arms hanging on the walls. I was given a salute with arms, a symbol of violence.

As against this, the Charkha is our symbol for non-violence, meaning that we can realize non-violence through it. But it would not symbolise non-violence so long as we do not work in accordance with its spirit. The sword in Mussolini's hall seemed to say "Touch me and I will cut you." It gives a vivid picture of violence. It seems to ask you to touch it and realize its power. So also we must illustrate the power of the Charkha in

such a manner as a look at it may speak to us about non-violence. But we are bankrupt today. What is our answer to Socialists? They complain that we have been harping on the Charkha for years and years yet we have achieved nothing.

The Charkha was there during the Muslim rule also. Dacca was famous for its muslin. The Charkha then was a symbol of cruelty and not of non-violence. The kings took forced labour from women and depressed classes. The same was later repeated by the East India Company. Kautilya says the same thing in his Economics. For ages the Charkha was thus a symbol of violence and imposed might. The spinner got but a handful of grain or two small coins, while ladies of the court went about luxuriously clad in the finest of muslins, the product of exploited labour.

As against this, I have presented the Charkha to you as a symbol of non-violence. If I did not make it clear to you so far, it was my mistake. You know I am among the maimed and can move but slowly. Yet I do believe that the work done so far has not been a waste.

I am now going to my fourth point. We have not yet proved that there can be no Swaraj without the Charkha. It cannot be proved so long as you do not explain it to Congressmen. The Charkha and the Congress should become synonyms.

The task of realization of non-violence is a difficult one. We have to study it in all its implications if we are to grasp its significance. The world is going to put me to the test. It may declare me a fool for my tall talk about the Charkha. The task of making the Charkha which for centuries had been a symbol of bankruptcy, helplessness, injustice and forced labour, now the symbol of mighty non-violent strength of the new social order and of the new economy has fallen on our shoulders. We have to change history. And I want to do it through you.

I hope you follow what I am saying. But if in spite of it you do not believe that the Charkha has the power to achieve Swaraj, I will ask you to leave me. Here you are at the cross roads. If you will go on with me without faith you will be deceiving me and doing a great wrong to the country. I beg of you not to deceive me during the evening of my life.

It is I who am responsible for the mistakes in our working so far. The mistake is mine because I have continued to pride over its working when I knew all this. But let bye-gones be bye-gones. Do we honestly believe today that the Charkha is the emblem of non-violence? How many of us are there who believe so from the depths of our heart?

Now we have the tri-colour flag. What is it but a piece of khadi of specific length and breadth? You can well have another piece in its place. But behind that khadi cloth lie encased your feelings. It is a symbol of Swaraj, a symbol of national emancipation. We cannot forget it. We cannot remove it. We are prepared to die for it. So also the Charkha should be an emblem of non-violence.

What does the Charkha as an emblem of non-violence signify in the economic sphere? Call it self-sufficiency or what you like. In the name of national reconstruction and self-sufficiency millions are being bled white in western countries in others also for their sake who do the same. Ours is not a self-sufficiency of that pattern. The Charkha is the way to get rid of exploitation and domination. I am not so much concerned with the words as the thing itself.

There has been enough controversy about form and the no-form symbols in our religion. The believers in the former set much stress on the object of devotion (*saguna bhakti*). So if non-violence is to be worshipped according to this conception, the Charkha must be acknowledged as its pure form and emblem and kept

ever before view. Whenever I think of non-violence the picture of the Charkha comes before me. We cannot visualize non-violence in the abstract. So we choose an object which can symbolize for us the ideal. That is what the Charkha does for me and that is the way I worship it. If you do not give it a place in your hearts you will not gain an understanding of non-violence for a hundred years even. That capacity for non-violence which I find in the Charkha can also be perceived only if you approach it with a heart as that of mine. That is why I say: Join me or leave me. If you want to come with me I will give you a scheme and do everything possible. If you have not understood what I mean I am prepared to sit and discuss it with you the whole day. But if you pretend to follow when you really do not, you will both be deceivers and deceived. Ours is not an Association for making profit. We do not seek loaves and fishes. There are a thousand fields in which we can serve the country. Why then remain in Charkha work and sail under false colours? Please do not, therefore, remain with me under an illusion. Let me go my way alone. But if it were found that I was myself suffering from an illusion and that my belief in the Charkha was mere idol-worship, either you may burn my body by the wood of the Charkha or I myself

would set fire to the Charkha with my own hand.

If the Charkha Sangh has to go, wind it up by all means. Like dew drops before the sun it would automatically put an end to all our struggle. Then it is quite possible that our Charkha which has for the moment crushed us and put us into a labyrinth of difficulties may be confined to the hands of a few like a strong instrument. If you regard it as sheer folly I certainly have no ambition to run an Idiots' Sangh and thus degrade the country. On the other hand, if you can realize non-violence through the Charkha, the Sangh will progress rapidly and you need not then worry to keep it alive.

I repeat—either leave me alone or digest what I say and join me. I have come with this new idea after two years of suffering and penance. I do not know whether I have succeeded in conveying it to you. If I have been able to carry conviction please do one thing. Those who want to keep my company, from today should give me in writing that they regard the Charkha as the emblem of non-violence. You have to make your decision today. If you do not or cannot regard the Charkha as the emblem of non-violence and yet you remain with me, then you will thereby put yourself in an awkward plight and also drag me down with you.

(From the original in Hindi)

## ★ The Way to World's Peace ★

— VINOBA —

Now great is the responsibility that is cast on us—the people of India. We were feeling that the world was marching towards peace and it would choose that way alone in the end. But from the preparations that are going on today amongst the various nations, we feel that our hopes are belied and we fear that it may throw

the world into the great conflagration of war. Of course the big leaders desire to do what they think and preach. We do not suspect their bonafides. America, Russia and also other nations, often state that there should be cooperation among all nations, each should help the other and all should live in peace and prosperity. It is true that they all desire such an

atmosphere to prevail in the world. But what we see happening today is just the reverse.

### AMERICA'S OBJECTIVE

America desires to send aid to the different countries in Asia. She desires that under her patronage the world may grow strong. She says that she has no selfish motive behind these aids and does it as it is the only way to save the world. But we believe otherwise. We feel that her offer of military aids, will certainly endanger the peace of the world. It has made many countries in Asia feel agitated and even angry. The President of America writes to our Prime Minister that if India also desires military aid, he will sympathetically consider her request also.

### PAKISTAN'S CONDUCT

Pakistan thought it good to take military aid from America. She thinks that she can become strong thereby. Of course, one has to think and decide for oneself. India has clearly made it known to the world that she is not prepared at any cost to join in this political gamble. She will not accept any military help from outside. Leaving the path of peace along which she has been all along going, if India imitates Pakistan, she will certainly invite danger not only to herself but to the whole world. Then there will be nothing left with her. She will lose her freedom also. So she decided that she should not fall into this tangle. Our leaders, in particular Pandit Nehru, took the correct stand and that with a firm determination. We are particularly happy over it. The American President tells us that he desires to give us also military aid and that without any strings attached to it. Perhaps he may be joking. We can't believe what he professes. We consider the offer as an insult to us.

### HOW TO MAKE OURSELVES STRONG

It is not enough if we simply say that we do not want any help from outside. We have to do our work in right earnest. We have to make our country strong in the real sense. It is wrong to

think that a country's strength lies in its military power. A really strong nation can never be a source of danger to any. It can give strength to all other nations of the world. It will certainly inspire them with courage. A nation will become really strong only if it is free from internal conflicts, if it becomes self-sufficient and the people within are united by bonds of love. If we make our country strong like this, whatever be the threats of dangers that may confront us, none of them will cast any shade on us. On the other hand, our greatness will certainly have its good influence on the outside world. Thus if we strive to make ourselves strong we shall save not only ourselves but the whole world. Of course, God alone can save the world. God will certainly make us as His instruments for the same if by His grace, we keep our heads cool and minds steady and go on demonstrating the strength of Ahimsa (Non-violence), love and satyagraha, continue doing constructive work, and abolish unemployment from our midst by each family doing the needed sacrifice for the same, and live as members of one single family. There is no reason to feel that in this world, violence alone will prevail and there is no escape for us also from it. We are not men without light. We are living beings with the soul within us. It can give that particular colour effect which it desires it should give. It is the master of its surroundings. So if we improve the conditions in our country through just and peaceful means and thus make it strong, we shall be not only making ourselves free from dangers and sufferings but also be saving the other nations of the world.

### NO TRUST IN POLITICAL ALLIANCES

I have no faith in power alliances. Nations are making their own political alliances. We do not want any such thing. They won't serve any useful purpose. Alliances with cowards, with men of no moral integrity, whatever be their numerical strength, can never become a

powerful force. If we are strong from within, we can develop real power. If we behave as cowards, weaklings, timids bending before tyrants and quarrel amongst ourselves fostering differences of high and low, we can never become a powerful force in this world. A nation with all the above weaknesses is a non-entity, a mere zero. What is the good of such 50 zero-partners forming a comity of nations? If we make ourselves strong we can be really exerting a moral influence over the whole world and we will be able to make our own nation a great and strong fortress.

#### OUR OWN IMPERFECTIONS

We have in our midst very many weaknesses. There is poverty everywhere. It has to be got rid off. We have to increase production. We have to become responsible workers. We have to get rid of the idleness in us. We have to get over all the caste, sect, and language differences in our midst. In these days there is much of malice and enmity between parties. Untouchability, is prohibited, yet it is not wiped off from our midst. It is still living. All this work is there to be done in the social field.

In the moral sphere also we have much to do. In these days wherever we look we see corruption, drunkenness and obscene cinemas etc. Of course, there can be good cinemas but what we have today are such that demoralise the life of the people. All these are leading us to ruin. We have to purify the whole atmosphere.

#### BHOODAN YAGNA: ALL-COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME

Bhoodan Yagna is an all-comprehensive movement directed to the reform in all walks of life. Today everyone thinks of himself alone and feels for his self only. But Bhoodan makes the people think and do just the opposite of what they do now. It makes the people to look around and say "I will first think of my neighbour, and if he has no land, I must

consider it is my duty to provide him with it." In Bhoodan, distribution of land is not the only question. It aims at the moral regeneration of the whole nation in fact. Through it we hope to solve the economic difficulties in our society. With all these hopes I am concentrating all my attention on it. If we succeed in this we are sure to succeed in everything else.

When village industries are encouraged, unemployment will disappear. Cottage industries can never prosper unless the land is equitably distributed. So Bhoodan takes in the programme for the revival of cottage industries also within it.

The great aloofness that we find in society today between the educated and the uneducated will not disappear unless both are made to join in common work. We have to inculcate in our people the habit and delight for doing manual work. The education that our children get now in schools, is devoid of any manual labour. They do not know how to earn their living and how to improve the country's economic conditions. So Shramadan (labour-gifts) is also initiated. This will bring an entire change to the whole life of the country. We have to reclaim and make cultivable the waste lands included in some of the gifts offered in Bhoodan. Students can join this work and thus offer their share of Shramadan.

I am also claiming a share of the wealth in people's hand, through Sampatti Dan. Much wealth lies invested in gold and silver. It is wrong to keep wealth dead like this. The nation should get the benefit of it. That is why I ask those people who keep such wealth, to give a share of it to the good of society.

(Free rendering from the original in Hindi)

#### All-India Bhoodan Collections 15-3-'54

|                                               |           |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|
| As per S.S.S. Bhoodan Office Report 26,61,344 |           |
| On behalf of the Janatha Party                | 5,00,000  |
| By Raja Raghuvir Singh, Bikaner               | 1,00,001  |
| In Kerala in Jan. and Feb., '54               | 3,865     |
| Total acres of land                           | 32,65,210 |

## Vinobaji in the Midst of Land-owners

**Question:-** Do you want the peasantry to rule?

**Answer:-** I want neither the peasantry to rule, nor the labour-class to rule. I am anxious to see that the peasant-labourer and the land-owner love each other and there is peace and happiness in the village. I wish that the land problem of the village be solved by the villagers themselves by love and mutual trust. It is for that I have taken up this Bhoodan Yagna work. Those who have no land should be provided with land first and if more is available it should be offered to those who have less than five acres.

**Q:-** Will the peasant-labourers come to work in our fields after they receive lands?

**Ans:-** Yes, they will certainly come and work. Indians are grateful by nature. Out of love they will do service.

**Q:-** Suppose we leave our entire land to them to cultivate. Will it not suffice if we decide to give them one-sixth share of the crop?

**Ans:-** Then they are exploited. That should not be done. There should be outright gifts. Gift is an act of love. Your terms are in your favour. Even the government will not be prepared to this sort of compromise.

**Q:-** We have got lands and they have got the capacity to work. Why not both be combined?

**Ans:-** I want only gifts. Out of love for your brother be pleased to offer lands as gifts. If they come later to work in your fields, give them work.

**Q:-** Then we will give only what we think we should give. Why should you insist the one-sixth share?

**Ans:-** I am claiming their right. I don't ask for ownership of land which nobody has the right to possess. That is why I say they should get one-sixth share as if they are the sixth son if you have got five sons in your family.

**Q:-** Shouldn't that son also be the son who serves the father?

**Ans:-** He has been serving you all along. Are not his children too yours? He is looking after them.

**Q:-** But they will never come to us when they get land.

**Ans:-** Why not? We are not giving them extensive lands. After attending to the cultivation work in the small area each of them gets, they will gladly come to work in your fields. They are not to lose anything by that; in fact, they gain.

**Q:-** Suppose we give them land. They will simply receive it and walk off. Then they will go and join work under another landlord. How do we benefit thereby? If we give a loan of Rs. 100 to any of them he will feel indebted and certainly respect us.

**Ans:-** The object of my work is not to give you also a benefit along with the landless labourer. Even if I had not taken up their cause, they will themselves stand up and claim their right. And it may so happen that worse consequences will follow. There is no question of pressure at all in gifts. But in the loan that you talk of, there is the element indirect coercion. If you are disposed to make a gift, you please do it; they will certainly be grateful to you and will come to serve you. Don't think of loan etc.

**Q:-** Didn't Gandhiji, in fact, do service all through his life? Yet what happened in the end? He was shot down. Isn't it?

**Ans:-** That is true. Then, don't do any service! Do you think you will be left off, if the poor are left to live like this?

**Q:-** Well, then, will they give us in writing that they will come and work in our fields if we give them land as gifts?

**Ans.** Why should they give in writing? I will give you a written undertaking. Even then what will happen in future? Your wife is there by your side. Have you taken a written document from her that she will serve you, when you married her? The main thing is the relationship—it is the love that keeps it on. Well, you demand a written contract from them. Suppose they give. Will you also on your behalf give them a similar paper that you will always engage them for work?

(Someone from the crowd said 'yes'.)

You say 'yes'. Now, suppose your son says tomorrow that he wants to cultivate his share of the family land by him-

self. Can you say 'no'. Then what will you do? Where is your contract?

**Q.** Alright, you receive whatever we decide to offer as gifts. Won't you?

**Ans.** Well, come on, how much will you give? (One among them said that he will give 1/20 of his share. Vinobaji then said:) If you think that 1/20 share is enough to solve the land problem of your village, I will not object to receive it. But if more is found necessary, more has to be given. Everyone of the landless peasants should be provided with land. With this object before you, you yourselves estimate the share and give accordingly.

**Conch.**  
17-2-'54

(Free rendering from the original  
in Hindi)

## Mental Transformation in Life—Inevitable

VINOBAJI

The following is the concluding part of Vinobaji's reply to an open letter addressed to him by the Communist workers of Monghyr in Bihar. Prior part—see 'Sarvodaya' March, '54.

Pressure is of three kinds. They are (1) pressure by the threat of violence, (2) pressure by the sanction of law and (3) moral pressure by the strength of good public opinion. The last I welcome. I have never said that I will not hesitate to accept it in my effort to bring about the mental transformation in men. The Communist friends now state that through legislation alone we could solve the land problem. May I ask them from where the force in law emanates? Is it from the people or from the military? You did not even bring about any change in the ideological outlook of the people. How then can the sanction of law come in and have its force in society?

Marx has said: The power of the State will be captured by the poor people to begin with, but in the end "the State will wither away." This means that there will be no State authority towards the end and the governance of the country will go on without the interference or function of any central power. If the Communists respect this maxim enunciated by Marx, then they have to believe in the goodness in man and trust the people.

This was a practical proposition to Marx and he believed that it could be practised in the immediate future and not after a lapse of 10 lakhs of years. If the goodness in man is not relied upon, the State will never wither away at any time and its authority will continue for ever. Our Communist friends now say that the State should be made very strong and pucca now and all power should be concentrated at the centre. This they call as the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' They proclaim that the State will wither away in the end in spite of this dictatorship in the present days. How?

The Sarvodaya ideologists also believe in the total disappearance of the State authority in the end. To achieve it they believe that the weakening of the central power should begin even from today. Decentralization of the power of the State should begin even now. Without it, State will never disappear at any time. I ask the Communists on what fundamental they base their proposition that the State will wither away in the end. Is it not on the truth that there is goodness in the hearts of men?

(From Hindi)



**Time:** A November day of 1902.  
**Place:** Pretoria railway station, Transvaal, South Africa.

Nearly 400 men and women had gathered to receive a distinguished visitor. I was in that crowd, having arrived in South Africa three months earlier.

The train stopped and from a Second Class compartment emerged a skinny youth, dressed in a western suit and a natty tie under a starched collar. He strode briskly toward the welcoming group and embraced some whom he had known on a previous visit. That was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the future Mahatma but who was to be known for years as a "coolie barrister"—a derisive name given by the South African whites.

We brought him to Haji Habib's shop. I talked with him for the first time at an evening party given in his honour. The Indians assembled there placed before him their many grievances against the Government. Gandhiji took copious notes.

My brief acquaintance with him that evening marked the beginning of a 13-year association, until in 1915 he left for England on his way home. I met him again in the winter of 1939 in Sevagram for a few hours. He was a world-acclaimed Mahatma then.

But getting back to my South African story. Gandhiji took up residence in Johannesburg (45 miles from Pretoria) in Anderson Street. Two months after his departure from Pretoria, I also moved to Johannesburg and lived three houses away from him. A simple sign hung on his door—"M. K. Gandhi, Attorney."

3

## WITH GANDHIJI IN SOUTH AFRICA

— LADHA SINGH MAINI —

His law offices were located in the Court Chambers at the corner of Rissik and Main Streets and his law partners were Messrs. L. W. Ritch, H. S. L. Polak and West. The last-named later became Editor of "Indian Opinion."

### "IFS" AND "BUTS"

This amusing incident occurred in 1904. Gandhiji was arguing a case, in which I acted as the court interpreter, before Chief Justice Sir John Lange, and happened to use too many "ifs" and "buts" in the course of his arguments.

The Judge amiably interrupted him: "Mr. Gandhi, why do you use so many 'ifs' 'buts'?" Gandhiji replied: "But, Sir, if the opposite party....." The assemblage in the court roared with laughter and drowned his voice.

Gandhiji soon earned the reputation of pleading only true cases. He used to check privately the facts told him by a party before he took on his case. The magistrates knew that fact, too, and it became publicly known that any case that Gandhiji took up was true and was bound to win.

We tried to exploit him, but failed. In 1906 a Sikh, Hazura Singh, from Germiston (nine miles from Johannesburg), killed his neighbour, Fateh Din. We were interested in saving the accused, and the best way to do that was to get Gandhiji to take up his defence. But when Gandhiji learnt of the true facts, he declined.

### FROM SPY TO GANDHIJI'S CLERK

We engaged three of the leading lawyers—Dr. Kraus (who later became a Supreme Court Judge), Messrs. Barange

and Benson—at the exorbitant fee of £ 1,000. The able lawyers spared no trick in the trade and we won the case. Next day Hazura Singh met Gandhiji and sneered at him: “Did you think you alone could save me?” Gandhiji replied unexcitedly: “But, Hazura Singh, at what cost have you won your liberty? You have murdered truth and honesty.”

I was employed in Gandhiji's law firm as a clerk at £ 12 a month from 1904 to 1907. How I landed this job has a story behind it. I worked for some time in the C. I. D. My job was to watch over the Indians and harass them if they failed to comply with Government rules regarding permits and licences governing the “coloured” population.

When Gandhiji knew of it, he lectured me sweetly and persuaded me to give up the job which brought me £ 10 a month, and offered a £ 12 job in his office. There were also three white men working for him at that time.

About 1907, Gandhiji was ready to launch his Satyagraha movement against the repressive and discriminatory laws of the country. He carefully prepared himself for the coming ordeal. He started taking for his meals raw vegetables—spinach, tomatoes and carrots, mixed with groundnuts and topped with salt and oil.

The transformation, when it came took us by surprise. At a public meeting called in that year in Goldberg Cinema Hall to ventilate public complaints, Gandhiji was clad in a long, loose “kurta”, with a staff in his hand, a haversack on his back and a white cap (which has since been known as the Gandhi cap) on his head. After the meeting he stood at the door of the hall and held out his cap for donations. He later auctioned the cap for £ 21.

Gandhiji began to evolve his philosophy of non-violent resistance against evil. When we talked of violence against our oppressors, Gandhiji admonished us and told us that that was against our “dharma.” In those days I used to

receive a bagful of pamphlets from the Gadar Party headquarters in San Francisco (U. S. A.) for distribution among Johannesburg Indians. Gandhiji had most of the material read to him and earnestly refuted the arguments of the revolutionaries. Apart from the principles involved, how could a handful of ill-armed men free India from a powerful enemy, he asked.

#### MIR ALAM'S ATTACK

Gandhiji demonstrated his faith in non-violence by his personal conduct in 1908. On Feb. 10, shortly before noon, he started toward the Registration Office in Vonbrandis Square, where now stands the High Court building, to take out an Identification Card. Some Indian hot-heads did not like Gandhiji's action. They were opposed to the law requiring Indians to secure identity cards. So was Gandhiji, but he saw no harm in getting the cards voluntarily.

Outside the Registration Office, Mir Alam, a husky Pathan, and a few of his friends accosted Gandhiji and asked him not to go in. When Gandhiji refused, Mir Alam struck him with a heavy rod. Luckily, the blow fell on one of the shoulders, instead of on the head, and Gandhiji fell unconscious. I was an eye-witness to the attack and seized Mir Alam with the help of some bystanders and handed him to the police.

Then we carried Gandhiji to the Arnold & Gibson sundry goods store across the street. From there we brought him on a cot to Rev. Doke's house in Parktown, where he was attended to by an Indian doctor, William Godfray. From Rev. Doke's house Gandhiji wrote to the police not to prosecute Mir Alam. But he was charged and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. After his release he went to Gandhiji and apologized.

#### AMATEUR SHOEMAKER

Gandhiji regularly visited Mr. Kallenbach's farm, 22 miles from Johannesburg, travelling by train, cycle or foot.

He used to go to talk and work with the 15 or 20 “ashramites” living on the farm. Gandhiji did all types of manual work there. He practised shoe-making and made me a pair of chappals. I am ashamed to admit that I wore them out, unlike the late Marshal Smuts who preserved the pair given him.

What remains etched on my memory, never to be forgotten, is Gandhiji's shocking (I thought it so at that time) conduct in the Johannesburg Fort Prison in 1910-11. Fifteen others, including myself, were in a barrack with him. Each of us was required to clean our latrines by turns. All of us defaulted, but Gan-

dhiji gladly did his turn. He assured us, when we asked him how a barrister felt on doing a sweeper's job: “The meanest service is the highest service.”

#### GOKHALE'S CALL

In 1912 Mr. Gokhale visited South Africa and requested Gandhiji to return home. “A man of your stamp is needed in India,” he told him. Gandhiji replied, in effect: “India is sleeping the ‘kumbhakarna’ sleep. I am afraid the time is not yet for me to return. But I shall, very soon. Meanwhile, I hope our non-violent resistance movement here may produce enough noise to break India's slumber.”

Courtesy — “Indian Express” 2-10-58

## ★ An Interview with Vinobaji ★

— M. R. MALKANI M. P., —

I visited Gaya on the 4th of Feb. and had the pleasure of passing a few days with Vinobaji. Every morning during our long walks I had talks with him on various subjects of general interest. Here are a few notes taken down from memory.

#### IS THERE ENOUGH LAND FOR DISTRIBUTION?

**Question:** It is believed that there are about 5 crore landless agriculturists in India. You want to take gifts so as to distribute 5 acres of dry land to each family or approximately one acre per head. Considering that it will be dry land, perhaps of an inferior quality, don't you think that it will hardly suffice for mere subsistence? As it is, we have now a national income of Rs. 255 per head per year, while U. K. has Rs. 2,700 and U. S. A. has Rs. 6,970.

**Answer:** I agree that the allotment of 5 acres per family will just yield enough food during normal seasons. But land will give at least food to the hungry and meet a primary want. I expect, however, that land will be improved so as to yield better crops, as in Japan. We must

produce more if we are to live. I imagine that even those who give Bhoodan out of their tiny holdings will labour so that the remaining land gives the same yield as before. I consider the poorest as soldiers of a cause, and take a little out of the little they have. The poor must help the poor to rise. Their charity and their goodness will infect the well-to-do and the more prosperous.

When the poor give a little the rich will give much more. I wish to effect a psychological revolution in both the giver and the receiver. And then I want that just as we plan to produce more we must not forget to plan what we must produce. Today the best irrigated land is given to *pan*, tobacco, opium and other injurious products. If a survey were made you would be surprised to know the large part of income wasted on such articles by the poor. Food and clothing are our primary wants and must have priority over *pan* and tobacco. That will increase our real income in terms of healthy consumption. High money incomes are secondary. Of course, it is no use comparing our incomes with those of foreign

countries with vaster resources, developed over decades of hard work.

#### VILLAGE OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Q: If land becomes private property of peasants its optimum use for optimum and necessary production will be unattainable.

A: I am not necessarily for private property in land. What I am anxious about is the employment of all and the abolition of want. If private property in land has to be abolished I would much rather vest it in village panchayats than in Government. It may then be redistributed by panchayats periodically, according to needs of the villagers. Then the joint produce will have to be shared according to man-hours of work, of which a record will be maintained. *Bhoodan Yagna* has already helped to reduce the prices of land by half and land is being increasingly considered as property of the community, now held by owners as a trust.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT

Q: Even if land is given to the best use, considering our growing population and rising unemployment it will be very difficult to maintain a reasonable standard of living based on minimum needs. And then we may not tempt the law of diminishing returns by too much pressure on land.

A: To my mind the problem before us is not so much of unemployment as of under-employment. Every agriculturist is under-employed for 3 to 9 months and occasionally there are droughts and floods and pests. Full and continuous employment for all is impossible without supplementary incomes from village and cottage industries. Amongst these *khadi* holds the first place of honour. We should train every villager in carding and spinning and then tell him that we shall stop supply of mill cloth after a certain stated period. He is then bound to produce his own cloth, as he does even now in certain regions by force of habit. This is all the more necessary due to the insecurity of

modern times. A few well-placed bombs on Ahmedabad and Bombay would create a famine of cloth. They say that we intend to disperse these concentrated industries all over the country to be safe from such disasters. I tell them to do so if they dare and I know full well that they dare not do so. Decentralisation of such industries is, therefore, the only course for many reasons. Of course *khadi* may be started in hilly, dry, desert places and give them every possible aid. But I believe that it can and should be produced in all places where cotton can be grown. In double and treble cropped areas also cultivators have time to spin and card. If Khishorilalbhai (Mashruwala) could spin, though a permanent invalid, then anybody can spin. Lastly, reservation of markets is essential for the protection of village industries. Today the ruin of village industries is going on openly after "integration" — as in Manipur in Assam. Mills have been left free to destroy them. But I know that Government will be compelled by the logic of circumstances to protect and resuscitate village industries to remove chronic and vast under-employment.

#### HIGHER COST OF VILLAGE PRODUCTS

Q: If village products are produced in villages without the technical and commercial advantages enjoyed by the mill, such products are bound to be dearer. City men cannot be persuaded to buy dear to encourage *Swadeshi*. Do you think that poor villagers can bear the high costs or exchange at dear prices?

A: Villagers must be organised on a basis of barter. If dear oil is exchanged for dear cloth or dear pots or dear furniture, the effect of dearness will be mutually set off. Each high price will, as it were, cancel the other and everything will remain for the good of the village. This does not mean that improvements will not be introduced in all directions so as to reduce the handicaps of neglected village industries. Government and the public must give them all the

necessary aid and patronage. Secondly, the circle of barter will vary with the kind of article for purposes of self-sufficiency. One article can be self-sufficiently produced in a single village, another in a group, a third in a *Thana*, a fourth in a tehsil and so forth. The basic condition is that the use of money should be limited; if possible, eliminated. It is the use of money that creates the evil of dearness. Money can be supplanted by staple grain or common cloth as medium of exchange. Only a few articles may have to be purchased from outside by parting with surplus produce.

#### PROTECTION OF VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Q: Then we must have a sample of such a self-sufficing unit to create confidence in the public. Otherwise people take all this to be idle talk and tend towards Communism which has shown tangible results.

A: We can certainly show such a sample if Government so desires and gives the necessary protection to village industries. Today the competition of mills makes nonsense of such self-sufficiency and full employment. If members of the Planning Commission could tour in villages on their feet and see things with their own eyes and hear with their own ears, they would be convinced of the truth of what I say. Today, as you say, they are in a more chastened mood and willing to do something for the village industries. So I wait for them patiently but anxiously. You are aware of the experiment on full employment announced by Vedchi (Gujarat) Ashram. That experiment has not materialised for two reasons. The organisers have diverted their attention to *Bhoodan* work in their district. Secondly, they have not succeeded in getting land in Vedchi village. Without getting land for the landless the very basis for fuller employment is undermined. Where whole villages have given all their lands to the village community, you have there ideal conditions for the Vedchi experiment for

full employment of all. It is easy to have *Panchayat Swaraj* in such model villages and Government too can give them all the aid they want. In fact, the Charkha Sangh too has made its mistakes or had its limitations in the past. *Khadi* started with spinning with mill slivers; it then went backwards to hand-carding of mill-ginned cotton; it then receded, further to hand-ginned cotton imported from other States. But there was no land and no local cultivation of cotton. Today *Bhoodan* gives the land, the very basis of local self-sufficiency. We have to cultivate cotton wherever possible and proceed to hand-ginning, carding and spinning in a well ordered sequence. There is also the necessary atmosphere for all-round planning.

The Communists can give work to all by taking land from all by force. May be they can do this with the foreign help of Russia and China. But our villagers by themselves have no arms and cannot take land by force. Where they have done so, as in Telangana, we know the terrible results. Telangana is a warning not a promise.

★  
From "A. I. C. C. Economic Review" 1-3-'54

#### A BETTER WAY THAN PREACHING

MABATMA GANDHI

You can certainly preach it, if your speech is strictly non-violent and not in the manner of some who, I know, have preached forcible dispossession of land-owners and capitalists. But I have shown a better way than preaching. The constructive programme takes the country a long way towards the goal. This is the most auspicious time for it. The *charkha* and the allied industries, if fully successful, practically abolish all inequalities, both social and economic. The rising consequences of the strength which non-violence gives to the people, and their intelligent refusal to co-operate in their slavery must bring about equality.

— HARIJAN, 25-1-1942

# The Times' Need and the Outlook

— WILFRED WELLOCK —

Wilfred Wellock has concluded his series of Orchard Lea Papers with this twelfth number from which the following is extracted. These Papers call attention to the impasse into which the western civilisation has drifted with a warning to the East, and expound the ways and means to escape from this impasse suggesting a new order of society based on moral and spiritual values. These papers have attracted the minds of many thinkers of the different parts of the world. (The entire set of 12 Orchard Lea Papers is obtainable from Sarvodaya Prachuralaya).

## TURNING POINT FOR THE WESTERN WORLD

There come times in the history of nations when it is necessary to probe their foundations, especially their spiritual foundations, their motives and ends, to re-assess their values and change their course.

If these occasions are not seized, upheavals and revolutions, or decay, death and extinction will follow.

The Western world is in one of those periods now. For several centuries it has been living ravenously on Prosperity, without taking thought, apparently believing that Prosperity can continue forever.

Many are now beginning to see otherwise. In the East, nations on whose human and natural resources the West has for long battered, are undergoing momentous psychological, ideological and economic changes which are gradually undermining the economy of the Industrial Revolution.

## THE AWAKENING IN THE EAST

The awakening of the East to the realities of the modern world as shaped by Western science, industrialism, financial and military power, is resulting in a demand for industrial development and a high degree of self-sufficiency in a well-balanced agro-industrial economy, as the basic condition of financial, economic and political independence.

Even more significant is the awakening of the entire African continent, which is bent on passing as rapidly as possible from primitive tribalism to economic and political independence by way of indus-

trialism and a mixture of tribal, Eastern and Western cultures.

## THE IMPASSE OF MATERIALISM

This is the impasse of materialism to which I have frequently called attention in these Papers. It is the outcome of the subservience of culture and religion to materialistic ends. In Britain it has resulted in a way of life which devotes 30% of the national income to tobacco, drink, mass sport, cosmetics, drugs and militarism. The values of this way of life are for the most part transient, superficial and unsatisfying, and they are making demands on the world's resources which cannot be met without resort to atomic and hydrogen bombs.

## FEAR AND POWER - THE CHIEF DIRECTIVES

Thus in Nevada, Woomera and Monte Bello, Progress is preparing the way to universal death. Most of our inventions are turned to destruction—of man and all his works, of soil, plants and animals. In the name of progress we are speeding towards primeval barrenness. We are travelling too fast for reflective thought, whence science far outpaces religion and philosophy. Our root problem is how to overcome the failure of culture and religion. Nearly fifty years ago Gandhi said that lacking a spiritual re-birth Western civilisation would in due course be self-destroyed.

Fear and power are now the chief directives of national and international policies, and before them Kings and Queens, Presidents and Prime Ministers, Primates and Moderators meekly bow. The mightiest Dictators end their days

amid the ruins of nihilism, victims of the power they worshipped. Yesterday they were Hitler and Mussolini. Tomorrow....?

## DESTRUCTIVE WAR ECONOMY

On every hand the processes of life are yielding to the processes of death. I have previously referred to the soil in this respect. Then the cycle of the Welfare State—mass-production, maximum spending and consumption, and 100% insurance against want, unemployment, sickness, accidents and death—is in danger of passing into the cycle of death—falling markets, unemployment, the class struggle, expanding armaments, a permanent war economy, and finally, the annihilation of atomic warfare. Even Britain's welfare state depends upon extracting £ 1,000,000,000 annually in taxation from spendings on drink, tobacco and gambling.

Often as I survey the widening swamp of our unmediated existence, with its growing dependence upon centralised power, upon officials and experts, upon chemicals, drugs, shams and substitutes, and upon demonic destructive devices, I am haunted by the feeling that the time may soon come when we shall be swept into oblivion, back to dust and vapour by a handful of nerve-wracked politicians and scientists who, in a moment of hysteria will press the fatal buttons.

## THE ALTERNATIVES

This is stark realism, not rhetoric. What are we going to do about it? Western survival now depends upon calling a halt to "Prosperity" and revolutionising our values, ends, and ways of life, as nations and as communities of persons. *Our choice is between a soul-withering materialism and the spiritual values of creative, neighbourly living from the family to the world society.*

These Papers have had three primary aims: (1) to expose the impasse into which Western civilisation has drifted, and its causes; (2) to expound the values, relationships and qualities by which freedom from that impasse may be secured;

(3) to indicate some of the social, industrial and cultural changes for which this spiritual revolution calls.

....To my astonishment no one has challenged my analyses or my basic conclusions. All are agreed about the nature of our problem, and that our great need is human wholeness and a way of life of richer spiritual content.

Many express doubt about the acceptability of some of my constructive proposals; others ask for blue-prints and specific programmes, while a few, overwhelmed by the urgency of the problem, fear that it is too late to effect the necessary revolution before another war ends everything that matters.

## THE TRAGEDY OF MONEY VALUES

....A blue-print for a machine is one thing, but for a way of life quite another. I have a profound respect for nature, and especially for human nature. The devices of animals, even tiny ones, in order to achieve their ends are positively amazing, while man's power of creative imagination, of improvisation and invention is so overwhelming that it would be a crime to limit it by blue-prints. Is not the real tragedy of our age the fact that money values are depriving the majority of our fellow men of the right to create, thus condemning them to a sub-human existence? One man's blue-prints may be another man's prison-house. Whole men must needs produce their own blue-prints, and each local community its own social programme. One of our main tasks is to free the human spirit, the imagination of the common man, from the bondage of conformity, and to train the people for vocational living.

....I will confess that often during the last forty years I have surveyed our national and the world situation and tried to estimate the chances of human survival, and not once have I felt that this was certain, nor do I now, although I see more hope than I did. Meanwhile it is well to remember that most of the world's civilisations have perished, and have

done so in Prosperity. Time after time throughout the ages those in authority have chosen the privileges of class domination, self-indulgence and the wastage of natural resources to the values of freedom and culture, and paid for their folly in decadence, war, and extinction.

Moreover we must face the fact that the revolution we now so urgently need must be undertaken by generations born in an age of dying faith in Truth and weakening understanding of spiritual values, under a cankering materialism that in the first world war withered such spiritual roots as had survived the Victorian age.

#### THE CALL TO THE YOUTH

My generation needs to be reminded that its successors are wholly ignorant of the remarkable wave of idealism which swept across the Western world in the last third of the nineteenth century, in revolt against the smugness, complacency and hypocrisy which hid the glaring social evils of that time. The youth of my generation—even working-class youth in the great new urban areas which were then arising—were inspired by the vision of a social democracy with a spiritual content. They steeped their minds in the writings of Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, William Morris, Edward Carpenter, Lowell, Emerson, Thoreau, Blake, Shelley and many others, and dreamed of "a loftier race" and an age in which "new arts would bloom of loftier mould."

#### "BREAD AND BUTTER" SOCIALISM

That idealism was finally swamped by the events which followed August 1914, when the vision of the spiritual socialists was overtaken by the "bread and butter" socialism of the new materialism. What, if any, are the signs of hope to-day?

....In admitting the necessity of raising the status and the living standards of the world's backward areas in order to stave off Communism, the big Western Powers unwittingly declare that Communism is fulfilling an important mission in our time. The downtrodden of the earth see

in Communism the road to the only freedom they are able to appreciate: the freedom to work and eat. The tyrannies of Communism of which they are rightly warned, are meaningless when their hands are idle and their stomach empty. Hence the road to freedom, albeit an elemental freedom, lies wide open, and will remain open so long as the evils remain which gave birth to Communism. Nevertheless, military power and the subterfuges of totalitarianism will hamper the work which the West now admittedly sees to be its duty, and cause it to do from fear what it ought to do from love—love of man, of truth and justice. Could the West take hold of the faith in truth and love which casts out fear, it would quickly free the whole world of fear, of Communism, and of war.

....This revolution involves such industrial, economic, political and cultural changes as I have outlined in these Papers. It would free the human spirit from the overlordship of the machine, change our habits, chasten our desires, and thus modify our demands for markets, food and raw materials, which in turn would reduce the tensions which lead to war and open the way to world economic co-operation, to open diplomacy, political truthfulness and honesty, the termination of imperialism and power politics, and to permanent world peace in a new era of international relations.

#### LIVING IN A FOOL'S PARADISE

Today we live in a fool's paradise, worshipping abundance yet wasting it in self-indulgences and costly armaments. The Western nations put the blame for the latter on Communism, and turn a blind eye to the basic fact that war is inherent in their very way of life. Pacifists also are guilty of this error, even Christian pacifists. It is plain self-deception to say that all our war-producing problems could be solved around a table, given a little goodwill; for there can be no peace so long as maximum consumption of goods and services is the aim of

the West in a world of shortages where the living standards of half its population are double or treble those of the other half, which is justly seething with discontent and revolt. Pacifists should be the first to challenge the materialism of our time with a simplicity of life which conforms to the world's need, to justice, and to the demands of the good life. A limit must be set to Western living standards, to luxury and self-indulgence, and to the demands of fashion and social status. Our highest wellbeing, and world peace, world brotherhood and co-operation, demand it.

#### PIONEERS OF CREATIVE SOCIETY

It is precisely at this point that the pioneers of the creative society must begin. Self-control and self-discipline are the first need, and many have already made a good start. I have seen them in greatest number in India, where young men and women from every caste have abandoned caste and now labour with the no-castes on a subsistence basis in gigantic task of co-operating with villagers in reconstructing Indian life according to the Gandhian pattern of agro-industrial village Republics, as an alternative to Western Industrialism. For



Mr. Wilfred Wollock spinning his own wool for his dress

this work they are trained and disciplined in Ashrams established for the purpose. Assisting them are many small groups of British and American Quakers, and indirectly, many European members of the International Voluntary Service for Peace.

## The Economic Aspects of Bhoodan Yagna

— TRILOK JAIN, M. A. —

Secretary, Institute of Gandhian Studies, Jaipur

Ours is preponderantly an agricultural country where the land problem claims greater attention than other problems. Hence the importance of any plan or movement for the reorganisation of the land cannot be over-emphasised. Today Bhoodan is the most conspicuous and boodless movement which has attracted the attention of the people in India and abroad. Many from various countries

are visiting India to study the nature of the Bhoodan movement, and to get first-hand information about it.

Today disparity and inequality which exist in the society are due to unequal distribution of wealth. There is maladjustment between production and distribution. In India the population is 356.8 millions, out of which about 44.8 millions are cultivating labourers without owning any land and 5.3 millions are

non-cultivating owners of land and "agriculture rent receivers". In India cultivable land available is approximately 300 million acres. It is obvious that the land is in the hands of a few and its ownership is denied to the actual tillers who produce by the sweat of their brow and do not receive their due share. The land, therefore, must be equitably distributed among the tillers. Bhoodan movement, launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, aims to distribute on an equitable basis. He says "Land is God's gift like air and water" and every man has the right to it and no one has the right to possess land in excess of what he needs. He has adopted the method of persuasion and appeals to the heart, conscience and the inherent goodness of man. He walks from village to village appealing to the 'haves', and thousands of them appreciate his message and offer land.

The Constitution of our country provides that no private property can be appropriated without compensation. But the technique adopted by Vinobaji eliminates this constitutional embarrassment. His method neither involves constitutional intricacy, nor it affects the government exchequer. The government need not tax the people for compensation to be paid to Jagirdars. He wants to save the masses from their poverty and wealth from the command of the capitalists. By virtue of this policy Vinobaji achieves two objects at a stroke.

Land is the basic factor of production and without land nothing can be produced. It is necessary that land must be very cautiously used to increase the production and to meet the needs of the people. If the ownership of land is transferred to the actual tiller, it will be an incentive to creative interest in increasing the production of agricultural commodities and commercial as well. This will also give indirect impetus to the revival of cottage and village industries. Villagers will be rehabilitated on the land and a decentra-

lised economic society will spring up in the country.

Many misgivings are raised by the people from various corners. Some economists say that it will create fragmentation and will disturb the economic holdings. The Planning Commission has estimated that 25 acres of land must be the minimum economic holding. It has miscalculated and enunciated a misleading formula, because approximately 300 millions of acres are available for cultivation. So the average comes to about 3/4 acre as an economic holding. Vinobaji says one acre of land is sufficient to support a man, proved from the results from his own experiment in his Paunar Ashram. He believes that one to five acres can be the minimum economic holding to support a family of five in India.

Professor C. N. Vakil, an eminent economist of the country, has also favoured the idea of such small scale farming. He says, "So long as agriculture continues to be a way of life, rural opinion, which is more and more becoming conscious of reforms introduced in other countries..., will never tolerate any piece of land reform which does not think in terms of redistribution of land and the splitting up of large sized holding."

Dr. Mitrany remarks, "In Europe small scale farms have persisted successfully. Theory of large scale agriculture has been successful commercially and it is proved costly nationally." Mr. Mas-singham states, "Taking into account human limitation and other natural factors, wealth per acre tends to move in inverse ratio to size of holding." Doreen Warrineor warns against collective farming that collectivisation brought two years of famine and an immense slaughter of livestock. In China, the New Government has first started fragmenting bigger plots of land into smaller pieces in order to distribute to actual tillers of the soil. In Japan people cultivate small pieces of land. Average economic

holding in China and Japan is only 2 to 3 acres of land.

Small scale farming is not only profitable in the real sense but it enriches the people around it simultaneously. Because all the implements, which will be applied to the field can be manufactured in the villages. In small scale farming tillers need not depend on articles imported from foreign countries as petrol, tractor, etc. The farmers use the very implements which can be manufactured in their own village by the carpenters and blacksmiths. Thus there is the chance for subsidiary industries to flourish which will provide employment to those who are already in them.

Bhoodan Movement also provides the landless people with an active programme of organising themselves into a united force. Bhoodan has a message for the landless as well to realise his responsibility to become an intelligent and

co-operative partner in the decentralised and self-reliant agro-industrial economy of the villages.

Thus Bhoodan Yagna must be viewed in a larger perspective as it is keeping the torch of the non-violent revolution started by Gandhi a generation ago burning. Jai Prakash Narayan says "History has provided us a chance to show to the world, peaceful methods of solving the problem of land." Acharya Vinoba remarks "If a socio-economic revolution is to be achieved through peace and non-violence, we must create an atmosphere of self-sacrifice, love, corporate action and moral purity through Bhoodan Movement." He continues, "My movement is primarily a moral and spiritual movement for the regeneration of men and reorientation of social and economic values in life." With immense potentiality this Yagna will be a landmark in the socio-economic history of our country.



## A WARNING TO WELFARE WORKERS

K. S. SONACHALAM, M. A.

We are indebted to the "Women's Welfare Journal," Feb., '54, of the Government of Madras for this thought-provoking article under the title "Curse of Conspicuous Consumption." Though this has its appeal for the National Saving Programme it has been adapted here for the readers of Sarvodaya. It gives a true picture of the callous waste in 'Conspicuous Consumption' by the upper and middle classes with utter disregard of the grinding poverty and the suffering of the masses.

It was the American economist Thorstein Veblen who minted the phrase "Conspicuous Consumption" to denote every act of expenditure of time or money for the sake of vulgar ostentation or reputability. Such acts spring from the desire for distinction, characterised by Nassau Senior as 'the most powerful of human passions.' Uncurbed and unchastened, this desire lands not only the indigent and the impecunious on shoals of bankruptcy, discontent and misery but also the ostensibly well-to-do and the

wealthy. Consumer behaviour is warped and twisted by the siren cry of fashion, vogue and custom, exercising the force of the laws of the Medes and the Persians which could be violated only at the peril of people losing their respectability and caste. Consumption pattern is distorted to bring in non-essential trinkets even at the risk of hunger, squalor and misery endured silently and secretly behind closed doors. Best laid schemes of housewives go awry turning surplus into balanced and balanced into deficit

budgets. Potential savings are dissipated on wants, arising not from real wholesome healthy human needs but from a sense of keeping up pecuniary decency and a craving to show off.

In the immediate post-war years, there had been everywhere a consumption spree, the result of wartime pent-up demand. India also had its due share. In more recent years, the psychological climate in India has been steadily growing more congenial to an orgy of conspicuous consumption. A few instances might suffice to indicate how far this bane of ostentatious expenditure has already begun to corrode our economy. The expenditure on weddings, even normally most burdensome according to international standards, has outgrown all decent limits. Weddings take the hue and complexion of festivals with costly pandals and shamiana, feasts and lights, concerts and nautches. If a millionaire spends lavishly, it may be asked why should it be condemned. It is not his individual economy that we are here concerned with. What is its effect on society? It sets up a vogue which quickly solidifies into custom, "deep as snow."

Another case is the love for costly apparel that enslaves all, more so the sisters. A rich lady who can afford dons a 500 rupee tissue saree. She may rightly argue that the constitution allows her as a citizen the liberty and right to wear it. But what is its social effect on less fortunately placed women? Any ostentatious consumption like this has what James S. Ducsberry calls the "demonstration effect." When people come into contact with superior goods or superior patterns consumption, with the new articles or new ways or meeting old wants, they are apt to feel after a while a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction. The next reaction after seeing superior articles fairly continuously is to get them for themselves, if not the same expensive articles something which they could buy with all

their income, ignoring all other essential wants. Family budgeting is wrecked.

Leadership in women is therefore a very onerous and sacred responsibility. Welfare workers donning superior clothes and jewellery and visiting the poor unwittingly cause "the demonstration effect" to make them cheerless, envious and depressed; it kindles unquenchable desire in the poor, simple rustic women to whom they had gone with the professed object of bringing peace and good cheer. It makes them restless and yearn for what they can never hope to get and thus their visit will prove to be the antithesis of welfare work and service. In such a situation one cannot help feeling nostalgic towards the Gandhian era when women surrendered their costlier jewels to the inimitable auctioneer that was the 'Mahatma' and consigned their rich foreign clothes to the bonfire. It is a retrograde step that in sartorial habits both men and women have abandoned the Gandhian simplicity and acquired a butterfly temperament to revel in the costly and the gaudy.

It is the individual, particularly he or she with the halo of leadership, who should not indulge in conspicuous consumption. For in this country, as in politics, so in social life, ideas are not derived from the bottom but percolate from the apex down the tiers of the social pyramid. If the income groups at or near the apex flaunt superior and costly articles, the class of people immediately below them is infected by the ample and the demonstration effect has its chain reaction down to the lowest income group.

The "demonstration effect" has most serious consequences on an economy that is determined to go ahead. Every act of conspicuous consumption by the highest income group can have a suitable synthetic and plastic substitute to suit the pockets of every group beneath it. Most of them might be imported foreign goods.

If the leader forsakes the new article or new way of life, costly and conspi-

## SATYAGRAHA IN GERMANY - IV

—[ MARY BARR ]—

The previous three articles may be referred to "Sarvodaya" of July, August and October, 1953.

At last I have had a long letter from Dr. Koch himself giving particulars as to how he and his group managed to get behind the "Iron Curtain", and what happened on the other side. It was not such a spectacular triumph for satyagraha as I had thought when I read the bare statement that they had crossed and had reached Berlin. Yet the full story gives a still better picture of their courage, patience, and consideration for all those whom they met on their way. As they went through the Western part of Germany, from Hamburg to Bonn and from Bonn to the frontier, the general opinion of those to whom they spoke of their intentions was that even if they succeeded in penetrating into the Eastern Zone at all they would not be allowed to speak with anyone there and would soon find

(Continued from previous page)

cuous in its texture, the followers will have nothing for imitation and the equals nothing for emulation and neither have any irritation or chagrin. The sum total of happiness will not be less because conspicuous consumption breeds competitive consumption and all the competitors are not a whit happier even when they have doubled or quadrupled their consumption.

....Consumption pattern is the handiwork of the woman in the home; as most of the poor man's income spent on food and other necessities and as after all the woman presides over the budgetary process. Hence rationalisation of consumption is peculiarly within the woman's sphere of action and competence. Leadership among women has a tremendous opportunity in this to serve.

★

6

themselves in a concentration camp in Siberia. In face of these depressing prognostications, it is interesting to see what actually happened. Now to quote from Dr. Koch's letter:—

"For seven weeks we tried without success to cross openly and without permits the zonal border between Hesse and Thuringia, which is also the demarcation line between the American and Russian Zones. Five times we tried, until at last all the appropriate German and American authorities knew of our endeavour. But in spite of much help from friends we could not persuade them to allow us to cross. The German officials were friendly, but would not budge from the American ruling on the matter. After our fifth attempt there were no more authorities to contact, and we would have been in danger of losing the sympathy of those in charge at that point had we tried again there. Already after our first attempt they had pointed out to us that only a few miles to the north, at the British-Russian border the crossing from West to East was, though not exactly legal, at least not an indictable offence. We did not wish to appear mulish or to stress the importance of the zonal frontier too much, though on the other hand we should have liked to have gained American acquiescence which would have been so vital for understanding between West and East ....

"We moved on to the British-Russian border therefore and announced that we intended crossing the next morning. We walked through the village of Besenhausen and along the highway to what had formerly been the official crossing point. At the western barrier we were received by an official of the Ministry of Internal

Affairs of British-occupied Lower Saxony. After he had explained that the Minister would not allow us to cross we had the following short dialogue.

"We:— 'We understand the minister's attitude, and we ask him to note that we believe it to be our duty to cross the frontier openly and without permits in order to continue our march.'

"The Official:— 'We cannot prevent you by physical force, but we should point out that you alone will be responsible for the consequences.'

"We: - 'We expressly state that we are prepared to take that responsibility.' We saluted him and quietly walked on to the border. There we opened a further barrier (turnpike) and walked on for about 100 yards, until we found ourselves behind the eastern check point. Two members of the 'People's police' came hurrying down from a nearby hill. We told them what we wanted. They fired two signal shots and took us to the village of Kirchgandern, from where a crowd of people came out to meet us. A civilian then took us to the local police-station at Arenshausen. There we met many we knew, since that station is also in charge of that part of the border where we had made our first five attempts. In the presence of a number of police officers and some civilians we explained our aim and purpose. Two hours later we were taken by police car to Heiligenstadt where are the District Police to whom we again stated our intention. Twenty-four hours later we were told that the Government in Berlin was willing to permit us to continue our journey by coach via Erfurt, Weimar, Leipzig and Wittenberg to Berlin. But even before the Government's decision had become known we had been allowed to move about freely and talk to teachers, journalists, representatives of the local peace committee and the man in the street.

"At Erfurt, Weimar, Leipzig and Wittenberg, in addition to private conversations, we were able to exchange

views in a frank and critical manner with political personalities and leading men of the peace movement. We learnt later from the German Peace Council in Berlin that the Minister of Internal Affairs of the German Democratic Republic had at first intended to have us taken back to the zonal border immediately. But the Peace Council mediated and persuaded him to allow us to continue our march as guests of the Peace Council.

"For several reasons our group had agreed not to attempt to be received by public officials. The authorities were in any case irritated by the way in which we had ignored official regulations for crossing the border, and regarded our behaviour as showing a lack of discipline. On the other hand they felt that we were of little importance and not really representative of Western Germany. They were a little doubtful about the group and did not understand all our motives. Moreover it was only a few weeks since the disorders of June 17th, and the so-called "New Course" needed peace and quiet to take effect. It was therefore obvious that the authorities wished to avoid any occasions for official or semi-official pronouncements. But we did have some important private conversations.

"The most stirring experience we had was the realisation that the Communists are intensely anxious to find non-warlike means to end the present power-political tensions. It should be an occasion for rigorous self-criticism on the part of pacifists to discover how little assistance they are able to give them in that search.

"We also got an insight into the very core of the Marxist state. There is fundamentally no room for free initiative; everything is planned and thereby loses much of its potentially good effect; any initiative which goes beyond the planned framework is frowned upon. All this leads to a paralysis of life.

"While we were still in Eastern Germany, the election campaign was beginning in the West. We therefore did not

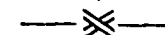
stop on our way back to Hamburg, where our march had begun. After some exchanges of views in West Berlin, we arrived at the zonal border some 25 kilometers from Hamburg, said a friendly goodbye to the People's police there and walked along the highway into Western territory, where we were questioned by the police but not detained. An empty lorry took us to Hamburg.

"The impact of our march on the public mind was at first completely swamped by the election campaign. But since then it has become obvious how important in many ways this non-violent

exercise has been. We have learnt much and gained many friends.

"Meanwhile it has become possible to cross the zonal border freely, at least at the recognised places. Our march may have been some value in this respect.

"Not only the common people, but also the authorities on both sides of the border are truly prepared for a solution of the German problem, which would unify Germany without any ties to either U. S. A. or Soviet Russia, except those of a peaceful co-existence. Anyone who speaks to Germans convincingly of such a solution wins their hearts and minds and gives them a new hope."



## ★ ALL-INDIA BHOODAN NEWS ★

In Madhya Pradesh distribution work has begun in Nagpur, Chindwada, Bilaspur and Amravathi districts. Sri Dada Dharmathikari was touring in many places and addressing meetings. Collection work is also proceeding. In Punjab and Pepsu Sri Ajintha Ram has collected 210 bighas of land from Haripur village. Srimathi Satyabala began her tour in Hissar district from 15th January onwards. In Delhi Takore Bhavani Singh of Jodhpur donated 1500 acres of land to Bhoodan. In Dakka village 20 bighas of land were distributed to the villagers. In Rajasthan prominent workers were touring in the various districts and collecting Bhoodan. Distribution work also is proceeding. More than 800 bighas were distributed to the landless peasants in the month of January alone. In Maharashtra, workers of the various districts were touring in their respective areas and doing intense propaganda for Bhoodan. From 20th to 30th Jan. Sri Srikrishnadas Jajuji toured in Ahmednagar and West Kandesh. His presence inspired a new life in the workers. Sri Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, began his tour in Maharashtra towards the 3rd week of February. The Praja-Socialist Party workers

were also actively working for Bhoodan. In Vindhya Pradesh batches of workers were touring in the villages collecting Bhoodan and selling Sarvodaya and Bhoodan literature. In the month of January about 250 acres of land were received. The Praja-Socialists and the Congress workers actively co-operated in the work.

In Gaya district, Bihar, in response to Vinobaji's call, door to door propaganda and collection of Danapatras are being carried on briskly. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan toured in Gaya district from 15th to 24th Jan. and collected 621 acres of land from 1,242 donors.

A batch of students and teachers of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, worked for Bhoodan in Gaya district (Bihar) for 2½ months. They collected from 3,580 donors 2,078½ acres of land.

From 14th to 21st February Sri Srikrishnadas Jajuji toured in Vidarba and received 500 acres of land and a promise of Rs. 5,000 as Sampattidan. Sri Shankarrao Deo toured in February in West Kandesh district and received 775 acres of land and Rs. 1,225 as Sampattidan. In Gujarat 2,255 donors of 163 villages gave 5,788 acres of Bhoodan. \*

## ★ CRISIS IN EDUCATION ★

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

We have received a brochure under the title "Crisis in Education" from the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram. It contains the presidential address of Shri E. W. Aryanayakam at the Gujarat Nai Talim Conference on 19th March, '54. We give below the concluding portion of the address dealing with the National Cadet Corps in the universities and secondary high schools sponsored by the Ministry of Education. This creates really a crisis in education with a challenge to Nai Talim itself and its ideal of non-violent social order.

This brings us to the third foundation of the new India, its social and ethical ideals. The real significance of the Bhoodan movement is not in the material benefits conferred upon the landless, great as these are: it is in its moral challenge to the nation to replace narrow self-interest by generous acceptance of the brotherhood of man.

In our new social order the basic principle should be truth and non-violence. Our New Educational order, says Vinobaji, will grow by the yoking together of Ahimsa and sciences. Yet over large areas of our national life today the atmosphere is hostile to Ahimsa. Freedom was won by applying principles of non-violence. There was no place for any kind of violence in the freedom struggle, but since Freedom there has been increased interest in the organisation of the military strength of the nation. The Ministry of Education is organising a National Cadet Corps in the various universities, and has extended it to secondary high schools also. It is claimed by the organizers that the objective of NCC is not militarisation but discipline.

Every serious educationist knows that the imposed regimentation of the parade ground is poles apart from the true inner discipline which they desire to see grow. To call the two by the same name is a misuse of words. There are various ways of inculcating discipline among students. The best form of discipline is nourished by interest in one's own work and by a desire to serve the community. Discipline that is imposed from outside is no discipline, it must come

from within as self-discipline. This self-discipline grows naturally among the pupils who are engaged in their own work because they are interested in it, understand its purpose and goal and feel the self-respect which comes of doing something socially useful.

When I had the privilege of discussing the work at Sevagram with Gandhiji, the very last time I was with him, he emphasized that we should maintain in our educational work at Sevagram that:

1. Under no circumstances should Sevagram get any financial help from the government.
2. No kind of military training should be accepted.

In case the State adopts compulsory military training, the Basic Education Centres should be closed. Military training goes against the fundamental principle of Nai Talim. There can be no compromise on this issue.

No one has ever claimed that Nai Talim is easy. It makes high and continuous demands on physical energy, on mental resourcefulness, on spiritual strength. In many circles of Indian life today it seems like a forlorn hope, like fighting a losing cause. I have sufficiently called attention to the numerous difficulties in the way. But in one place the real Nai Talim teacher will find reassurance and reward, and that is in the response of children to the natural human interest and the stimulus and delight of such a way of learning. Let the challenge and the opportunity of these days spur us to fresh efforts.

○ ● ○

## Bhoo dan Yatra in Tanjore Dt.

Those who accompanied Shri Shankarrao Deo in his Yatra in Tanjore district could witness a marvellous awakening among the villagers. It raised the hopes of the landless that they could see the end of their misery through Bhoodan. The small landholders also appeared to hope for a better condition of life, if their share of land, often too small, is surrendered to the common pool of the community wealth of the village. A section of the upper class of the landlords would welcome Bhoodan as an acceptable arrangement for relieving them of a part of their possessions to ensure permanent peace and cordiality in the village. There was evidently some restlessness on one side and also a hunger for a stable social order based on peace and happiness for all.

Vinobaji has been saying intuitively for the past one year that our people are ready to respond to the call of Bhoodan Yagna and that the only need is for the workers to go and ask from door to door in every village. Though some could not believe this, there were seen visible signs of such readiness among all sections of the people in this district.

On 15th February last a small Yatra party of eight friends went on a walking tour in Nannilam and Mayuram taluks. The party consisted of the District Bhoodan Convenor Sri T. K. Srinivasa Iyer, Joint-Secretary, Tamil Nad Praja-Socialist Party Sri K. S. Ramaswami with two other members of this party, a few Congressmen, and some constructive workers including the Editor, "Sarvodaya." The Yatra commenced on 15th February at Ammayappan and ended at Peralam on the 25th, covering about 150 miles on the road and inside the villages. We approached many in their houses and every evening there was a public meeting.

7

There was good reception at many places. Many whom we approached for land were already familiar with the message of Bhoodan Yagna. They had only some doubts to be cleared. They conceded that something like Bhoodan is the only possible peaceful and ideal solution. Some even responded immediately with token offers of land to Bhoodan. A few promised to offer after consulting others in the family who were elsewhere. Thirteen persons gave 4 acres 97 cents of wet land and 1 acre and 10 cents of dry land.

The Yatra in the second stage was in Mayuram Taluk, from Manganallur to Porayar from 26th February to March 4th. Some members of the party had to leave us on urgent call and the rest, mostly workers in the field of constructive work, proceeded on till the end. We covered eight villages walking on an average of about 8 miles a day. Twelve donors gave 14 acres and 40 cents in all.

It is well known that the Communists and Blackshirts are concentrating in Tanjore district fully exploiting class and caste hatred. Nannilam taluk is perhaps the worst affected. There had been many acts of violence on person and property in recent months. Even harvesting had to be done in some places under the protection of Special Armed Police. The atmosphere is charged with intimidation and violence on one side and fear and demoralisation on the other.

The Yatra party visited some of the most disturbed places, with message of the non-violent revolution of Bhoodan. This brief experience in our Yatra has created a confidence among the workers after witnessing the readiness of the people in this district to respond to the call of Bhoodan.

## A Bhoodan Yagna Camp in Travancore

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

A Bhoodan Yagna training camp in Kanjirappalli, Kottayam district, Northern Travancore, was inaugurated by Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on February 6th, '54. His speech and the special message that was sent by Vinobaji, have already appeared in the "Sarvodaya" of February, '54.

Owing to impending elections the camp actually could be held from February 27th to 5th March. The camp was conducted by Sri Ikkanda Warriar, Convenor of Kerala Bhoodan Samiti, and Sri Thomas Cherian, Bhoodan Organiser of the Kottayam district. Contrary to expectations only twenty persons could join the training camp including two foreigners, Miss Lucy M. Brutt of Student's Christian Mission Service of England, who has spent 21 years of her active life in China, and Sir Bill Rowe of California State, U. S. A., now in the Hindustani Talimi Sangh at Sevagram.

Four days before the starting of the camp, Sri Ikkanda Warriar and Sri Cherian with the help of the campers made preliminary arrangements including the clearing of a well (about two furlongs away) which was the only source of water-supply. That well lay unused for the last 15 years or more. Thanks to the hard labour of the trainees under Sri Warriar's guidance, the locality is now richer by a well for all time. Prominent among those who came from outside in Camp were Sri Dada Dharmadhikari (of Wardha) and Kumari Vimala Thakar and Shri Suresh Ramabhai of Allahabad. They took classes in the camp and also addressed public meetings. Behn Vimala Thakar has to her credit some very good work in Orissa and Bihar. Sri K. K. Chandy, of Christova Ashram, Mangalam, Kottayam, also spoke at the camp.

On the last two days of the Camp, Bhoodan organisers from the different

districts of Travancore-Cochin also joined, viz., Kumari Rajamma from Trivandrum, Sri P. Manmathan and Sri A. P. Vasu Nambisan, the Office Secretary. In their meeting on the 5th, the organisers decided that each of them in the districts of North Malabar, South Malabar, Trichur, Kottayam, Quilon and Trivandrum, should collect at least one thousand acres by the middle of April next to realise initial Kerala quota of 25,000 acres.

For me personally the camp was an education. It gave me an insight into the life of Travancore youths and their character. They were so obliging. Of particular significance were the evening visits in the neighbouring villages. The Kanjirappalli area is known for big estates and huge plantations of rubber, tea, cardamom, pepper, etc. I was told that one acre of land there valued at Rs. 12,000 or more. The land-owners in that locality are consequently rich, very rich. Amidst this plenty and luxury of the rich, I saw the appalling, crushing poverty of the landless poor. There was one scene which I would never forget. An old man, wrapped in a rugged cloth at the waist and above the knees, with withered cheeks and greyish hair, had a long thin piece of string attached to a tiny coconut shell. By this device he was taking out water oozing from a small opening, about eight inches in diameter, in a bigger whole of about one foot radius. With 'unwearying patience' he went on and filled his so-called jug, also made of coconut leaves! I wondered whether one could explain to him the Five-Year Plan or the Bhoodan Yagna movement. It further deepened my conviction that India could not tackle her problems but by the Bhoodan Yagna approach and technique.

\*

## NOTES AND NEWS

### SARVODAYA DAY AND MELA TAMILNAD

Under the auspices of the Madras Sarvodaya Samithi the Sarvodaya Day, 30th January, was celebrated in Madras in Thakar Bapa Vidyalaya. About 400 members of the various constructive work institutions in the city participated in the mass spinning which went all through the function. The Governor of Madras, Sri Sri Prakasa presided over the function. In a special message to the people of Madras Acharya Vinoba Bhave said:

"I ardently wish that for the people of Madras State, the offering of hand-spun yarn must be natural and universal. It is in that province that the number of weavers is greater than elsewhere. It is only there that khadi production is also the highest. The problem of the weavers can be solved only by the hand-spun yarn. Taking all these into account, I do hope that the people of Madras will recognize the real value of yarn offering."

Addressing the function Sri Sri Prakasa appealed to the people to follow the path shown by Gandhiji, practise the noble ideals he had left behind and strive to establish peace and happiness everywhere.

The Sarvodaya Mela was held at the Triplicane beach. Srimathi Amritha Ramasubramaniam presided over the public meeting. Sri K. Rajaram Naidu, Minister for Local Administration, addressed the meeting. The various institutions that took part in the spinning, offered yarn of 1,731 hanks.

In Srirangam near Trichy, Sarvodaya Mela was observed with prayer, Bhajan and mass spinning. 50 students of the Government Basic Training School, Tanjore, 30 students of the Harijan Hostel, Lalgudi, and many from the local public took part. In Perur near

Coimbatore, the Mela was observed with prayer and mass spinning. Many offered yarn hanks. A party of workers from Madurai organised a propaganda tour and went to Dhanushkodi and Rameswaram where they held the Mela with prayer and sacrificial spinning.

### KERALA

During the Sarvodaya Paksha in Kerala, 27 batches of workers, including a large number of ladies, toured in different parts of Kerala. They did intense propaganda for Bhoodan and Sarvodaya and sold Sarvodaya literature also. They met on the 12th at Tirunavaya, a village of great historical importance, where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed. An exhibition was also organised by Sri. P. K. Kunhiraman Nambiar, Sanchalak, A. I. S. A. Kozhikode, and his co-workers. It was run for a week. On the Mela day there were prayer and sacrificial spinning. Sri Ikkanda Warriar, Convenor of Kerala Bhoodan Committee, presided over the workers' meeting. He announced Bhoodan of 3,865.32 acres received during the last one month which brings the total Bhoodan in Kerala to 16,865.32 acres. More than 500 persons including large number of ladies took part in the sacrificial spinning. The yarn offering received for the Mela was 3,552 hanks. Sri. K. Kelappan, M. P., presided over the public meeting. The villagers and the students of the High School nearby showed great enthusiasm in constructing a road in the village during the Sarvodaya Paksha.

### BHOODAN WORK IN TAMILNAD

Shri N. Ramakrishna Reddiar and Shri S. R. Subramaniam of Praja-Socialist Party started on a walking tour on 21st February from Chidambaram. His Holiness of Kundrakkudi Mutt led the party for the first two days. The party continued the Yatra visiting 39 villages in South Arcot district. 25 persons offered Bhoodan of 39 acres 24 cents besides

agricultural implements. In Tanjore district one Sri V. Kalyanasundaram Pillai of Tiruturaipundi taluk offered 30 acres of wet land. Sri S. K. Srinivasan, Secy., Congress Committee, Pattukottai, who took keen interest in Sri Shankarrao Deo's Yatra in January, writes that he received 17 acres 72 cents towards Bhoodan. In Ramanad district Sri T. D. Thirumalai, Bhoodan organiser, with a batch of workers is touring on foot in the different firkas of Srivilliputhur Taluk since the middle of February last. So far they have collected 70 acres from 48 persons. Sri S. Jagannathan, the Provincial Bhoodan Convenor, and Sri Sethu Ramachandran with a group of workers toured in Sivaganga Taluk from 12th February to March 4th. Again from March 5th to 20th they continued the Yatra in Paramakudi Taluk. They have collected 154.35 acres from 123 persons in the first Yatra and 156 acres in the 2nd Yatra.

#### ALL-INDIA KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION

An All-India Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition will be held in Delhi at Ramlila Grounds from 3rd to 13th April, 1954 under the auspices of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. Khadi and Village Industry articles will be exhibited and sold in the exhibition. There will be a special section depicting the progress of Bhoodan Yagna. The exhibition is expected to have a special educative value to the city people about the condition of the masses in the villages and the duty of urban India to the villages.

#### WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE IN JAPAN

Shri. Kaka Kalelkar and Shri. Bharatan Kumarappa will represent Sarva Seva Sangh in the World Peace Conference to be held in the first week of April, 1954, in Japan.

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

For Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dhakshin Bharat Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tirupur.

Printed by S. Subramaniam, at the Kamala Printing Press, Tirupur.

#### VINOBAJI'S GITA PRAVACHAN

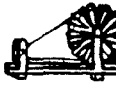
The immortal book in Marathi containing Vinobaji's discourses on Gita while in Dhulia Jail in 1932, has gone through various editions in the original, Hindi and many provincial languages. Its belated Tamil edition appeared only recently through the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam. The value of this book can be better appreciated in the words of its reviewer in "The Hindu," Madras, dated 21-3-54:

Gita-Peruralkal: By Vinoba Bhave (Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur, Rs. 2/4). Vinoba is a household word in India today. As a worker for the welfare of the people and as the most distinguished disciple of Gandhiji he has shown extraordinary dynamism. He today is the leading light. Though not a politician he has influenced the general trend of politics and has been honoured and revered by all leaders. All know that the Gita has been a 'mother' to Gandhiji. It is no less so to all Gandhians. Thus the Gita has been the solace of all true Gandhians and is their guide book. We can expect that these lectures will reflect the approach of Gandhiji to this universal scripture. It is therefore a pleasure to go through this work. Vinobaji delivered these discourses in 1932 in the Madhya Pradesh Jail and they were published in Marathi language. Thus this is a work nearly twenty years old which is now presented in Tamil translation. But it is so very refreshing to read this work which is full of apt examples and illustrations from the puranas and the works of great poets. The exposition of the several chapters is simple, illuminating and clear. This is a book which every student of Gita and religion would do well to read with devotion. The author communicates some of the finest points in a luminous way. It is a religious work of deep merit and depth; it is a work of sublimated passion for the welfare of mankind and service of God and ultimate realisation. The great work on the Gita by Mahadev Desai is well known to all students of the Gandhian interpretation of the Gita. This work will surely occupy an equal place with it on that subject. All Tamil lovers will indeed be grateful to the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam for placing this fine book within the reach of all — K. C. D.

# SARVODAYA



(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)



514

Vol. 3

May, 1954

No. 11

BODH-GAYA SARVODAYA SAMMELAN NUMBER



Mahatma Gandhi  
with Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan



Photo by Kanu Gandhi,  
Gandhi Chhatraashala, Rajkot.

The Sarvodaya Bhoodan Digest of The Sarva Seva Sangh

ANNUAL SUBS: — INDIA: RS. 3 — FOREIGN: ONE DOLLAR OR 6 SHILLINGS — SINGLE COPY: AS. 4

## ★ SARVODAYA STUDY CIRCLES ★

To encourage the Study and propagation of Gandhian Sarvodaya ideology, Sarvodaya Prachuralayam invites friends to form "SARVODAYA STUDY CIRCLES" with a minimum of five members.

Sarvodaya Study Circles will be affiliated to the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.

A free copy of English "Sarvodaya" will be supplied every month.

Liberal commission on the books purchased for the library of the Study Circles will be allowed.

Reports of the work of the Sarvodaya Study Circles, will be published.

All possible assistance and suggestions will be given by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam for the development of Sarvodaya Study Circles.

All correspondence will be carried on by the Convenor on behalf of each Sarvodaya Study Circle with the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.

Applications for affiliation are to be addressed to the Editor, Sarvodaya, P. B. No. 9, Tirupur, with an affiliation fee of Rs. 2 for each 'Study Circle', with full address and the names of its members. ★

Educational Institutions and Public Libraries in Andhra State, are permitted to subscribe for English monthly "SARVODAYA" as per the proceedings of the Director of Public Instruction, Andhra, quoted below:

Re. No. 392 J 54 Dated 6-4-54.

I have to state that since the journal "Sarvodaya" has been commended by the composite State Director before the partition of the State the proceedings have been communicated to all officers in Andhra also. Therefore there is no need to recommend the journal once again for use in institutions in the State.

(Sd.)

For Director of Public Instruction.

## ★ SARVODAYAM ★ (A monthly in TAMIL started in 1947 October, running now 7th Year)

The Tamil 'SARVODAYAM' is not a translation of English 'SARVODAYA' Monthly.

The contents and articles in both the magazines are different. We would request the Tamil friends to subscribe also for the TAMIL 'SARVODAYAM' monthly.

ANNUAL SUBS: RS. 3.  
SINGLE COPY AS. 4.

Tamil and English Monthlies are available at all

KHADI VASTRALAYAS AND  
KHADI BHANDARS OF SARVA  
SEVA SANGH.

If they are not available please write to us.

One specimen copy will be sent on receipt of postage stamps for As. 2.  
SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, POST BOX No. 9,  
TIRUPUR (S. India)

## GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

| BOOKS BY GANDHIJI                                          | Rs. As. |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Autobiography                                              | 7 0     |
| A Gandhi Anthology — Book I                                | 0 8     |
| Bapu's Letters to Ashram Sisters                           | 1 8     |
| "    Mira                                                  | 4 0     |
| Basic Education                                            | 1 8     |
| Cent per cent Swadeshi                                     | 2 0     |
| Communal Unity                                             | 9 0     |
| Constructive Programme                                     | 0 6     |
| Delhi Diary                                                | 3 0     |
| Diet and Diet Reform                                       | 2 0     |
| Drink, Drugs & Gambling                                    | 2 8     |
| Food Shortage and Agriculture                              | 2 8     |
| For Pacifists                                              | 1 4     |
| From Yeravda Mandir                                        | 0 8     |
| Gandhiji's Autobiography (Abridged, by Bharatan Kumarappa) | 2 0     |
| Gandhiji's Correspondence with Government (1912-44)        | 2 8     |
| Gleanings Gathered at Bapu's Feet                          | 0 6     |
| Hind Swaraj                                                | 0 8     |
| Hindu Dharma                                               | 4 0     |
| Key to Health                                              | 0 10    |
| My Early Life                                              | 1 2     |
| Non-Violence in Peace & War — 2 Vols.                      | 12 0    |
| Ramanama                                                   | 1 0     |
| Rebuilding Our Villages                                    | 1 8     |

(Continued in 3rd wrapper page)

# SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 3

May 1954

No. 11

Whole No. 35

## CONTENTS

|                                                  |     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The Need for Scientific Outlook in Our Work      |     |
| — Mahatma Gandhi                                 |     |
| Bodh-Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan                     |     |
| " Vinobaji's First Speech                        | 282 |
| " Vinobaji's Concluding Speech                   | 286 |
| " Pandit Nehru's Speech                          | 289 |
| " DR. Radhakrishnan's Speech                     | 290 |
| " Jaiprakash's Speech                            | "   |
| " Vinobaji's Response to J. P.'s appeal          | 291 |
| " DR. Rajendra Prasad's Speech                   | 292 |
| Vinobaji's Passion to become Zero                | 293 |
| — Suresh Ramabhai                                |     |
| Resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh               | 292 |
| Bird's Eye view of the Sammelan                  | 295 |
| Group discussions in Sammelan                    | 296 |
| Bhoodan—The Rule of Love                         | 297 |
| — Dr. S. Radhakrishnan                           |     |
| Samanvaya Ashram at Bodh-Gaya                    | 298 |
| Purposeful Way of Life                           | 299 |
| — J. C. Kumarappa                                |     |
| Man Versus Machine                               | 300 |
| — N. S. Sivasubramaniam M. A.                    |     |
| Khadi Exhibition at Bodh-Gaya                    | 302 |
| Our Cultural Heritage and Bhoodan                | 303 |
| — Radha Benode Mukherjee                         |     |
| Kasthurba-Gram in Tamil Nad                      | 304 |
| — R. R. Keltbaba                                 |     |
| Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at Delhi | 305 |
| World Pacifist Conference in Japan               | 306 |
| Bhoodan Work in the Provinces                    | 307 |

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SIXTH SARVODAYA SAMMELAN AT BODH-GAYA

★ Reiteration of the target of 5 crores of acres of Bhoodan by 1957.

★ Extension of the basic principle of Bhoodan to Sampatti-dan.

★ Sri Jaiprakash's offer and appeal for Jivan-dan.

★ Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolution on the ideal of a State-free Social Order.

★ The Samanvaya Ashram at Bodh-Gaya for synthesis of Vedanta and Ahimsa.

★ The decision of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh to merge in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Brief reports of some of the speeches and proceedings of the Sammelan are given in this issue. We are indebted to the Economic Review of the A. I. C. C. for some of the speeches published here.

## THE NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK IN OUR WORK

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

I have often said that I can do without food, but not without the sacrificial spinning. I have also claimed that no one in India has perhaps done his spinning with such unfailing regularity and conscientious diligence, as I have. And yet, I will say that all that by itself cannot take the place of scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge requires constant probing into the why and wherefore of every little process that you perform. The mere affirmation that in charkha there is swaraj and peace is not enough. A scientific mind will not be satisfied with having things scientific just on faith. He will insist on finding a basis in reason. Faith becomes lame, when it ventures into matters pertaining to reason. Its field begins, where reason's ends. Conclusions based on faith are unshakable, whereas those based on reason are liable to be unstable and vulnerable to superior logic. To state the limitation of science is not to belittle it. We cannot do without either—each in its own place.

When I first discovered the spinning wheel it was purely through intuition. It was not backed by knowledge, so much so, that I confused charkha with handloom. Later on, however, I tried to work out its possibilities with the help of the late Maganlal Gandhi. For instance, the question arose: Why should the spindle be made of iron, and not of brass? Should it be thin or thick? What would be the proper thickness? We began with mill spindles. Then, spindleholders used to be bamboo and wood. Later we came to leather and gut bearings. It was found that the spindles got easily bent and were difficult to straighten. And so, we tried to make them out of knitting needles and ultimately of the umbrella wires. All

this called for the exercise of the inventive faculty and scientific research.

A khadi worker with a scientific mind will not stop there. 'Why charkha, why not spinning mill' he will ask himself. The reply will be that everybody cannot own a spinning mill. If people depend on the spinning mills for their clothing, whoever controls the spinning mills will control them, and thus there will be an end to the individual liberty. Today, anyone can reduce the whole of London and New York to submission within twenty-four hours by cutting off their electric and water supply. Individual liberty and interdependence are both essential for life in society. Only a Robinson Crusoe can afford to be all self-sufficient. When a man has done all he can do for the satisfaction of his essential requirements, then he will seek the co-operation of his neighbours for the rest. That will be the true co-operation. Thus a scientific study of the spinning wheel will lead on to sociology. The spinning wheel will not become a power for the liberation of India in our hands, unless we have made a deep study of the various sciences related to it. It will then not only make India free, but point the way to the whole world.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has very aptly remarked that at one time India was not lacking in the inventive spirit, but today India has become dormant. Once one gets the scientific outlook, it will be reflected in every act of his—in his eating, drinking, rest, sleep—everything will be scientifically regulated and with a full appreciation of its why and wherefore. Finally, a scientific mind must have detachment, or else it will land itself into the lunatic asylum. The Upanishad says that whatever there is in

## ★ Bodh-Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan ★ Vinobaji's First Speech on 18-4-'54

This is the translation of the speech in the afternoon session of the Conference after the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, and Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan arrived.

### BAPU'S LAST MESSAGE

After Bapu's Nirwan (demise), we all assembled in Sevagram for the first time. Today after six years we all are again meeting here. Jesus Christ asked his followers to love each other only in the end and he called it a new message. Otherwise throughout his life he had been preaching "love thy neighbours and love thy enemies." Something happened with Bapu. Only in the end he thought that all companions and co-workers should form themselves into a common Samaj or organisation. But he had to leave his body before he could actually do so. Even then the stimulus given by him worked after his departure and the Sarvodaya Samaj was formed. The message of loving each other appeared in the form of Sarvodaya Samaj.

Gandhiji told us to love our neighbours and he put forward the programme of khadi and village industries. His purpose was that we should not buy foreign goods out of greed. We should instead show love to our neighbours by buying swadeshi goods. Like Jesus, Gandhiji asked us to love our enemies and he gave us the weapons of Satyagraha and Ahimsa for that purpose. His last message took the form of Sarvodaya Samaj and we are following his advice.

(Continued from previous page)

this universe is from Him. It belongs to Him and must be surrendered to Him, and then only enjoyed. Enjoyment and sorrow, success and failure will then be the same to you.

One thing more. Supposing, the tyrant wants to destroy the spinning

### WE SHOULD UNITE

I have committed the impertinence of inviting Panditji here. I was hesitating because it was not proper to put more burden on a man already so busy. After much thought I decided to write to him, and he accepted the invitation. I wrote that so far as I was concerned I was always near him, because I do not believe much in bodily meeting. My belief is more in the meeting of the hearts. I had to invite Panditji in order to seek co-operation from all sides. It is my experience that though we are all members of Gandhian family, our hearts are not so near each other as they should be. Bhoodan has done something in bringing closer the members of different parties. To cite an example, Sri Gopa Babu, a great constructive worker of Orissa, told me that those who did not dine together have now begun taking their meals together.

There are persons who say that at the time of difficulties we will all be one and will face them together. But I ask whether it is necessary for mutual love that some foreign trouble must come! In this country there are already many troubles in the shape of casteism, provincialism, etc. Are these not sufficient? Is any more trouble at all necessary? This trouble is more than sufficient. It is necessary that we should all unite and that is why I invited Panditji here.

wheel itself. What then? My reply is that in that event we should ourselves perish with the spinning wheel and not live to witness its destruction. For every khadi worker, who thus sacrifices himself, thousands will arise to take his place. That act of his will set the final seal of victory on the cause he represents. ★

(From "Mahatma" Vol. VII)

### THE EVIL OF ELECTIONS

The casteism which has been attacked since the time of Raja Rammohan Rai to that of Mahatma Gandhi, is again becoming stronger by the method of elections. In view of the prevailing conditions of our country, should not necessary changes be made in that method? It should be considered whether any changes are possible. Much energy, money and time are wasted on the elections which are always going on in one form or another. Elections also widen the distance between hearts. I think if it were possible to mark out some area where elections were not fought on party basis, it would be a good experiment. The area should be further extended on the basis of experience.

### BHOODAN - THE COMMON PROGRAMME

I feel that whatever be the difference in the thoughts of good persons, they should join together in some public utility work. On such programme, country's power should be centralized so that the common man may feel its glow. Bhoodan Yagna can be one such work. Other programmes can be added to it. For united action on the part of different party men, deep thinking is necessary, but there should not be contradiction in action.

### FAITH AND INTELLECT

I started this work with complete devotion. I claim that devotion should be blind. Beyond that there comes intellect. Both are complementary to each other. Intellect does not adopt anything without reasoning. Intellect is not needed in proving the utility of mother's milk to the child. Thinking in this case can only be harmful. Devotion and intellect are two powers. The first stimulates the human body and the second is the pointer to the right direction.

### BHOODAN - A DIVINE INDICATION

I understand only this language that Bhoodan is a divine indication. About five crore acres are needed. In the beginning thinking did not help me. Then

an inner voice came and warned me that if I would fear, I should accept Communism. Thus the work was begun. Those who were doubtful have been reconciled. The Communists propagated that I was an agent of the rich, but I always talked to them with love. They too want to benefit the poor. At last their leader, Sri Gopalan, said that though they did not like our way, they were not opposed to our work. It is a change of heart. Did Marx bring a change of heart through violence? You yourself are an example of the change of heart, and change of ideas. A Marxist has as much belief in Marxism as a Pandit has in the Vedas or a Mulla has in the Quran. Marxism may or may not have the power to solve the problem, but it has the power of uniting hearts. Do you think that the problem will be solved through Bhoodan? I say that before the problem is solved, I myself may be no more. The problems will exist with the world itself, because God does not want us to be fools.

### WORK ON LAND IS REAL WORSHIP

Now, as the atmosphere is favourable we should think of these programmes along with Bhoodan. We should also pay attention to the work necessary for its completion. There is ownership of land. It is a free gift of nature. Everybody should have the right to have land. Whatever wealth one has, one should not use it without giving a part of it. We should not eat without first giving a part of the food. Land is not a source of production alone; it is a source of worshipping God. It is more substantial to work on land than it is to perform penance. It is not so painful if the Harijans are not allowed to enter the temples in Kashi; it is more sad if they are not permitted to work on land. The worship of God, that is, the service of land, must not be hindered. As it is unnecessary to feel ashamed in demanding water to drink, likewise one who is prepared to work on land should not be ashamed of demanding a piece of land.

### SAMPATTI DAN YAGNA

Three years of effort have created this atmosphere. Such an atmosphere is needed with regard to SAMPATTI or wealth as well. Only after giving away the sixth part, the remaining five parts should be used. If this idea is spread, everyone will get the opportunity to give away something and thus to serve the country. This is called Sampatti Dan Yagna. Now the time has also come for land distribution and village service. Along with heaven (Jannat) and hell (Dozakh), Quran also mentions a third stage named Parzakh. Half of the face of the residents there weeps while the other half smiles. The scenes of both heaven and hell are seen there. All the wordly beings are in that stage. Some are more in trouble than the others. We have to create a spirit of giving something to those who are in a worse condition than us.

### SOLVE UNDER-EMPLOYMENT THROUGH SPINNING

In the sacred memory of Bapu, everyone who can spin should give at least a hank. It is a vote for the Sarvodaya Samaj. This will create a respect for bodily exertion and brotherhood. Here there is no restriction of age as the case with elections. Therefore, more than 18 crores of hanks should be donated. There should be none in India who does not know how to spin. As swimming and boating are an inevitable part of education in England, similarly spinning should be inevitable in the educational system of this country. This idea was given to us by Gandhiji. I could not understand it till very late. In this country, unemployment is not so big a problem as under-employment is. Without spinning India's farmer will have no hope and, therefore, it should be compulsory for all. I think it to be the work of India's security. If a person does not know how to spin, he will have to be taught. There should be sense of priorities in

executing different programmes. The question of land comes first of all. We should also think over other questions and add them to our programme. We have inherited Gandhiji's power through close contact with him. He was our life-giver.



### BHOODAN RECEIVED IN ALL PROVINCES

UP TO 18-4-1954

| Province         | Acres     | No. of Donors |
|------------------|-----------|---------------|
| Bihar            | 15,30,000 | 1,57,257      |
| Uttar Pradesh    | 5,02,798  | 13,170        |
| Rajasthan        | 3,17,898  | 1,815         |
| Hyderabad        | 92,114    | 3,316         |
| Utkal            | 87,089    | 27,056        |
| Madhya Pradesh   | 65,703    | 12,000        |
| Madhya Bharath   | 62,412    | 5,377         |
| Gujarat          | 33,324    | 5,785         |
| Saurashtra       | 26,500    | —             |
| Tamil Nad        | 21,015    | 3,204         |
| Kerala           | 17,000    | 1,200         |
| Maharashtra      | 15,840    | 769           |
| Andhra           | 13,964    | 552           |
| Delhi            | 9,245     | 249           |
| Punjab           | 4,900     | 1,353         |
| Vindhya Pradesh  | 4,978     | 826           |
| Mysore           | 3,414     | 1,350         |
| Bengal           | 2,113     | 1,513         |
| Karnatak         | 1,809     | 239           |
| Himachal Pradesh | 1,377     | 66            |
| Assam            | 1,608     | —             |
|                  | 28,15,101 | 2,37,097      |

Add Jana Sangh's offer  
since received about 4,00,000

Total... 32,15,101

### LAND DISTRIBUTED IN PROVINCES

| Province        | No. of Acres | No. of families |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Uttar Pradesh   | 41,918       | 10,686          |
| Hyderabad       | 10,505       | 2,222           |
| Rajasthan       | 2,070        | 506             |
| Madhya Pradesh  | 1,020        | 200             |
| Vindhya Pradesh | 126          | 68              |
| Tamil Nad       | 256          | 55              |
| Delhi           | 4            | 1               |
| Total...        | 55,899       | 13,738          |

## Harmonise All Work with Bhoodan

### Vinobaji's Concluding Speech in Sarvodaya Sammelan

#### SELF-DISCIPLINED SOCIETY

This year the Sarvodaya Sevaks have come in a larger number than was expected. It is very gratifying that people from all States have come in this severely hot season. There is no imposed discipline or set rules in Sarvodaya Samaj. The presence here does not give any material benefit. Even then the people have come. They behave properly of their own accord. They act to the decisions, though no resolutions are passed. Without imposed discipline, it is surprising how we could collect 25 lakh acres of land. We have got 2½ lakhs of Dan-

patras. This means that the movement has entered the hearts of 2½ lakhs of people and it is very significant. Is it possible to bring out a disciplined society? We want a society in which there should be self-discipline; there should not be indiscipline. If we could do that much, it will be a great thing and I will be very happy. As far as I know, there is no such self-disciplined society in the world at present.

#### JAIPRAKASH'S OFFER OF JIVAN-DAN

The exclusion of administration is not merely wishful thinking. It seems that it would be possible to achieve that

stage. Here the atmosphere has completely changed since yesterday when Shri Jaiprakash Narain called upon us to dedicate our lives for constructive work. The atmosphere has been electrified since yesterday, when Jaiprakash Babu placed this proposal before us. My heart almost melted. Today when I got up in the morning, I also wrote a letter to Sri Jaiprakash. I wrote that I dedicate my life for this "non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan with village industries as its mainstay". I searched for these words like a philosopher. It was a new thing as well as an old one for me. Last evening Kri-

palaniji suggested that before offering our lives we should see that we are not offering something which is polluted. We should offer a spotless life, because the offer itself means the purification of life. These words were not uttered in joke. It is a special trait of the literary persons that they utter serious things in joke. Bhoodan movement is a fundamental work which promises to change the shape of the country. Therefore the purification of mind is very necessary.

Bhagavan Shankaracharya told us a very good thing about alms. He said



that a beggar daily experiences the effect of receiving or not receiving any alms. To beg alms daily is like an experiment in a laboratory. The same work we are doing. Some give us and some do not give. The reactions of getting or not getting any alms affect the bodies but not the self. The begging of alms every day gives an opportunity of self-examination. It is really a very useful programme. The purity of mind is necessary for it. Those who have been already working in this movement get this opportunity of offering life as a new pledge.

#### SWA-DHARMA AND PARAMA-DHARMA

The workers say that we are already doing good work which cannot be given up. But the *Gita* says it is not easy to decide what is the best for us. There is a limit to our capacity to think as to what is our duty. Bhagavan Shri Krishna fought with arms; he was an excellent warrior. But he too gave up arms at a certain stage. He accompanied the Pandavas to the battlefield unarmed. This does not mean that he gave up the *Karmayoga* (Doctrine of action); he in fact took it forward. He who wants to get rid of *Dharma* commits sin. There was a professor of mathematics who had been teaching his subject for 25 years and he was a good teacher too. But he used to go to sleep in the middle of his lecture. One day he was caught. I asked him a question but he avoided it by saying that it was out of way, and that he would reply to it the next day. I have become habituated to walks. I keep some burden on my shoulder while walking. Sometimes I too take a sleep while walking, thinking that the burden on my shoulder is a pillow. When the life of a child becomes easy in his home, he is sent to a school. When he begins to enjoy an easy life sitting at the feet of his *Guru*, he is asked to move to family life. When the original difficulties of family life are also converted into pleasure and he begins to lead an easier life, the writers of the scriptures make him uneasy. They

ask him to leave the family life and lead the life of an ascetic. Writers of the scriptures do not want to see men lost in pleasure and so they do not allow them to be inactive. Similarly, if we go in the broader field of the world the same thing happens there too.

I consider that language useful which does not make us inactive. If we go on working only in one field, we do not realise what is non-attachment. When Rama was proceeding to the jungle, he told Lakshmana that his duty was to serve the parents. If that had happened we would have called it a right thing. But Lakshmana did not say that it was wrong. He only said that he was a child and did not know what was his greatest duty. So Ramachandra had to allow him his company. Where there is a conflict between personal duty *Swadharma* and the highest duty *Paramadharma*, *Swadharma* has to be given up.

#### HARMONISE OTHER WORK WITH BHOODAN

We entrust you with one work and then we ask you to devote your time to Bhoodan alone. You will ask how the two can be reconciled. I do not say that you should leave that work which is complementary to Bhoodan Yagna. I only ask you to do the work entrusted to you in such a way that it may be harmonised with Bhoodan Yagna. To give an example, even today there is talk of giving scholarships to the Harijan students. I do not think it a service to the Harijans. It is rather a way of keeping them where they already are. I saw a boarding house for the Harijan students and said that it was not a right thing to be done, because the Harijans should be allowed entry everywhere.

Our work started with the Harijans. We made it a principle that one-third of the collection of land should be reserved for Harijans. Even then the Harijans are indifferent. One Harijan enquired of me whether we kept any land to be given to the Harijans. The poor fellow did not have the right conception of Bhoodan.

At certain places we got good donations, and at the same time we were asked not to give that land to Harijans. We did not accept this, because we want donations without any conditions attached. One-third of the land has to be given to the Harijans.

When it is question of doing the highest duty, we have to mould the personal duty in such a way that it harmonises with the highest. If it does not, it has to be given up. The highest duty has to be taken up. This is the sacred duty.

I talk in a way which is different from that of Kripalaniji who has a sense of urgency, a fire in his heart. It is necessary that there should be no fire in our intellects.

#### CONTROL THROUGH JANA-SHAKTI

Bhoodan Yagna is only a beginning. The administration has to be changed by this movement. There are people who think that we should take the reins of

Government in our hands. But I say there is no such need. If the administration works according to our wish, that is sufficient. For example, Rajendra Babu told us that this movement has had some effect. We have begun to think about khadi, village industries, Nai Talim, unemployment and under-employment. It is a result of Bhoodan Yagna. It is possible to keep control over administration while remaining out of it. This can be done with the help of people's power (Jana-Shakti). I think that instead of going to the Parliament if I do this work during all the twelve months, its results will not be less than what I will be able to achieve in Parliament. It is not necessary for Kripalaniji to take up Bhoodan Yagna. If he is able to stimulate his party-men to take this work, it will have good effect on politics. Similarly Congressmen should also take up this work. This will change the politics into people's policy.

—] O [—

## Vinobaji's Passion to Become Zero

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

On his way to Bombay in March, 1916 to appear in the Intermediate examination, Vinoba detrained at Surat, took the train to Bhusaval and left for Banaras. To his close friends who asked him what was the inner urge that impelled him to this course of action, he replied: *Athatho Brahma Jignasa* — "longing to attain Brahma, The Imperishable and All-Pervading". This desire to become part and parcel of the Eternal Self, i. e., to reduce himself to zero has been the single passion of Vinoba's life. He so wants to eliminate himself that his any and every action may be reduced to non-action. Hence his at once original and bold interpretation of the word *Vikarma* occurring in the *Gita* (Chapter IV, Verse 17) as 'specific action' contrary to the usual interpretation of 'wrong action', whereof he has found

the illustrious formula: *Karma* (action) + *Vikarma* (specific action) = *Akarma* (inaction or non-action). His utter humility in claiming no authorship or entity for himself is remarkably shown in the few couplets which he has written by way of introduction to his Marathi rendering of Gandhiji's pious, charming, little book '*Mangal Prabhas*.' The first couplet of that introduction runs thus:

*("Inspired by God, graced by Mahatmaji, I, messenger like, but speak the language emanating from the saints. Nothing of Vinya is in this.")*

And in the last, fifth, his feeling of reduction to zero reaches almost its climax:

*("Vinya is like the non-being zero of mathematics. The master or guru is one of unique whose esteem grows by the addition of zeros.")*

*(From the book "Vinoba And His Mission" by Suresh Ramabhai to be published shortly)*

## ★ PANDIT NEHRU'S SPEECH AT SAMMELAN ★

ON 18-4-1954

I usually speak before huge gatherings. Whatever is in my mind, I place before the people. When Vinobaji indicated that I should show the way, I was puzzled. I have not come here to guide anybody. The purpose of my visit is that I want to learn something. As Vinobaji said, devotion and intellect are two different things. The questions before us are not two or three. As many as 36 crores of questions face us.

We cannot solve any problem in seclusion. Consultations are necessary to solve any problem. We have to see how far the people are ready to adopt the path chosen by us and how much strength they have to follow that track. If I ask anybody to follow me blindly, it is improper. On the other hand, if anybody asks me to follow him with closed eyes, it is equally improper. We should meet together with goodwill, as Vinobaji said. It will provide us mutual help. The spirit of friendship and of going forward unitedly is a big thing.

Vinobaji referred to the defects and difficulties of elections. Vinobaji observed them from a distance, while we were actually entangled in them. There is no doubt that they have their defects. Generally the intelligent people do not like to go to the polls. It means that there are defects in them. Although many evils like casteism and provincialism did find scope in elections in this country, India's experiment in adult franchise was unique in the world. We worked with devotion. It was not so much a question of intellect. Keeping in view all the defects of the elections, I think our devotion did not prove to be wrong. If we cast aside our Constitution, more and new defects may crop up. The whole world should be benefited by technological advancement. Whatever the new world has become, we should try to put our hearts and minds in it.

Vinobaji while talking about Bhoodan, said that the first problem in our

country is that of land. There is no doubt about it. In fact all the problems are inter-related. One of them should be taken up as a major question, but attention should be paid to the other problems as well. Vinobaji's movement is a revolutionary one. The main problem is how the Government can help in it. It is feared that the shape of the movement might not change by Government's intervention, because the hand of administration is usually heavy. All these are matters to be talked about and consulted.

As regards making spinning compulsory in schools and colleges, I have no objection in principle to it, but it is really a matter for the State Governments, which often hold widely varying opinions.

We have developed the habit of repeating high principles, whether we follow them or not. The big countries talk in such a manner as if power is the greatest thing in the world. The way of worshipping power alone, and the non-violent way of Mahatma Gandhi are two separate paths. There are all sorts of difficulties in our way. People have their independent opinions, but I have no doubt that the general opinion in our country tends towards Gandhi. Whether the people try to understand it properly or not is a separate question. It is strange that the Geneva Conference should be preceded by mutual threats. It is indeed regrettable that the big Powers should place reliance on force on such a reckless scale as they are doing today.

We have to work with a balanced mind. Neither have we to talk of big things rashly, nor should we utter wrong words with pride. United work, or at least meeting with each other, gives encouragement. If we are not accustomed to united work before the trouble has actually come, it will be difficult to work together at the time of real difficulty. I am very happy to find this opportunity of meeting you all and of seeing old friends. \* \* \*

# Bhoodan - The Economic Agrarian Revolution

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

It is in the fitness of things that Acharya Vinoba Bhave began his speech, with the Vedic prayer that we should be one in mind, one in heart and one in purpose.

It cannot be said, however, that there is today unity of mind, thought or purpose in India. There are people who think that Nirvana or Mukti simply means liberation from the body. Amrita or life eternal is "Pran Ahara", while "Manahnanda" is satisfaction of the mind or tranquillity. It means all-round development of the human being.

Without developing his physique, one cannot have intellectual or spiritual development. One must live first to live well.

The Bhoodan Movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave will not only bring about an economic and agrarian revolution but also set the people on the path of Dharma

## Jaiprakash Narain's Speech

The devotion with which I joined this movement of Bhoodan went on gaining strength day by day. This Yagna can not only solve the land problem but also it can solve all other problems including our individual problems. Some people say that the land problem can be solved by legislation as well. But I do not agree with them. This movement does not want to solve land problem alone. It is a movement which aims at the change of the entire life itself. Legislation cannot infuse love into people's hearts. Legislation cannot do as much as is possible with people's efforts and cooperation. Without the backing of the people, legislation itself is ineffective. The work which Bhoodan movement is doing is not possible to be done by legislation. Some

and lead to the dissolution of barriers between castes and out-castes.

Exploitation is not Dharma. *Paropakara* (doing good to others) is Dharma, and *Parasapakara* (exploiting or injuring others) is Adharma. No religion divided humanity among castes and out-castes. The Hindu scriptures said that every human being is a part of divinity and can attain divinity (*atmavasi*).

Buddha said everybody could become a Buddha.

Christianity said, "Kingdom of God is within you".

Islam said: "God is nearer to you than the artery of your neck."

The distinctions of caste, high or low are not consistent with religion.

The human being is a sacred being. Any practice which leads to disintegration of society is unethical and irreligious, while practices which help to consolidate society constitute Dharma.

(Summary of the speech on 19-4-'51)

say that the land problem can be solved with sword, but violence creates several other problems. I feel this work can be done by this method alone.

History will not allow much time to non-violent revolution to succeed. If Vinoba's movement does not produce quick results, forces of violent revolution would sweep over the land.

Our greatest need today is that workers should come forward and work whole-heartedly and bring about the revolution in the real sense of the term. I pledge to dedicate the rest of my life to the cause of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan movement. I appeal to all, specially the young to come forward and give their life time to this cause. \*

(Summary of the speech on 19-4-'51)

## Vinobaji's Response to Jaiprakash's appeal

Shri Jaiprakash's dedication of his life for Bhoodan and his appeal to others to dedicate their whole life for the cause had a tremendous effect.

On the morning of 20th April Vinobaji wrote a letter to Sri Jaiprakash as follows:

"My Dear J P,

In response to your call of yesterday here is the offering of my life for a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yagna and with village industries as its mainstay.

Vinoba."

Shri Jaiprakash forwarding the above letter to Sri Asha Devi wrote to her the following touching note:

"I enclose a letter received from Baba (Vinobaji). I have no words to comment on the donation of life to a small boy like me by a man who has inspired us all. I shall say only this that I am totally unfit for accepting such an invaluable donation. On the contrary we have to donate our life in the name of God to Baba himself.

Yours in humbleness,  
Jaiprakash"

Tears rolled down the cheeks of Shrimati Asha Devi as she read out the letter at the Sammelan and announced in a voice choked with emotion that she also would dedicate her life to the cause.

Shri Aryanayakam offered his life in a letter to Shri Jaiprakash with the following words:

"Asha Devi has dedicated her whole life to Bhoodan revolutionary work. She has done it without my consent. When she has dedicated her life there is no necessity for me to dedicate mine separately."

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar spoke a few words while dedicating his life. He said that the call for lifelong dedication was not meant for speeding up land gifts or distribution of land. It was an invitation for getting *diksha* (initiation) in the mantras of the Bhoodan Yagna. It

was with some amount of diffidence that he was offering himself for life to the cause because he was conscious of the great responsibility involved and because he understood the inspiration behind the call.

Shri Mazumdar warned the workers who were volunteering their lives in response to the call, should understand its implications and realise that the revolution for a State-free Society, free from exploitation had started. He wanted them to be prepared for all sacrifices for the great cause.

Those who offered Jivan-dan met at night on 20th April under the Presidentship of Sri Jaiprakash. He made it clear in his talk to those who dedicate their whole life should abstain from election in the name of any party and that they should devote all their time for the Bhoodan mission. Further programme of work was discussed in which many participated.

More than five hundred letters were received dedicating themselves for life for Bhoodan in response to Shri Jaiprakash's call. These letters were all read by Shri Jaiprakash at the Sammelan taking nearly two hours of the morning session.

Most of those who offered Jivan-dan were already in this Bhoodan mission and they re-dedicated themselves for life on this occasion inspired by the lead given by Vinobaji.

It is hoped that there will be a great response from the nation when the leaders tour in the provinces.

A form has been prescribed by the Sarva Seva Sangh which may be filled up by those who dedicate their life in response to Sri Jaiprakash's call.

144911

## ★ Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Speech ★

The following is a summary of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's speech at the Sammelan in the afternoon session on 20-4-'54.

I joined the Sarvodaya Sammelan last year. That this year too I could come is my good fortune. At present I live in a place and an atmosphere which is very different from the one prevailing here. I have come here to learn something from this atmosphere. I have been always looking at this work sitting at a distance, but I do not claim that I could rightly grasp it. Whatever impressions I have got by seeing it from a distance, I think it necessary to express them.

Three years ago, I was groping into a sort of darkness. Our desires, especially of those of us who had the good fortune to work under Gandhiji, seemed somewhat strange to me. We wished to move in one direction, but what we actually did seemed to me quite opposite. I put the condition of my mind at that time in the shape of an article, which has neither been published, nor will perhaps ever be published. "Incongruity" was the heading I gave to that article. Today that incongruity seems to be somewhat less. At least here there is not much incongruity. That is the most I can say.

I saw the Village Industries Exhibition organised in Delhi twice. Two years ago I could not think of such a possibility, but that work is being done with success. The decentralisation of industries has begun to attract attention. About two years ago people thought it to be an old story. There were certain others who were not against giving help to village industries. But the true devotion to this movement was not traceable at that time. The exhibition has made me think that the situation has changed now. Many people who were against it have now begun to think about it. Many persons would now like to do it with devotion

and are actually acting in that manner. When I come here, saw this atmosphere, and even more than that, heard of life donations, the incongruous state of my mind diminished a great deal.

We should know that the programme of Mahatma Gandhi, to which Vinobaji is giving practical shape, is an integrated whole. If we leave out some parts, it would be wrong. It would be like cutting a portion of the photograph or like separating certain parts of the body. The same is true of the body of the society; it is an indivisible whole. No part of society can be left out as unnecessary. The followers of Gandhiji were not so far giving their attention to this whole. Therefore, the incongruous state of my mind became firm. Now some attention has begun to be given to the entire problem and I am feeling a glow of it.

The Sarva Seva Sangh's resolution points to the present world situation. Even the most advanced peoples of the world have become doubtful of the benefit of their own ways. Therefore the picture of society, which Mahatmaji placed before us and to which a practical shape is being given by Vinobaji, is not only beneficial for this country, but also for the whole world. If we succeed in completing this picture in this country others also will be attracted by its power. It is not material power; it is something different. I hope this country can attain that power. We should keep this real principle before our eyes. Even if there is some apparent shortcoming, the foundation should be laid deep. Such a thing will affect the entire world. I have no right to suggest anything in this respect. Nevertheless I have been much impressed and I hope this impression will persist.

— I \*\*\* [

## Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolution:

### AT BODH-GAYA SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The Sarvodaya Samaj is not an organisation in the ordinary sense with rules and regulations. It is a voluntary World Brotherhood of those devoted to the service of humanity through Truth and Non-violence. The annual conferences of the Samaj therefore make no resolution binding on anyone. But the Sarva Seva Sangh which is the organisational vehicle of the Samaj to carry out all constructive work reflects the consensus of the views and feelings of the Sarvodaya Sevak through a resolution read at the conference. The following is a comprehensive resolution of the Sangh read and explained by Shri Shankarrao Deo, the General Secretary of the Sangh on the 20th April 1954 at the Sixth Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Bodh-Gaya. The resolution clearly states the Sarvodaya ideology behind Bhoodan and Sampatti-dan and the programme for a total transformation of society through non-violent revolution through Bhoodan.

#### FULFILMENT OF THE TARGET OF 25 LAKHS

It was in the Sevapuri Sarvodaya Sammelan in 1952 that the Sarva Seva Sangh declared its resolve to collect 25 lakhs of acres of land for Bhoodan Yagna before March, 1954. The Sangh feels happy and grateful that this target has been realised within the specified period. But the Sangh could not claim to have completely succeeded in this programme as some of the provinces could not fully realise the quotas allotted to them. However 28,15,101 acres have been received from 2,37,097 donors and this is indeed an unique achievement as it is an indication that the message has reached the hearts of a large section of the people within the short period of two years.

#### FELICITATIONS TO DONORS

The Sangh offers its respectful felicitations to the small as well as to big peasants and zamindars among these two hundred and thirty-seven thousand donors, to the many workers and to all those who have contributed to this great success.

#### 5 CRORES OF ACRES BEFORE 1957

The Sangh, encouraged by the rapid progress made since the Sevapuri Sammelan, resolved at the last Chandil Sam-

4

melan to collect 5 crores of acres of land through Bhoodan by 1957. Many provinces have since then started work to reach this target of the resolution. The pledge has to be fulfilled and the target reached before 1957. Therefore it has become necessary that the movement should advance at a greater pace and the workers should put in added efforts with greater zeal.

#### EMPHASIS ON THE IDEOLOGY

But be it remembered always that it is not our intention that we should reach the target somehow or other by any means. The basic principle behind the mission has to be firmly implanted in the hearts of the people.

The existing economic disparities in our society have to be resolved and a new social order has to be created in which the difference between individual and individual is brought down to the minimum. In this new order of society there shall not be any kind of exploitation or domination of the State authority over the people who shall enjoy full freedom and equality. So the workers should take the maximum care to see that the donors fully understand and accept the message and its implications while offering the Dans.

**FIRST STEP FOR ECONOMIC REVOLUTION**

The humble declaration made at Sevapuri Sammelan is but a token pledge. Yet it has created a new atmosphere. It has inspired in the minds of the people the new concept that land does not belong to any individual, and that it belongs to God, in other words to the Community in common. This new concept relating to the ownership of land has to be extended to the ownership of other properties in the possession of individuals. This will bring about in society a radical and fundamental change in the sphere of economic and human values. The Bhoodan movement is the first step towards this economic revolution.

**GRAM RAJ THROUGH BHOODAN**

It has become clear that Bhoodan Yagna by itself is not enough. It has created a revolutionary urge amongst the people. So naturally people would be anxious to have a full picture of the ideal social order that the Sangh aspires to create through Gram Raj. Therefore the distribution of land has to be made in such an ideal and a planned way which will make the people learn and actually feel that land should remain in the possession of the actual tiller alone.

**SAMPATTI-DAN**

Sadhan-dan or gift of subsidiary means of production becomes necessary for the rehabilitation of the landless peasants. Naturally the next step to Bhoodan is Sampatti-dan. It is the duty of everyone to offer Sampatti-dan. The basic principle behind Sampatti-dan Yagna is that such means of production as are not directly in the hands of the producer, should vest in the society or village community. In other words the wealth of the nation should not remain in the hands of individuals but should become the common wealth of the community for the benefit of all. The one-sixth share now claimed by way of Sampatti-dan is the first step taken. It leads to the recognition of the principle that any individual

possessing property and wealth is not its owner but only a trustee holding them for the whole community.

**DECENTRALISED VILLAGE INDUSTRIES**

The mere increase of the production will not develop or generate the *Jana-sakti* of the nation. Nationalisation and ruralisation are not by themselves sufficient. Decentralised economy and self-sufficiency is the only way or means to make the people economically self-dependent. Under the present conditions in our country decentralised self-sufficient economy is impossible to be achieved without encouraging village industries. It was with this idea that the boycott of articles processed by centralised industries, relating to food and cloth, was incorporated in the resolution at Sevapuri Sammelan.

**THE MESSAGE OF BHOODAN TO THE WORLD**

The world is today enveloped in a horrible conflict. It is struggling for a way for peace. But it is continually preparing for war. It is terrified with the pace of scientific advancement and it feels helpless to restrict its destructive power. It sees nothing but despair in the various attempts to bring peace through war and to solve its economic disparities in society through conflicts. It is looking forward to a revolutionary technique of love and friendly cooperation which will result in the advancement of mankind.

**A CHALLENGE TO MANKIND**

The great experiment of Bhoodan for the non-violent economic revolution offering the challenge to mankind and a call for the real values of human life is unique in the history of the world. It contains a message of hope and strength. The Sangh hopes that all those who believe in these new values of life will dedicate their lives to this great revolutionary movement and surrender everything belonging to them. Intensive drive to spread this movement will arouse the spirit of self-reliance among the people.

*Translated From Hindi*

## A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE : : : : SIXTH SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The Sixth Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Bodh-Gaya on 18th, 19th and 20th April, is a momentous session of the Sarvodaya Samaj. It was a celebration of the 3rd anniversary of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna which had its birth in Telangana on 18th April, 1951. The 18th of April will be considered, in the words of Vinobaji, as important to the tillers of the soil in the world as 'May Day' to the industrial labour.

The awakening created in the country during the last three years and the remarkable speed with which the target of 25 lakhs of acres decided in the Sevapuri Sammelan was realised even earlier than expected, naturally made this session a historical one. No other Sammelan attracted such a large member of Sevaks and visitors. About 7500 Sevaks, registered and unregistered, from all provinces attended. It brought together leading men of all parties, many Ministers of the Centre and of the States, members of Parliament and State Legislatures and tens of thousands of villagers who gathered at the prayer meetings.

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru promptly responded to the invitation of Vinobaji by attending the Sammelan on the opening day cancelling his other engagements. With him came also the Vice-President of the Indian Republic, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. His brief inspiring speech on Vinobaji's 'economic agrarian revolution' took the Sammelan to sublime philosophical heights.

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad stayed the whole day of 20th at Bodh-Gaya. His speeches at the Sammelan and in the public meeting were a blessing to the Sarvodaya ideology of a State-free Social Order through Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain's speech on the second day evening on Bhoodan Yagna and his offer to dedicate his whole life for Bhoodan electrified the whole atmosphere. To this appeal of Jaiprakash Vinobaji's response which was immediately followed by those of Shri Asha Devi, Shri Aryanayakam, Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, Shri Lakshmi Babu and many others, gave a new life and turn to the Sammelan.

The Sarva Seva Sangh's comprehensive resolution, reiterating the target of five crores of acres by 1957, particularly emphasising the acceptance of the ideology by the donors before giving, extending the basic principle of Bhoodan to other properties and wealth and appealing to the war-weary world in despair, to accept the way of this non-violent revolution, will be considered as an authoritative manifesto of the Sarvodaya ideal towards a State-free Social Order.

Bodh-Gaya Sammelan will be ever remembered as it laid down the foundation of the Samanvaya Ashram, an international centre for the synthesis of the Vedanta of the Upanishads and the non-violence of Lord Buddha.

The Sarva Seva Sangh had no President so far though there is provision for in the constitution. It was at Bodh-Gaya that the Sangh decided to have a President and chose Shri Dharendra Mazumdar for the place. Shri Mazumdar as the President of the Charkha Sangh after Mahatma Gandhi tried his best to give a revolutionary outlook to the Charkha Sangh.

The high tempo in the Bodh-Gaya Sammelan is indeed an indication of the determined will of the nation to march towards the achievement of the economic freedom by 1957 through Bhoodan.

## Group Discussions in the Sammelan

Last year the Bihar Khadi Samiti with its large band of tried workers organised the Sammelan at Chandil under the inspiring guidance of Babu Laxmi Narain. This time a composite committee with the Bihar Khadi Samiti undertook the responsibility in organising the Sammelan. The previous conferences used to be restricted to the actual period of the session. But the Sevaks came in hundreds three or four days before this Session began for preliminary discussions on khadi, Nayi Talim, Bhoodan problems etc. Even after the session concluded unusually hundreds remained for further discussions on various matters. The organisers had to arrange for lodging for over seven thousand visitors and for boarding for about ten thousand persons per day on an average. The organisers have to be congratulated for having successfully managed the biggest of the Sammelans in spite of various difficulties.

The Bihar State Government arranged for water, light, sanitation etc.

The large number of Sevaks showed exemplary patience and self-discipline which helped a great deal to make the Sammelan a success, in spite of the burning heat and minor inconveniences.

The main issues that were before the Sammelan were:

- 1 How to intensify the Bhoodan Yagna.
- 2 Measures for speedy distribution of land.
- 3 Sampatti-dan
- 4 Rural Reconstruction or Gram-Raj through Bhoodan and Nayi Talim.
- 5 Training of workers.

Instead of discussing all subjects in the open session as before the conference divided itself into five groups. Each group was in charge of some leaders. The Sevaks took part in the group discussions of various subjects according to their interest and inclination.

The Bhoodan group met under Shri Gopa Bandhu Chowdhry. This meeting was attended by about a thousand Sevaks. Sri Gopa Babu suggested a nine-point programme including walking tour, propagation of literature, organising students etc.

The Sampatti-dan group met under Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju. He suggested that the Sampatti-dan received will be used (1) for purchase of ploughs, bulls, seeds etc., for those to whom land will be distributed (2) for propagating Sarvodaya literature (3) for maintaining workers.

The third group under Shri A. K. Karan discussed about the problem of expeditious distribution of land.

The fourth section met under Shri Dharendra Mazumdar. The village reconstruction and Nayi Talim were considered together. Shri Mazumdar posed three questions: firstly, the basic approach for village reconstruction, secondly, what should be its direction and thirdly, the details of the programme.

The fifth committee considered the question of training workers. Shri Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe presided. He said that workers will be available during walking tours. There should be training camp for workers. As regards remuneration to Bhoodan workers there should be least inequality and families of workers should also be attracted towards constructive work.

Some of the Ministers of the Centre and the States and heads of constructive institutions and members of the Board of the Sarva Seva Sangh took a leading part in these group discussions.

The trend of discussions and the consensus of opinion in each group were reported by the head of the respective committees before the Sammelan at its afternoon session on the 20th April.



## BHOODAN - THE RULE OF LOVE

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

The following is the foreword kindly contributed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan for the book "Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna" written by Sri Suresh Ramabhai, which will be published shortly.

It is seven years since we won our political independence. It is a short span in a nation's life, but it is perhaps not less important than any other equal period. In the case of a human being, the period of the first seven years determines his character and so to a large extent his future. The same is perhaps true of a nation. There were many observers who forecast, at the time of the transfer of power, that the Indian State would not be able to survive the effects of partition, that the country would get disorganised, that the administration would break down, that there would be no rule of law and no security of life and property. Many people feared and quite a few hoped for a sudden collapse. But these friends and foes have been confounded by the results. The country is held together. Instead of disintegration there has been integration. There is no part of the country where the writ of the Government does not run. The administration is still intact. A foreigner can travel from one end of the country to the other without the least insecurity of life and property. Even in international affairs our stand may not be generally accepted, but it is widely respected. We have earned a reputation for honesty and independence. Our achievements in the economic and social spheres have not been spectacular, but they are not unsound.

It is not, however, for running things in the old routine ways, that we struggled for and achieved political independence. Our aim is to bring about as speedily as possible a social and economic revolution. We wish to build a society free

from caste and class, from exploitation of every kind, social and economic, racial and religious. We must admit that our society still suffers from grave economic injustices, social oppressions, caste prejudices, communal jealousies, provincial antagonisms and linguistic animosities. These are a challenge to our competence, our courage, our wisdom. If we are to survive as a civilised society, we have to get rid of these abuses as soon as possible and by civilised methods.

In the progress of societies three stages are marked, the first where the law of the jungle prevails, where we have the operation of selfishness and violence; the second, where we have the rule of law and impartial justice with courts, police and prisons; the third, where we have non-violence and unselfishness, where love and law are one. The rule of the jungle, the rule of law, the rule of love — these mark the three stages of social progress. The last is the goal of civilised humanity, and it can be brought nearer by the increase in the numbers of men and women who have renounced selfish ambition, surrendered personal interest, who die daily that others may live in peace and comfort. The good people sustain the world by their austere life. *Santo bhumim tapasa dharayanti*. In Acharya Vinoba Bhave we have one such *tapasvin* who is striving to introduce the law of love in our social and economic life.

It is because we cannot make all the people prophets that we have to depend on legislation to bring about changes in our social order. The Bhoodan movement acquires great significance in this context of urgent change. It underlines traditions that are implicit in the

Indian way of life. It recaptures the idea of the social order as the family writ large. It appeals to our religious instinct that spiritual freedom can be attained only by those who are not attached to material possessions. The movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave is potentially revolutionary in character. The response to his appeal which has come from all levels of the social order shows that the moral reserves of our country are large. The movement is based on an act of faith. Even if it does

not by itself bring about an agrarian revolution, it prepares for it by producing a climate of opinion in which courageous methods of land reform can be put through.

Shri Suresh Ramabhai has written a moving account of the way in which Shri Vinoba Bhave was led to this movement and the progress it has made. It should be read by all who are interested in this unique campaign, its objects and its philosophy.



## ★ Samanvaya Ashram at Bodh-Gaya ★

The creation of the Samanvaya Ashram at Bodh-Gaya during the sixth Sarvodaya Sammelan will be considered as the greatest contribution of Vinobaji by the future generations. The Samanvaya Ashram will be an international centre for cultural, religious and philosophical synthesis. There can be no better choice for this centre than Bodh-Gaya because it had been the centre of world peace even in the days of yore.

Shri Kaka Kalelkar who had just returned from Japan after attending World Pacifist Conference and who was on his way to Delhi specially stayed to address the Sammelan on the opening day on the 18th April about the proposed Samanvaya Ashram which aims to bring about a synthesis of different faiths, creeds and religions.

Vinobaji could get five bighas of land from the Mahant of Shankar Mutt of Bodh-Gaya. This plot of land is just near the main Buddhist temple in Bodh-Gaya and it is said that Ashoka's armies camped exactly in this village while marching for the conquest of Kalinga. On the south-eastern side of the Ashram site there is the Mutt established by Sankaracharya and on the east stands a Tibetan temple.

The President Dr. Rajendra Prasad inaugurated the Ashram and lent his hand

in the digging of the well on the morning of the 20th April. He turned the earth five times with the pick-axe while sinking the 'Well', for the construction of which Pandit Nehru offered to Vinobaji a gift of Rs. 500/- during his last birthday on September 11, 1953.

Vinobaji addressing the Sammelan said that Vedanta and the creed of non-violence supplemented each other and no solid foundation of life would be possible without it. Ahimsa could be an effective way of life if only it is saturated with Vedanta. Truth is the last word which should be incorporated in all values of life.

While delivering lectures on Gita in jail in 1940 Vinobaji had envisaged a synthesis of Buddhist and the Vedanta Philosophy and the idea has after all materialised now in Bodh-Gaya in the proper atmosphere created through Bhoodan Yagna. He stressed the need for study of Vedanta without which no understanding of Ahimsa could be complete.

He said "I am inspired in my Bhoodan work in Bodh-Gaya by Lord Buddha. Buddhism has knit the whole of Asia together and now this centre is being started to bring about a synthesis of Buddha and Vedanta."

## Purposeful Way of Life

—[ J. C. KUMARAPPA ]—

There are a great many things carried out in the name of constructive work which, though good in themselves, cannot be classed as Gandhian. There are those who work for the Preservation of Cruelty to animals alongside of those who strive for "Go-Seva." There are those who wear khadi as a method of providing work for the unemployed. Some have stuck to swadeshi out of pure patriotism and use village-made goods out of preference because of their instinctive feeling that there is some merit in giving work to the semi-starved. All these and more also may be done by those who seek the gates to heaven by self-control and renunciation.

These are all praiseworthy but fall short of being truly Gandhian as they do not bear a philosophy of Ahimsa running through them. Each item serves a definite end but the whole picture has to have a purposeful background of a way of life. Many members of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals are meat-eaters which involves killing healthy animals while many enthusiasts of Go-Seva, who will abhor killing even disabled or diseased animals, will think nothing of using an economy which makes the proper maintenance of cattle impossible or makes their lives uncomfortable. Both these well-meaning groups fail because they do not look upon Ahimsa as a test of life. If Ahimsa were the final test all members of the S.P.C.A. will be vegetarians. Similarly, the Go-Sevaks will only promote a non-violent way of life and preserve industries which utilise animal power. Cultivation by tractors will dispense with bullocks, water lifting by power pumps will do away with the bullock-motes. Taking away a man's means of living is tanta-

mount to removing his basis of existence. This is an effective form of Himsa. Similarly, when many poor people earn their living by spinning or flour-grinding or paddy-husking, to introduce mills for these is not merely an economic proposition but is a vital moral question. This is Gandhi's great contribution to our life.

### THE ACID TEST

We have to weigh all our acts from this moral standard, and it is the final touch-stone to classify Gandhian items on the constructive programme. However philanthropic an item may be in itself it cannot command acceptance in Gandhian order unless it answers this one test. Whether it be in the field of education, economics, social organisation or even in politics we must apply this criterion without fail. It is just here that the American materialism and Soviet Communism fall short of the mark though both seek the same social welfare. At the present moment there seems to be a tendency to palm off inferior goods with seeming exterior for the genuine Gandhian order; so it is well to be forearmed with this acid test.

Gandhiji was primarily a prophet of Ahimsa. Whatever he touched was directed to promote non-violence. Hence those of us who wish to align ourselves with this great prophet must be ever watchful not to be drawn away by the many paths which will deceive the superficial followers. Let the wayfarer on the Gandhian way of life beware.

From "Vigil", 3-4-'54

The Constructive Work is not a strategy or a technique of fighting. It connotes a way of Life. It can be worked only by men who have adopted it by the hearts as well as by the intellect.

— GANDHIJI

"Harijan", March 6th, 1940

# ★ MAN versus MACHINE ★

N S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN M. A.

Scientists and administrators advocate and practise theories which are confusing to the lay man and opposed to common experience. We are a teeming population, with semi-employment and consequently low income. Real wealth consumable or savable is but the product of human labour, and to the extent that human labour is left un-utilised real income and wealth are allowed to go unsecured. If we aim at a better standard of life for our people the only moral way is to fully utilise the labour that goes to waste now, and produce the necessities of life in abundance and in variety. When human labour is fully used and when we are in need of more labour, we may go in for mechanical aids.

Some nations with scanty population and vast natural resources, some others with established world-wide trade, and some others by political domination, are having high national income and national wealth and standard of living. Political or commercial exploitation can never reconcile itself to moral conscience, and however surreptitious the forms of exploitation, they are but forms of piracy. Even leaving aside the moral considerations, the days for such exploitation are fast disappearing: political domination is being resisted, commercial domination is being curtailed by local production and competition. Nations with world-wide trade had to produce in large quantities, and took in the aid of machinery for such production. Machines produce cheaper and cheaper as scale of production increases, and they had to expand their markets for the produce. Nations small in population but with vast natural resources in their avarice to extract from nature as much as possible employed mechanical aids

and when they produced more than their needs had to market them elsewhere. To such the machinery has done good service and in turn has established itself as superior to the human being. We are differently placed from either of these. Our political enslavement by a producing commercial nation has demolished our old stabilised economy. An open market for their machine products has killed our indigenous decentralised industries, leaving to us the only industry of agriculture to produce for them the raw materials they required.

Again it was in their interest to allow and foster large scale mechanised production within the country, for both combined to wipe out all lingering decentralised production from the country. The nationalism of those days as of now, was merely imitative, and took it for granted that large scale production with the help of machinery and international trade were the means of getting prosperity and national wealth. Large scale production and foreign trade assured the individuals of huge profits, and they began to enthrone themselves over the expansion of large scale production and trade. Against this onslaught of large scale industry the decentralised ones had as good a chance of survival as the mouse against the cat. Yet a few survive, and millions live by them: hand-weaving, village oil-pressing etc.

Mahatma Gandhi who could look into it, clearly saw that for a teeming population with a high moral conscience decentralisation of industry was very necessary to employ fully all the available human labour. Thus he began with the charkha the means of man for producing the primary need of dress. With the charkha on the tricolour flag we

have fought non-violently against the foreign aggressors, and won our freedom. Superficially it looked a mere political emblem, but Gandhiji built round it a decentralised economy most suited to the country. The political heat brought to him followers who could not understand him fully, or merely accepted his leadership for political reasons. Now we are a free people and our governance is in the hands of the Congress of which he was unofficial head to the last. But his plan of national economy has not been fully appreciated, and the Government manned by Congressmen has not planned for the rapid expansion of decentralised industry. They pay lip sympathy to Gandhian economy but are fostering large scale production to the point of driving away the few decentralised ones. Even agriculture, a peasant industry is now being organised on a mechanised large scale.

They dare not now openly give up or flout at Gandhian philosophy of decentralised production, but their mind and influences pull them the other way. Compromisingly they talk of a mixed economy in which both the large scale and decentralised industries can exist and flourish. Belatedly Khadi and Village Industries Board has been established, but its activity and scope are considerably limited. What is positively being done for khadi and other village industries is very little.

There are some who challenge that khadi and the other decentralised production should prove their economic worth and not depend on State aid and patronage. This warning is born of the ignorance of the principles of decentralised economy and their suitability to our conditions. There are millions of hand-weavers who cannot face the competition of weaving mills and starve, but the Industries Minister is not willing even to restrict the mill-production in certain lines—dhoties and sarees—to give these people employment. Even the Chief

Minister of a State with the stature of Sri Rajaji is not able to convince the Central Minister—who dubs hand-weaving as uneconomic and who likes them to change over to some other economic employment. Are there a thousands of avenues of employment to absorb all of them? Another facile suggestion often made to help hand-weavers is to seek markets for their produce in foreign countries. This is like the intruder usurping the place of the family-owner.

Weavers who have clothed the nation for all these days should now yield their internal markets to the intruder mill-cloth and go about seeking foreign markets! Can such control ever allow the spread of khadi to the detriment of the mills? Thousands of village Ghanis are being displaced by power-driven oil-mills. The Chamars (cobblers) in their millions are being driven out of employment by large scale production by factories. Even hand-pounding of rice and grinding of flour are being displaced by mills in the remotest corners of the country. Can these thrive side by side with large scale production? And that is what they are expected to prove if they are to survive. This is an ordeal purposely imposed to justify their elimination and to prove the untenability of Gandhian Economy. Money economy has changed ideals and values, and people run after profit in selling or buying. While the machine product is cheap in terms of money, people—the majority of whom are in short supply of money—cannot be expected to buy hand-made goods appreciating human values. Money has dulled the tastes and judgement of the consumers. Now the race between the machine-product and the hand-made product is the one of the hare and the tortoise.

Those who wield the destinies of the country feel that progress can be achieved not by Gandhian Economy, but by following the footsteps of large scale producing and trading countries. Their

apparent prosperity is so attractive to our leaders, and the acceptance of their economy and ways is easy to them and compliant to those who influence them.

All the wide and wild talk of economic and political equality, while encouraging large scale production and commerce is but a camouflage, under which wealth and power concentrate in the hands of a few as against the many. *In private economy large scale production concentrates wealth in the hands of the capitalist and in the nationalised economy it concentrates wealth and power in the hands of the State—the few who wield power.* The increased resources of the States have been generally put to more wrong uses than proper ones to wit, wars and armaments, than social services. A Government or its bureaucracy with concentrated political power can be more

harmful to the society than the one with less power and resources. We are all out for democracy—perfect equality—and large scale production is not conducive to it. The case with the decentralised industry is just the opposite, never leading to concentration of wealth or power. Large scale production has in it few forms of over-lordship: expert knowledge and management which rule over masses of labourers who become mere automata. Large scale production also enables the producers to dictate to the consumers and to rule them. Thus large scale production is never helpful for fostering equality. Then wherein lies wisdom in fostering large scale production, when it is out to destroy the best in man? Yet only that way the wind blows now.



## Khadi Exhibition at Bodh-Gaya

A miniature exhibition of khadi and village industries was organised at Bodh-Gaya along with the Sarvodaya Sammelan as usual. Though small it was fully representative of essential features of the exhibition at Delhi organised on a grand scale in a metropolitan style.

The Bhoodan Mandap consisting of artistic presentation of the author of Bhoodan Yagna and its progress in imposing charts and pictures was the chief attraction for the visitors. The French artist Shantidas Lanza Del Vasto who is writing the life of Vinobaji had prepared a large number of pencil sketches of Vinobaji which have adorned the Mandap.

Two pillars with the statues of Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi at the top greeted the visitors at the entrance. A big relief map of Bodh-Gaya with the picture of Sujata in the centre offering 'payasam' to Lord Buddha where he had

been meditating without food is one of the exhibits.

The Exhibition was opened by Vinobaji on the evening of 17th April after evening prayer. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant spoke on the importance of khadi and village industries in the national economy. Vinobaji's brief opening speech struck a unique note on khadi avoiding the usual way of pleading for it.

Vinobaji said that khadi represents the productive labour which is not in conflict with the other forces in society in any way. Production is not possible without labour and therefore there is an inherent conflict in mechanised industries. Khadi and village industries are life-giving activities which assure the individual and society with security of life. This does not deprive any section of the society or any individual of their means of existence like the big industries in a populous country, which act as a destroyer of labour and human values.

## Our Cultural Heritage and Bhoodan

— RADHA BENODE MUKHERJEE —

A novelist has won the international prize by writing on problems connected with land of the highest populated country in the world. In her novel she has vividly shown how land forms a formidable problem to a mainly agricultural country. It is in that country where the price of a single pair of shoes once cost about Rs. 400. If we now look we find a complete reversal of the gloomy and heart-breaking picture once prevailed in that country. The very same country which once groaned under acute shortage of food is now in an era of sufficiency. How is it that such a big turn-over has been effected within so short space of time? It is a matter for introspection rather than argument.

Our culture does not permit us to pursue such a ruthless policy as adopted by China to help solve this problem. Our religion and our philosophy are one and the same, and the one cannot be understood without a reference to the other. We give equal importance both for the means as well as for the end. The Greatest Emperor of Peace, Asoka, said that none of his successors should go to conquer. Conquest, as meant by him, means giving up violence. If we are all agreed that we should cease doing violence with our external relations how is it that we should raise serious objections if the same principle is applied to people residing within our territorial jurisdiction? It is in this country only homicider like Ratnakar was transformed into sage Valmiki.

Since we lost our independence about a thousand years ago every ruler made capital out of lands at his or her own whims and fancies. The only rule which they had followed was to favour those who looked after their interests. By assigning lands to selected persons they have created a sort of vested interest. Their policies lacked the interest of the tillers of the soil. Their policies lacked

to accrue the highest yield from tillable lands. Should we, then, crush down the present landlords to undo the mischiefs done by the foreign rulers? Present Egypt tried to do this by means of legislation, but the rulers had to encounter such a stiff opposition that on more than one occasion they had to face shooting battles with the landlords. In India, too, we have passed laws like the Tanjore Tenancy Act, the Malabar Tenancy Bill and the Zamindari Abolition Bills. Have these laws solved this crucial problem? From reports it indicates that neither of the parties is satisfied with these laws.

History does not say that threat and violence have brought the desired result. The issue before the First World War was to annihilate Fascism and to establish democratic Governments in the world. Second World War has falsified such a hope and we are now briskly preparing for a third global catastrophe. Violence has begotten violence. There was a time when we had no modern scientific sinews of war and people were much more brute than at present, yet the leaders of sanguine battles were with the gospel of non-violence persuaded to retreat from the battle field. The sturdy leaders of the Huns and the Vandals of the Middle Ages are typical examples. But for them the picture of the world would have been quite different that it is to-day. It is the message of Christ which had subdued their animal instincts.

Bhoodan movement does not exaggerate anything beyond historical proofs and necessities. It only states in unequivocal terms that there still exists much goodness and generosity in man in spite of our so-called advancement made in so many spheres in life. With its results till this day it has gone a long way to prove them and there can be no doubt that as days roll by this movement will catch the spirit of those who are still dubbing it as insecure and out-moded.

## KASTHURBA-GRAM IN TAMIL NADU

— R. R. KEITHAHN —

A speech at the opening function of the new Kasthurba-Gram in the plot of 75 acres donated by Sri C. Kulandaiswami Gounder at Jayaramapuram, Coimbatore Dist.

We started across the countryside on a 75 mile drive to open the new Tamil-Nad Kasturba Centre about 10 miles southeast of Erode. A little after sunrise we came to a broad knoll along the top of which will flow a channel of the Lower Bhavani Irrigation scheme. One not only gets a beautiful view of distant villages and hills but also a vision of a garden-land that will spring up as soon as water starts flowing through these channels.

These streams of material blessing that are now beginning to flow into our villages are very important, yet much more significant is the stream of life that will flow through the Gandhian Movement symbolized by Kasturba Gram. This stream of life flows out of India's rich culture and out of the unique contribution of Gandhiji and Kasturba. It is the great Stream of Truth and Love. This stream represents brotherhood in modern terms. Gandhiji was able to rise above all caste, colour, national and religious barriers. Jawaharlal, the Prime Minister of India, and his able sister Vijayalakshmi, now President of the United Nations Assembly, are carrying on this great tradition. In building this new world we must destroy all boundaries which separate us, whether they be caste, class or creed. This is not an easy process but we must be clear that our Kasturba Grams symbolize such brotherhood.

This new way of Life will come to us by means of hard work, goodness, kindness, patience and long suffering—the way of Satyagraha. Here is where we have a "quarrel" with the Communist. We hold that the means does make a very real difference. In fact, we maintain that we cannot reach our goal unless the method is pure and thus where our Communist friends often feel that they must liquidate their enemies, Gandhiji

has taught us that our enemy is our potential friend and that our programme will not succeed unless we win that friend by love to our side. He demonstrated this in a most significant way in his relationship to the Britisher. In our village work we must always think of the Zamindar, the caste person or the money lender as a potential co-worker in this great cause.

This stream of service will bring New Life to our villages. We recognize that this village is one of the most potential units in any society. It furnishes us our most fundamental needs of life. But it is from the village that we get not only our food and clothing; but also find there the most potential resources for the creative home, the democratic nation and true religion. Thus this new institution that comes into your midst should not only bring to you real blessings but through you take a precious gift to the nation and to humanity.

Of the great contributions of Gandhiji one was that of Basic Education. It is the ideal means through which this new way of life will be brought to the community. It is life-centred education. Therefore, when the water starts flowing in the nearby channel, when the fields become green, the people who are here will learn about life through that agricultural process. The kitchen will be a source of education. And I often say that the latrine is one of the most fruitful sources of Basic Education that we have. When education is centred in the meaningful life of the home and village then indeed education will be something that will be extremely valuable to a growing society.

I am suggesting that on this little hilltop we are beginning a temple of life. A new religion should emerge from this effort—you may call it the old religion but it will have new aspects. It will be the Religion of Man, of Truth, of Love and of Life.

## Khadi & Village Industries Exhibition At Delhi

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition that was held in Delhi from 3rd to 20th April was the biggest Exhibition held in recent years. The last exhibition comparable to this was the Sarvodaya Exhibition in Jaipur in 1948 during the Congress Session with a different objective.

The Delhi Exhibition can be considered as one of the remarkable achievements of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board. Delhi would never have witnessed such an exhibition of the best varieties of khadi and other village products and the demonstration of the dexterity and skill of the unemployed and under-employed artisans in the remote villages of India.

The Exhibition was inaugurated by the highest dignitary of our country, the President of the Republic. He strongly pleaded for the support of the village industries to solve the problem of under-employment among the millions of villagers. He said "India cannot become self-sufficient until the peasants and the village have a better standard of life without depending on outside goods."

The Prime Minister said, "Village industries in the present context can play their part in reducing unemployment if developed properly and considered in the proper perspective. An index of a country's or a society's true state of affairs can be gauged by the incidence of unemployment in it. So village industries should be developed and encouraged not only for increasing the country's wealth but also for fighting unemployment."

The Exhibition was organised in the Ramlila grounds. The Bapu mandap, Khadi mandap and Bhoodan mandap, were all beautifully arranged. The best

of the khadi and village industries products were exhibited. About thousand expert craftsmen and experienced workers were drawn from the different parts of India. The Exhibition was organised at an enormous cost of about Rs. 4 lakhs with great efforts by the organisers. The Ministers of the Central Government and most of the members of Parliament and officials at Delhi would have visited the Exhibition and seen this representation of the rural India in the heart of Delhi.

In spite of the enormous labour and money spent and the grand opening by the Prime Minister it is painful to say that only a small percentage of the Delhi population visited the Exhibition. The sales of khadi was miserably poor. The exhibitors with the hope of large sales had brought huge stocks of khadi and much of it had to be carried back unsold.

As the exhibition was located in the city it was not within easy reach of the villagers around Delhi and they could not have the benefit of seeing it. The Sarvodaya Exhibition in Jaipur had the educative object for the villagers. It aimed to teach them the essential crafts necessary to make every home and village self-sufficient in cloth and food. It aimed to show the villagers a way of life supported by their own effort and labour and make them self-reliant without depending upon urban people for essentials of life. But the Delhi Exhibition had the commercial object of selling the products of village industries as a partial solution of rural unemployment. Yet the Delhi population turned deaf ears to the pathetic cry of the millions in the villages on whose ruins cities like Delhi have been built.

(Continued in page 308)

## World Pacifist Conference in Japan: Call to Nations

After the first World Pacifist Conference in Sevagram and Santiniketan in 1949 January the Pacifists of the world met at a second Conference in Tokyo in April, '54. A Five-point Declaration of Peace was adopted at its open session appealing to all Governments to take effective steps to "eradicate political, economic and social causes of tension and conflict between nations".

The second World Pacifist Conference concluded with unanimous adoption of a five-point "Declaration of Peace" at an open session.

The declaration appealed to all Governments "to abolish the manufacture and use of atomic weapons as a first step to total disarmament" and take effective steps to "eradicate political, economic and social causes of tension and conflict between nations and in their place to bring about world-wide co-operation."

The Declaration said that the conference was convinced that only the people's refusal to participate in war for any cause whatsoever will save nations.

It also appealed to peoples all over the world "to demand with one voice that war be abolished" and "move their Governments to resort exclusively to peaceful solutions for all international disputes."

The declaration also urged the people of the world to become conscious of their power to rejecting war and to this end urges the Pacifists world over to organise an active resistance to war."

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, India's Minister for Health, in a message to the conference prayed "with you that wisdom and enlightenment may dawn on this foolish dark world of ours so that those in authority may realise the way to peace lies not in war but in selfless devotion to service of humanity."

Addressing the concluding session, Sudhir Ghosh, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, said that in the welter of confusion in international politics, it

"is necessary for pacifists to say unequivocally that in Communist society there could be no pacifist way of life at all."

Ghosh added: "A Gandhian pacifist way believed in resisting Communism as much as anybody else but he did not believe in the new American philosophy that the answer to Communism must be military in nature."

Ghosh explained that Mahatma Gandhi lived and died for non-violence; foundation for that society was the philosophy of decentralisation of authority and of self-help. Gandhism, therefore, was an anti-thesis of Communism.

Ghosh said the effective answer to Communism was solution of the problem of poverty and this could be achieved "not through American charity or through individual effort of sovereign Governments but through international cooperation in a world development authority under United Nations. "Freedom from imperialism is not enough for this purpose."

(From Press Report)

### TRUE SATYAGRAHA

"In satyagraha, there is no place for fraud or falsehood, or any kind of untruth. Fraud and untruth today are stalking the world. I cannot be a helpless witness to such a situation. I have travelled all over India as perhaps nobody in the present age has. The voiceless millions of the land saw in me their friend and representative, and I identified myself with them to an extent it was possible for a human being to do."

GANDHIJI — (From Mahatma-Vol.-6)

## BHOODAN WORK IN THE PROVINCES

(From the Hindi report of the Sarva Seva Sangh)

During the first year (1952-53) the main work was to form committees in the various provinces, train the workers and prepare the proper atmosphere. 11½ lakhs of acres were received in the provinces where Vinobaji toured. In the 2nd year there was the additional collection of 16 lakhs of acres. Out of this 10 lakhs came from Bihar in which Vinobaji was exclusively concentrating. The balance of 6 lakhs of acres were received from the other provinces through the efforts of the workers, whether full-time or part-time. It can be definitely said that this movement was welcomed by all in the country.

The following is the present position of the various provinces:

**Assam:** The quota fixed is not reached. Collection is insignificant. The work has not yet gained momentum.

**Andhra:** The people were pre-occupied with the work of the formation of their new separate province and they were devoting all their energy and time to it. After its formation the workers began to be active. In Cuddapah district alone nearly 4,000 acres were collected.

**Uttar Pradesh:** The whole of this year is spent in the distribution work. Experience shows that this work demands double the energy and time. Since this was a new adventure, the expected volume of work could not be done. 42,000 acres were distributed to 10,000 families.

**Utkal:** Work was concentrated in some districts where it was most difficult. Still enough lands were received. Full gifts of 29 villages with a population of 400 families and 5,000 acres in extent, were received. Almost all the constructive workers of the province were engaged in this work.

**Karnatak:** Work is very slow here.

**Kerala:** Compared with other parts of India the people of Kerala are more educated. Some were under the impression that the intelligentsia would not easily take to Bhoodan but the experiences in this province proved otherwise. The province has collected 20,000 acres out of its target of 25 lakhs.

**Gujarat.** The work had a slow beginning, but after the organisational stage was over, work began to progress with intensity and in a planned way. Much attention was given to the conduct of Shibirs and training of workers. The responsibility of the work was shouldered by Sri Ravishankar Maharaj, Jugathram Bhai, Babulbhai, Narayan Desai and others.

**Saurashtra:** Out of its quota of 50,000 acres it could collect 33,000. Muni-shri Santavalji is himself the chief leader and worker.

**Tamil Nad:** Here workers alone are in the field without lead. During Sri Jayaprakash's tour the T.N.C.C President Sri Kamaraj Nadar was with him. Shri Shankarrao Deo toured twice in the province, organised the work and guided the workers. Considering the extent and capacity of the province not much work can be said to have been done.

**Delhi:** Here also some workers alone are doing active work. A sub-committee with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was formed locally.

**Punjab:** The province is rife with internal quarrels and hence much advance is not made. In Hissar district good work is being done by Srimathi Satyabala.

**Bengal:** Since Sri. Charubhai took up this work, it began to progress. For the last two to three months Srimathi Asha Devi and a few of the Talimi

in the villages doing intense propaganda for Bhoodan.

**Madhya Pradesh:** More than half of its quota was collected. Due to the efforts of Sant Thukodoji in Yatwal district, and of the efforts of Sait Govindadas in Jubulpur district, land in excess of their quotas could be collected.

**Madhya Bharat:** Half the quota was realised during the walking tours of Sri. Shankarrao Deo and others.

**Maharashtra:** Very little work is done in this province. The reason seems to be that incessant work to clear doubts in the minds of the people and thus prepare an atmosphere for Bhoodan was not carried on in the province. At Sevapuri Sri Annasahib was appointed as the Bhoodan Convenor for Maharashtra. He toured in some districts. But after he was made the Joint Secretary for the Sarva Seva Sangh he could not devote much time. Sri Appasahib Pattwardhan toured for two to three months. Recently Sri Shankarrao Deo also toured for 1½ months in some areas.

**Mysore:** Some workers are engaged but not much work is done.

**Rajasthan:** It has collected 1½ times of its quota and most of the gifts are big

in number.

**Vindhya Pradesh:** Only 5,000 acres were collected. Workers are very few in number.

**Himachal Pradesh:** Not much work is done.

**Hyderabad:** It was here that Bhoodan Yagna began. 82,000 acres out of the quota of 1 lakh were collected. Distribution work was begun early enough. 10,500 acres were distributed among 2,500 families.

**Bihar:** The quota for Bihar was 4 lakhs of acres but on September 14, '53, when Vinobaji entered Bihar he decided that the land problem in Bihar should be resolved once for all and for that 32 lakhs of acres had to be collected. So Vinobaji took a vow that the target should be reached and only thereafter he should leave the province for touring in other States. He found co-operation forthcoming from all people irrespective of party affiliations. All the dignitaries of the State Government and also the big landlords extended their co-operation. More than half the 32 lakhs has been collected. Gaya district is chosen as the model district for intensive work and hence Vinobaji and all the workers are concentrating there.

★

(Continued from page 305)

#### KHADI... EXHIBITION

The improved charkha of Shri Ekambaranathan of Tinnivelly (Tamil Nad) in the Exhibition attracted the attention of the visitors. It is a four spindled charkha with its carding and slivering appliances. The spinning capacity per hour is on an average 2000 yards of 10 to 16 counts, about 5 times the present average capacity of ordinary charkha. The yarn is stronger and more uniform. A working unit consists of one carding and one sliver-making machine with four charkhas. These will cost in

all about Rs. 600. The Charkha Sangh offered a prize for an improved charkha even in 1925. But no new charkha could come up to expectation. The need of an improved charkha with greater output of yarn of better quality cannot be exaggerated. Sri Ekambaranathan who has been experimenting on this improved charkha during the last several years has succeeded to some extent. It is hoped that the Khadi Board will make the best use of this invention and popularise it if it is found useful.

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

For Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dhakshin Bharat Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tirupur.

Printed by S. Subramaniam, at the Kamala Printing Press, Tirupur.

# SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 3

June, 1954

No. 12



Acharya Vinoba

When camping at Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Veerapandy, Tirupur, in May, 1946.

## The Sarvodaya Bhoodan Digest of The Sarva Seva Sangh

ANNUAL SUBS:—INDIA: RS. 3 — FOREIGN: ONE DOLLAR OR 6 SHILLINGS—SINGLE COPY: AS 4

## SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA

### SARVODAYA (ENGLISH)

SARVODAYA is a monthly Digest magazine run by the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, a branch of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, for propagating Gandhian-Sarvodaya Ideology. This was started in July, 1951, as The Khadi World and later changed to Sarvodaya.

The annual subscription is Rs. 3 or one dollar or 6 shillings. Subscriptions may be sent by Money Order or Postal Order or may be paid at any of the Khadi Vastralayas or Khadi Bhandars of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh or its certified organisations.

Subscriptions from foreign countries should be sent through international bank or post office or as 15 International Reply Coupons.

Back numbers of Sarvodaya are available in bound volumes and each volume is priced at Rs. 5 including postage. Some of the back numbers are available at 4 annas per copy.

### SARVODAYAM (TAMIL)

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is also conducting a Tamil Sarvodaya, a monthly Digest since August, 1947. This contains different articles and is not a reproduction of the English edition. The annual subscription is Rs. 3. Bound volumes of previous years are available at Rs. 5 each including postage.

### OUR TAMIL PUBLICATIONS

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has published over fifty books in Tamil and over a lakh of copies of tract literature on Bhoodan Yagna. Complete list will be sent on application.

### AGENCIES

Applications for agencies for our books and Sarvodaya magazines are invited. Agency terms will be sent on application. For further particulars please address to Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, P. B. No. 9, Tirupur (S. India).

### LATEST BOOKS

|                                                            |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| To the Students. (Mahatma Gandhi)                          | 2 8 |
| Towards New Education ( " )                                | 1 4 |
| A Vision of Future India (K. G. Mashruwala)                | 1 8 |
| At the Feet of Bapu                                        | 4 0 |
| Bhoodan Yagna (Vinoba Bhave)                               | 1 8 |
| Mahadeva Desai's Early Life (Narahari D. Parikh)           | 1 0 |
| Our Next Shore Neighbours (Kaka Kalelkar)                  | 2 8 |
| Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Narahari D. Parikh) Vol. I       | 6 0 |
| Sarvodaya (The Welfare of All—Enlarged Edition)            | 2 8 |
| The Diary of Mahadev Desai Vol. I                          | 5 0 |
| Which Way Lies Hope? (Richard B. Gregg)                    | 1 4 |
| Vinoba Bhave (Edited by Purushothamdas Tandon)             | 2 8 |
| The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (M. S. Patel) | 5 8 |

### GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

| BOOKS BY GANDHIJI                                          | Rs. As. |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Autobiography                                              | 7 0     |
| A Gandhi Anthology — Book I                                | 0 8     |
| Bapu's Letters to Ashram Sisters                           | 1 8     |
| " Mira                                                     | 4 0     |
| Basic Education                                            | 1 8     |
| Cent per cent Swadeshi                                     | 2 0     |
| Communal Unity                                             | 9 0     |
| Constructive Programme                                     | 0 6     |
| Delhi Diary                                                | 3 0     |
| Diet and Diet Reform                                       | 2 0     |
| Drink, Drugs & Gambling                                    | 2 8     |
| Food Shortage and Agriculture                              | 2 8     |
| For Pacifists                                              | 1 4     |
| From Yeravda Mandir                                        | 0 8     |
| Gandhiji's Autobiography (Abridged, by Bharatan Kumarappa) | 2 0     |
| Gandhiji's Correspondence with Government (1942-44)        | 2 8     |
| Gleanings Gathered at Bapu's Feet                          | 0 6     |
| Hind Swaraj                                                | 0 8     |
| Hindu Dharma                                               | 4 0     |
| Key to Health                                              | 0 10    |
| My Early Life                                              | 1 2     |
| Non-Violence in Peace & War — 2 Vols.                      | 12 0    |
| Ramanama                                                   | 1 0     |
| Rebuilding Our Villages                                    | 1 8     |
| Satyagraha                                                 | 5 8     |
| Satyagraha in S. Africa                                    | 4 0     |
| Selected Letters—I                                         | 0 7     |
| Selections from Gandhi                                     | 4 0     |
| Self-Restraint & Self-Indulgence                           | 2 0     |
| The Nation's Voice                                         | 3 0     |
| Towards Non-Violent Socialism                              | 2 0     |
| Unto This Last (A Paraphrase)                              | 0 6     |
| Women and Social Injustice                                 | 3 0     |

(Continued in 3rd wrapper page)

# SARVODAYA

INCORPORATED IN THE KHADI WORLD is incorporated

June 1954 THE KHADI WORLD Vol. 12

Whole No. 36

### CONTENTS

|                                                                      |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Human Element Essential for Economic Efficiency — Mahatma Gandhi     | 310 |
| Self-Disciplined Free India: A Guide to The World — Vinobaji         | 311 |
| Freedom of The Individual — Dr. Rajendra Prasad                      | 314 |
| Bhoodan—The Economic Agrarian Revolution — Dr. S. Radhakrishnan      | 315 |
| Sampattidan or Money-Gift — Srikrishnadas Jajaji                     | 317 |
| Non-Violent Social Order — J. C. Kumarappa                           | 318 |
| Gandhiji's Message of Bhakthi — C. Rajagopalachariar                 | 319 |
| The State versus Individual — Thoreau                                | 321 |
| Unadulterated Economics — Siddharaj Dhadde                           | 322 |
| Pacifism and Social Problems — Pat Knowles                           | 323 |
| Gandhi and Marx — Chandrasekhara Shukla                              | 324 |
| Sarvodaya—The Mighty Word — Sirendranath Guha                        | 325 |
| The Good versus The Practicable — T. R. Narayanan Nambiar B.A., B.L. | 328 |
| The Man-of-Calm — 329                                                |     |
| Synthesis of Vedanta and Ahimsa: 330                                 |     |
| Each A Hank — Rupees Six Crore — Vinobaji                            | 330 |
| Moral Leadership from India — K. J. Kenafick                         | 331 |
| Resolutions of Sarva Seva Sangh — 332                                |     |
| Service Civil International Camp in Kerala — P. M. Nani, B. E.       | 333 |
| Notes and News — 335                                                 |     |
| Index to Vol. 3 — 337                                                |     |

## THE GOAL

MHATMA GANDHI

Under Swaraj based on non-violence nobody is anybody's enemy, everybody contributes his or her due quota to the common goal, all can read and write, and their knowledge keeps growing from day to day. Sickness and disease are reduced to the minimum. No one is a pauper and labour can always find employment. There is no place under such a government for gambling, drinking and immorality or for class hatred. The rich will use their riches wisely and usefully, and not squander them in increasing their pomp and worldly pleasures. It should not happen that a handful of rich people should live in jewelled palaces and the millions in miserable hovels devoid of sunlight or ventilation. Hindu-Muslim differences, untouchability, vertical differences between high and low, these must not be.

Marjjan, 25-3-1954



## HUMAN ELEMENT ESSENTIAL for Economic Efficiency

MAHATMA GANDHI —

Man is an engine whose motive power is the soul. The largest quantity of work will not be done by this curious engine for pay or under pressure. It will be done when the motive force, that is to say, the will or spirit of the creature, is brought to its greatest strength by its own proper fuel, namely by the affections. The universal law of the matter is that, assuming any given quantity of energy and sense in master and servant, the greatest material result obtainable by them will be not through antagonism to each other, but through affection for each other. Unselfish treatment will produce the most effective return. Treat the servant kindly with the idea of turning his gratitude to account, and you will get, as you deserve, no gratitude nor any value for your kindness; but treat him kindly without any economical purpose, and all economical purposes will be answered; here as elsewhere whoever will save his life shall lose it, whoso loses it shall find it.

Supposing an officer only desires to apply the rules of discipline so as, with least trouble to himself, to make the regiment most effective, he will not be able, by any rules, on this selfish principle, to develop the full strength of his subordinates. But if he has the most direct personal relations with his men, the most care for their interests, and the most value for their lives, he will develop their effective strength, through their affection for his own person and trust in his character to a degree wholly unattainable by other means.

In his office as governor of the men employed by him, the merchant is invested with a paternal authority and respon-

sibility. In most cases a youth entering a commercial establishment is withdrawn altogether from home influence; his master must become his father; else he has, for practical and constant help, no father at hand. So that the only means which the master has of doing justice to the men employed by him is to ask himself sternly whether he is dealing with such subordinates as he would with his own son, if compelled by circumstances to take such a position.

Supposing the captain of a frigate were obliged to place his own son in the position of a common sailor; as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of the men under him. So also supposing the master of a factory were obliged to place his own son in the position of an ordinary workman; as he would then treat his son, he is bound always to treat every one of his men. This is the only effective, true or practical Rule which can be given on this point of economics.

And as the captain of a ship is bound to be the last man to leave his ship in case of wreck and to share his last crust with the sailors in case of famine, so the manufacturer, in any commercial crisis, is bound to take the suffering of it with his men, and even to take more of it for himself than he allows his men to feel, as a father would in a famine, shipwreck or battle, sacrifice himself for his son.

All this sounds very strange; the only real strangeness in the matter being, nevertheless, that it should so sound. For all this is true everlastingly and practically.

— From 'SARVODAYA' The Welfare of All.

## SELF-DISCIPLINED FREE INDIA A Guide to The World

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

The following is a free translation from Hindi of Vinobaji's post-prayer speech in the evening on 18-4-'54 to an audience of about three lakhs of people gathered at the open prayer ground specially got up at Sarvodayapuri, Gaya, Bihar, during the Sixth Sarvodaya Sammelan.

### THE NEW LABOUR DAY OF INDIA

Today is 18th April, 1954. It is the 'May Day' for the labour-world of India. In memory of the hard sufferings of the labour-folk May Day is celebrated all over the world. In cities there are the labour-folk. They are there in the villages also. In cities they are organised and through their unions they make their voices heard. But what about those wage-earners of agriculture in the villages? They are at the bottom and are now the worst sufferers.

### BHOODAN IN THE MIDST OF ELECTION BREEZE

It was on this very day that three years back I received the first gift of Bhoodan while touring in Telangana. I need not relate that incident here again. It got wide publicity through press and many have come to know of it. From that day onwards I have done as much propaganda as I could from village to village. I was working almost all alone in the first year. Our people will not accept new ideas all on a sudden. Yet I was surprised to find how quickly our people began to understand this new ideal behind Bhoodan. In Uttar Pradesh it was election time when I was touring. I had a few colleagues with me then. Some among them left me. Of course, I did permit them to go, and they went for election work. My condition then was exactly like that of a rich man who became absolutely poor and was left by his relations to himself alone to pull on. When the election fight was at its height

and heat, a few friends even requested me to stop my programme of onward march for a couple of weeks. But I asked them, "Aren't you the people living on the banks of the rivers Jamuna and Ganga? Do these rivers ever stop flowing? If they don't, why should I be asked to stop?" And I proceeded on. People came in thousands, listened in rapt attention to the message and it went straight to their hearts. I was myself wondering at their enthusiasm. From there I came to your province of Bihar. It is now eighteen months since then, and I may inform you now that about 18 lakhs of acres of land have been received up to date.

### THE HISTORICAL STEP OF BIHAR CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A unique thing happened in this province. In all other provinces, the Congressmen and the Praja-Socialists voiced their sympathy for Bhoodan movement and did some work in the line. But here in this province, the Provincial Congress Committee took a courageous and far-sighted step in accepting Bhoodan as their main work and issued a bold statement that they were out to collect the full quota of 32 lakhs for the province. They also appealed to all other parties in the province to co-operate with them in the work. The Praja-Socialist Party also of this province took a similar decision. This courageous step of these two major parties had its decided effect throughout the whole country. But the pledge should be fulfilled; then only the good influence created, will have beneficial results. Therefore it is the responsibility

of one and all of this province to proceed on with the work with the maximum speed. I wish I may be allowed to proceed at the earliest to other provinces. I can go only if the work here is completed.

#### DONORS: THE BUTTERMILK TO CURDLE THE MILK OF SOCIETY

A very hopeful atmosphere is created here in this province. None says 'no' when he is affectionately approached for *Bhoodan*. Every one says 'yes' if he is made to understand the ideal behind. Of course, some give more and some less. This is natural, for man will not be freed of his lust in one day. Yet the pleasant experiences so far I had, make me feel confident of the bright future of this province.

So far 2½ lakhs of *danapatras* have been received in this Yagna. Within two or three days another half a lakh is expected. These three lakhs of gift-deeds speak that the message of the Yagna has gone into the hearts of three lakhs of people. One spoonful of butter-milk will quite suffice to convert a big pot of milk into curd. These three lakhs of people will function exactly like the one spoonful of buttermilk to convert the rest of the population. It is not at all difficult for these three lakhs to grow into thirty lakhs. When 100 people listen to the message, one *danapatra* comes. So 3 crores of people have heard the message. Once again I appeal to one and all in Bihar "Let every individual who possesses land offer his share to this Yagna."

#### MANIFESTATION OF GOD'S POWER

In Gokul—Brindhavan when Lord Krishna gave the suggestion to one and all of the inhabitants there to make use of their hand and sticks to raise the Govardhan mountain, all of them at once applied their full and joint strength. Imagine a mountain to be lifted by human effort! The Lord was pleased to see their joint effort and He graced it by His touch and the mountain was lifted high. Here the people of Brindavan did the work in His name and the mere grace-

ful touch of His fingers brought success to them. God's power at once manifests if the people's strength unite into one. Any new force manifesting in society is nothing but God's power. The strength in one when multiplied to the power of five is not equal to the simple total five; it goes beyond it. The united strength of the five is not the simple five but becomes five times five. Now the new strength manifesting in our society is nothing but the power of the One above. By Him and through Him alone, work is being done. His manifestation becomes evident only when the united co-operation of all is there. Any work receiving the co-operation of all becomes a Yagna.

#### BE NOT TRAITORS TO YOUR COUNTRY

When any misfortune or distress is there in the country Yagna has to be performed. Our country is now in distress. Suffering is present everywhere. I don't imagine that any new misfortune has fallen. It is there already within. The conflict between capital and labour, the lack of the means of livelihood in the hands of the many crores of our people, the untouchability among the Harijans and caste people, the bickerings amongst the people of different creeds and religions, all these are there in our midst. These things are there in plenty in our country. Under such conditions to save the country a Yagna is started. If 1 or 40 to 50 people alone participate in it, nothing by way of relief will result from it. So it becomes the duty of everyone to contribute his due share. He who refrains from such social Yagnas and thus fails to play his part, becomes a traitor to his country, so I would declare. Our country, in this crisis, demands everyone to offer his *danapatra* to solve the huge problem of the land-hunger of the landless peasants.

#### DAN-PATRAS CENT PER CENT ONLY

I have been telling the people in every village that all those who own lands, whether they be small or big-holders or zamindars, should offer their

*danapatras*. **DAN-PATRAS** sufficient cent per cent should be forthcoming. Then only it can be said that the message is accepted and success is achieved. Man is one who possesses a mind which can understand and realize. It is in this peculiar characteristic he differs from beasts. A certain friend asked me, "You want 100 gift-deeds from all the 100 persons. What does it mean? Even in election 70% or 80% vote is considered even more than sufficient, but you say that you should have 100%". Then I asked him "Please tell me what is the percentage you can fix for men who can avoid and escape death? If death demands 100% why not life also demand the same percentage?"

It has become now quite clear that our people once they understand, will not remain without offering *dan*. From what I have seen so far, I feel confident that this mission is bound to succeed. People in many villages have donated their entire land to this Yagna. Had anyone ever hoped that such things would happen? In Palamu district 10 to 12 villages offered their entire lands. Gopa Babu tells me that in Orissa some 15 to 16 villages executed gift-deeds of their entire lands. The Mangroth village in Uttar-Pradesh offered all the lands of their village. Are the people of these villages angels or God's messengers? No, they are ordinary human beings quite like you and me. This new ideal has spread in them. The workers have gone to them and explained to them; and they have understood and acted.

#### REAL SWARAJ

Once man understands an ideal he does not remain without acting. May be he takes some time, and that it is a different affair. Man never feels happy unless he translates his thoughts into action. I feel and hope that when some people in all our villages give all that belong to them, it becomes possible that all others also will follow suit. Our country will be-

come the time that every individual of his own free will begins to offer his share. Swaraj does not merely mean the Government of our people. Swaraj means that every individual feels that the country is his, that nobody can oppress him nor will he oppress anyone, that no one can suppress him nor will he be suppressed by any, and that he is neither afraid of anyone, nor can he create fear in another. In such an atmosphere alone Swaraj would prevail. In such a State every individual becomes self-disciplined and does his work by himself without slaving for another.

Once more I appeal to you, "If you do this Yagna as I desire you to do, it will certainly have its own influence on the whole of India. If the people of India solve their land problem by the strength of their free will they will not only gain materially and morally but also will shine as a guide to the whole world."



#### THE WISE MAN IS THE STATE

"That which all things tend to educe, which freedom, cultivation, intercourse, revolutions go to form and deliver, is character; that is the end of nature, to reach unto this coronation of her king. To educate the wise man, the State exists; and with the appearance of the wise man, the State expires. The appearance of character makes the State unnecessary. The wise man is the State. He needs no army, fort, or navy, — he loves men too well; no bribe, or feast, or palace, to draw friends to him; no vantage ground, no favourable circumstance. He needs no library, for he has not done thinking; no church, for he is a prophet; no statute book, for he has the lawgiver; no money, for he is value; no road, for he is at home where he is; no experience, for the life of the creator shoots through him, and looks from his eyes. He has no personal friends, for he who has the spell to draw the prayer and piety of all men unto him, needs not husband and educate a few, to share with him a select and poetic life. His relation to men is angelic; his memory is myrrh to them; his presence, frankincense and flowers."

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE (Poet)

# FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

The following is a summary of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's speech at the evening public meeting on 13-4-1954 at the Bodh-Gaya Sarvodaya Conference. He was glad to learn that the Sarvodaya Sammelan wanted the individual to govern himself. He was also pleased to know that people were dedicating their lives for the achievement of Sarvodaya ideals.

**T**otalitarian nations exercise control over human life at every step. Nations which do not accept totalitarianism are also tending to move in the direction of extending controls.

The view is expressed that we should get rid of administration in this country. Such views are also expressed in other countries. The view of the experts is that Government is best which governs least. Yet in all countries arming the administration with more and more powers is thought to be necessary.

We are seeing in this country that the control of the administration over the individual is growing. A proof of this is in the piling of laws passed by the legislatures and Parliament day by day. There seems to be no end to it.

The administration and some people believe that laws can solve all problems. We want laws to end the dowry system, to abolish the zamindaris and enable Harijans to enter temples.

We also want laws to safeguard the property attached to temples and to improve the relationship between workers and employers. We enact legislation to save ourselves from epidemics and disease. No one knows how much more legislation we want.

We are expanding the sphere of administration. It is not our fault. We are following the pattern of administration in other countries. We have to think whether the administration should be of foreign pattern or in conformity with our own traditions. Is it something which should continue to remain? Why should

we remain loaded with this burden if it is not necessary? Is there a way out?

If we want to save this country and make it really free, we have to consider the question whether the individual should rule himself or be ruled by others.

No country can do without the administration. It can be got rid of only when the individual rules himself properly and efficiently. Whether an individual should be governed by another individual or collectively by some individuals is a pertinent question. *I am glad to learn that the Sarvodaya Sammelan wants the individual to govern himself.*

We will then have a paradise on earth. It will not be easy to achieve. The climate to bring this about is being created through the propagation of Sarvodaya ideals. Instead of blaming the Government for its shortcoming, we should search our hearts and see how far we are responsible for them. When we think it over we will no longer be inclined to blame others. We can run our democracy successfully if we rid ourselves of our shortcomings.

## TO PUBLISHERS

No commercial advertisements are accepted. But books on Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology or akin to it are introduced to readers and will be stocked here for distribution. Publishers of such literature are requested to send one copy of each publication for introducing it to our readers and to send us copies for sale on 'Sales and Return basis'. Such books will be included in the list freely published in the magazine every month.

SARVODAYA, P. B. No. 9, TIRUPUR (S. I.)

# Bhoddan - The Economic Agrarian Revolution

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of the Republic of India, on the opening day of the 6th Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh-Gaya, Bihar. A summary of the above has already appeared in the previous issue—May, 1954.

**W**ith your permission, Acharyaji, I can say a few words in obedience to your command and Shriman Narayan Agarwal will translate for me into Hindi. Acharyaji started his discourse with a vedic prayer that we may all grow one in mind, one in heart, one in purpose. That is the prayer with which he started his discourse this evening. We have had this prayer coming down to us for centuries. We cannot say that we have developed unity of mind, heart or purpose. While the ideal which we held before us commanded our allegiance intellectually, in practice we have deviated from it. If the success of our civilisation is due to the dominance of this ideal the failure of our civilisation is due to the departure from these ideals. It is true that we have survived—survived many other civilisations which have passed away. If you want to understand those other civilisations you have to study really the ruins where jackals howl in the moonlight. But so far as Indian civilisation is concerned, the very fact that we have an assembly like this and a number of distinguished exponents of Indian culture brought together on the day, it makes you feel that the culture is alive.

Acharyaji has started this Bhoddan Yagna. There are many people who think that in our country we want salvation or *mukti*, and every individual high or low, caste or outcast, has the liberty to attain Nirvan. But Nirvan does not mean liberation from the body. One of

the Upanishads tells you: "Pranaramam Manaanandam, Santhi Samrudham, Amrutam."

"Amrita" or life eternal is "Pranaramam", the play of physical light, "Mana Anandam", satisfaction of the mind, "Shanti Samrudham", the tranquillity of spirit. Therefore, life eternal means an all-round awakening, a Sarvodaya, so to say, of all the powers of the human being. It is an all-round development of the human being. "Pranaramam" is the first thing, the play of the vital organism, the play of light. Body is not a thing to be neglected. It is a thing to be cultivated. When the Yoga Sutra Acharya tells us how we are to attain Samadhi the first condition he puts is 'Develop your physique'. He points out to us: 'rupa — lavanya — bala — vajra Samhananathvani Kayasampat.'

"The physical prowess consists in the development of beauty, of radiance, of strength, of invulnerability." Unless you develop your physical basis nothing else is possible for you. You cannot have intellectual development or spiritual development unless you provide for the material basis of life.

Bhoddan, in trying to bring about an economic agrarian revolution by enabling all our individuals, all the citizens who are engaged in agriculture, to share some land which they can use for their purposes, is attempting to provide for this very essential basis of any other kind of development. Aristotle also says:

"We must live before we can live well and life means the provision of the material necessities."

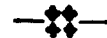
I may incidentally point out that this agrarian revolution will also help to eliminate the differences of caste and out-cast, which are polluting, corrupting, so to say, our atmosphere. There is no one who can get up and say that the observance of these distinctions is in accordance with religion, or social morality. If religion tells us one thing it is this. Here, in this place, Bodh Gaya, we have to remember what both the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jaina scriptures have declared. The Hindu scripture says "*Thathvamasi*," "That art thou." Each human individual has the spark of the Divine. It does not say, only the Brahmin has the spark divine, or the out-cast has it, or the rich has it, or the poor has it. It says all men by virtue of their humanity have the possibilities of growing into the divine stature. The Divine is there stationed as a possibility in every human being. The Buddha told us that everyone can become a Buddha, can develop Bodhi or enlightenment. There is no one who is prevented from the realisation of that possibility. So also the Jains tell us that everyone can become *Arhata*. The Jews declared that the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord. Jesus tells us "The Kingdom of God is within you."

St. Paul says: "Know ye not that you are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." Islam proclaims that God is nearer to us than the very artery to our neck. Well, while all these religions with one voice are proclaiming the divine nature of the human being how can anyone get up and say that the practice of caste distinctions or the practice of untouchability are to be regarded as consistent with religion? It is opposed to religion, there is no doubt about it. Again turn to Ethics. What do you mean by Ethics? Ethics simply declare

"*Parapeedana*" is *praya*, and "*Parapeedana*" is *praya*. "*Parapeedana*" does not mean merely inflicting a bodily injury. Doing violence to the dignity of another human being is doing violence to him in the most tender part of his nature. He is a sacred being. He has his own dignity and anyone who offends by saying that these things are not to be provided for you, those other things are to be given for you, is practising something which is unethical.

And what does our social Dharma say? Dharma is that which binds society together or Adharma is that which breaks society asunder. Anything which makes for the consolidation of society is Dharma; anything which makes for the disintegration of society is Adharma. If in this human history of ours we have suffered many defeats, may I say that it is not suffering imposed on an innocent being, it is not a crucifixion that we have had, we have suffered for the sins we have committed.

There is such a thing as the logic of history. The world is bound by the law of Karma. Nations rise or fall according to their great qualities or their opposite. So, we must realise that if you practise anything which leads to the decomposition or the disintegration of the society you are doing something which is Adharma. If you do anything which brings people together you are doing something which is Dharma. Dharma is that which makes for social coherence. Therefore, I ask, I plead with you, that if you are truly religious, if you are truly ethical, if you are believers in social morality, then practices like these will have to be eliminated. They bring this whole country and our religion into disgrace. No one can get up and say that these are the things which are furnished by our religions.



## SAMPATTIDAN or MONEY-GIFT

— SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU —

The extension of the basic principles of Bhoodan to Sampattidan or gift of wealth other than land is a great achievement of the sixth Sarvodaya Conference at Bodh-Gaya. Srikrishnadas Jajuji, the Chairman of the sectional meeting on Sampattidan, read a note at the conference elucidating the fundamentals of Sampattidan. This is the summary of the same.

Money is a necessity, but it can create evils as well. It should be made a source of the highest service. The principle behind the *Sampatti-dan-Yagna* is the same as that behind Bhoodan. As land cannot belong to any individual, the same is the case with wealth. It should be for the benefit of the society, which includes the interest of the individual.

### SOCIETY - THE SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH

As land should remain with the person who is prepared to labour on it, similarly productive labour should be the source of man's livelihood. Though the constitution recognises individual property, it is our belief that the wealth of all sorts, whether bodily, educational, monetary or of any other type, does not belong to any single person. For example, the education which a person received was not the result of his effort alone. He acquired it through the institutions of the society. Moreover, the knowledge which is acquired through these institutions is itself a result of the efforts of thousands of years. It means that our education is more due to the society than it is due to our own efforts. Therefore, education should be used in the interests of the society to the greatest extent. It needs no argument that wealth should be used for the society, for its source of production is labour.

### LABOUR AS THE BASIS OF LIFE

What should be the source of our livelihood? All things are produced with the help of human labour. Therefore, it should be the source of livelihood. The intellect which hates bodily exertion is an enemy. If a person becomes educated,

he thinks it to be his right to get better remunerations. It is wrong to claim to a higher remuneration only on the basis of higher education. Without labour intellect alone cannot feed us. Living only on intellect creates inequalities and exploitation. Firstly, there should be no individual ownership; secondly, bodily labour should be the source of livelihood; and, thirdly, a part of the earnings should be given in *Sampatti-Dan*. It is preferable to give a part of the income, but if it is not possible, a part of family expenditure should be given. A sixth part of the net income or a fifth part of the expenditure should be donated. The expenditure should include that on marriages and on children's education. This part to be donated should be changeable with a change in income or expenditure, as the case may be. The promise of *Sampatti-dan* should be for the whole life. If in the beginning that is not possible, it should be at least for five years.

### HOW TO SPEND SAMPATTI-DAN

As to the purpose of expenditure of the wealth received in *Sampatti-dan*, seeds and ploughs will have to be given to those who are given land; the literature of Sarva Seva Sangh will have to be taken to the common man. The expenditure should be incurred on different items by the giver himself and he should send the account to the Sarva Seva Sangh. If the donor wants it, he should be allowed to spend up to a third of his donations on the local works of public utility. It will be better if the help is not given in terms of money; it should be given in the form of seeds, wells, bullocks, carts, etc. If the collected money has at

# NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL ORDER

## The Ultimate Goal of All Gandhian Programmes

[ J. C. KUMARAPPA ]

(This is a summary of the Convocation address of Shri J. C. Kumarappa to the Samagra Gram Sevaks at Wardha on the completion of their two years' course on 22-3-'54.)

You have studied deeply the technique of some industries during your two years here. This you could have got also in other technological institutions. What is the special object of your study here? To make society non-violent. This was Gandhiji's life purpose. Of course, you will follow the industries you have learnt but the object of carrying on this programme is to evolve a society based on non-violence. This is the main difference between Gandhian institutions and others. We are here not only to teach the technique but also to find out such methods as will reduce violence. This is not generally recognised even by the top ranking leaders.

They look to America for the latest methods in teaching. Persons well versed in American methods tell us that our

(Continued from previous page)

all to be kept anywhere, it should be kept with the Sarva Seva Sangh, if it is thought proper. The payment for the workers should be sent to Sarva Seva Sangh and not given to them locally because it can create certain evils. Literature should not generally be distributed free of charge, though concessions may be given. But it should be sold at the lowest possible price.

One serious question arises: can a zamindar give in terms of money rather than donate land? A man with surplus land should give land and not wealth. The promise of *Sampatti-dan* should be taken in writing. Mainly the administrative personnel, those employed in intellectual pursuits, businessmen and industrialists should contribute to *Sampatti-dan*, because the labour of the poor is the source of all wealth.

From "A. I. C. C. Economic Review", May 1, 1954

Basic Education is much the same as their Project Methods. While persons educated by project methods may grow up to be Atom Bomb makers, our students work for peace. Peace of the world depends on self-sufficiency and self-support. The former calls for the development of Village Industries and the latter needs an organisation for better distribution of wealth by wider spread of employment of men and animals. For instance an electric pump may be a more efficient way of supplying our immediate needs of water but it may be violent and anti-social. Violent in that it destroys the occupation of the bullocks and thereby exterminates the whole cow economy. It may apparently reduce cost but it does not distribute wealth.

Material based considerations may appear efficient but lead to competition and violence and so such considerations should not be our final criterion. We must see if our programme will, in the long run, support everybody, and lead to self-sufficiency and thereby bring about peace. Our society must be based on co-operation and uplift of everybody—Sarvodaya. The Gram Udyog Nai Talim not only gives you the technique of the industries but also helps you to live so that your work and life will be conducive to bring about a society based on Peace. I trust, therefore, that you will go forth into the world not merely as artisans but as missionaries of *Ahimsa*. In training you this is our object as we are a Gandhian institution. I trust people who come into contact with you will recognise you as Gandhian by your conduct which will be based on co-operation and will be working for Peace. That is the only constructive way of building a Peaceful World. ★ "Gram Udyog Patrika," May, '54.

# GANDHI'S MESSAGE OF BHAKTHI

—[ C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR ]—

Summary of a speech in Madras on 12th May, '54, in connection with the erection of the proposed Gandhi Memorial Prayer Hall in Madras.

We must use this memorial to make up our deficiency: we must first of all see in what we are deficient, and then see how we could make it up. What is our deficiency? We do not lack intelligence; politics, administration, hospitals, books, libraries and newspapers, we have in plenty. What we lack is 'Bhakti' and character. Because of some reason or other, everyone has become greedy, anxious to make as much money as possible. This has become the sole motive force driving man round the clock. There are so many reasons why this is so, and I am not going to dilate upon them now. Our search for making up our deficiency must, therefore, be for a method whereby we can make our people good; for, without that we cannot do anything constructive. "Bhakti" and good character should be the foundations on which we can build up our society.

In olden times if anyone were to say this, it would be accepted by all as a truism. But, to-day many are apt to challenge his thesis. Because I am also a Tamilian, I will tell you the reason why. It is axiomatic that if our country is to become prosperous and wealthy, we must all co-operate with one another. We should help one another without, at any time, trying to cheat the other. Only then will there be progress.

Now, how can we co-operate? It is only when we have mutual trust that co-operation can possibly be thought of. This then is the answer to our question. This 'trust' is what is called in business parlance in Tamil as '*nanayam*'; any business can thrive only if there is '*nanayam*'. In the same way, progress in life and prosperity for us all cannot be had

if there is no mutual trust. This essential mutual trust is built up only on the solitary foundation of our faith in God. This is my firm conviction as a Tamilian.

Even if one were to swear that he had no faith in God, I have come to the conclusion that at least in the innermost recess of his heart there must still be some lurking faith in God, for, otherwise it would be impossible for such a person to trust anyone. Without faith in God, it is not possible to trust one another; without trusting one another, it is not possible to co-operate with one another; and without co-operating with one another, we will not be able to progress and prosper. I think this must be sufficient to convince any Tamilian of my stand, and if Tamilians still entertain doubt in my thesis, I am afraid no one can help them.

Without God, can we have anything? Can vegetation grow? God is all-powerful, omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient. Take some water in your hand. What is it that we have? Can anyone make it? It is impossible; and yet, we have got it in plenty for our use, and we are actually having it in our hand. No one except God can make it. The same is the case with fire. That is why our ancient *rishis* told us in simple terms that water, fire and other such gifts of nature are God's. This was not said flippantly; it only represents a profound truth expressed in simple language, because God is present everywhere.

Now, when it is pointed out that God is present everywhere, some turn round and ask "why then pray to him; he is present everywhere". If we then say that God cannot be seen, again they turn

round and ask as to why we should worry about him when he cannot be seen. Such questions and counter questions have now become the hall-mark of our cleverness and intelligence; but, let me tell you this is neither cleverness nor does it exhibit any intelligence. It is rank foolishness.

Gandhiji was born in this country and he lived amidst us only to instil in us the "twin qualities of faith and prayer". Actually, he was taken away from us just as he was hurrying to his prayer meeting, which had become an important feature of his life.

Just before his death, I happened to write to Mahatmaji a personal letter in which I had taken the liberty of telling Gandhiji that of all the achievements that the Mahatma had to his credit in his career in India, the one that he had just then taken up in his hand, of spreading the 'Bhakti Cult' through his famous prayer meetings was easily the foremost. Little did I realise that within a few days after writing this, Gandhiji would be taken away from our midst. The man who killed him was in great hurry and so would not even let Gandhiji attend his prayer meeting.

For counteracting the post-partition upheavals and religious fanaticism that was fanned by it, Gandhiji was using his prayer meetings as a potent weapon so that love and goodwill could once again regain their hold on our people. Prayer meetings, as these congregations are called, constitute a great wealth for our country. There were some who did not like Gandhiji's mission becoming successful, and they willed that Gandhiji should be removed from the Indian scene.

Therefore, if we are to epitomise Gandhiji's life, we can very well say that he gave up his life for the sake of prayer. What else is expected of us who are his followers except to believe firmly in the efficacy of prayer and continue it as Gandhiji would have liked us to do?

It is in that way that we regard this memorial as a constant reminder to us all that God is within us all, and we can reach Him through the easy road of prayer.

*Adapted from a report in "Indian Express", 14-4-'54*

| ALL-INDIA BHOODAN      |               |                   |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| RECEIVED UPTO 30-4-'54 |               |                   |
| Province               | Land in Acres | No. of Don Patras |
| 1 Bihar                | 20,13,000     | 1,81,624          |
| 2 Uttar Pradesh        | 5,03,602      | 14,487            |
| 3 Rajasthan            | 3,17,898      | 1,815             |
| 4 Utkal                | 92,305        | 29,146            |
| 5 Hyderabad            | 92,114        | 3,316             |
| 6 Madhya Pradesh       | 65,703        | 12,000            |
| 7 Madhya Bharat        | 62,412        | 5,377             |
| 8 Gujarat              | 33,324        | 5,785             |
| 9 Saurashtra           | 26,500        | —                 |
| 10 Tamilnad            | 21,697        | 3,535             |
| 11 Kerala              | 17,000        | 1,200             |
| 12 Maharashtra         | 15,480        | 769               |
| 13 Andhra              | 13,964        | 552               |
| 14 Delhi               | 9,245         | 249               |
| 15 Punjab              | 5,780         | 1,702             |
| 16 Vindhya Pradesh     | 4,978         | 826               |
| 17 Mysore              | 3,414         | 1,350             |
| 18 Bengal              | 2,120         | 1,522             |
| 19 Himachal Pradesh    | 1,900         | 66                |
| 20 Karnatak            | 1,809         | 239               |
| 21 Assam               | 1,608         | —                 |
| Total                  | 33,05,853     | 2,65,560          |
| * * *                  |               |                   |
| Land Distributed       |               |                   |
| Province               | Acres         | Families No.      |
| Uttar Pradesh          | 42,929        | 13,060            |
| Hyderabad              | 10,505        | 2,222             |
| Rajasthan              | 2,077         | 506               |
| Madhya Pradesh         | 1,020         | 200               |
| Vindhya Pradesh        | 126           | 68                |
| Tamil Nad              | 256           | 55                |
| Karnatak               | 239           | —                 |
| Delhi                  | 4             | 1                 |
| Total...               | 57,156        | 16,112            |

ADAMANT AND UNBENDING  
**THE STATE VERSUS INDIVIDUAL**

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Whether in a Totalitarian State or a Democratic Welfare State the vital issue today is how to safeguard the liberty of the individual for the moral development of his personality gradually restricting the functions of the State till the individual ultimately outgrows the need of the State. The sovereignty of the perfect individual over the State is expounded by Thoreau in his "masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience" as described by Gandhiji. The "Western Hemisphere General Welfare" Magazine has given an extract from this which will be of special interest now in the light of Sarvodaya ideology which envisages the ideal of a State-free Social Order.

Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the last degree, resign his conscience....? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right... Law never made men a whit more just.... A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you see a file of soldiers, colonels, captains, corporals, privates, powder-monkeys, and all marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their commonsense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?..... How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it... I do not hesitate to say, that those (who disapprove of the government's conduct) should at once effectually withdraw their support, both in person and property, from the government...and not wait till they constitute a majority of one, before they suffer the right to prevail

through them. I think that it is enough if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one. Moreover, any man more right than his neighbours constitutes a majority of one already... For my own part, I should not like to think that I ever rely on the protection of the State. But if I deny the authority of the State when it presents its tax-bill, it will soon take and waste all my property, and so harass me and my children without end. This is hard. This makes it impossible for a man to live honestly, and at the same time comfortably, in outward respects... No man with a genius for legislation has appeared in America. They are rare in the history of the world. There are orators, politicians, and eloquent men, by the thousand; but the speaker has not yet opened his mouth to speak, who is capable of settling the much vexed questions of the day... They have no genius or talent for comparatively humble questions of taxation and finance....The authority (of government)....is still an impure one: to be strictly just it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It must have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede it... There will never be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly.

## Unadulterated Economics

— SIDDHA RAJ DHADDA

It has become a fashion these days to contend that political and economic issues should not be adulterated(?) with the moral or the spiritual. Politics and Economics, it is said, are distinct Sciences with their own Laws governing them and moral or spiritual considerations should not be allowed to interfere with or influence their working. This compartmentalisation of life is a natural outcome of the present era of individualism, with its emphasis on materialistic values and on the acquisition of riches and power as the goal of human activity. It is forgotten that life is a unity and human personality cannot and should not be thus broken up into pieces. There are certain absolute sciences like, say, Mathematics, Chemistry or Physics whose working is not influenced by the social or the human factor. Two and two will always make four whatever be the context so far as the form of society or the type of human being is concerned. But not so with political or economic Laws. We know it well that even the best form of political or economic set-up would prove ruinous in the hands of a selfish person, and that a political or economic structure suited to a particular set of social circumstance would be out of place in another.

Political and Economic Sciences are not absolute sciences but Social sciences. We, therefore, cannot divorce economic and political issues from social, or moral and spiritual ones, which also greatly influence social relationships. Life is one whole, each of its facets affecting and influencing the other. It is an individualistic and profit-seeking capitalistic conception to think of ignoring moral and spiritual values and the social implications of political and economic issues.

During the course of the recent debate in the House of the People on the Companies Law Amendment Bill, the Commerce and Industries Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari seems to have

taken a similar narrow stand. In reply to suggestions put forward by some members that while amending the Companies Law opportunity should be taken to reduce the concentration of Capital, the Commerce Minister maintained that it was not part of the objective of the Companies Bill to ensure whether Capital was concentrated in a few hands or distributed among many. It is a too legalistic and narrow view to be taken by a responsible member of a Government which according to the Constitution is committed to reducing inequalities of wealth and opportunity. It is true that the scope of each piece of legislation is limited but having set to itself a social objective as embodied in the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution, it is only legitimate to expect from the Government that they would always keep that background in mind in bringing forward a piece of legislation. Indeed, it is the duty of the Government to utilise every opportunity at its command to work for and achieve the social objective embodied in the Constitution, and legislation is the most important such opportunity available to it. This is all the more true of such an important measure as the Companies Bill. Companies Law incorporates the very basis of the present industrial and urban economic activity in India. If such an important piece of legislation takes no notice of our social objective what else will? In the Commerce Minister's view also reflects the view of the Government of India it only shows the wide gap between their professions and practice.

If we are really keen on achieving equality for the people and ensuring their social justice, we should refrain from adopting a *laissez faire* attitude. All political and economic issues are primarily to be judged by their social implications and effects, nor can these issues be divorced from moral and spiritual considerations.



## PACIFISM AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

323

PAT KNOWLES

"Why are pacifists so concerned with social problems?" To deny war is to accept the obligation of tackling problems that create war on a personal level. If we cannot do this, we shall surely be called illogical.

This may appear a task so enormous that it seems impossible, but we have faith in our methods because in repudiating force we accept the only real alternative, the philosophy of the meek—that we can only succeed by appealing to "that of God in Everyman"—the potentiality for good within each personality, the ally within the enemy. And if this sounds unduly optimistic, we ought to add that good can only be released by an equal effort in goodwill and service to that of the conscientious soldier against evil—singleness of purpose, determination in the face of setbacks, physical endurance and suffering.

In the early life of Kagawa, we see how he accepted this obligation—and got results. Not many of us are Kagawas but we still must commit ourselves as far as we are able to the solution of the local problems.

In many countries today (and we have a special example in Africa) the fight for the recognition of human dignity and improvement in social conditions is a struggle against physical force and coercion and those who share our opinion there are endeavouring to evolve an active, non-violent technique to meet such opposition. Here in England social reform is accepted, opposition itself takes "non-violent" forms and we have democratic channel through which we should be able to effect democratic reforms. But with these opportunities, we find our pro-

blems pared down to the essential element, the human personality. Hence our preoccupation with the problem family, the deprived child, the delinquent, the inadequate personality—they present the hard core of the problem for they typify the personality in disintegration, the microcosm of the disintegrating society that produces war.

And here we find the directive of our concern for social reform. Society must be changed for the healing of the individual—the individual, must be made whole for the building of a peaceful society. And, if this seems a muddled analysis, it should be stated that work with the individual is only part of our task. Mike Lee, in an early pamphlet produced for Pacifist Service Units, "Patterns in Relief," showed how necessary it is for pacifists to work simultaneously on several different levels, on a political level to secure reform, doing "ambulance work" on the casualties of the system, building up the individual to create a peaceful society.

Our war resistance is only part of our contribution to a peaceful world, which should be the contribution of a movement operating at all these levels and co-operating with men of good will to create a new social order and a new spiritual atmosphere which will "take away the occasion of all wars."

Thus our efforts in social service have a twofold purpose. They express our personal service and they also help us to answer the fundamental question, "Can non-violent methods succeed?" We believe that the evidence suggests that they can.

—From "Peace News", London, March 26, 1954.

# GANDHI AND MARX

CHANDRASHANKER SHUKLA

The ultimate goal of Marxism is the bringing about of a classless society through the dictatorship of the proletariat and the "liquidation" or "extermination" of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes. "Loot the looters," is one of the Communist slogans.

"Working through non-violence," said Gandhiji, on the other hand, "we will not kill capitalists, big or small, though they will no longer be able to intimidate or exploit the poor." "I do not rule out legislative measures," he went on to say, "in respect of economic changes. The commission to be given to the capitalists will be fixed by legislation. I wish not to kill them but to make full use of their talents. Trusteeship is the ultimate ideal I have conceived for the capitalists. I wish them to accept this status voluntarily. If some of them, however, refuse to part with anything which they call their own, they will be compelled—in our scheme of things—by force of legislation to part with them. The capitalists, who are in a minority, will have to submit to the will of the majority. There are several things I wish to deprive them of—e. g. titles and class consciousness. I do not, however, wish to confiscate their property; I only want a just and right use of it."

He did not divide the poor and the rich into two clear-cut sections—good and evil. Good and bad men are to be found in both the classes. "There are industrious rich and industrious poor," said Ruskin, "as there are idle rich and idle poor." The rich, as individuals, are not beyond redemption. "If it has been possible for me to improve," argued Gandhiji, "how can I possibly presume the utter impossibility of other people undergoing improvement?" Ahimsa, he told a co-worker, required a double faith—faith in God and also faith in man. To say that the rich are by birth evil

and cannot improve is, according to Gandhiji, like the the Sanatanists' argument that untouchability attaches to a class of persons by birth and cannot be eradicated by any means whatsoever. Human nature is in Gandhiji's view essentially good, just as in the Communists' view it is essentially evil. Had it been evil in fact, there would not have been so much selfless love, service and sacrifice since the very beginning of the world.

As far back as in 1924 Gandhiji clearly stated his attitude towards Bolshevism is: "I am yet ignorant of what exactly Bolshevism is... But I do know that, in so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me. I do not believe in short—violent—cuts to success. ...I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes. There is therefore really no meeting ground between the school of violence and myself."

The Communists also seem to have understood him correctly as being of not much use to them, and, in their International Programme of 1928, they issued the following definite instructions:

"Gandhism is more and more becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combated by Communism."

In the course of a comparative study of Gandhi and Stalin, Louis Fischer remarks:

"Generalissimo Stalin and Mahatma Gandhi exemplify the antithesis between dictatorship and democracy. It is the greatest antithesis in the modern world.... Gandhi's life is an open book. Stalin lives behind a thick curtain. No dictator comes close to his subjects.... The more Gandhiesque a democracy the less Stalinist and Hitlerite it is.... Gandhism does not mix with Hitlerism or Stalinism."

(From 'GANDHI'S VIEW OF LIFE', Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.)

# SARVODAYA – THE MIGHTY WORD

BIRENDRA NATH GUHA

A rare leader is striding. A new word is stirring village India. A new age is in the making. "Sarvodaya" is that word. Vinoba is its exponent.

The world owes the word "Sarvodaya" to Gandhi. He coined it to name translation into Gujarati of Ruskin's "Unto This Last." His constructive programme was conceived of and designed to that end. He had an expectation that when control of Government had come to the people, the Congress as their representative would walk the path of Sarvodaya and give it tangible shape. If Gandhi ever had miscalculated, he miscalculated here. For no Government has ever helped spread a revolutionary idea. And Sarvodaya, if anything, is a mighty word, a revolutionary idea. The power great words possess, no organization do have.

Sarvodaya rejects the utilitarian formula — the greatest good of the greatest number. Sarvodaya strives for the greatest good of all, its operation extending to the last first. If the welfare of an individual or of a group interferes with or militates against the welfare of any, it is not Sarvodaya.

Before the attainment of independence the word 'Swaraj' swayed us, inspired us to action. Independence of a sort came. And soon after Gandhi passed away. Sarvodaya came to fill the void. Had it not come we would have been left with no worthy end to pursue and in its absence we might pursue a wrong end. Sarvodaya pointed the right way. It gave India a mission.

Sarvodaya has found in Vinoba a unique leader whose one ambition in life has been to reduce himself to a zero so that he might the better serve his master the common man. And Vinoba has given

Sarvodaya a dynamic programme such as the times demanded. Might we say, Gandhi's estimate and expectation of him has come true? Writing to him in 1934, Gandhi said, "You are made for great things." Bhoodan Yagna with its corollaries Sampattidan, Shramadan and Buddhidan is the programme—the beginning of great things to come.

Sarvodaya strives for the greatest good of all, its operation extending to the last first.

## WHAT THE WORD MEANS

Sarvodaya stands for a just social order where there will be no exploitation, no poverty, no economic inequality. And economic equality is the corner-stone of a just social order. If you fail to prevent concentration of capital whether in the hands of a few or of a group or of the State, your heaven of a just social order falls to the ground. Whoever amasses riches, amasses them by exploiting labour or by using labour-saving machines. Peasants who cultivate their lands themselves earn enough to satisfy their natural wants, but never have much to spare.

A social order, therefore, that means an even deal by all must accept (1) non-dependence on others and therefore (2) productive labour as immutable rules of life.

Economic equality does not, however, mean mathematical equality. The equality aimed at is the equality that the five fingers represent or the one that mother deals to her children. There is parity in disparity in the fingers. None is too small and none is too large. And there is discrete discrimination in the equality the mother deals to children, in that she gives to the youngest milk, to the next some milk and some rice and to the grown-ups only rice. So be it in society. Discrimination but not disproportion.

In the concrete, the Samaj that Sarvodaya conceives and is working for will

be made up of congeries of village republics, each self-sufficient in food and clothing and other primary needs of life with control over means of production and distribution. The idea is to avoid centralization, and prevent concentration of capital and so of power, either in the hands of a few or a group or of the State. And to resist encroachment upon his rights to prevent abuse of power by men in authority, the common man must have a weapon that the powers that be cannot snatch away from him. Such a weapon he never has had and such a weapon no social science ever has sought to arm him with. Politicians have ever played him as pieces in the chess-board for their own purpose. Gandhi's one dream in life was to awaken the common man, and to place in his hands such a weapon. Vinoba has resumed the thread. He is arousing the masses to their rights and duties. He is uniting them. He calls his Bhoodan Yagna Praja-Sooya Yagna or installation of the common man in power. He wants to transfer five crore acres of arable land to the five crore landless agricultural labourers that there are in India by 1957, the fateful year of India's history. Incidentally that year is also the year of the next general election. He defies rain, he defies chill, he defies heat. And on his trek goes. He must reach the message of Sarvodaya to every village before 1957 and secure for it a convincing victory so that the common man may come to his own. Land-gift deeds are Sarvodaya's ballot-papers. When he gets a lakh or more acres by a single transfer deed, as in Hazaribagh district, he says, "No, that won't do. You must reach the people and secure at least sixty thousand transfer deeds." You can see where his gaze is fixed. The philosophy of Sarvodaya must pervade the whole of India and roll over her borders to the world much as did the *Dharma-Chakra* of Buddha. By the way, Vinoba says that Ahimsa in theory had started from Bodh-Gaya; it is time that

Ahimsa in practice also had its start from there. The time is ripe for it.

#### CO-OPERATIVE VILLAGE STATES

Mistake not. Vinoba does not want merely the transfer of five crore acres. That is the first stage. Reach that figure and the rest of India's cultivable land—twenty-five crore acres—will of themselves come to be redistributed. To whom do they go? They would be jointly owned and co-operatively cultivated by village states. Extend the bounds of a joint Hindu family and the picture is there. Ask any of the five brothers making a family and possessing fifty acres, how much land he has. He says he has fifty acres. He never says he has ten acres. So too should it be with the village state. Likewise why not make every home a bank which holds in deposit the village wealth? And it is no chimera. First, the world is progressing. Secondly, it is the time spirit. Thirdly, Vinoba is forging a tremendous sanction. Those who give him land and those who receive it are his mixed army.

Sarvodaya is not there to tackle an immediate problem here and an immediate problem there. It is a challenge to any and every social philosophy that there is. It is India's distinctive contribution.

What is the Sarvodaya Samaj? It is no organization. It has no constitution. "It is a conceptual association of people with an allied way of thinking about the way of life. Every member of the Sarvodaya Samaj is a worker who is his own master. When the same person is both master and servant, automatically evil disappears and good develops. As a worker he carries no rights but does carry all the duties attached to it. We avoid making the Sarvodaya Samaj an organization. For a body serves more or less as a barrier to the propagation of thought in its purity. We want to propagate the Sarvodaya idea to the world at large. An idea free from a body propagates itself best.

#### THE HEAD AND HANDS

But the head that conceives, requires hands to perform. A loose organization like the Sarvodaya Samaj can deliver no goods. The Sarva Seva Sangh made up of the various constructive organizations set up by Gandhi are the hands. "It is an organization but it is not an organization of men but of activities."

Does the Samajeschew politics? Yes, if it be of "the power-seeking variety, because that does not make for Sarvodaya, the welfare of all. It is centred round either the self or a narrow group."

A great idea cannot thrive in narrow precincts. Self is a cage, as the party one belongs to is. You cannot accommodate a new age which Vinoba says is coming in such narrow bounds. Says Vinoba, "Monarchy is gone; gone too is aristocracy; democracy is in the process of liquidation; the stage is now set for the rule of all by all...the age is approaching when the truth 'one in all and all in one' will rule the world. If we put ourselves on its side, we will share the credit of ushering it in. If not, it will come in spite of us."

#### INDIA'S DISTINCTIVE ROLE

And an afflicted world with the dreaded prospect of hydrogen and atom bombs expect this of India. Why India should follow other nations with other wits to the blind alley? India's role is to show the way out, says Vinoba:

"The people of the world are looking to India for a lead, because she is the inheritor of an ancient culture and an ancient civilization. And Gandhi by his experiments with Ahimsa as weapon held to them a beacon."

"Now that we have had political freedom, we have to work for the realization of Samyayoga. This I have called Sarvodaya. You may call it Samyayoga, or if you like, Sarvodaya. It is to bring about this Samyayoga or Sarvodaya that I have been trekking from village to village."

And as a just return of the land to the actual tillers of the soil is key to the realization of Samyayoga or equality, Bhoodan Yagna is naturally the foremost item in the programme of Sarvodaya.

This programme is succeeding exceedingly well. The target of twenty-five lakh acres has been reached and surpassed by about ten lakh acres. The next target is five crore acres before 1957, the crucial year of India's history. If we do that India turns the corner, India shows the bewildered world the path to its redemption.

To this great work Vinoba calls his countrymen:

"I appeal to you all to help me in this revolutionary work that I am doing. I want to revolutionize thought, revolutionize the means. The sages say that the youth has in him the urge for new creation. Here is a new economic order to fashion, a new world to create. And here is an adequate programme that I do offer."

— From "Amrita Bazar Patrika," April 17, 1954

#### REAL SWARAJ

MABATMA GANDHI

By Swaraj I mean the Government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male or female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State and who have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters. I hope to demonstrate that real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.

— "Sarvodaya" Page 71 - V. I., 6-8-1928

# The Good VERSUS The Practicable

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

During April last about forty College students ran a Sarvodaya Camp in Kummanam, a few miles west of the Kottayam town, and at the close started on a campaign of Bhoodan Yagna for 5 days. Both the camp and the Jatha were very successful and about 60 acres of land were received towards Bhoodan under the leadership of elders. I was happy to mingle with the members of the camp as well as the Jatha several days and participate in their activities.

Time and again students and visitors asked me the question "Is all this practicable?" and doubted the success of each one of Gandhiji's proposals for the reconstruction of Indian villages. I answered them of course in my own way apparently satisfying the doubters for the time being. It is no wonder that in these modern days when a hot conflict is going on between Western culture and Indian culture such questions arise freely. The impact of the physically strong West has clearly produced a reaction in us all to the detriment of our past ideals and virtues.

In good old days too there were doubters, but their doubt was only with regard to whether a particular thing was good or bad in a given set of circumstances. Once they decided that a thing was proper, good and righteous they never cared to ask if it was practicable. The question under reference regarding the practicability of things never arose in that form in olden times. People appear to have been not so keen or anxious as to the result of their actions. So they concentrated their minds upon the means or procedure in their actions.

Gita states, "You have only to do your work; you have no power over the results; you should have no eye on the results of your actions; nor should you

remain doing no work." This was the outlook which still holds good and proper.

When I begin to think about the practicability or otherwise of any course of action before I begin to embark on it, I am really doubting my capacity or strength to make an adequate measure of sacrifice to carry it on. In order to achieve anything in this world, a strictly proportionate amount of price in the form of discipline, self-control or sacrifice has to be paid. Greater the price paid, more valuable and greater the object achieved.

When, therefore, I suspect at my ability to do anything, I doubt my strength. It is accepted by all that the power within us is infinite and we can command any degree of strength according as we firmly resolve to do and attempt to do. On the other hand when we begin to doubt and fear, we develop in us weakness and fall down. "Samsayatma Vinasyathi" says Bhagavad Gita ("Doubting Thomases will perish").

What we have to do therefore is to fix up a plan of action and draw a line of work and proceed to put it into practice. Doubtless, obstacles will appear at every stage and we have to boldly face and convert them to stepping stones. Nothing succeeds like success, that is. In the words of the Gita again "A drop of this Dharma will protect us from great fears."

Proceeding in our work on proper lines, disregarding the nature of the results, we generate in ourselves energy tremendously not only to cope with the difficulties that arise from time to time, but to push us onward on our path. This energy emanating from us will radiate far and wide and carry our neighbours also with us. It is said that Napoleon condemned any reference to the word "impossibility." Nobody now gainsays that

ABOVIV

Questioner

"How visioned is the man-of-calm declared, How virtuous? Tell me, O Gotama, When asked, the best of men!" The Master said:

The Master

"Who conquers craving ere he crumble up,  
Who trusts not first things nor the last, nor counts  
The middle things: he hath no preference.  
Gone wrath, gone fear, gone boasting, gone remorse,  
Sooth-speaking, mild: that sage doth curb his talk.  
Hoping for naught to come, he mourns no past;  
Seer of th' aloof 'mid touch, views lead him not.  
Guileless, apart, not fond nor envious.  
Not loth nor forward, not to slander giv'n;  
Not fain for pleasures nor to pride inclined,  
Gentle yet quick, no dupe, dispassionate;  
He traineth not in hope of gain, nor moved  
Is he at getting none; no craving stirs  
His placidness; he hankers, nor for tastes.  
Poised, e'er alert, he deems not in the world  
Things 'equal', 'notable', nor 'lacking worth',  
For him there are no thoughts of 'prominence'.  
Who trusteth not, knows not a thing on trust,  
Thirsts not about becoming or decay.  
I call him man-of-calm; not heeding lusts,  
Without a knot, he hath the foul mire crossed.  
No sons, kine, fields, nor property are his;  
Naught to assume or to reject he finds.  
Between folk's words, or brahman or recluse,  
No choice hath he, hence talk doth move him not.  
Gone envy, greed, the sage speaks not of 'high',  
'Low', 'equal', seeking not time's web, weaves none.  
Who here hath naught, nor grieves o'er loss, nor goes,  
To views, he truly man-of-calm is called."



"BUTTA-NIPATA"

(Continued from previous page)

that great man was exceedingly powerful. Look at our own Mahatma, who in a different line developed unlimited power within him by severe discipline of self-control and infused life and energy into the Indian people during our struggles

carrying them to a goal of glorious success.

I shall simply add the few words of advice given by Shri Krishna to Arjuna and close: "No man doing good shall ever meet with failure."

## Synthesis of Vedanta and Ahimsa — VINOBA

The idea of a synthesis of Vedanta and Ahimsa has led to the establishment of this Ashram. Vedanta unlike Ahimsa does not grow around an individual because its whole philosophy stands on the basis of pure "*Atma Vichara*" (spiritual knowledge).

Ahimsa, always reflects the personality of its protagonist. Lord Buddha, Mahavira and Jesus Christ, each had practised Ahimsa in his own particular way. Jesus concentrated on service of the poor and the ailing, especially lepers. Love and non-violence manifested themselves through these channels. Buddha believed in the golden mean and avoided extremes. Reason was the basis of his Ahimsa. Mahavira proclaimed his Ahimsa through prevention of injury to any living being. This explained the

vegetarianism of the entire sect. In Gandhiji's life non-violence manifested itself in its own way in the form of Satyagraha.

Love and non-violence manifest themselves in some external form. The Vedanta envelopes the whole universe and does not require any outward form for its manifestation. Form cannot exist without an idea while an idea can live in imagination without an outward form. When there is a synthesis of the two, the idea is translated into action and it becomes a complete whole. This, in short, is Vedanta.

Science can be utilised fully for the benefit of mankind only if it is based on Vedanta and expressed through non-violence. The age of synthesis is sure to come and is coming."

*Summary of Vinobaji's speech at Bodh-Gaya Ashram*

## EACH A HANK — RUPEES SIX CRORE

An extract from an appeal issued by Vinobaji requesting the Sevaks in the various provinces to send the yarn collected by them during the last Sarvodaya Mela, 12th February, to the Sarva Seva Sangh Office and also to inform the office of the quota they intend to collect for the coming year.

"From everyone, every year, one hank of hand-spun yarn, one hank only and not more, you appeal for *Suthanjali*. Has it got any economic value? Would it create any beneficial influence in the economic life of the nation?" Thus one prominent leader asked me.

"Yes" I replied in one brief word. There are 36 crores of people in our country. Leave aside the disabled, the old, the infirm and the children; even then there will be 30 crores. If 30 crores of hanks are offered and collected, the value comes to Rs. 6 crores. Is this not a real gain, a material addition to the economic wealth of the Nation? Is it not equally a moral gain? I don't mind even if this whole amount is spent on it.

The trader, our commercial friend, may put the question "What is earned or gained thereby?". The answer will be "It is not the intellect of the trader that

shapes the nation." Yet I hope that there are in our country traders who can understand the real gain thereby.

But I really wish that no expenditure is incurred. It should be done along with the other constructive activities we carry on. In the construction of a building we spend money for buying many items of materials; but do we pay for the sky which is a necessary item for the erection of the structure. Bapu has taught us that Charkha is the centre around which all other village industries revolve. If we can understand that, then Charkha is the symbol of our revolution.

If we do countrywide propaganda for yarn-gifts, we can easily bring into practice the principles embodied in the resolution placed before the Bodh-Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan.

*(Free rendering from the original in Hindi).*



## Moral Leadership from India

### A Letter from Australia

The message of Sarvodaya has drawn many peace-lovers from foreign countries who look to moral leadership from India. Here is a letter from Mr. K. G. Kenafick, Editor of *Anti-Militarist News and Review*, Melbourne, Australia, and Honorary Secretary, League for Freedom and World Friendship, which we share with our readers.

Dear Friends,

I have received your publication, "Sarvodaya", and Supplements, and I am very pleased indeed to hear from you and to know that the great work of Mahatma Gandhi still continues. Among the peace-workers of Australia, as among those of all other countries, his is a great and honoured name and an inspiration to us all.

Increased attention is being paid here to the idea of Satyagraha, especially in view of the failure of orthodox Christianity to measure up to the demands of our times. I should say that it will be the ideas of Gandhi that will eventually triumph in the peace movement, for there do not seem to be any others that are effective. The latest developments concerning the Hydrogen bomb would seem to show that Western "civilisation" and "Christianity" are morally bankrupt, and it looks as if it will have to be from India that the world will take its moral leadership.

As regards Vinoba, I know a little about his work, because, last year, a lecture on present day India was given to the Pacifist Movement of Victoria, by a young Pacifist who had been helping the Society of Friends' relief work in Bihar and Bengal. He spoke appreciatively of the work of Vinoba.

We do not usually, however, receive much first hand information about India, and therefore your publications are all the more useful and valuable to us. I was in India myself for a few

days in 1939, staying in Bombay, and then travelling by train across the Deccan to Madras, and then down to the crossing to Ceylon. What I saw interested to me very much and I should like to have seen more. In many ways it is a vastly different country from this and it differs from Australia more in its physical. Australia is very materialistic, no country could be more so, while the fact that India has produced men like Gautama Buddha, Mahavira, Gandhi and Vinoba, is proof enough that she is a land of ideals. Of course, our country is very young. Historically speaking, and perhaps in time, it too will reach a stage of idealism. But that day would seem to be very far off.

Have you sent copies of your publications to "The Peacemaker", organ of Federal Pacifist Council of Australia? The Editor is Miss Vivienne Abraham, of 58, Gore Street, Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia. She is very interested in Satyagraha and the Indian peace movement generally, and would, I am sure, be pleased to hear from you and might print some of your material.

I have already forwarded you a copy of our own organisation's publication: "Anti-Militarist News", which I hope you will find of interest. Another issue will be out shortly, and I shall send you a copy of that also. Trusting to hear from you again,

Victoria,  
Australia,  
4th April, 1954.

Yours for peace,  
K. J. Kenafick.

## Resolutions of Sarva Seva Sangh

The following are some of the important decisions arrived at the Board meetings of the Sarva Seva Sangh on 21st and 22nd April, '54.

21-4-'54

Re. No. 1. Under the constitution, one-fifth of the members of the Board have to vacate every year by rotation. Accordingly the following five members have retired:

1. Shri Srikrishnadas Jaju,
2. " N. Ramaswami,
3. " Vallabhschwami,
4. " Shankarrao Deo,
5. " Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh.

Re. No. 2. The following four members have been again taken in as ordinary members:

1. " Srikrishnadas Jaju,
2. " N. Ramaswami,
3. " Vallabhschwami,
4. " Shankarrao Deo.

Re. No. 3. Shri R. S. Dhotre's resignation of the membership of the Board has been accepted and the Sangh records its appreciation of his services in the past.

Re. No. 5. The following executive has been elected for the next period:

President: Shri Dharendra Mazumdar,  
General Secretary: Shri Anna Saheb Sahasrabudhe,  
Joint Secretary: Shri Vallabhschwami,  
Treasurer: Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj.

Re. No. 7. Shri Shankarrao Deo is again appointed as the secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj for a further period of three years ending with the Sarvodaya Sammelan in 1957.

Re. No. 8. In the place of Shri R. S. Dhotre who was a Trustee and whose resignation was accepted, Shri Siddharaj Dhadda is elected as Trustee for one year.

Re. No. 10. The Sangh welcomes the programme of *Jeevan-dan* placed before the people by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. Shri Dharendra Mazumdar will take the necessary steps in consultation with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan for

the actual working of the above programme.

Re. No. 11. The Sangh accepts the proposal of Vinobaji regarding the merging of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and agrees to co-opt such of the members of the Talami Sangh as are desirous of joining the Board.

Re. No. 12. The Sarva Seva Sangh generally accepted the 'Principles of Sarvodaya Plan' published on 30-1-1950, in its sitting on 11-4-'50 by resolution No. 4. As the plan has to be reconsidered and amended in the light of the present altered circumstances, a sub-committee consisting of the following members has been formed:

1. Shri Dharendra Mazumdar,
2. " Jayaprakash Narayan,
3. " Narayan Desai,
4. " Shankarrao Deo, Convenor.

Re. No. 13. Clarifying the Sangh's relationship to the various political parties in the country, the following resolution is passed:-

As the objective of the Sangh is to establish a non-exploiting and State-free society through *Janasakti* and the Sangh accepts constructive work and Satyagraha alone as its programme it is decided that:

1. No member of the Sangh shall stand for election to any of the Government or Semi-Government institutions as Parliament, Assembly, Council, District Board, Municipality etc. Neither should he accept any seat in the above through nomination.

2. No member shall be even an ordinary member of such of those elective assemblies as mentioned above of any one of the political parties in the country.

Re. No. 17. The provincial Bhoodan committees have been constituted in the various provinces in consultation

## RESOLUTIONS OF SARVA SEVA SANGH

with Vinobaji since the Sevapuri (Kashi) Sarvodaya Sammelan. As the target of 25 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan is realised, the Sangh considers it advisable to reconstitute the committees in the light of its experiences gained so far.

Therefore all the Bhoodan committees functioning at present in the provinces will be considered as dissolved. The present convenors will continue carrying on the work in the provinces till new committees are constituted.

Re. No. 18. The President Dharendra Mazumdar has formed the executive committee consisting of:

1. Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, President
2. " Anna Saheb Sahasrabudhe, Secretary
3. " Vallabhschwami, Joint Secretary
4. " Radhakrishna Bajaj, Treasurer
5. " J. C. Kumarappa, Trustee
6. " Siddharaj Dhadda, "
7. " Shankarrao Deo, Member
8. " Aryanayakam, "
9. " A. K. Karan, "

10. Shri Narayan Desai, Member  
The three places remaining will be filled up later and announced by the President.

22-4-'54

10. The Head Office of the Sarva Seva Sangh is decided to be shifted from Sevagram to Gaya in Bihar since the target of 25 lakhs of acres for the two years have been fully realised and the Sangh has to take up the work of distribution in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar where lies the major portion of the above collected land.

11. In view of the declared intention of the Talimi Sangh to merge with Sarva Seva Sangh, the Sangh has decided to entrust all its educational activities at Sevagram to Talimi Sangh from next year onwards. The existing Vidyalaya for khadi and village industries now run directly by the Sangh at Sevagram is also decided to be handed over to the Talimi Sangh to be conducted in future.

## SCI Camp in Kerala —

P. M. MANI, B. E.

The Kerala Sarvodaya Vidyolkarsha Sangh was formed in February, 1950, with the object of starting Rural Centres with Pre-Basic (nursery) and Basic Education Schools. Immediately after registration under the Societies Act, the Sangh held a 60-days' evening course of Social and Popular education for adults at Ernakulam. Also, a pre-Basic and a Basic school of 2 classes were run from October, 1950 to April, 1951. This had to be given up, for lack of a clear-cut policy of the Government on Basic Education in the Travancore-Cochin State.

The Sangh secured in 1952 a plot of 20 acres of Government land on perpetual lease at Kakkanad, Thrikkakara, about 5 miles from Ernakulam. It is situated on an elevated and sloping ground amidst backward villages, to which has just been

added on lease an ancient, perennial tank over two acres in extent. It started (immediately) the Nava-kerala-puri Rural Centre, opening a seed nursery and digging a 20 feet diameter and 55 feet deep well. Feeding of poor children with rice and milk (powder) was also added.

Within miles radius not a bell sounds, calling the small children to their primary schools, — a remnant of backwardness in education very unusual in the State. The people are poor, and quite at an early age their children are marched to work—gathering grass and dried shrubbery for family ovens. The Sangh resumed the scheme of Basic Education at Nava-kerala-puri in September, 1953, and the Government's sanction has just been received to open a grant-in-aid Basic School in June.

While the Sangh was contemplating to erect school buildings and start jungle clearing and terracing, to bring more land under cultivation, we come to know that the Service Civil International (SCI) Squad, which is composed of foreign and Indian volunteers, would be available after completing their project—leprosy Hospital at Warora, M. P. — and we corresponded with the the SCI Representative in India and sponsored a project at Nava-kerala-puri.

The Camp started work on 15-4-'54, and it is completed by the 4th week of May, 1954.

The SCI Squad working here, composed of five foreign members of the Service Civil International (one English, one Austrian, two Japanese and one German), six members of the Kerala Bhoodan Mobile Work Squad, five from States like the Punjab, Delhi, U. P., Bombay and Madras and other twenty members of T.-C. State including three ladies, five college students, professors, professionals etc. The Leader of the team is Wilfred Court, an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, from Cambridge. All volunteers work for 6 to 6½ hours a day. They do manual work and cook their own food. In the evenings they carry on with cultural activities like discussions, folk songs etc. This village being within the Chalakudy Community Project area, two Community Project officers worked with us.

Let us now give a resume of work done from 15-4-'54 to date.

#### 1. CULTIVATION

- (a) 2 acres paddy — dry.
- (b) 2 Japanese Nurseries, one near the well to cultivate ½ acre and one near the fish-pond and barrage irrigation tank to cultivate one acre possibly extra one acre "myal" (monsoon).
- (c) 5 acres of intensive tapioca in 3 plots and plots of groundnut etc.
- (d) Plantains one acre.
- (e) Fodder grass of dry napier, — one acre.

- (f) Kitchen Garden — one acre.
- (g) Fruit trees — one acre.

#### 2. AUXILIARY TO AGRICULTURE

- (a) Fencing of bamboo about 4,000 feet in length and mud walls.
- (b) Uprooting bush-growth, with and without tractor — one acre.
- (c) Roads and contour drains — about two furlongs.
- (d) Terracing one acre in suitable levels and plots as a model, preventing erosion, conserving humus.

#### 3. BUILDINGS

- (a) New Basic School 50'0" × 20'0", with a 6'0" verandah in front — to be extended to 3,800 sq. ft.
- (b) A Harijan quarters — Tiled, cement floored, costing Rs. 60 worth forms voluntary labour.
- (c) Compost Latrine and Bath.
- (d) Nursery School and creche.
- (e) Crafts buildings.

#### 4. CRAFTS

- (a) Basket-making, bamboo.
- (b) Hides tanning, with tanks and shed.
- (c) Spinning — Charkhas, (planting also indigenous cotton plants).
- (d) Village Smithy to make ploughs, inter-cultivators etc., and for repairs.
- (e) Inland fish-rearing in tanks.
- (f) Poultry.
- (g) Dairy — Dry cow keeping.
- (h) Compost making (human and general).
- (i) Tapioca and arrowroot flour making.
- (j) Paddy dehusking — Parla Stone Chakkis.
- (k) Weaving.
- (l) Bee-keeping.

Thus about 12 acres are already developed, leaving the rest for the next year.

A Co-operative Housing Society with 5 acres also functions by the side to make 50 houses, each costing Rs. 1,750.

Thus, this Rural Centre, in one of the most beautiful settings in India, has been given a push up, to start a Basic Education Centre with agriculture and several cottage industries as crafts, from 7th June, 1954.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES BOARD

The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has announced its programme for the coming year, which includes training class for teachers, introduction of hand-made paper craft in High Schools and research training facilities for artisans.

It is proposed to introduce these crafts in 50 schools this year and a beginning has now been made by starting a craft teachers' training class. The training classes will be held in the Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati, where a hand-made paper making centre has been functioning for the last ten years. After completing the training these teachers will introduce hand-made paper making as a craft in their schools. The Board will make a block grant of Rs. 400 to each of the schools where this industry is introduced as a craft in the curriculum.

The craft course in the High Schools will be of six years' duration.

The Khadi and Village Industries Board has budgetted during the current financial year (1954-55) for an expanded programme of soap-making with non-edible oils. Edible oils now used for soap making will thus be released for consumption by the people. The total quantity of edible oils available for consumption is in the neighbourhood of 11 million tons per annum. The average per capita consumption of edible oil works out at 0.3 oz.

(Continued from previous page)

Thrikkakara is associated with the origin of "Onam," the national festival of Malayalees, and was Kerala's capital when king Mahabali reigned. Nava-kerala-puri may yet become the centre of New Education—Nai Talim—in the State, of culture, of planned manual work, and of scientific development and finally, Sarvodaya. ★

only per day. The Nutrition Advisory Committee says that the absolute minimum per capita requirements in India of nutrition is 2 oz. a day. It is, therefore, necessary that such of the edible oils as now go into use for non-edible purposes should be conserved and diverted for the consumption of the people.

The Board says that India abounds in trees which yield oil-seeds of different kinds that cannot be utilised for edible purposes. These trees are scattered in the country and their seeds are not put to useful purposes. Efforts must be made to collect the seeds of these trees and develop the oil resources of the country. Collection of the scattered oil-seeds for crushing inevitably provides a new type of cottage industry and opens up a new avenue of employment. More important among the non-edible oil-seeds are neem, Maroti and Karanjia.

A recent survey in Madras State has brought out the fact that 72,700 tons of neem seeds could be collected in the State to produce 5,000 tons of neem oil. At present only 20,000 tons of seeds are recovered and 1,600 tons of neem oil produced. Neem trees also are growing in Maharashtra, Khandesh, Berar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Delhi. Karanjia trees grow widely in the forests of Orissa, Mysore, Hyderabad, Uttar Pradesh and Madras.

#### LEGISLATION TO FACILITATE BHOODAN

The question is often raised as to why Madras State is silent while other States as Hyderabad, U. P. and Bihar have made legislation to facilitate Bhoodan Work. The following will indicate the attitude of Madras Government in this regard:—

During question-time in the Madras Assembly on 12-5-'54 Sri B. Parameswaran, Minister for Hindu Religious

Endowments, said Government were considering the possibilities of introducing a bill in connection with Bhoodan movement.

Sri T. Anantha Pai wanted to know whether the Government contemplated early legislation for encouraging free transfer of lands on the lines of similar legislation in other States.

The Minister said: "The member presumably refers to the legislation in connection with the Bhoodan movement. The matter is under consideration."

Sri Pai: "Now that the Bhoodan movement has made considerable headway in the State, will the Government take concrete steps in the matter?"

The Minister said the Government were also contemplating the introduction of a bill on the lines of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh legislation on the subject.

Sri M. Narayana Kurup: "This State was so far leading others in the matter of legislation. Why should this State wait for the decision of other States?"

Minister: "It is not a question of waiting. We are also actively considering the question."

**A NEW NAI-TALIM VIDYALAYA, KHADIGRAM, BIHAR**

It is now recognized on all hands that the present system of education has failed to deliver goods. It is no doubt that Gandhiji's Basic Education or Nai Talim is the only alternative. In view of this the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh has taken steps to organise a Nai Talim educational centre at Khadigram (near Jamoee), District Monghyr, in Bihar. The first session will commence on June 15, '54. Out of the four stages of Nai Talim, admissions for the present will be made for three stages only, viz., *Purva-Buniyadi* (Pre-Basic), *Buniyadi* (Basic) and *Uttar-Buniyadi* (University stage). The institution will be residential, but hostel facilities are immediately available for students of university course only. The minimum qualification for admission to

the University course, which will be of 3 years' duration, is *Uttar-Buniyadi* or, in the alternative, S. S. L. C. or its equivalent. For those with S. S. L. C. qualification, a year's special preparatory course (besides 3 regular years) will be compulsory. Exceptions can, however, be made in favour of those possessing minimum qualifications in agriculture and crafts. The following courses of study will be available:

1. Basic Crafts:
  - (a) Agriculture, Surveying and allied Subjects;
  - (b) House Building;
  - (c) Safai;
  - (d) Spinning and Weaving.
2. Other subjects:
  - (a) Social sciences as History, Politics, Economics and Sociology;
  - (b) Natural Sciences allied to the Basic crafts.

Applications may be immediately addressed to the Acharya, Khadigram Vidyalaya, P. O. Darha (Via-Jamooee), District Monghyr (Bihar).

#### A CORRECTION

In the statement of All-India Bhoodan collections in our Sarvodaya May Issue we had mentioned 'about 4 lakhs of acres from the Jana Sangh in Bihar.' It is the *Janata Party* of Zamindars who have donated this land and not Jana Sangh. This mistake was brought to our notice by Vinobaji who goes through all Sarvodaya numbers, both Tamil and English editions. We regret for this mistake. ★

#### Books of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and Sastha Sahitya Mandal

We have pleasure to announce that all the publications of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, and Sastha Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, will be available at the Sarvodaya Pracharalayam for sale besides those of other publishers mentioned in cover pages.

SARVODAYA, P. B. No. 9, TIRUPUR (S. I.)

## INDEX TO ARTICLES IN SARVODAYA

— From July 1953 to June 1954 —

|                                                  |          |                                                 |          |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| <b>ACHARYA VINOBAJI</b>                          |          | Man and Machine                                 | 86       |
| Appeal to Communists                             | 3, 34    | I claim to be a Foremost Communist              | 114      |
| Speech at Sarvodaya Sammelan                     |          | The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha      | 143      |
| 9—3—'53                                          | 5, 30    | National Education                              | 170      |
| On Community Projects                            | 32       | The Charkha in The Gita                         | 172      |
| Knowledge outside College Walls                  | 44       | The Place of Women                              | 198      |
| Let us Probe Deep                                | 59       | Truth Force <i>versus</i> Brute Force           | 226      |
| The Implication of Sampatti-dan                  | 60       | Charkha, the Emblem of Non-violence             | 254      |
| Shankara and Buddha                              | 61       | The Need for Scientific Outlook in Our Work     | 282      |
| The Sarvodaya Mantra                             | 62       | Human Element Essential for Economic Efficiency | 310      |
| Our Independence                                 | 63       |                                                 |          |
| Science and Violence                             | 63       |                                                 |          |
| Sampatti-dan                                     | 90       |                                                 |          |
| Address to Bhoodan Convenors' Conference         | 91       | <b>ARYANAYAKAM E. W.</b>                        |          |
| On Assault by Priests                            | 106      | Crisis in Education                             | 276      |
| Love and Non-violence                            | 108      | <b>BHAT, N. R. &amp; PATEL, C. T.</b>           |          |
| Let Ganga of Bhoodan be Flowing                  | 117      | A Hybrid Cotton for Hand-Spinning               | 109      |
| At Bhagalpur Bhoodan Conference                  | 119      | <b>BIRENDRANATH GUHA</b>                        |          |
| Control One and Control All                      | 126      | Sarvodaya—The Mighty Word                       | 325      |
| The Secret of Bhoodan Yagna                      | 145      | <b>CHANDRASHANKER SHUKLA</b>                    |          |
| Reply to Communists                              | 148      | Gandhi and Marx                                 | 324      |
| Appeal for Yarn Offering for Sarvodaya Mela      | 173      | <b>DIWAKAR R. R.</b>                            |          |
| Bhoodan Towards Sarvodaya                        | 174      | Gandhiji and Bhoodan                            | 153      |
| Do or Die                                        | 197      | The Basis of Sarvodaya                          | 181      |
| Nai Talim and Swaraj                             | 200      | <b>DOROTHY WILKINSON</b>                        |          |
| What is True Swaraj?                             | 202      | The Thread of Life                              | 37       |
| Mental Transformation in Life-Inevitable         | 226, 260 | <b>HALLAM TENNYSON</b>                          |          |
| The Economics of Sampatti-dan                    | 229      | Vinoba Bhawe & His Bhoodan Yagna                | 18       |
| Guide to Bhoodan Workers                         | 246      | <b>HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI</b>                        |          |
| The Way to World's Peace                         | 256      | Capital Punishment Still in India?              | 184      |
| In the Midst of Land-owners                      | 259      | <b>JAGADISAN, T. N.</b>                         |          |
| Speech at Bodh-Gaya Sammelan                     | 283      | The Friendless Five Million                     | 43       |
| Harmonise All Work with Bhoodan                  | 286      | <b>JAIPRAKASH NARAIN</b>                        |          |
| Self-Disciplined Free India—A Guide to the World | 312      | Appeal to Students to work for Bhoodan Yagna    | 14       |
| Synthesis of Vedanta and Ahimsa                  | 330      | Sarvodaya—A New Civilisation                    | 93       |
| Each A Hank — Rupees Six Crore                   | "        | At Bhagalpur Bhoodan Workers' Conference        | 119      |
| <b>GANDHIJI</b>                                  |          | Bhoodan For the Sarvodaya Social Order          | 162      |
| On True Socialism                                | 2        | The Sarvodaya Social Order                      | 179, 205 |
| The Tillers of the soil                          | 29       | Speech at Bodh-Gaya Sammelan                    | 290      |
| The India of My Dreams                           | 57       |                                                 |          |
| The Discovery of the Charkha                     | 85       |                                                 |          |

| Name of Author and Article                    | page | Name of Author and Article                  | page             |
|-----------------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------------|------------------|
| <b>JAWAHARLAL NEHRU</b>                       |      | <b>MANI, P. M., B. E.</b>                   |                  |
| Appeal to Use Khadi                           | 87   | Compost Latrines                            | 220              |
| Impetus to Khadi                              | 88   | S. C. I. Camp in Kerala                     | 333              |
| Message for Vinobaji's 59th Birthday          | 89   | <b>MARJORIE SYKES</b>                       |                  |
| Vinoba — A Mahapurusha                        | 116  | Gram Rachana through Nai Talim              | 235              |
| Mahatma's Message                             | 116  | <b>MARY F. BARR</b>                         |                  |
| On Bhoodan                                    | 204  | Satyagraha in Germany                       | 22, 51, 103, 273 |
| In Sevagram                                   | 215  | <b>MAURICE FRYDMAN</b>                      |                  |
| Speech at Bodh-Gaya Sammelan                  | 289  | J. Krishnamurti on Industrialisation        | 134              |
| <b>KEITHAHN, R. R.</b>                        |      | Tools or Markets?                           | 155              |
| Sarvodaya—Reverence for Life                  | 8    | <b>NARAYANAN NAMBIAR, T. R., B.A., B.L.</b> |                  |
| Elementary Education in Madras                | 76   | Oil Extraction at Every Home                | 72               |
| Living at the Village Level                   | 102  | Naturopathy or Nature Cure                  | 131              |
| Sarvodaya and Co-operation                    | 129  | The Good vs. The Practicable                | 328              |
| True Community Life in Other Countries        | 159  | <b>PAT KNOWLES</b>                          |                  |
| Kasthurba Gram in Tamil Nad                   | 304  | Pacifism and Social Problems                | 323              |
| <b>KENAFICK, K. J.</b>                        |      | <b>PAT McMOHAN, MISS</b>                    |                  |
| Moral Leadership from India                   |      | Bhoodan — A Bloodless Revolution            | 125              |
| <b>KRIPALANI, ACHARYA J. B.</b>               |      | <b>PIERRIE OPPLIGER</b>                     |                  |
| Visit to Vinoba                               | 45   | Service Civil International in Sevagram     | 208              |
| At Bhagalpur Bhoodan Workers' Conference      | 120  | <b>PRABODH CHOKSHI</b>                      |                  |
| <b>KRISHNAMURTI, M.</b>                       |      | The Significance of Bhoodan                 | 38               |
| Bhoodan Yagna—From Vamana to Virat            | 182  | <b>PRENTICE, J. M.</b>                      |                  |
| <b>KUMARAPPA, J. C.</b>                       |      | The Greatest Bloodless Revolution           | 75               |
| Truth about My Retirement                     | 41   | <b>PYARELAL</b>                             |                  |
| The Problem of Unemployment                   | 73   | Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World     | 33               |
| Raising the Standard of Living                | 107  | A Mussooree Reminiscence                    | 248              |
| Unemployment—No Problem                       | 161  | <b>RADHA BENODE MUKHERJEE</b>               |                  |
| The Disease in our University Education       | 185  | Our Cultural Heritage and Bhoodan           | 303              |
| Unemployment and the Machine                  | 245  | <b>RADHAKRISHNAN, Dr. S.</b>                |                  |
| Purposeful Way of Life                        | 299  | On Democracy                                | 234              |
| Non-Violent Social Order                      | 318  | Bhoodan—The Economic Agrarian Revolution    | 290, 315         |
| <b>LADHA SINGH MAINI</b>                      |      | Bhoodan—The Rule of Love                    | 297              |
| With Gandhiji in South Africa                 | 261  | <b>RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, C.</b>                |                  |
| <b>LAKSHMIRATHAN BHARATHI, S., M.A., B.L.</b> |      | Hindu Philosophy and Modern Economy         | 100              |
| Reply to Criticism on Bhoodan                 | 47   | Ideal of Self-Restraint                     | 121              |
| <b>LEON BENSIMON</b>                          |      | Letter to Sarvodaya Prachuralaya            | 141              |
| Some Feelings about Bhoodan                   | 80   | Revival of Faith                            | 157              |
| Stay at a Nature Cure Ashram                  | 241  | Place of Cattle in Agriculture              | 178              |
| <b>MAHADEV DESAI</b>                          |      | Importance of Manual Labour                 | 233              |
| A Leaf from Diary                             | 133  | Gandhiji's Message of Bhakthi               | 319              |
| <b>MALKANI, M. R.</b>                         |      |                                             |                  |
| An Interview with Vinobaji                    | 263  |                                             |                  |

| Name of Author and Article                     | Page | Name of Author and Article                   | Page |
|------------------------------------------------|------|----------------------------------------------|------|
| <b>RAJENDRA PRASAD, Dr.</b>                    |      | <b>SURESH RAMABHAI</b>                       |      |
| Impetus to Khadi                               | 88   | The Real change of Heart                     | 64   |
| Message for Vinobaji's 59th Birthday           | 89   | With Vinobaji on Diwali                      | 211  |
| Message for Sarvodaya Magazine                 | 113  | A Bhoodan Yagna Camp in Travancore           | 278  |
| Speech at Bodh-Gaya Sammelan                   | 292  | Vinobaji's Passion to become Zero            | 288  |
| Freedom of The Individual                      | 314  | <b>SWAMI ANAND TIRTH, M. A.</b>              |      |
| <b>RAMACHANDRA REDDY, V.</b>                   |      | The Demon of Untouchability in Villages      | 210  |
| The Genesis of Bhoodan Yagna                   | 188  | <b>THOREAU, HENRY DAVID</b>                  |      |
| <b>REDDIJI, SEVAGRAM</b>                       |      | The State versus the Individual              |      |
| Small-Scale Farming in Sevagram                | 193  | <b>THULASIAH VANDAYAR, K.</b>                |      |
| <b>RICHARD ANDREWS, M. D., M. R. C. S.</b>     |      | Dharma in the Land Sacrifice                 | 237  |
| The Western Mistake                            | 124  | <b>TOM WARDLE</b>                            |      |
| <b>SAHASRABUDHE, A. W.</b>                     |      | A Challenge to Pacifists                     | 213  |
| Bhoodan and Village Republic                   | 243  | <b>TRILOK JAIN, M. A.,</b>                   |      |
| <b>SHANKARRAO DEO</b>                          |      | The Economic Aspects of Bhoodan Yagna        | 269  |
| The Bhoodan Movement—Its Origin and Philosophy | 11   | <b>VARKKI, V. K.</b>                         |      |
| Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man       | 77   | Vinoba and Christianity                      | 104  |
| Gandhiji's Gift of Satyagraha                  | 151  | <b>VINCENT SHEEAN</b>                        |      |
| The Gita Ideal in Sarvodaya                    | 177  | The Mahatma's Lesson                         | 95   |
| <b>SIDDHA RAJ DHADDA</b>                       |      | <b>WILFRED WELLOCK</b>                       |      |
| Unadulterated Economics                        | 322  | Whither India?                               | 9    |
| <b>SIVASUBRAMANIAN, N. S., M. A.</b>           |      | Education for Living                         | 49   |
| Bhoodan—The Sanction of Soul-Force             | 70   | Speech at Gandhi Jayanti in England          | 115  |
| Power and Service                              | 239  | The Fallacy of Leisure and Pleasure          | 158  |
| Man <i>versus</i> Machine                      | 300  | Natural Manure <i>versus</i> Chemical Manure | 186  |
| <b>SRIKRISHNADAS JAJUJI</b>                    |      | Colonialism with Subtle Backward Turning     | 238  |
| The Fallacy about Khadi Economics              | 54   | The Times' Need and The Outlook              | 266  |
| Bhoodan Yagna—Why and How                      | 149  | <b>ZAKIR HUSSAIN, Dr.</b>                    |      |
| Sampattidan or Money-Gift                      | 317  | Educationally Productive Work                | 271  |
| <b>SRIMANNARAYAN AGARWAL</b>                   |      |                                              |      |
| Economics of National Defence                  | 207  |                                              |      |
| <b>SONACHALAM, K. S., M. A.</b>                |      |                                              |      |
| A Warning to Welfare Workers                   | 271  |                                              |      |

## MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

|                                |          |                                       |    |
|--------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------------|----|
| Dedication                     | 1st Page | Purna Dan                             | 26 |
| Bhoodan News All Over India    | 23, 56   | Khadi and Village Industries Board    | 27 |
| Cover, 3 Sept. '53             |          | Khadi Workers Conference in Bangalore | 28 |
| 164, 193, 221, 250, 275, 307   |          | Bhcodan Yagna in Foreign Press        | 52 |
| Sarvodaya Conference in Ceylon | 25       | Labour Worship of God                 | 53 |

| Name of Article                    | page | Name of Article                      | page     |
|------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| The Man-of-Calm (SUTTA-NIPATA)     | 329  | Receive My All                       | 232      |
| Jewel Dan from Women               | 53   | Sarva Seva Sangh's Appeal            | 249      |
| India's Vinoba Bhawe ("TIME")      | 65   | Six Years' Progress towards          |          |
| Khadi & Other Village Industries   | 79   | Sarvodaya                            | 253      |
| The Panchavati Goshala Farm        | 105  | Bhoodan Yatra in Tanjore Dt.         | 277      |
| The Fellowship of Reconciliation — |      | Highlights of Sarvodaya Sammelan     | 281      |
| Bhoodan Camp                       | 134  | Vinobaji's Response to Jaiprakash's  |          |
| Sarvodaya Prachuralayam —          |      | Appeal                               | 291      |
| Origin and Progress                | 136  | Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolutions       | 293, 302 |
| Prevention of Spurious Khadi       | 189  | A Bird's Eye View of the Sixth       |          |
| Gramodaya Khadi Sangam             |      | Sarvodaya Sammelan                   | 295      |
| Conference                         | 191  | Group Discussions in the Sammelan    | 296      |
| Shankarrao Deo's Yatra             | 191  | Samanvaya Ashram at Bodh-Gaya        | 298      |
| Sarvodaya Mela                     | 199  | Khadi Exhibition at Bodh-Gaya        | 302      |
| Shri Shankarrao Deo's Yatra in     |      | Khadi & Village Industries           |          |
| Tanjore Dt.                        | 216  | Exhibition at Delhi                  | 305      |
| Dignified Gift of All              | 232  | World Pacifists' Conference in Japan | 306      |

## NOTES AND NEWS

|                           |          |                             |          |                         |               |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|---------------|
| A Nai Talim Vidyalaya     | 336      | Upto 5-1-'54                | 197      | Sarvodaya Ashrams       | 83            |
| Adivasis or Aborigines    | 167      | " 15-2-'54                  | 225      | " Book Club             | 110           |
| Aknowledgements           | 140, 161 | " 18-3-'54                  | 285      | " Samaj: Aug. 53 Cov. 2 |               |
| All India Bee-keepers'    |          | " 30-4-'54                  | 320      | " To Sevaks of          | 168           |
| Conference                | 112      | +                           |          | " Samaj Sevaks          |               |
| A-I. Nai Talim Conference | 140      |                             |          | in Foreign Countries    | 82            |
|                           | 223      | Gandhi As a Social          |          | Sarvodaya Day & Mela:   |               |
| Books Received            | 112      | Revolutionary               | 110      | " In Tamil Nad          | 279           |
| Charu Chandra Bhandari's  |          | Gandhi Memorial Fund        | 224      | " In Kerala             | 279           |
| Sacrifice                 | 139      | — Do — and                  |          | "                       |               |
| Diary of Constructive     |          | Constructive Work           | 82       | Sarvodaya Sahitya       |               |
| Workers                   | 190      | Gandhi Vichar Parishad      | 223      | Sammelan                | 57            |
| BHOODAN                   |          | — Do —                      |          | Sarvodaya Sammelan      | 224, 252      |
| The Boy's Zeal            | 84       | Summer Camp                 | 252      | "                       | Rajasthan 139 |
| A Soldier's Bhoodan       | 139      | Gramodaya Sangh in          |          | "Sarvodaya" and         |               |
| Kerala Bhoodan Camp       | 140      | Kerala, Tamilnad            | 138      | Commission              | 166           |
| Workers' Training Camp    |          | Integration of Charkha with | 138      | Seminars and Camps      | 83            |
| in Tamilnad               | 112, 139 | Agriculture                 | 138      | To Contributors         | 112           |
| Deo's Yatra in South      | 140      | Jaiprakash's Impression on  | 110      | Two American Visitors   |               |
| Sampattti-Dan             | 166      | Tamil Nad                   |          | about Sevagram          | 82            |
| Work in Tamilnad          | 279      | Khadi & Village Industries  | 335      | VINOBAJI                |               |
| Legislation to Facilitate |          | Board 137, 138, 252,        | 79       | Daily Programme         | 84            |
| Bhoodan                   | 335      | " Some Decisions of         |          | Assault on              | 110           |
| BHOODAN COLLECTION        |          | Khadi & Village Industries  | 280      | Latest Speech of        | 140           |
| Upto 20th June '53        | 13       | Exhibition                  | 160      | Foreign Visitors to     | 169           |
| " July '53                | 87       | Khadi Sales in Diwali       | 111      | Vinobaji's "Gita        |               |
| " Aug. '53 cover 3        | 139      | Khed Satyagraha in Pardi    | 140      | Pravachan"              | 280           |
| " 5-8-'53                 | 165      | Taluk                       |          | +                       |               |
| " 5-10-'53                | 169      | Rajaji's Visit to Tirupur   | 112, 252 | +                       |               |
| " 20-11-'53               |          | Sarva Seva Sangh            |          | +                       |               |
| " 5-12-'53                |          | Sarvodaya and Communism     | 167      | +                       |               |
|                           |          |                             |          | World Peace Conference  | 280           |
|                           |          |                             |          | in Japan                |               |

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

For Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dharmam Bharati Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tirupur.  
Printed by S. Subramaniam, at the Kamala Printing Press, Tirupur.

144911

JL  
15/2/11, NS28V NS29.4

# GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

(Continued from previous wrapper page)

| GANDHIAN LITERATURE                                                                                          |         | HIND KITABS LTD., PUBLICATIONS                                                    |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                                                                                              | Rs. As. |                                                                                   | Rs. As. |
| A Discipline for Non-Violence<br>(Richard B. Gregg)                                                          | 0 10    | India—1915-1950, All through the<br>Gandhian Era (By A. S. Iyengar)               | 4 12    |
| A Nation Builder at Work (Pyarelal)                                                                          | 1 0     | Indian Nationalism (Nagendranath Gupta)                                           | 2 8     |
| A Pilgrimage for Peace ( " )                                                                                 | 5 0     | To A Gandhian Capitalist<br>(Edited by Kaka Kalelkar)                             | 3 12    |
| A Preparation for Science<br>(Richard B. Gregg)                                                              | 0 12    | I too Have Spun (Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya)                                        | 1 8     |
| A Righteous Struggle (Mahadev Desai)                                                                         | 1 8     | A Sheaf of Gandhi Anecdotes<br>(G. Ramachandran)                                  | 1 0     |
| An Atheist with Gandhi (Gora)                                                                                | 1 0     | Gandhi and Gandhism<br>(Nagendranath Gupta)                                       | 2 8     |
| Bapu My Mother (Manubehn Gandhi)                                                                             | 0 12    | Mahatma Gandhi and Bihar<br>(Rajendra Prasad)                                     | 2 0     |
| Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism?<br>(Bharatan Kumarappa)                                                  | 5 0     | Mohanmala—A Gandhian Rosary<br>(R. K. Prabhu)                                     | 1 12    |
| Christianity, Its Economy and<br>Way of Life (J. C. Kumarappa)                                               | 1 8     | India of My Dreams — (M. K. Gandhi)                                               | 1 8     |
| Clive to Keynes ( " )                                                                                        | 0 12    | Gandhi, Tagore and Nehru<br>(K. R. Kripalani)                                     | 2 0     |
| Constructive Programme—Some Suggestions<br>(Rajendra Prasad)                                                 | 0 8     | Gandhigrams (S. R. Tikekar)                                                       | 2 0     |
| Dehumanization in Modern Society<br>(R. Fulop Miller)                                                        | 0 7     | Swaraj for the Masses (J. C. Kumarappa)                                           | 1 12    |
| Economics of Khaddar (Richard B. Gregg)                                                                      | 2 0     | Sati Kasturba (R. K. Prabhu)                                                      | 1 4     |
| Essentials of Gandhism<br>(V. Swaminatha Sarma)                                                              | 0 12    | Glimpses of Gandhiji (R. R. Diwakar)                                              | 1 8     |
| Gandhiana, A Bibliography of<br>Gandhian Literature (P. G. Deshpande)                                        | 3 4     | 1857—The Great Rebellion (Asoka Mehta)                                            | 1 8     |
| Gandhian Ethics (Benoy Gopal Ray)                                                                            | 1 0     | India and China (S. Radhakrishnan)                                                | 3 12    |
| Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World<br>(Pyarelal)                                                        | 1 8     | Gautama the Buddha ( " )                                                          | 1 8     |
| Gandhi and Marx (K. G. Mashruwala)                                                                           | 1 0     | Kalki or the Future of Civilization ( " )                                         | 1 8     |
| Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity<br>(S. K. George)                                                         | 1 8     | Gurudev Tagore<br>(Ed. R. Narasimhan, M. A.,)                                     | 3 0     |
| Gandhism in the Atomic Age<br>(Y. G. Krishnamurti)                                                           | 2 0     | University Addresses<br>(C. Rajagopalachariar)                                    | 3 8     |
| Practice and Precepts of Jesus<br>(J. C. Kumarappa)                                                          | 1 8     | The Indian Citizen and His Rights and<br>Duties (Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri) | 1 8     |
| Public Finance and Our Poverty<br>(J. C. Kumarappa)                                                          | 1 8     | Satyagraha, Its Technique and<br>History (R. R. Diwakar)                          | 5 12    |
| Sarvodaya (Gandhi, Mashruwala<br>and Vinoba)                                                                 | 1 0     | Pen Portraits Essays and Addresses<br>(Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar)                 | 6 8     |
| Satyagraha in Champaran<br>(Rajendra Prasad)                                                                 | 2 4     | Incidents of Gandhiji's Life<br>(Chandrashanker Shukla)                           | 10 8    |
| Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi<br>(Krishnadas)                                                             | 4 0     | Gandhiji as We Know him ( " )                                                     | 3 4     |
| Stray Glimpses of Bapu (Kaka Kalelkar)                                                                       | 2 0     | Conversations of Gandhiji ( " )                                                   | 3 0     |
| The Gita according to Gandhi<br>(Mahadev Desai)                                                              | 4 0     | Reminiscences of Gandhiji ( " )                                                   | 8 0     |
| The Political Philosophy of<br>Mahatma Gandhi (G. N. Dhavan)                                                 | 6 0     | Planning for a Shortage Economy<br>(C. N. Vakil & Brahmananda)                    | 5 8     |
| The Power of Non-Violence<br>(Richard B. Gregg)                                                              | 2 8     | Fateful Year (J. B. Kripalani)                                                    | 2 12    |
| The Story of the Bible (S. K. George)                                                                        | 4 0     | The Gandhian Way ( " )                                                            | 4 0     |
| To Women (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur)                                                                              | 0 6     | Politics of Charkha ( " )                                                         | 1 4     |
| Why Prohibition? (Bharatan Kumarappa)                                                                        | 0 12    | Whither Constructive Work?<br>(G. Ramachandran)                                   | 0 10    |
| The Ideology of the Charkha—Gandhiji's<br>writings and speeches on khadi<br>(Compiled by Srikrishnadas Jaju) | 0 14    |                                                                                   |         |
| (Postage and Packing Extra for all)                                                                          |         | BY WILFRED WELLOCK                                                                |         |
|                                                                                                              |         | Gandhi As a Social Revolutionary                                                  | 0 12    |
|                                                                                                              |         | The Challenge of Our Times —<br>Annihilation or Creative Revolution?              | 0 7     |
|                                                                                                              |         | Money has Destroyed Your Peace                                                    | 0 7     |
|                                                                                                              |         | A Mechanistic or a Human Society?                                                 | 0 13    |
|                                                                                                              |         | The Third Way                                                                     | 0 13    |
|                                                                                                              |         | Rebuilding Britain                                                                | 0 13    |
|                                                                                                              |         | Power or Peace?                                                                   | 0 7     |
|                                                                                                              |         | Godilieve — A Short Story                                                         | 0 4     |

WRITE FOR ALL THE ABOVE BOOKS TO

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, Post Box No. 9, TIRUPUR (S. India)

## GANDHIAN-SARVODAYA LITERATURE

**GANDESIAN ECONOMICS BY J. C. KUMARAPPA**

|                                        |   |    |
|----------------------------------------|---|----|
| Why the Village Movement ?             | 3 | 8  |
| Economy of Permanence Part I           | 2 | 0  |
| -Do- II                                | 2 | 0  |
| Gandhian Economy and Other Essays      | 2 | 0  |
| Gandhian Economic Thought              | 1 | 4  |
| Philosophy of Work and other Essays    | 0 | 12 |
| Science and Progress                   | 1 | 0  |
| Peace and Prosperity                   | 1 | 0  |
| Blood Money                            | 1 | 12 |
| Europe through Gandhian Eyes           | 0 | 8  |
| Present Economic Situation             | 2 | 0  |
| Our Food Problem                       | 1 | 8  |
| Banishing War                          | 0 | 8  |
| Currency Inflation, Its Cause and Cure | 0 | 12 |
| An Overall Plan for Rural Development  | 1 | 8  |
| Stone Walls and Iron Bars              | 0 | 8  |

**NAI TALIM PUBLICATIONS**

|                                                                   | Rs. | As |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|
| Basic Education, Its Principles<br>and Practice (Marjorie Sykes)  | 0   | 6  |
| Resolutions and Findings of 7th Conference                        | 0   | 6  |
| Suggestions for a Post-Graduate<br>Training Course in Nai Talim   | 0   | 8  |
| Nai Talim at Sevagram                                             | 0   | 4  |
| Educational Reconstruction (Gandhiji)                             | 2   | 0  |
| The Latest Fad—Basic Education<br>(J. B. Kripalani)               | 1   | 9  |
| Syllabus for Pre-Basic Teachers                                   | 0   | 1  |
| Plan and Practice (Shanta Narulkar)                               | 1   | -  |
| Higher Education in Relation to<br>Rural India (Arthur E. Morgan) | 1   | -  |
| The Rural University ("")                                         | 0   | -  |
| Nai Talim Sevagram Album (English)                                | 3   | -  |
| "Do" (Tamil)                                                      | 2   | -  |
| Cardboard Modelling                                               | 1   | -  |
| Compost Latrines — Their Value,<br>Construction and Use           | 0   | -  |
| "Boimondau"—A French Community of<br>Work (Claire Hutchet Bishop) | 1   | -  |
| Common Ailments of the Village<br>(Vasanthi Behn)                 | 0   | -  |
| Nai Talim and The Social Order<br>(Wilfred Wellock)               | 0   | -  |
| One Step Forward                                                  | 2   | -  |
| Two Years of Work                                                 | 2   | -  |
| The Story of Twelve Years                                         | 0   | -  |
| Basic School Syllabus — Grades I - VIII                           | 1   | -  |
| " " " " " " " " " " " "                                           |     |    |
| Grades I - V                                                      | 1   | -  |
| Revised Syllabus for the Training of<br>Teachers                  | 1   | -  |
| Seven Years of Work                                               | 0   | -  |
| A Picture and Programme of Adult<br>Education                     | 0   | -  |

## OTHER BOOKS

**Economic Problems in Indian Agriculture**  
(Mahesh Chand)

**Cottage Industries and Their Role in National Economy** (Prof. Rao)

**What is Wrong with Indian Economic Life**  
(Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Ph. D., Cantab)

**Medium of Instruction** (S. N. Agarwal)

**Principles of Sarvodaya Plan**  
(Sarvodaya Planning Committee)

**The Task of Peace Making**

**Handmade Paper**  
(Satish Chandra Das Gupta)

**Kora Paddy Cultivation**  
(Gandhi Smarak Nidhi)

**The Bhoo-dan Movement** (Bandhudas Sen)

**Why Go-Seva?** (Suresh Ramabhai)

**Agreement or Slavery Bond?** ( " )

**Victories without Violence** (A. Ruth Fry)

**Homage to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy**  
(Ed. S. Durai Raja Singam)

**All-India Spinners Association and Its Work, upto 1951** (Srikrishnadas Jaju)

**ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE  
PUBLICATIONS**

8 Constructive Programme for Congressmen  
2 (S. N. Agarwal)  
8 Handbook for Congressmen  
8 The Background of India's Foreign Policy  
8 The Pilgrimage and After:  
8 The Story of How Congress Fought  
0 and Won the General Elections  
8 Indians Outside India  
4 (Dr. N. V. Rajkumar)  
5 Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms  
Committee

**BHAVAN'S BOOK UNIVERSITY PUBLICATION**

|    |                                        |           |
|----|----------------------------------------|-----------|
| 8  | Life of Mahatma Gandhi (Louis Fischer) | 2 Volumes |
| 8  | Mahabharata (C. Rajagopalachari)       |           |
| 8  | Gandhiji's View of Life                |           |
| 8  | (Chandrasekharendra Prasad)            |           |
| 4  | Freedom and Culture (John Dewey)       |           |
| 8  | Our Greatest Need (K. M. Munshi)       |           |
| 8  | Ramayana (Shrimati Shudha Mazumdar)    | 2 Volumes |
| 0  |                                        |           |
| 8  | Living Biographies of Great            |           |
|    | Philosophers to Badrinath              |           |
| 12 | (K. M. Munshi)                         |           |

**SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, POST BOX No. 9, TIRUPUR (S. India)**

Kamala Press, Tirupur.

[illegible]